A CRITIQUE OF COSMOPOLITAN INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL DECLINE OF NATIVE EUROPEANS

by

Clare Ellis

B.A., UNB, 2008
MIDST, UNB, 2011

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Supervisor: Ricardo Duchesne, Ph.D., Dept. of Sociology, UNBSJ

Examining Board: Janice Fiamengo, Ph.D., Dept. of English, University of Ottawa
Will van den Hoonaard, Ph.D., Dept. of Sociology
Ian Methven, PhD, Forestry & Env. Mgt.

External Examiner: Dario Fernandez-Morera, Ph.D., Dept. of Spanish & Portuguese, Northwestern University

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Abstract

My research aimed to address one central question: why are indigenous Europeans becoming demographic and political minorities in European nation-states? I approached this by investigating the geopolitical and ideological factors, both historical and contemporary, behind the development of the European Union project. My research demonstrates that the European Union, and its attempts towards a Euro-Mediterranean Union, is a politically engineered cosmopolitan project rooted in anti-nationalism, the erasure of ethno-national identities, and the severing of political power and sovereignty from indigenous Europeans. I also show that demographic engineering through immigration is central to this project, and is motivated by Liberal economics and Leftist political interests. Through demographic and politically engineered cosmopolitanism, European nation-states are being transformed into open, multi-ethnic societies and European natives are being reduced to ethnic and political minorities within their own homelands. My research also demonstrates that the EU project and neoconservative foreign policies have opened Europe to wide-spread social and political problems associated with violent and non-violent forms of political Islam as well as Leftist-Third World alliances against European power structures and identities. These developments directly contribute to European decline and are creating the conditions for ethnic civil war in Europe. My thesis is that the EU cosmopolitan project, along with Neoconservatism, Islamism, and Third Worldism, are creating an adverse environment for native Europeans characterised by political marginalisation and demographic dispossession. I challenge these ideologies and agendas, and make the case that they violate various rights of native Europeans as well as international laws that prohibit genocide in any form.

Dedication

To my family

Acknowledgments

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Introduction

Indigenous Europeans are becoming demographic and political minorities in their homelands. Why is this happening? There are many scholarly works that praise the present cosmopolitan form of the European Union; however, critical academic views are lacking on how the EU project impacts indigenous Europeans over the short and long term. As such, this dissertation aimed to provide a critical assessment on the history, ideologies, and international influences associated with the development of the present form of the European Union and their political and demographic effects on indigenous European populations.

Why Interdisciplinary?

My research relied on an integrated array of disciplines, and international legal documents, theoretical perspectives, and statistical sources to construct a comprehensive understanding and explanation of the research problem.[1] Theoretical perspectives included: Pan-Europeanism, Fabian socialism, Frankfurt School, Critical Theory, and Cultural Marxism. They also included: anti-nationalism and cosmopolitanism, the UN program called "Replacement Population," "Power Transition Theory," Islamism, Eurabia, anti-ethnic Europeanism, Third Worldism, indigenous rights, majority rights, human rights, ethno-cultural identity, neoliberalism, neoconservatism, global governance, "Open Society," democratic peace theory, and the "end of history."

Existing theories of ethnic conflict, migration as a weapon of war, and power transition theory, as well as international laws and legal definitions, were also applied in a new context to critically evaluate the main ideologies (and their application), key ideologues, and experimental practices associated with the EU project and European demographic and political decline.

[1] Please refer to appendix for the various disciplines consulted.

The findings of the research were organised according to five major themes:

- The Central Influences on the Formation of the European Union
- Deep Ideological Currents
- Demographics: Immigration and Islamism
- The 2015/2016 Migrant Crisis in Europe
- Critical Views

To address the central research question, the dissertation was also organised in such a way that integrates some or all of the insights, findings, and theories of preceding chapters and themes in a layered approach.

Methodology

My research aimed to address one central question: Why are indigenous Europeans becoming demographic and political minorities in European nation-states? Contained within this, is also the question: What are the main contributing factors that have created the conditions for this decline? It is already a well known public fact, covered for over a decade by mainstream news outlets that have cited works by various scholars, that Europeans are becoming ethnic minorities within their own nations, not just in Europe but in all European-based countries, such as the USA and Canada. That is to say, the demographic decline of Europeans is an evidence-based phenomenon that has already been established as true by the scholarly sphere and reported on by the mainstream news media outlets; as such, this dissertation asked not how, but why is this the case.

The overall methodological approach to the investigation was qualitative. I applied a mixed methods comprehensive review involving a thorough search, consultation, and critical evaluation of relevant primary and secondary sources of information from a variety of

academic departments and disciplines, national governments and institutions, non-governmental organisations, international institutions and agencies, and news media.[2]

A mixed methods comprehensive review was the best design to approach this complex multi- and inter-disciplinary research topic because it provided the means to ascertain a strong and encompassing explanation that addressed the central research question and sub-questions[3]. It also facilitated a way to synthesise the findings of a large body of literature comprised of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method studies[4]. In addition, as critical scholarly assessments on the topic are lacking, and because relying on a single ideology or a single interpretation often leads to "ineffective or inaccurate policies, practices, or ideas [being] adopted" and the dismissal of "accurate or effective ones," a mixed methods comprehensive review was an important and effective way to provide a new and more inclusive understanding of the research topic. It was particularly important as a way to "tell the difference between real and assumed knowledge" or between episteme and institutionalised doxa, and to limit ideological bias implicit within existing scholarly works on the topic. This was executed through several methods, including a critical engagement with the dominant or institutionalised ideological perspective(s) and, with reference to multiple primary and secondary sources, the exposure of problems implicit within these viewpoints as well as those that have so far arisen from the real-world application of these standpoints[5].

Limitations of Approach

As most of the scholarly works available on the topic use or construct arguments that are either explicit or implicit in their support for the cosmopolitan EU project, particularly mass-

[2] Please see appendix for a detailed description of the resources and sources consulted for each chapter.
[3] Please see below for the sub-questions.
[4] Temple University Libraries, "Systematic Reviews & Other Review Types."
[5] Petticrew and Roberts, *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences*, vii, 2, 9-10; Kent State University, "SRM for the Humanities."

immigrationinto the European Union[6], this dissertation became lengthier than I anticipated. As my approach is a whole new way of looking at the issues discussed that is not yet established in contemporary academia, and because there are a lack of studies that apply international law and theories of ethnic conflict to the situation in Europe, a resource intensive and comprehensive compilation of a wide array of sources, evidence, and data, a combination of approaches to analyse the information, and an extensive number of references, were required.

Some sources of information that were consulted are considered controversial or politically charged, such as the Eurabia thesis of Bat Ye'or (although, to be clear, this was also a subject that I critiqued) and news media outlets such as *RT News* and *Breitbart*, which can be seen as a weakness in my approach. Yet these are rare works and agencies with a large support base or following (and documentary evidence in the case of Ye'or) that address or report on issues that mainstream established ideologues and agencies do not. We live in a time when to be politically charged on the Left is considered neutral. So, to be fair, and to not show bias in only including established mainstream sources on the Left, I also consulted sources on the so-called Right; through a process of triangulation to validate the information as credible I often referenced multiple Left and Right news sources on the same subject and in the same footnote. It should also be noted that many of the references to news outlets like *Breitbart* and *RT News*, as well as to YouTube and other video sources, were of speeches, lectures, and interviews of public figureheads and experts, and of reports, statistics, polls, surveys, and footage of the migrant crisis and other phenomena, rather than the opinions of the authors. In addition, in order to clarify and confirm the credibility of controversial works, I also cross-checked the information with multiple other sources, such as government data and documents.

[6] In addition, they are also implicit or explicit in their support for the demographic and political decline of ethnic Europeans in Europe.

Methodological Steps

I began by outlining the research topic and formulating the central research question. In an effort to investigate and analyse this rather complex issue and explain its causes, I constructed several spider diagrams to map the problem into its constituent parts (timeframes, themes, ideologies, sub-topics, and so on) and to show how they related to each other, and then defined exploratory sub-questions that were organised according to these parts.[7]

I then "scoped" possible resources and sources of information that addressed the central and sub-questions, which helped me to clarify and narrow down the topic and the geographical areas in Europe to concentrate on. By using search terms that were directly related to the mapped parts of the problem, I searched the existing qualitative literature and quantitative data available through the UNB library catalog and library, journal databases, WorldCat, subject specific professional, government, institutional, and NGO websites and databases, international treaties and laws archives, websites of international organisations, electronic and internet archives, think tanks and other research organisations, newspapers, and reference lists and bibliographies of books and articles. I selected primary and secondary sources of a theoretical and empirical nature (please refer to appendix for a detailed list of sources) for inclusion based on an evaluation of their relevancy to the central research question and the sub-questions, specifically in terms of attaining a comprehensive understanding of the specific factors under investigation. Of particular focus was the selection of sources in terms of the key or dominant theories, ideologies, and ideologues (identifying and answering the 5W1H questions: Who? What? When? Where? Why? and How?) and those that provided information, evidence, or theories to explain and/or challenge the validity of these key theories and ideologies.

[7] Please see below for these questions in the description of each theme.

Regarding the confirmability and validity of sources, as mentioned above I consulted and used multiple sources to both supplement and cross-check the information. As part of my inclusion criteria, I consulted trusted primary and secondary sources, such as peer-reviewed academic works, government and legal documents, national statistical data, public statements by government officials, and expert reports and then used them to confirm the assessments or assertions of and to verify the credibility of works by non-peer reviewed works and by authors considered controversial. Claims that could not be verified were excluded. For instance, when researching sources on the development of the European Union my primary focus was the official declarations, laws, and treaties found at EUR-Lex (the official website of European Union law) and the Official Journal of the European Union as well as peer-reviewed journal articles and scholarly books. These sources of information and data were then used to confirm the validity, and thus the inclusion or exclusion, of other secondary sources. Another example of confirmability and inclusion criteria is migration data both before and during the migrant crisis. Sources included primary data from official bodies such as government reports and statistics, the International Organisation for Migration, the United Nations, Frontex, and Eurostat, as well as an array of peer-reviewed works, particularly by expert demographer David Coleman; works that could not be verified by these and other primary sources were excluded. In addition, in regards to the use of statistics in general and to minimise statistical bias, I compared an array of existing statistical data from polls, surveys, studies, and reports conducted by governments, academics, research organisations, and think tanks and summarised the data. Statistics that fell outside of the summarised data were excluded. I also

used news articles from multiple agencies on the same subject reported to confirm the details and reduce ideological or political bias.[8]

Mixed Methods Analysis

Documentary Analysis. I used this method to evaluate and interpret an array of documents relevant to the research topic in terms of their authenticity, credibility, and meaning, to identify themes, the relationship between themes, and the implicit and explicit ideas in the documents, and to extract relevant evidence from the body of literature to support and validate the research objectives.[9]

Critical Discourse Analysis and Ideological Criticism. Influenced by the views of Foucault, particularly his ideas about free speech (parrhesia), "fearless speech," and speaking "truth to power,"[10] I used these methods to critically examine the ideologies, power relations, and propaganda techniques involved in the key texts and dominant discourses under investigation, as well as how the dominant ideologies stereotype the identity and reflect or contradict the interests and concerns of ethnic-majority Europeans.

Triangulation. In addition to triangulation methods mentioned above, I used different theoretical perspectives to interpret the information, such as power transition theory, theories on ethnic conflict, migration as a weapon of war, Third-world oppositionalism, and counter-hegemony, among others.[11]

Comparative Analysis. I compared information and statistical data on immigration and demographics across five European countries to identify patterns, themes, and contrasts. I also

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[8] Please refer to the appendix for a detailed description of the numerous databases and archives used, the primary and secondary sources consulted, and the various academic departments and disciplines that informed my research in an interdisciplinary manner.
[9] Bowen, "Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method."
[10] Foucault, "Discourse and Truth: the Problematization of Parrhesia" and *Fearless Speech*.
[11] Yeasmin and Rahman, "'Triangulation' Research Method as the Tool of Social Science Research."

compared historical and contemporary trends of immigration and demographic data in Europe, in terms of how and why they compared or coincided as well as using data that either contradicted or supported the establishment arguments for immigration.

Critical Review. When evaluating the key ideologies and ideologues I first presented and explained their main ideas and arguments and then, with reference to primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative sources, I provided a critique. This critique was in terms of the intentionality, implicit bias, idealism, and/or double standards of the authors, the validity, falsity, and/or viability of their theories, ideologies, and/or arguments, and their applicability re their actual affects and short and long-term consequences in the real world i.e. European demographic and political decline. I also critically evaluated the key ideologies and ideologues of the EU project in terms of the moral, ethical, and legal issues that emerge when they are framed within international law and theories of ethnic conflict.

History of Ideas/Intellectual History. I used this method of analysis to identify the key ideas and expressions of European integration and how they emerged, changed or remained the same over time; to ground the development of the EU project within historical, ideological, international and geopolitical contexts; to show recent changes to traditional definitions of national identity and the political majority and culture; to identify how the key ideologies and ideas behind European integration relate to the contemporary EU project and whether they reflect the views of ethnic European peoples; and to identify which ideas and practices of European integration directly relate to the demographic and political decline of Europeans.

Positionality

I was born in Aberdeen, Scotland and grew up in various cities and outlying areas throughout the UK and visited several countries in Europe. I also spent substantial time in Saudi Arabia, as well as visiting Oman and Dubai, and lived in Vancouver for several years before settling in

Saint John. I essentially became seriously concerned with what was happening in Britain and in Europe after becoming increasingly aware, partly due to newspaper reports, of the rapid population and cultural changes brought about by mass-immigration, multicultural ideology, and the rise of Islamic terrorist attacks, which were simultaneously happening throughout the Western world. Yet it wasn't until I was working on my Master's thesis on the history of the idea of progress that I came to the conclusion that critically challenging the establishment views on immigration and multiculturalism wasn't just taboo, but often led, especially in academia (at the time, I naïvely thought this was the last place you would find political correctness and the Semmelweis Reflex to be so entrenched), to spurious accusations and ostracism. I wanted to understand why and began to research the roots of the problem, which then led me to explore the issues discussed in this dissertation.

To clarify and also to anticipate potential concerns some readers may have about my work, it is important to explain that as Muslims are the largest ethnic minority immigrant group in Europe and have comprised the vast majority of irregular migrants entering Europe during the 'migrant crisis,' and as Islam is the fastest growing religion in Europe, Muslims are therefore the focus ethnic group of my discussions on immigration. When discussing Muslim criminality in the five European countries under investigation (see below), let me be clear here that there are a lot of decent Muslims going about their daily lives in Europe and my discussion is not about them. Rather, I concentrate on very politically-oriented and active Muslims and Muslim groups, which constitute a small portion of the overall Muslim population of Europe. However, one must be aware that political changes to nations are often a direct result of the activities of small political groups.

When I use the term indigenous Europeans, I mean the native ethnic peoples of Europe that originated and have lived in that geographical region for thousands of years in contrast to

those that have recently settled there as migrants from other regions of the world, a description clearly explained in the last chapter and throughout the dissertation. When I use the terms European nations and nation-states, I mean that European nations are the European peoples and European states are elected by European peoples and are meant to represent their will and interests. National institutions, including educational, media, and political, were created by Europeans for Europeans to reflect their ethnic and cultural identities and interests and have changed in a dramatic way since the end of WWII with the rapid rise of non-European populations in European nations (since the onset of non-European mass-immigration in the 1950s and 60s) and the development and expansion of the cosmopolitan EU integration project. In addition, when people hear or read the term genocide they often think of brutal mass killings of ethnic groups. However, as I clearly explain in the last chapter, genocide is not just mass-murder; it is a complex phenomenon involving various other conditions as well.

Western European countries have been greatly impacted by the Left-Liberal EU project for decades and, in comparison to Eastern European member states, are experiencing the most rapid and widespread demographic and political marginalisation of their indigineous populations. Eastern European countries, such as the Czech Republic and Hungary, were not subject to the EU project until they joined in 2004 and historically, particularly in terms of post-WWII communism, their political and social realities have been different. As such, their national populations remain relatively homogeneous and traditional, and resistance to EU political and demographic engineering has been more vocal and mainstream than Western Member states. Hence, although the geographical focus of this dissertation is the EU as a whole and the responses of Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orban, to the migrant crisis and the increasingly bureaucratic control of the EU over European national sovereignty are discussed, the specific focus is Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, and Germany.

The demographic and political decline of Europeans has not yet been seriously or fairly addressed by academia or within the framework of international law. It is my view that this is due to the dominant ideologies of liberalism and Leftism since at least the end of WWII that favours and encourages European marginalisation and dispossession through immigration. I therefore wanted to provide a much-needed critical perspective that identifies the root causes of indigenous European decline and to frame these within international law. To be clear, the intention of my work was not to situate it within an ideology; rather, it was to expose, through a critical analysis (that includes a comprehensive comparison with statistical data, international laws and rights, theories about ethnic conflict, and other evidence-based studies and data), any ideological bias, inherent flaws, ethical issues, democratic deficits, and absence of understanding or deliberate ignorance of pertinent data and known theories regarding the short and long-term adverse consequences of the unchallenged theses, policies, practices, and projects arising out of and supported by mainstream academic works and by European and EU elites, that promote the experiment[12] of mass-immigration and anti-national cosmopolitan integration within the EU. Overall, my research aims to raise new questions, apply existing theories to a new context, and unblock progress towards much-needed critical academic debates and investigations about the causes and long-term negative consequences of the decline of ethnic Europeans in Europe.

[12] Mass-immigration and the EU project are 'experiments', as declared by the masterminds and those who support them, as cited in the body of this dissertation. These creators and advocates perceive mass-immigration as a tool to ethnically mix European homogeneous populations for various reasons, including an attempt to end racism, ethnic conflict, intra-European national conflict, separate nation from state, and to usher in a form of world governance.

Overview of the Parts and Chapters

Part I, titled **Central Influences on the Formation of the European Union**, is divided into three chapters that identify and assess the central events and ideas that have influenced the development of the European Union from the 18th century to the present day. The main questions I endeavour to answer are:

- What is the history and the main acts, treaties, and declarations behind European integration into the present form of the European Union?
- What is Eurafrica, the Euro-Arab Dialogue, Euro-Mediterranean partnerships, and the Euro-Mediterranean Union?
- What is Fabianism and Frankfurt School Cultural Marxism and how have they effected European integration?
- What events, both domestic and international, effected the present formation of the European Union today?
- Why is Islam an increasingly public and dominant presence in European nations?

Chapter 1, titled **Early European Integration**, first introduces 18th and 19th century integration plans, such as the notion of a United States of Europe, and the influence of the philosophical concepts of perpetual peace, world federalism, and cosmopolitanism. Section 1.1, **Kalergi's Pan-European Movement**, then concentrates on the early to mid-20th century political ideas of Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, which formed the ideological groundwork for the European Union. It focuses on his geopolitical notion of Eurafrica, his concept of a new culturally-united Europe led by a spiritual aristocracy, and his emphasis on a new European identity stripped of its distinct ethno-national characteristics. It contextualises these ideas in the climate of conflict between European nations at the time, particularly German-French hostilities, the rise of three competing political ideologies – liberal democracy, communism, and authoritarian nationalism – and perceived economic, cultural, and geopolitical threats from the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Section 1.2, **American Influence and Further Eurafrican Development, 1945-1970**, focuses on mid-20th century American intellectual support (the Harvard Committee of Experts) for the gradual development of a United States of Europe, and

financial aid in both covert (American Committee on United Europe) and overt (Marshall Plan) forms. This section also discusses the further development of European integration plans at this time, such as the institutionalisation of Eurafrica through the development of the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community.

Chapter 2, titled **The Fabian Society and the Frankfurt School**, discusses the history and influence of these two international socialist ideologies on European integration in the Twentieth Century. Section 2.1 **The Fabian Society** first outlines the historical development of the British-based Fabian Society. It then shows that Fabian socialism advocates a slow, non-violent, reformist and progressive step-by-step transformation of established society towards a new world order and world governance. It demonstrates that Fabianism seeks a quiet revolution initiated by the wealthy socialist classes and is intimately involved in the European Union, promoting the notions of Eurafrica and Euro-Mediterranean integration. Section 2.2 **The Frankfurt School** outlines the history of the German-based Frankfurt School, beginning with the Marxism of Fabian and Bolshevist influenced German philosopher Karl Korsch and then the development of Cultural Marxism and Critical Theory by European Marxists Georg Lukács, Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Antonio Gramsci, and Herbert Marcuse. It shows that the Frankfurt School, like the Fabian Society, is based on a socialist-capitalist alliance and emphasises a non-violent revolutionary socialist ideology that seeks the gradual gain of power via a destructive long march through the existing institutions and emphasis on a new proletariat: a coalition of Third World revolutionary racial movements and New Left/New Class opposition to the established order. Section 2.3 **Fabianism, Cultural Marxism, Pan-European Socialism, and The New Left** demonstrates that both Fabian socialism and cultural Marxism have been integral to the step-by-step transformation of Europe into a denationalised and

open European Union, the creation of the new European and world citizen, and the gradual development of a new world order based on cosmopolitan ideas of perpetual peace.

Chapter 3, titled **International and Geopolitical Developments** first shows that while Fabianism and Cultural Marxism were being entrenched into mainstream European society, the post WWII development of international institutions, such as the Atlantic Charter (1941), the United Nations, and the UDHR, institutionalised a new global order based on notions of a Western 'peace' that opened up European nations to large-scale non-European immigration. Section 3.1, **Middle-East Conflicts and Euro-Arab Cooperation, 1948-1979**, then demonstrates that in the Cold War context, events and conflicts in the Middle East, such as the creation of Israel (1948), Pan-Islamism, the Suez Crisis (1956), the Six Day War (1967), the Yom Kippur War (1973), and the OPEC and OAPEC initiated oil crisis (1973-1974), had direct bearing on European integration. Particular focus is spent on the European Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation (PAEAC) and the Euro-Arab Dialogue (1974), which have promoted cultural, political, and economic cooperation between the Arab world and Europe, and more importantly, imported Muslim migrants and Islam into the European Union.

Section 3.2, **Euro-Arab Cooperation and Integration, 1985-21st Century**, analyses various official agreements, treaties, regulations, and other documents related to the development of the EU and its policies on refugees, immigrants, and external border control. This includes: the Schengen Agreement (1985/1990), the Maastricht Treaty (1991/2009), the Maastricht Treaty on European Union (TEU, 1992), the official establishment of the European Union in 1993 and its enlargement and reform into the early 21st century, the Dublin Convention (1990), the Dublin Regulation (2003/2013), the Edinburgh Agreement (1992), the External Frontiers Convention (1993), the Amsterdam Treaty (1999), and the development of the EU integrated border management agency, Frontex (2004). It also analyses various

documents and further developments in Euro-Arab and Euro-Mediterranean economic, political, and cultural cooperation from the 1980s into the 21st century. This includes: the European Institute for Research on Mediterranean and Euro-Arab Co-operation (MEDEA, 1995), the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED), the Barcelona Declaration (1995), the Mediterranean Development Assistance program (MEDA), the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue of Cultures (2004), the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP, 2004), the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI, 2014), the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM, 2008), and the further promotion Eurafrica through such bodies as the Pan-African Programme. This section also briefly discusses the 2016 EU Global Strategy on foreign and security policy involving the further political-economic integration of Europe into a centralised European superstate (2016).

Part II, titled **Deep Ideological Currents**, is divided into three chapters that identify and provide a critical examination of four ideologies that have been essential to the creation of the present form of the European Union: cosmopolitanism, social liberalism, neoliberalism, and neoconservatism. The main questions I address are:

- How have these ideologies influenced the present form of the European Union today?
- How, in particular, has cosmopolitanism influenced the erasure of European ethno-national identities?

Chapter 4, titled **Original to New Cosmopolitanism, and a Critique,** begins with an overall definition of cosmopolitanism. Section 4.1 **Cosmopolitanism** first provides a brief overview of early cosmopolitan thought, from the ancient Greeks to the Stoics, and then provides a detailed description of the cosmopolitan ideals of Immanuel Kant, particular his notion of a world federation in perpetual peace. This section then examines the contemporary cosmopolitanism of Jürgen Habermas, Martha Nussbaum, and William Kymlicka, and investigates the role these ideologies have had on the political, social, and ethnic

transformation of Europe, such as: the progressive undermining of traditional theories, social and political structures, and ethno-national identities, and the strong emphasis on global processes such as transnationalism, mass-migration, global solidarity, and mass culture.

Section 4.2, **Critique of Cosmopolitanism,** first queries Kantian cosmopolitanism, particularly his non-interference framework and cosmopolitan right in relation to contemporary international developments. It then critiques the cosmopolitanism of Habermas: the decoupling of European majority ethnic groups from their ethno-cultural political identities; the promotion of global immigration into Europe; the attempt to overturn national self-determination and the plurality of sovereign-states by universal principles of right; and the insistence that European nations must be transformed into ethnically diverse constitutional liberal democracies. In then assesses contemporary cosmopolitanism in general, discussing its utopian, elitist, and Western-centric character, the development of neoliberal multinational corporate global cities divorced from the nation-state, and the undermining of the middle and working classes. This section also examines the creation of a new cosmopolitan socialist-capitalist class, its dependence on cheap Third World labour, its Marxist fixation on transforming the world according to socialist ideals and universalist values, its inability to understand historical, traditional, and local (particular) forms of existence, and its major logical inconsistencies re cosmopolitan belonging and identity that result in mental health problems. This section ends with a critical assessment of the cosmopolitanism propounded by Kymlicka, specifically his liberal multiculturalism that, on the one hand, promotes minority group rights, while on the other, does not grant majority group rights for European ethnic groups.

Chapter 5, titled **Liberalism: Classical to Neoliberal,** begins with a brief definition of Liberalism. Section 5.1, **Classical Liberalism**, discusses the main principles and ideals of Enlightenment or classical liberalism as propounded by such notable figures as John Locke,

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Adam Smith, including their notions of a blank slate, the noble savage, human perfectibility and progress, equality and freedom, the wealth of nations and the invisible hand, free market capitalism, and limited government. Section 5.2, **Modern, Social, or New Liberalism**, demonstrates that social or new liberalism has roots in the late 19th century, particularly in Marx's theories of historical materialism and the end of capitalism, and arose proper in response to the 1930s Great Depression. It clarifies that the main differences between classical and social liberalism and explains that social liberals, particularly sociologists and Fabian social theorists, have applied social science methods (social engineering) to exact social reforms in an effort to make European societies more liberal. Finally, this chapter examines moral authority and judgments in terms of new liberal relativism and emotivism.

Section 5.3, **Neoliberalism,** explains that neoliberalism arose in the 1970s as a response to the failures of social liberalism. It examines the economic basis of neoliberalism – economic deregulation, privatization, and reduced funding for social services, and provides both domestic and international level critiques of neoliberalism. This critique includes the transfer of political power from the political authority of the state to the economy and judiciary; the control of the economy, and by extension society and local politics, by corporations and a small wealthy elite; the debt and dependency that is incurred from the interventionist and coercive opening of foreign markets to the capitalist world economy; and the increasing power of transnational corporations and the international financial elite over the global economy and life itself.

Chapter 6, titled **Conservatism: Classical to Neoconservative,** first provides a brief definition of Conservatism. Section 6.1, **Paleo-Conservatism**, explains that classical conservatism arose as a response to the universalism of progressive liberal social development during the Enlightenment. It shows that conservatives at this time, such as Alexis de Tocqueville, Jacob Burkhardt, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, and Friedrich Nietzsche, were

concerned with the progressive rationalisation of the human spirit, the emergence of bureaucratisation and tyranny from democracy and liberal despotism, and the moral vacuity, standardization, and decadence arising from materialism and the conquest of all earthly things. It then consults three modern and contemporary conservative thinkers, Kieron O'Hara, Russell Kirk, and Keith Feiling to explain that conservatives reject the abstract reasoning of Enlightenment progress and liberal individualism because they are not ground in concrete historical experience and knowledge or evidence based policies, and tend towards mediocracy, despotism, and oligarchy. Conservatives instead emphasise practical reasoning, non-interventionism, human fallibility, natural differences, the limits of knowledge, the continuity of social institutions, the longevity of peoples as socially and politically bound human beings, and organic, gradual, and rigorously evaluated social change.

Section 6.2 **Neoconservatism,** first provides a detailed analysis of the birth of neoconservatism in America after WWII. It explains that leading liberal democratic intellectuals in the 1960s, such as Norman Podhoretz, Sydney Hook, Daniel Bell, and Irving Kristol (the New York intellectuals) were skeptical of the ability of social scientists and government to shape American society. Influenced by the moral philosophy of Leo Strauss and the foreign policies of Henry Jackson, and responding to the failures of New Deal reforms (Roosevelt), the Great Society programs (Lyndon B. Johnson), and the undermining influences of Frankfurt School social liberalism, they became first generation neoconservatives in the 1970s and 80s, supporting limited government, the aggressive spread of neoliberal economic policies, and democratic foreign interventionism. An intensified aggressive neoconservative foreign policy arose at the turn of the century associated with second generation neoconservatives, such as Bill Kristol and Robert Kagan, their Project for a New American Century (PNAC, 1997), and what is known as the 1992 Wolfowitz doctrine, which influenced the post 9/11 Bush Doctrine. This

Doctrine, rooted in Democratic Peace Theory and the notion of the 'end of history', has advocated pre-emptive war and the use of military might to achieve American global leadership, spread American freedom and democracy, and prevent any potential or actual rivals arising as a global superpower to challenge American hegemony. This section ends with a brief critique of neoconservatism, as served by Jonathan Clarke, Stefan Halper, John McGowan, Joe Klein, Pat Buchanan, John J. Mearsheimer, Stephen M. Walt, Andrew Sullivan, Paul Gottfried, Thomas Fleming, Russell Kirk, and Samuel Francis.

Part III, titled **Demographics: Immigration and Islam,** is divided into four chapters that critically examine immigrant demographics, political Islam, and European opposition to these trends in the European Union. It provides detailed profiles of five European countries: Belgium, the UK, France, Sweden, and Germany. The main questions I endeavour to answer are:

- Why have many European Union member states, particular Western European countries, undergone rapid demographic change by initiating non-European mass-immigration into their nations?
- What are the main reasons for immigration into the EU?
- What are the net migration levels into the EU and European nations per year?
- How large are the foreign and non-European immigrant populations in the EU and European nations?
- What are their overall ethnic and demographic characteristics?
- More specifically, what are the demographic characteristics of the Muslim populations in Europe?
- What is Islam and what is Islamism?
- How does Islamism challenge the security and culture of European nations?

Chapter 7, titled **Immigration: EU and Five Country Profiles,** first provides a brief overall account of the growth of non-European ethnic immigrant populations and communities in the EU over the last few decades. This includes the main reasons why immigration has become a permanent fixture for the EU; a brief statistical analysis of the reasons why people migrate to the EU; the increase in net migration levels since the 1980s; the size of the foreign-born and post-war first and second generation immigrant populations; the median age of immigrants compared to Europeans; and why and when indigenous Europeans are predicted to become a

demographic minority, particularly in Western European countries. In addition to the history, source countries, and reasons for immigration, the chapter then provides a statistical analysis of immigration and national demographics in five key European nations: Belgium, the UK, France, Sweden, and Germany. This includes total fertility rates of the national populations and their problems with ageism; population growth through net migration; net migration levels from the 1960s into the present day; residency permits by type of reason; the size of the foreign-born and non-European foreign-born populations and their ethnic characteristics in relation to the native populations; the top non-European source countries of immigrants as well as their percentage, numbers, and amount of under 30 year-olds compared to the same age group in the native population; and, where applicable, the cities where natives are now demographic minorities or quickly becoming minorities, and the estimated timeframe when natives will become minorities, as a whole, within their own homelands.

Chapter 8, titled **Islam and Islamism,** first provides a brief account of the origin of Islam, its military expansion and conquest of Christian and European lands, and its de-politicisation by the rise of the West in the modern era. It then describes the revival of political Islam in the Twentieth Century, particularly through Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna and leader Sayyid Qutb, as well as its influence on the establishment of militant Islamist movements such as the Taliban, al Qaeda, and ISIS. With reference to experts and analysts, such as Alex Alexiev, Lorenzo Vidino, Thomas Butko, and Bassam Tibi, this chapter provides definitions of the terms Islamism, Jihadism, radicalisation, and terrorism, describes the rationale and objectives of Islamists, and explains the difference between violent, non-violent, and participationist Islamists, including their methods and types of activities. It suggests that Islamism represents a Gramscian counter-hegemonic ideology and movement against the power structures of the West and the neoconservative/neoliberal world order. It also provides

examples and a discussion on leading Islamist documents, counter-elites, organizations, movements, networks, and channels of operation in Europe, including the use of irregular migrant networks to clandestinely enter Europe.

Chapter 9, titled **Muslim Immigration: EU and Five Country Profiles,** begins by demonstrating that immigration into Europe has been predominately from Muslim majority countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East since the 1960s. It provides the size of the Muslim population in the largest cities in the European Union and various estimates on their growth in Europe and the EU as a whole. It also contrasts Sharia Law with European rule of law, briefly details the rise of official Sharia Courts, Councils, and Tribunals in Europe over the last decade, discusses the growth of Muslim enclaves and problem neighbourhoods, and deliberates on White flight and Jewish flight, including Aliyah, as a response to the rapid growth of Muslim immigrant populations, Islamist terrorism, and Muslim anti-Europeanism and anti-Semitism in Europe. This chapter also provides a detailed analysis of Muslim immigration and demographics in five European countries. It specifically focuses on Muslim low educational levels, high welfare consumption, high unemployment rates, and their over-representation in penal statistics compared to both national and other immigrant groups. It also provides examples of Islamist organizations and political parties and an analysis of Muslim radicalisation, recruitment, methods, and channels, and European anti-radicalisation efforts.

Chapter 10, titled **In Statistics: Muslim Fundamentalism and European Opposition,** demonstrates, through statistical analysis, that there is significant support for radical Islam by Muslims in Europe, including support for terrorist acts and suicide bombings, as well as widespread Islamist fundamentalism, such as support for sharia law, the face veil, and death for apostasy. This chapter also demonstrates that since the late 1980s various polls, surveys, and government reports have consistently shown a majority opposition by European publics to

Muslim enclaves, political Islam, and large scale population and other changes brought about by global mass-immigration into Europe in general.

Part IV, titled **The 2015/2016 Migrant Crisis in Europe**, is divided into three chapters that provide a critical analysis of the migrant crisis in Europe. It endeavours to answer 3 main questions:

- What is the migrant crisis and how did it occur?
- What are the demographic characteristics of the migrant crisis?
- What challenges has it, as well as immigration in general, brought for European nations and the EU as a whole and what are the short and long term costs?

Chapter 11, titled **Asylum, Migrant Demographics, and International Responses,** first discusses illegal immigration into the EU, the source countries and numbers, and the increasing use of the Mediterranean Sea since the 1990s for clandestine entry. Section 11.1 **European Asylum Law, the EU-Turkey Agreement, and the Migrant Crisis as Boon** then defines various aspects of Asylum Law, such as internally displaced persons (IDP), asylum seekers, refugees and their rights and freedoms, Refugee Status Determination (RSD), subsidiary protection, safe country of origin, safe third country, and the EU Dublin Regulation. It also assesses violations of Dublin Regulation rules committed by irregular migrants, border officials, and EU elites and discusses the temporary suspension of the Schengen agreement, the rejection, by African source countries, of readmission deals, the intentions, conditions, and deficiencies of the EU-Turkey agreement, and the reform of the Dublin System. Using demographic data of recent asylum seekers and first and second generation non-European immigrants, it critically assesses elite arguments to use the migrant crisis to solve economic and demographic issues in Europe.

Section 11.2, **Migrant Nationalities, Numbers, and Routes,** provides an analysis of the source countries and numbers of documented irregular migrant arrivals to Europe in 2015/2016, particularly Mediterranean Sea arrivals to Greece and Italy, as well as maps of the various land and sea routes into Europe. It clarifies that the vast majority (over 90%) of

irregular migrants have come from Muslim majority countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, many of which are safe or safe third countries, and suggests that the European migrant crisis reflects a mass exodus of young Muslim men into Europe. This section also addresses issues regarding the identification of asylum seekers, including the lack of identity documents, the purposeful discarding of papers, and the pervasive use of fake passports and other IDs. It discusses how these issues create difficulties in the processing of asylum requests and the deportation of groundless asylum seekers. It also discusses the various security problems associated with these identification issues as well as the large-scale disappearance of asylum seekers from their state-provided accommodations.

Section 11.3, **Most Asylum Seekers are Young Muslim Males: Three Possible Reasons,** provides three explanations, along with challenges to these accounts, as to why the overwhelming majority of asylum seekers and irregular migrants to Europe in 2015/2016 are young Muslim males. The reasons are, briefly, 1) the journey to Europe is too dangerous for women and young children to make; 2) perceived economic opportunities in Europe; and 3) an Islamist invasion and/or Muslim demographic conquest. The first reason includes an analysis of the right of Third Country Nationals, including refugees, to family life as stated by various asylum laws, human rights, and the family reunification directive. The second reason includes an analysis of the benefits of asylum application for illegal economic immigrants, as well as various constraints to deportation, such as human rights, reluctant countries of origin to receive deportees, and/or lack of verifiable identification. It also discusses the types of illegal work available, the benefits illegal workers have for employers, and the granting of amnesty, residency permits, and naturalisation of illegal immigrants in Europe. The third reason includes an analysis of the clandestine entry into Europe of ISIS militants, as well as migrant sympathy for ISIS, asylum seeker violence, lack of identity documents, use of fake identity documents,

mass sexual assaults (sex jihad), and the large-scale disappearances of asylum seekers from reception centers. It also includes an analysis of non-violent Islamism, Islamic fundamentalism, Muslim no-go zones, demographic trends, demographic conquest, and Muslim chain migration.

Section 11.4, **Migrant Crisis and Muslim Countries,** discusses how Muslim countries have responded to the predominantly Muslim migrant crisis, with a critical focus on Turkey. It analyses how Turkey is a key American ally and central player to overthrow the Syrian regime of President Bashar al-Assad while having an open-door policy for Syrian refugees. It explains that Turkey is a central transition country whereby irregular migrants do not opt to stay and instead travel through it to reach Europe. It also discusses the attempt by Turkey to shame Europe to accept more asylum seekers, its use of asylum seekers as economic and political weapons to blackmail Europe, and the support of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan for the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, as well as the recreation of the Ottoman Empire through conquest, which includes the conquest of Spain, Austria, and the Balkans.

Chapter 12, titled **Criminal Aspects and Costs of the Migrant Crisis,** begins by addressing the major security risks in terms of human smuggling gangs and Islamists. Section 12.1, **Migrant Crime**, consults official reports, statements, and news articles to examine migrant crimes in various European nations, including the number and types of crime committed, migrant-on-migrant crime, and migrant crime against European natives and citizens. It spends particular focus on migrant sex crimes, especially a new type of crime - mass-sexual assault - in Germany during New Year's Eve (2015) and other European nations. It ends with a brief examination of statements and reports by top German police officials and others on this new crime, on the increasingly aggressive attacks by migrants on authorities and societal values, and the reign of the German criminal underworld by Arab clans and African gangs. Section 12.2, **Costs,** details the actual and estimated costs of the migrant crisis in

Europe. It specifies the financial costs of EU border controls and development, of EU Emergency and humanitarian aid to various European countries, and of EU international aid and funding to foreign countries, international organizations, and NGO's. It provides details on the types of economic costs for individual European nations, such as internal and external border controls, extra police and law enforcement resources and initiatives, and various short- and long-term costs, including the processing of applicants and deportation, and the provision of basic needs, social and integration programs, lawyers, translators, transportation, and education for both minors and adults. It also provides a discussion of other economic costs, such as on the environment, local businesses, and tourism, and various social and security costs for Europeans, such as migrant crime, the rise in terrorism, the safety of females (and males), civil unrest, and the increased possibility of civil war.

Chapter 13, titled **A Critique of Elite Reactions to Migrant Sex Crimes and Terrorism**, first details the response of the police, the mainstream media, EU bureaucrats and other elites to the 2015 New Year's Eve mass-sexual assaults in Germany. Section 13.1, **Migrant Sex Crimes: Non-Disclosure, Blaming Victims, and Sexual Jihad,** then analyses and provides an explanation of elite denials about the refugee/asylum seeker/migrant character of the crimes, the blaming of the victims, the "Lying Press", and the political censorship of media and police reporting on migrant crimes. It provides examples of similar responses to migrant sex crimes in other countries, such as Sweden and Britain. It discusses why such crimes are a new type of phenomena in Europe and provides a brief analysis of the consistent over-representation of foreign-born immigrants from the Middle East – North Africa (MENA) region in European rape statistics. It also examines how such crimes have been blamed on the victims and led to behavioural changes, and why some feminist views that hold that the mass-sexual assaults were orchestrated by Islamists as a weapon of war – a sexual jihad – against Europeans and

European civilization. Section 13.2, **Paris and Brussels Terrorist Attacks**, then critically analyses and challenges mainstream elite responses to the recent (November 2015 and March 2016) terrorist attacks. It begins by clarifying statements by leading European elites that declare a decades long fight against ISIS and Islamic terrorism in Europe. It then examines various expert reports and statements on why Muslim radicalism and terrorism exist in Europe and the various integration and counter-radicalism efforts that have implemented over the last decade. It argues that these costly strategies have failed to prevent the rapid rise of Muslim no-go zones, radicalism, and terrorism in Europe. Referring to various sources of evidence, the chapter challenges mainstream arguments that attempt to explain why Muslim radicalism and terrorism exist in Europe. It explains that a significant number of Muslim immigrants in Europe support Islamic fundamentalism and do not want to integrate, that Muslim extremism is a global phenomenon found in Muslim and non-Muslim countries and targets Westernized-Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and suggests revenge is a central motivating factor behind Muslim radicalism in Europe.

PART V, titled **Critical Views,** is divided into two chapters that provide a critical assessment of the main themes and ideologies covered in this dissertation. The main questions I intend to answer are:

- How have all of the developments discussed in this dissertation – historical, ideological, and demographic – affected the demographic and political majority status, as well as the well-being, sovereignty, right to self-determination, and longevity of European indigenous peoples in their own homelands?
- How do human rights, indigenous rights, and the convention on the prevention of genocide apply to European indigenous peoples in this context?

Chapter 14, titled **An Analysis and Critique of Three Neoconservative Views,** provides a detailed evaluation of Muslim immigration, Islamism, multiculturalism, and Left-wing ideologies in the EU presented by neoconservative authors Bat Ye'or, Melanie Phillips, and Bruce Bawer. It begins with an overview and assessment of the Eurabia thesis as presented by neoconservative

historian Ye'or, which is a central neoconservative view on Europe. Section 14.1, **Bat Ye'or,** provides a critical examination and refutation of some central arguments presented by Ye'or on Euro-Mediterranean integration, on the 1973 oil embargo, on the Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD), on political alliances against Israel and America, on the religious foundation of European civilization, and actions of Israel and America in relation to Islamic terrorism. It also critiques Ye'or's minimal, if non-existent, arguments on how the EAD, Islamism, large-scale immigration, and the imposed white-guilt complex in Europe negatively affects the ethnic identity and well-being of Europeans.

Section 14.2, **Melanie Phillips,** begins with a brief overview of the main arguments leveled against Islamism and Leftism by British neoconservative Melanie Phillips in her books *Londonistan* (2006) and *The World Turned Upside Down: The Global Battle over God, Truth, and Power* (2010). It then provides a critical examination and refutation of some of her central arguments, such as on Islamist aggression, mass non-European immigration, Western and American hegemony, ethno-nationalism, the origins of European Leftism, and an Israel-West neoconservative alliance against Islam and Leftism. It also critiques Phillips' lack of discussion on the impact these developments have had on the ethnic interests and identity of Europeans. Section 14.3, **Bruce Bawer,** begins with a brief overview and assessment of the main critiques against Islamism and Leftism by American neoconservative Bruce Bawer in his book *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within* (2006). It then provides a critical examination and refutation of some of his central arguments, particularly on American superiority and hegemony, the war on terror, Islamisation, violent Islam, ethno-nationalism, democracy, American assimilationism, and European multiculturalism. It also critiques his lack of discussion on pivotal influences on post WWII developments leading to Eurabia, such as Pan-European socialism, Fabianism, and cultural Marxism and his failure to comprehend that in

addition to Islamism, Leftism, and Muslim immigration, liberal individualism, American neoconservative global supremacy, and non-European mass-immigration are destructive to ethnic European peoples, traditions, and institutions.

Chapter 15, titled **European Demographic and Political Decline: Is It Genocide?** first clarifies in Section 15.1, **International Laws and Definitions,** the aim and basis of the European Union, and defines self-determination, discrimination, persecution, genocide, and indigenous rights. In Section 15.2, **Political and Demographic Engineering in Europe,** these laws, rights, and legal terms are applied, in an effort of assessment, to various aspects of the EU cosmopolitan project**.** This section argues that the artificial creation of an ethnically diverse cosmopolitan open society dismisses the will of European peoples, generates adverse conditions for Europeans in their own homelands, and violates numerous international laws that serve to protect the rights of distinct ethnic peoples from any form of genocide. Consulting the research of several scholars and experts on demography and ethnicity, it argues that European demographic and political decline is being purposely accelerated through the elite EU project, which includes the unbundling of European ethnic groups from their ethno-cultural political identities and traditional institutions, and the systematic and enforced large-scale programs of non-European mass-immigration. It explains that because of the democratic principle of majority rule based on a political majority changes to the ethnic and political compositions and structures of European populations and nations have tipped existing power relations at the local and even national levels in favour of the political demands of new proletarian non-European immigrants and pro-immigrant open-border Leftists. Using examples, it shows that non-European immigrants with strong anti-European identities (Third World oppositionists and Islamists) are politically aligning with anti-European Leftists to oppose and undermine European demographic majority rule and national homeland sovereignty. It also

shows that these groups, as well as EU elites, use immigration and the recent flows of irregular migrants into Europe, as well as discriminatory measures, hate propaganda, and exclusionary ideologies that condemn indigenous Europeans who oppose their goals, to elicit regime change in Europe. It further argues that according to the logic of Power Transition Theory (PTT) the EU cosmopolitan project has increased the likelihood of civil war in Europe. This chapter ends with a brief summary of critical comments and conclusive statements on the dissertation as a whole.

Part I

Central Influences on the Formation of the European Union

1. Early European Integration

In the 18th and 19th centuries, after constant conflict between European nations, notions of Perpetual Peace, cosmopolitanism, European confederation, and World federalism became increasingly popular among the cultural and political elites on both sides of the Atlantic. These ideas essentially influenced European integration in the Twentieth century. One of the most prominent initial ideas for European integration was the notion of a United States of Europe. George Washington (1732-1799), the first president of the United States of America, supported the idea[13]. In a letter to Marquis de LaFayette, he wrote that "One day, taking its pattern from the United States, there will be founded the United States of Europe"[14]. In 1849, at the third International Peace Conference in Paris, a notable French Romantic, the poet, novelist, and dramatist Victor Hugo (1802-1885), echoed these sentiments, saying that

> A day will come when all nations on our continent will form a European brotherhood… A day will come when we shall see…the United States of America and the United States of Europe face to face, reaching out for each other across the seas[15].

Meanwhile, in 1756 a European integration plan based on disarmament and peace titled *A Project for Perpetual Peace* had been outlined by French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), who wrote that "[i]t is not possible...that the confederacy being once established, that any seeds of hostility can remain amongst the confederates"[16]. His work was based on

[13] Cooper, *Patriotic Pacifism,* 15.
[14] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "A Parliament for Europe," 401.
[15] Ibid, 401.
[16] Rousseau, *A Project for Perpetual Peace,* 26.

Abbe de Saint Pierre's *Project for a Perpetual Peace (1713)* who greatly desired European federation in the context of international peace[17]. The work of Saint Pierre also influenced many others, including renowned German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804).

Less than thirty years after the publication of Rousseau's perpetual peace essay, Kant published his essay "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Aim" (1784), a pretext to his famous essay "Toward Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" (1795). In the former essay he explained that the conflict of interests, or Hobbesian state of nature, between individuals and nations was what drove human progress and would, through cooperation, mutual recognition, and self-discipline, lead to a future cosmopolitan ideal, a federation of states in perpetual peace[18]. In the latter essay, the basis for this peace included three principles or Definitive Articles he outlined in Section Two:

- The civil constitution of every state should be republican
- The law of nations shall be founded on a federation of free states
- The law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality[19].

Signalling the trend in 18th century philosophical ideations of perpetual peace, the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham suggested in part IV of his *Principles of International Law* (1786–89) titled "A Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace", that disarmament, arbitration, and the renunciation of colonies would produce a lasting peace, proposals also found in Kant's Preliminary Articles outlined in Section One of his "Toward Perpetual Peace"[20].

In the 19th and early 20th centuries peace movements and cosmopolitanism became prevalent in Britain and America. Anti-war organizations sprang up in 1815-1816 and evolved into the London and American Peace Societies, which aimed at gradual disarmament. Cosmopolitanism in early 20th century America went further, focusing on racial equality, liberal

[17] John T. Hamilton, *Security,* 203.
[18] Ellis, "Dualism and Progress in Kant and Nietzsche."
[19] Kant, *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*.
[20] Bentham, "A Plan for an Universal and Perpetual Peace."

immigration, and a universal national identity. Organizations based on anti-discrimination, pro-immigration, and anti-nationalism were established, such as the American Liberal Progressive Movement (1905) and the Immigrant Protective Association (1908). Several European organisations in the early 20th century openly supported the notion of a United States of Europe, such as the British Quaker pacifists (1910), the National Peace League (1911), and the European Unity League (1913). Cosmopolitanism also drove academic pressure groups to attack "the nationalist canon", such as the British Union of Democratic Control (UDC, 1914)[21]. During the interwar period cosmopolitan books written by the UDC were "derisive of nationalist shibboleths" and could be found in English and American universities[22].

1.1 Kalergi's Pan-European Movement

Anti-national, cosmopolitan, and liberal progressive notions of a peaceful and united Europe soon coalesced into a socialist and geopolitical project in the interwar era (post WWI) called the Pan-European movement, founded in 1922 by Count Richard Nikolas Eijiro von Coudenhove-Kalergi (from here on, Kalergi). Kalergi (1894-1972) was an Austro-Hungarian cosmopolitan geopolitician and philosopher[23]. His mother, Mitsuko Aoyama, was a wealthy Japanese woman, and his father, Heinrich, was a Bohemian noble, coming from a family of mixed European heritage (Flemish, Czech, Austrian, Hungarian, and Greek) and a long line of nobility (800 year old oligarchical family). Kalergi wrote numerous books and articles about European integration over his lifetime. His first book was titled *Adel* (1922), translated as *Nobility*; this work, along with *Pazifismus* (1924), was the basis for his book *Praktischer Idealismus: Adel–Technik–Pazifismus* or *Practical Idealism: Nobility–Technique–Pacifism* (1925).

[21] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective" 377.
[22] Ibid, 377.
[23] Gusejnova, *European Elites,* 85

It was these books, along with his 1922 article "Pan-Europa – A Proposal" and his book *Pan-Europa* (1923), that marked the beginning of the Pan European movement. His monthly journal *Paneuropa* (1924-1938) and books, *The Fight for Paneuropa* (1925-1928, three volumes) and *Europa Erwacht* (*Europe Awakened*, 1934) among other works, further elaborated his exposition on European integration.

Kalergi is often considered the founding father of the European Union. He was the recipient of the first Charlemagne prize in 1950 and today the European Prize Coudenhove-Kalergi is awarded every two years to "leading personalities for their extraordinary commitment in the European unification process"[24]. In addition to the Coudenhove-Kalergi Prize, the Europe Square in Germany, a gold Euro coin, an Austrian peace monument and stamp, the European anthem (Beethoven, "Ode to Joy"), and a Viennese Park, honour and testify to Kalergi's legacy as a major figurehead in the integration process of Europe[25]. The Pan European movement continues to influence European unity to this day[26].

Some of Kalergi's main intellectual influences were Oswald Spengler, Rudolf Kjellen (a Swede who coined the term 'geopolitics' and influenced Hitler), Arthur Schopenhauer, and Friedrich Nietzsche. A vital inspiration to his Pan-European ideology came from the Austrian noble prize laureate, freemason[27], and pacifist, Alfred Hermann Fried, who founded the

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[24] In 2006 this prize was awarded to the President of Latvia, Vaira Vike-Freiberga; in 2010 it was awarded to Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel (recipient of the Charlemagne prize in 2008); and in 2012 it was awarded to the President of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy. See Herman Van Rompuy, "Acceptance Speech."

[25] See Chard (1964) Limited (GB); "Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi - Stock Editorial Photography," *Depositphotos.com*; *Wikimedia*, s.v. "Plaque commemorating Count Richard Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi," http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gedenktafel_ Richard_Coudenhove_Kalergi.jpg (accessed October 2014); *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Europa-Platz - Coudenhove-Kalergi in Klosterneuburg, Austria," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Nikolaus_von_Coudenhove-Kalergi#mediaviewer/File:E%C5%A Dropo-placo_C-K.JPG (accessed October 2014); *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Coudenhove-Park at Hietzing, Vienna," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_ Nikolaus_ von_Coudenhove-Kalergi#mediaviewer/File:Coudenhove-Park.Hofpavillon.U4 hietzing.A.JPG (accessed October 2014).

[26] See ePanEurope, "The PanEuropaean Union."

[27] Kalergi himself became a freemason at the Masonic Lodge Humanitas in the same year and place he founded the Pan-European movement (1922 Vienna), yet in 1926, after reaching several degrees, he left the lodge to supposedly avoid criticism of his Pan-European movement being associated with freemasonry.

German Peace Society and wrote '*PanAmerika*', which allowed for the preservation of national identity (1910)[28]. Yet Kalergi was a staunch anti-nationalist and supported the creation of a New World Order based on a federation of federations. The integration of Europe, a PanEuropa, was merely the *first step* towards this world government.

1.1.1 Historical and Political Context

Kalergi founded the Pan-European movement through 'grassroots organising'[29]; it was a movement that was intimately linked to the liberal progressive cosmopolitanism of the peace movements[30] and arose as a response to World War I. This war was partly the result of Germany's ascendancy to power in the 19th century, which altered the existing power status quo. Beginning in the 16th century and led by the English, European countries formed alliances in an attempt to collectivize self-defence and maintain peace. These pacts came to be known as the 'balance of powers' and sought to prevent one nation from achieving hegemony over Europe and creating a single Universal Monarchy. It required a repetitive changing of alliances to restrain any ambitions for dominance. After the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815 – the French military and political leader who was an influential figure in the French Revolution and had, through the Napoleonic Wars, established dominance throughout much of continental Europe – this balance of powers led to several arrangements between European nations to prevent further French aggression and maintain peace in Europe. These agreements included the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815)[31], which set the national boundaries in Europe and produced a loose agreement between the United Kingdom, Prussia, Russia, and Austria (the Quadruple Alliance) and later France (the Quintuple Alliance) called the Concert of Europe that

[28] Gehler, "From Paneurope to the Single Currency," 275.
[29] Kalergi campaigned by personally meeting with prospective members of the movement and conversing with them by letters, as well through his written works.
[30] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 378.
[31] See Tim Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna*.

aimed to preserve the political and territorial arrangements[32]. However, this balance of powers gradually eroded during the 19th century because of growing economic and political rivalries between European nations and was replaced by temporary and shifting alliances, such as the Triple Alliance (1882-1915) between Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary[33].

Prior to 1871 a federated nation called Germany did not yet exist, although Germans were the largest ethnic group at the time. On 18th January 1871, after Napoleon III of France declared war (1870) against Prussia and lost, 25 German states were formally integrated administratively and politically into the new nation-state of Germany called the German Reich (1871-1918). This German Empire, founded by the conservative Prussian statesman, Otto von Bismarck, was ruled by the King of Prussia (1861-1888), Wilhelm I of Prussia (1871-1888), who was officially made Emperor of Germany at the Versailles Palace's Hall of Mirrors in France[34]. By 1900 Germany had the largest economy in Europe, and by 1913 (along with America) its exports of steel dominated the world market, placing Britain in third place[35]. This meant that Germany had become a huge economic menace, and, as it developed its Imperial Navy (Kaiserliche Marine), which was seen by the British as a threat to their Royal Navy, it further altered the existing balance of powers in Europe. In 1907 France, Britain, and Russia formed an alliance called the Triple Entente to counter the Triple Alliance between Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. These two opposing groups of allies were central to the outbreak of WWI[36].

At the end of WWI, allied victors set the terms of peace for the defeated powers at the Paris Peace Conference (1919). This conference led to the development of an

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[32] *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Concert of Europe," https://www.britannica.com/event/Concert-of-Europe, (accessed October 2014).
[33] See: Richard F. Hamilton, "The European Wars: 1815-1914," 45-91; Langhorne, *The Collapse of the Concert of Europe*.
[34] Richard J. Evans, *Death in Hamburg,* 1; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Franco-German War," https://www.britannica.com/ event/Franco-German-War (accessed October 2014).
[35] See Robert C. Allen, "International Competition in Iron and Steel."
[36] *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Triple Alliance and Triple Entente," http://www.encyclopedia.com/ topic/Triple_Alliance_and_Triple_Entente.aspx (accessed October 2014); Weitsman, "The Franco-Russian Alliance."

intergovernmental organisation, the League of Nations, which was informed by Atlantic world federalism and peace movements. Drafts for the League of Nations were submitted by Britain (Phillimore Commission), America (President Woodrow Wilson[37]), and the South African and British Commonwealth statesman, Jan Smuts[38]. The final draft was signed by forty-four states on 28th June 1919 and the League of Nations was officially established on 10th January 1920. The League aimed at, among other things, peace by disarmament and international arbitration. However, during the early 1920s and 1930s Europe split into three divisive political ideologies that influenced European relations for decades to come: liberal democracy (France and Britain), communism (Russia, who split from Europe in 1917 signified by the Bolshevik revolution), and authoritarian nationalism or fascism (Italy and Germany).

In this European climate of war, fascism, "nationalistic pretensions", and hostility between Germany and France[39] Kalergi wrote that

> Europe as a political concept does not exist. The part of the world with that name covers peoples and States in chaos, a powder keg of international conflicts, the breeding ground of future conflicts. This is the European Question: the mutual hatred of Europeans for each other poisons the international atmosphere and is a perpetual worry to even the most peace-loving countries of the world...The European Question will be resolved only by the union of the peoples of Europe. This will come about either voluntarily, by the construction of a pan-European federation or coercively by Russian conquest….The greatest obstacle to the realisation of the United States of Europe is the thousand year rivalry between the two most populous nations of Pan-Europe: Germany and France[40].

Hostilities between France and Germany had a long history[41] but were greatly inflamed after the defeat of Germany in WWI. France sent colonial troops numbering between 20,000 and

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[37] Wilson was also the author of the famous 'fourteen points', a statement of peace principles used to negotiate the end of World War One. See Lillian Goldman Law Library, "President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points."
[38] David Hunter Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant*; Schmidt, "The League of Nations."
[39] Villanueva, "Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europa," 67.
[40] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "'Pan-Europe', 1923," 7-8.
[41] As evidenced by the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, the French revolution and the rise of French nationalism (late 1700s), the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683) and the Great Turkish War (1683-1699), which the French used to attack southern Germany with a 'scorched earth policy' and burn and level as many as twenty villages and towns, the collapse of the Carolingian empire and the resulting split of the Frankish state into France and Germany both ruled by Charlemagne's grandsons, and Clovis I, the first French King who united the Franks. See Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV,* 198.

45,000[42] from Madagascar, West Africa, Morocco, and Algeria to occupy the German Rhineland, a position that was considered by the Germans (and other Europeans) as the "Black horror on the Rhine"[43]. The occupation by Black soldiers was considered an affront to German identity and culture because Blacks were considered as "unreliable savages who posed great danger, especially for the German female and juvenile population"[44]. The German president at the time, Friedrich Ebert stated that "the deployment of coloured troops of the most inferior culture as overseers of a population of such high spiritual and economic importance as the Rhinelanders is an intolerable violation of the law of European civilization"[45]. Yet this was just one of the first among many assaults that were to come that targeted German ethnic identity in the Twentieth century. In fact, race became a central factor of European relations, not just between France and Germany[46], but also between European liberal cosmopolitanism and those that opposed this political ideology.

1.1.2 Ideology

Kalergi perceived the interwar period as a vital time to prevent another Great War and the destruction of European and Western civilization. He felt that Europe was endangered by European ethnonationalism, particularly National Socialism, as well as the "Bolshevik danger"[47] and an American "economic and cultural threat"[48]. He thought it was a time of choice between "integration or collapse", between "perpetual war or perpetual peace" and warned of a "future

[42] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 446.
[43] Ibid, 444.
[44] Ibid, 446.
[45] Ebert, *Schriften, Aufzeichnungen, Reden*, 290, quoted in Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 446.
[46] Nelson, "The 'Black Horror on the Rhine'," 606-627.
[47] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 638.
[48] Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 70.

war" that could see American and Soviet powers taking over Europe[49]. His remedy for these ills and forebodings was a Pan-Europe aimed toward peace.

There were three main reasons a Pan-Europe was imperative for Kalergi and his supporters: political, cultural, and economic-geopolitical. The political reasons aimed at peace, at "prevent[ing] a repetition of the First World War" and the defence of Europe against Bolshevism[50]. The cultural reasons were embedded in an "argument for civilization", which held that "Europe was a spiritual unity owning a specific Weltanschauung"[51], and were motivated by the "real protection of minorities and real equality between the nations of Europe"[52]. The economic reasons focused on "European free trade or European customs union" and stemmed from a desire to "prevent economic ruin" in the face of strong US and Soviet Russia economies. These latter economies had grown due to their continental organization, but in comparison, as it was politically divided and suffered from trade barriers, Europe had weaker economic might[53]. European economic, cultural and political integration into a Pan-Europa would thus enable it "to regain its place as a dominant power on a par with the others"[54]. In other words, Kalergi envisioned a united Europe that would protect and strengthen European economic and political powers at the geopolitical level and enable Europe to be of equal strength to Soviet Russia, the British Commonwealth, and the United States of America, a sort of international balance of powers.

Europe as a world power related to Kalergi's vision, shared by many of his contemporaries and having roots in the distant past, of a "future world federation of

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[49] PanEuropa, "History: Pan-Europa,"; Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan Europe,* 116, quoted in Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 72.
[50] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 448.
[51] Ibid, 448.
[52] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 639.
[53] Ibid, 638-639.
[54] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 448.

humanity"[55]. He clarifies the essential aim of the Pan European movement in his book *Pan-Europa* (1923):

> if world organisation is to take the place of world anarchy then the first step must be for the states to form themselves into super-states…so the unification of Europe will be a necessary state on the road to a united humanity[56].

Writing in 1931, he further elaborated this goal: "The great aim…is to make European boundaries invisible" which will lead to European peace and prosperity, conditions that are necessary for the defence of Western civilization and the creation of "the real universal State", a future where "nationalism on a narrow basis" has been replaced by a "patriotism for large areas of the world" and where the "Atlantic brotherhood" has paved the way to "the future federation of humanity"[57]. A unified Europe without national boundaries was a first step towards the cosmopolitan federation of the world.

In order to realise a federated Europe and a world federation, Kalergi suggested that the League of Nations be modelled as a "federation of federations" and that the European Union be modelled after the original League of Nations, a "federation of states", something that Aristide Briand, a leading statesman of France, had already been working on. This "federation of federations" would be based on the division of the world into five political blocs, or what Kalergi termed "the five great parts of the world – the British Commonwealth, Pan-America, Pan-Europe, Eastern Asia, and the Soviet Union". These five blocs in a 'federation of federations' would enable a "balance of power in the world", a necessary arrangement to "prevent any one part of the world from obtaining hegemony over another". So, the first step towards creating a world federation was the federation of European states that would represent a third collaborative Atlantic power (on par with the British Commonwealth and with

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[55] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 644.
[56] Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan Europe*, 94, quoted in Qunicy Wright, "Pan-Europe, Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi," 634.
[57] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "The PanEuropean Outlook," 638-639, 644.

Pan-America) acting in concert to "save Western civilization from the great dangers now threatening it". At this time, Kalergi did not think that Britain would join the Pan European Union (PEU) because it was the "head of a federation which covered a quarter of humanity" i.e. the British Commonwealth, which was much larger than Europe[58]. However, this position of the British was affected by the Atlantic Treaty (see below).

1.1.3 Ethnonationalism Sterilised for Mischief

Although European federation was to be based on the collective economic, cultural, militaristic, and political defense of Europe, Kalergi wanted Europe to disarm, to replace militaristic forces with peace forces so it could progress culturally in concord and equality. By "creating a new public opinion, by showing the European a new ideal and common interests"[59] he thought he could create a socially conservative European democracy that united the European peoples and nations in peace. In this vein, he argued that Europe had a shared historical identity that could be renewed:

> Historically, culturally and ethically, the unity of Europe was a real unity, temporarily obliterated in later centuries by religious divisions and the conception of linguistic patriotisms. If these narrow patriotisms could be weakened by a common European patriotism, the underlying central conditions of unity would reappear[60].

However, it can be argued against Kalergi, that there was no concept of modern patriotism and no theorising of national identity until the French revolution, which created a sense of national citizenship[61]. More importantly there was never any "real unity" in Europe, no common cosmopolitan identity that existed in European history other than their Christian and Greco-Roman heritages. The Leiden University Insitute for History writes that in a

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[58] Ibid, 640-643, 648
[59] Ibid, 639.
[60] Ibid, 651.
[61] Brubaker, "Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany"; Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State," 379-407.

> world of constantly changing borders, strong local political traditions, profitable transnational trade, and dense networks of international relations, 'identity' was never monolithic, even if a recognizably European intellectual culture, which played an essential role in the transfer of knowledge, religious and political ideas, always prevailed[62].

Regardless of these facts, the new European patriotism based on an imagined common historical, cultural, and moral unity required the cleansing of language-based and ethnic elements of national patriotism that were perceived as being incompatible to European peace. For Kalergi, "Europe as a cultural unity was…not so much a matter of political, historical, or racial identification, but a matter of morals and of style"[63]. Pan-Europeanism was a method to overcome "egocentric nationalism" based on race and culture[64]. Indeed, Kalergi envisioned a future of race mixing:

> The man of the future will be of mixed race. Today's races and castes will gradually disappear owing to the vanishing of space, time, and prejudice. The Eurasian-Negroid race of the future, similar in its appearance to the Ancient Egyptians, will replace the diversity of peoples with a diversity of individuals[65].

Kalergi sought to replace individual national ideals of ethnic communities, ethno-national European identities, with an ethnically mixed European patriotism, a "common European nationalism" based on a common European culture and identity, "a kind of 'supra-national' nationalism" rather than a balance of powers between the European nations[66]. He wrote that "Europe is one big nation that is divided into branches; racist nationalities see only the branches and think they are trees because, semi-cultured as they are, they are unable to see the trunk"[67]. He thought nationalism "is the product of bourgeois semi-culture" and wrote:

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[62] Hoppenbrouwers, "Collective Identities and Transnational Networks in Europe."
[63] Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 569.
[64] Ibid, 573.
[65] Kalergi, *Practical Idealism*, 22-23. Translation by Dr. Diemo Landgraf, assistant professor at Acadia University, Languages and Literatures. To note this citation is taken from Chapter 4, titled 'Inzucht – Kreuzung' or 'Inbreeding-Crossing'. Original German text: "Der Mensch der fernen Zukunft wird Mischling sein. Die heutigen Rassen und Kasten werden der zunehmenden Überwindung von Raum, Zeit und Vorurteil zum Opfer fallen. Die eurasisch-negroide Zukunftsrasse, äußerlich der altägyptischen ähnlich, wird die Vielfalt der Völker durch eine Vielfalt der Persönlichkeiten ersetzen."
[66] Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 571.
[67] Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Weltmacht Europa*, 75, quoted in Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 571.

> Just as aristocrats nourished their self-esteem through the disdain of the bourgeois, so the bourgeois began using the newly discovered nationalism in order to thoroughly despise all other nations. In some way, every nation sees itself as the chosen people, as Grande Nation, as the salt of the earth[68].

Kalergi rejected European "national 'egocentricity'" as "a kind of chauvinist universalism attempting to dominate the others"[69] and thought that ethno-nationalists and national boundaries were "the principal obstacle to his ideas" and "a primary cause of war and human misery"[70]. To solve cultural-historical national rivalries (particularly those of France and Germany) and attain European integration and perpetual peace, "existing patriotisms" had to be "sterilised for mischief" while retaining those elements that are "for good"[71]. In response to Kalergi's plan, the Hungarian-Jewish and British politician and journalist Leo Amery, also a cosmopolitan[72], suggested that Pan-Europe could help the League of Nations by "separating out purely European causes of friction, thus making the League more truly universal and easier for the United States to join"[73]. A first step in this plan was the neutralisation of French and German nationalisms and their reconciliation of friendly relations[74].

This creation of a new Europe, based on new ideals of social democracy rather than feudal aristocracy and a new European identity deprived of its ethno-national characteristics, would be overseen, according to Kalergi, by a "social aristocracy of the spirit"[75]. He claims that the traits required for the spiritual aristocratic leadership of the new Europe – "[s]trength of character combined with sharpness of spirit" – can only be found in the Jewish people. These traits, peculiar to the Jewish people according to Kalergi, "predestine" them "to be leaders of urban humanity, the protagonists of capitalism as well as the revolution". In other words, the

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[68] Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Europa Erwacht,* 251, quoted in Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 570.
[69] Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations,", 571.
[70] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 378, 380.
[71] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 645
[72] Gusejnova, *European Elites*, 95
[73] Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 645.
[74] Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 72.
[75] Rosamond, *Theories of European Integration*, 21-22.

central leaders of both capitalism and socialism were Jewish. But, it is only "the Jewish Socialist leaders" who "want to redeem us with the highest self-denial from the original sin of capitalism, free people from injustice, violence and serfdom and change the liberated world into an earthly paradise"[76]. Further, he wrote:

> [t]he influence of the nobility of blood decreases, the influence of the nobility of spirit is growing. Such a development, and with it the chaos of modern politics, will find its end only when an aristocracy of spirit will seize the reins of society's power: by seizing powder, gold, and printing ink to devote to the welfare of the community."[77]

It would not be the European aristocrats that would lead the new Europe to unification and finally world federation; rather it would be the interplay of the leaders of both Jewish capitalism and Jewish socialism alone who would take over and dominate the forces of European power and determine its destiny.

1.1.4 Eurafrica

Kalergi claimed that for the full materialisation of a united and prosperous Europe national colonialism needed to be replaced by the joint colonization and exploitation of the resources and land of the African colonies, which would lead to the creation of Eurafrica, a large geopolitical bloc that had the Mediterranean Sea as its central axis and would encompass (and Europeanise) nations in the African and Muslim world south of the Mediterranean. Africa was seen as part of the geopolitical sphere of Europe, a link that needed to be strengthened. Kalergi

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[76] Kalergi, *Practical Idealism*, 27-28. Translation by Landgraf. To note, this citation is taken from Chapter 5, titled 'Heidnische und Christlich Mentalitat' or 'Pagan and Christian mentality'. Original German text: "Heute sind es weder die Zionisten noch die Christen, sondern die jüdischen Führer des Sozialismus: denn auch sie wollen, mit höchster Selbstverleugnung, die Erbsünde des Kapitalismus tilgen, die Meschen aus Unrecht, Gewalt und Knechtschaft erlösen und die entsühnte Welt in ein irdisches Paradies wandeln" and "Charakterstärke verbunden mit Geistesschärfe prädestiniert den Juden in seinen hervorragendsten Exemplaren zum Führer urbaner Menschheit, zum Protagonisten des Kapitalisums wie der Revolution".

[77] Ibid, 32-33. Translation by Landgraf. To note, this citation is taken from Chapter 6, titled 'Geistesherrschaft Statt Schwertherrschaft' or 'Mental Domination instead of Sword Domination'. Original German text: "Der Einfluß des Blutadels sinkt, der Einfluß des Geistesadels wächst. Diese Entwicklung, und damit das Chaos moderner Politik, wird erst dann ein Ende finden, bis eine geistige Aristokratie die Machtmittel der Gesellschaft: Pulver, Gold, Druckerschwarze an sich reißt und zum Segen der Allgemeinheit verwendet." To note further, this arrangement that Kalergi suggests is a contradiction, in that he advocated for a ethnically neutral European patriotism while at the same time promoted an ethnic-Jewish leadership.

believed that European federation required the proper exploitation of "common resources" so that Europe could develop its "great African territories", which, in turn, would enable Europe to become "capable of living for itself"[78]. Essentially, Kalergi thought that it was only through a joint colonization of Africa, rather than national colonial projects, that Europe could fully develop its "economic and political potential" and prosperity and sustainability 'for all' could be realised[79].

In 1929 Kalergi coined the term 'Eurafrica'. In the 1920s a movement known as Eurasianism was popular among the Russian émigré community and one of its key proponents was Prince Nicolas S. Trubetzkoy (1890-1938), representative of the Prague Circle. He promoted the notion that Russia did not belong to Europe (since the 1917 Bolshevik revolution) but rather has "cultural affinities" with Asians and forms, along with its Asian colonies, Eurasia, a geographical and geopolitical region which stretches to the Pacific Ocean[80]. Kalergi rejected the idea of Eurasia because it was 'anti-European' but agreed that Russia should not be part of Europe. He considered that Soviet communism was incompatible with European liberalism and wrote that Communism is more than just a "state system" but is also "a new form of religion, like Islam in its day, and wants to conquer the world for its idea"[81]. It was in this context that he promoted the idea of Eurafrica.

According to the German philosopher Thorsten Botz-Bornstein, Kalergi's notion of Eurafrica was "an extended version of Europe", such that "Europe stretches from Angola to Spitzbergen" and the Mediterranean would be "Europe's axis and not its border". In this

[78] Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 651. What about other European countries that had no colonial possessions in Africa? Such as Austria, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Monaco, and Liechtenstein? How would they contribute to Pan-Europe without such a cementing factor of wealth and resources in Africa?
[79] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa", 448.
[80] Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 565-567.
[81] Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 648. Communism has been responsible for up to 94 million deaths since its inception. See Stéphane Courtois (ed.), *The Black Book of Communism*; Matthew White, Source List and Detailed Death Tolls for the Primary Megadeaths of the Twentieth Century.

scheme, Eurafrica was "the multilateral relationship between six European states and their dependencies overseas". It was a "purely imperialistic" enterprise according to Botz-Bornstein, as it suggested that "millions of Europeans" should settle in the African colonies because "the fatherland had become too narrow", too over-populated, and land and resources were needed. It also proposed that "the colonies would become the main providers of raw materials [and thus a source of wealth] for the empire", resources that would include hydroelectric power and agricultural produce[82].

The African colonies would also be 'Europeanized' along with other "regions should they enter the Pan-European Community (like Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan)" as this would be necessary "for the coherence of Europe as a geopolitical and cultural body"[83]. In *Europa Erwacht* (1934) Kalergi thought that "the Arab population of Africa" will eventually "adopt the European way of life"[84]. Although Kalergi thought it necessary for Europe to exploit and settle Africa, he did not intend large-scale immigration and settlement in Europe by African peoples: "Europe must at all costs prevent 'that great numbers of black workers and soldiers immigrate to Europe'"[85]. Furthermore, Kalergi was concerned about over-population in Europe and sought a solution in the settlement of African colonies by surplus European populations. He also considered that European culture was separate and distinct from the other cultures of the world, such as Islam. This points to the fact that he did not intend for large-scale immigration into Europe from non-European peoples, especially from Africa and the Muslim Middle East.

The supranational Pan-European and Eurafrica project of Kalergi represented the birth of a third geopolitical power that he assumed would create a balance of powers in the world. In

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[82] Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 565-566, 568-569. Also see Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 449.
[83] Botz-Bornstein, "European Transfigurations," 567.
[84] Ibid, 570.
[85] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "Afrika," 5, quoted in Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 450.

1931 all colonial powers except for Britain were invited to the Colonial Exposition in Paris to display their colonial possessions and this was to be followed by European cooperation in the African colonies themselves[86].

1.1.5 Funding, Support, Leadership, and Opposition

Kalergi's Pan-European project was directly funded by wealthy bankers, and supported by politicians and cultural forces on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1924 Kalergi's friend Austrian Baron Louis Nathaniel de Rothschild introduced him to Hamburg banker Max Warburg who offered 60,000 gold marks to fund the first three years of the movement; Warburg and Kalergi remained in "constant intellectual dialogue" thereon in[87]. Max then introduced him to his brothers Felix and Paul Warburg and the American financier, Bernard Baruch in 1925. Robert Bosch, a German industrialist, "[w]as so impressed by Coudenhove that he set up the Pan-Europe Development Fund"[88]. According to American author and education consultant David J. Peterson, the Pan-European movement was also "provided financial support and promoted" by the "Thurn und Taxis, Wittlesbachs, Hapsburgs and Kalergi families"[89].

Kalergi also had the support of many important statesmen, political figureheads, and cultural elites in Britain and Europe. Three years after he founded the Pan European movement he brought thousands of leading European elites together at the First Pan-European Congress (Vienna, 1926). By the mid-20th century, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Belgian Prime Minister Paul-Henri Spaak, German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, French Prime Minister Leon Blum, and Italian Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi were perceived as the "five Presidents of Honour" of the Pan European Union[90]. Austrian Chancellor Ignaz Seipel provided the Pan-

[86] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 450.
[87] Eley and Retallack, *Wilhelminism and Its Legacies,* 220, 232.
[88] Prettenthaler-Ziegerhofer, "Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi," 98.
[89] Peterson, *Revoking the Moral Order,* 122.
[90] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 184.

Europa movement with headquarters in Hofburg Palace and was President of this Austrian branch of the PEU, and support followed from Austrian Chancellors Engelbert Dollfuß and Kurt Schuschnigg, President of Austria Karl Renner, and Archduke Otto of Austria Otto von Habsburg. In France endorsement came from French politician Louis Loucheur, who became president of the movement in France in 1927, and from Prime Ministers Leon Blum, Eduard Herriot, Charles de Gaulle, and Aristide Briand. Briand spoke in favour of a federal Europe in his speech at the League of Nations, 8 September 1929, and in his *Memorandum on the Organisation of a Regime of European Federal Union* (1930). In Germany, foreign minister and Nobel Prize laureate[91] Gustav Stresemann, German socialist and President of the Reichstag Paul Lobe, and numerous pacifists, novelists, and socialists, such as Kurt Hiller, and Heinrich and Thomas Mann, agreed to the Union[92]. The PEU was also endorsed by many other prominent authors, playwrights, poets, and novelists, such as Paul Valery, Gerhart Hauptmann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Stefan Zweig, Franz Werfel, and Arthur Schnitzler, and scientists, such as Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud[93].

Opposition to Pan-Europa was prevalent among the fascist nationalists of Italy and the National Socialists of Germany in the 1920s and 30s, which essentially revealed the continued divisions in historical-political relations among European nation-states at the time. It was a conflict between the political ideologies of cosmopolitanism, which aimed to undermine European ethnicity, and political or ethnonationalism[94]. Kalergi approached Benito Mussolini twice, in May 1933 and 1936, in an attempt to sway him to the movement, but Mussolini was more interested in discussing fascism in Europe[95]. In Germany, university professor Ewald

[91] He and Aristide Briand received this prize in 1926 for reconciling France and Germany.
[92] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "A Parliament for Europe," 400.
[93] Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 68.
[94] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 380.
[95] Prettenthaler-Ziegerhofer, "Birth of a New Europe," 96.

Geißler complained that the idea of a Pan-Europe was not new but "always shows its face when France is very near to its highest political goal: Rule over Europe"[96] and Adolf Hitler called Kalergi a "cosmopolitan bastard"[97]. In return, Kalergi showed his disdain for Hitler by saying "I do not believe anything good or noble can come from such a vulgar physiognomy"[98]. In the mean time, anti-fascists before and during the Second World War published works calling for the "sterilisation" and "outbreeding" of the German race so to rid Europe of the German ethno-national identity manifested in National Socialism, which was perceived as an obstacle to the cosmopolitan plan for European integration[99].

1.2 American Influence and Further Eurafrican Development, 1945-1970

With the Fall of France in 1940 Kalergi fled to New York and between 1942 and 1945 he taught as assistant professor of History at New York University. While there, he propagated his ideas and set up a Research Seminar for a Federative Postwar Europe, which was assisted by Senator William Fulbright, the leader of the American Committee for a Free and United Europe[100]. After WW II Kalergi returned to Europe and a year later he co-founded the Pan European Union (PEU, 1946) with Archduke Otto von Hapsburg in Switzerland. At this time, Pan-European pacifist ideology and socialist cosmopolitanism resurfaced in Europe, manifesting in organisations such as the United European Movement, the French Council for a United Europe, the European League for Economic Co-operation, the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, and the European Union of Federalists. All of these organizations contributed to the

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[96] Geißler, *Paneuropa in der deutschen Dichtung der Gegenwart,* 34, quoted in Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 69.
[97] Orluc, "Caught Between Past and Future," 114.
[98] Coudenhove-Kalergi to Guido Manacorda, quoted in Orluc, "Caught Between Past and Future," 114.
[99] See Kaufman, "*Germany Must Perish!*"; Hooton, "Breed War Strain Out of Germans"; Morgenthau Jr., "*Germany is our Problem."* The Hooton article suggested genetically transforming Germany by outbreeding and by settlement of Germany by non-German nationals.
[100] This was the same University where Ludwig von Mises studied currency problems of the PEM and where several Frankfurt School members taught.

"social capital necessary for realisation" of the PEU and were connected to the institutions that developed the European Union[101].

In Zurich on September 19, 1946 Winston Churchill delivered a speech that had been prepared by himself and overseen by Kalergi. In this speech Churchill suggested the necessity of post-World War II European integration

> to recreate the European fabric, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, safety and freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe[102].

He also spoke of an "enlarged patriotism and common citizenship" as well as the 'first steps' towards the European Union, "a partnership between France and Germany", "a Council of Europe" and the development of "the United Nations Organization"[103]. Under the rubric of the United Nations, Kalergi founded the European Parliamentary Union (EPU) in 1947, of which he was the General Secretary. The EPU was another grassroots initiative that began with an enquiry by Kalergi (Nov 1946-spring 1947) who sent letters to almost 4000 members of European parliaments asking them if they agreed to the "establishment of an European federation within the framework of the United Nations"; 612 responded favourably[104]. In March 1947 Kalergi declared that governments who do not wish to unionize should be defeated by those who do: "some of the most important of these committees soon embrace parliamentary majorities, strong enough to compel their governments to go ahead towards union, and to overthrow those who refuse"[105]. This followed the kind of thinking by British PM Clement Attlee who delivered a speech in 1939 to Labour MPs and candidates and coined the

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[101] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 379, 381.
[102] Churchill, "Speech Delivered at the University of Zurich."
[103] Ibid. The United Nations, which aims at the promotion of international cooperation, had been established on 24 October 1945 when its Charter, drafted and signed by representatives of 50 countries in June, was ratified by the main power countries in the world, such as China, France, the Soviet Union, the UK, the US, and other signatories. The United Nations pledged to follow the principles of the Atlantic Charter (Aug 14, 1941), which was drafted by Britain and America and signed by the Allies and set the goals for post-war development.
[104] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "A Parliament for Europe", 399.
[105] Ibid, 400.

phrase “Europe must federate or perish!”, a type of thinking that was also echoed by James Paul Warburg in 1950 (February 17th) who addressed the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and said:

> We shall have world government, whether or not we like it. The question is only whether world government will be achieved by consent or by conquest. Today we are faced with a divided world—its two halves glowering at each other across the iron curtain. The world's two superpowers—Russia and the United States—are entangled in the vicious circle of an arms race, which more and more preempts energies and resources sorely needed to lay the foundations of enduring peace[106].

Although Kalergi founded some of the fundamental building blocks that eventually gave rise to the European Union we know today, two scholars, Daniel C. Villanueva and Michael Gehler, suggest that the Pan European movement and Union were appropriated by people who wished to use it for their own ends. Villanueva, Honors program professor at the University of Nevada, writes that “technocrats, politicians, and lawyers rather than intellectuals” took over the movement and Kalergi “became increasingly marginalised” as a voice of direction for the PEU[107]. Gehler, professor of contemporary history at the University of Innsbruck, writes that “politicians such as Aristide Briand, Julius Curtius and Ignaz Seipel… [were] hijacking, and misusing, Pan-Europe to suit their own ends”[108]. Although these claims may be true[109], it was clear that Briand was well thought of by Kalergi: Briand pushed for Pan-European cosmopolitanism at the European parliament, which Kalergi mentioned favourably and Briand was praised in Winston Churchill’s 1946 speech in Zurich, which was overseen by Kalergi. Yet while Kalergi wanted “an imagined common European culture [that] mitigates against military solutions to differences of opinion over specific governmental forms and regimes” and strove

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[106] *Wikipedia,* s.v. “James Warburg before the Subcommittee on Revision of the United Nations Charter,” Washington D.C., 17 February 1950, http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/James_Warburg_before_the_Subcommittee_on_Revision_ of_the_United_Nations_Charter#We_shall_have_world_government.

[107] Villanueva, “Elusive ‘Object of Belonging’,” 69.

[108] Gehler, “From Paneurope to the Single Currency,” 276.

[109] Edward McWhinney, for example, who was a Canadian lawyer and professor of international law, wrote that post-WWII European integration was different from the “pan-European idealism” of the interwar era regarding their “elaboration and drafting of an abstract constitutional charter”. McWhinney, *Self-Determination of Peoples,* x.

towards European integration based on an ideal of peace that required European disarmament, influential post-war West German leaders and integrationists, Kurt Schumacher and Konrad Adenauer, wanted to rearm Europe via the North Atlantic Treaty organization[110].

1.2.1 American Intellectual and Financial Involvement

Part of the European reconstruction process in the post-War era involved American support for the unification of Europe into a United States of Europe. American President Harry Truman (1945-53) and his successor General Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953-61) encouraged European unification and under their leadership US policymakers conceived European unification "as a way to solve the German problem"[111]. At this time, Kalergi, among others, feared a Fourth Reich emerging in Germany that would become the "mouthpiece of pan-Germanism", both of which had to be prevented for the realisation of his (and others) unification goals. For Kalergi, the unification of Europe was only possible "if Germany's political structure is radically changed, shifting sovereignty from the Reich to the states, while integrating German production into the general system of a pan-European market"[112]. He thought that a unified Europe was "the only force capable of competing successfully with pan-Germanism and with world revolution" and that only with "American support" can "the dangerous vacuum in the German soul, resulting from the breakdown of old ideals, be filled with the fascinating vision of a new European community based on fraternal ties"[113]. Kalergi was certainly not alone in thinking that American involvement was integral to European integration.

There were several movements in Europe (as well as in Canada and the United States) for European integration in the wake of WWII and they were brought together at the Congress

[110] Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 71.
[111] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 284.
[112] Coudenhove-Kalergi, "The Pan-European Outlook," 401.
[113] Ibid, 401.

of the Hague in 1948 to discuss the development of a political, economic, and monetary European Union. This Congress was organized by the International Committee of the Movements for European Unity, which was presided over by Winston Churchill and in late 1948 came to be known as the European Movement[114]. Under the initative of the President of the European Movement, Paul Henri-Spaak, a Harvard University-based and directed special task force, a Committee of Experts, was created in the 1950s to "guide" the "step-by-step, gradualist progression" of European political integration in the core European countries (France, West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux states)[115]. It was co-headed by Carl Friedrich, an adviser to the American military governor in Germany and a member of wartime planning and organisation regarding the US military occupation of Germany, and by Robert Bowie, the legal counsel to the US High Commission in occupied Germany and overviewer of negotiations regarding the early European Coal and Steel Committee and European Defence Community[116]. According to a member of the Harvard Committee of Experts, Canadian lawyer Edward McWhinney, the group "prepared advice and draft action programmes for the European leaders" and heavily influenced the "operational methodology" of the New Europe[117].

American influence on European integration was not confined to advice but also financial support. Much of this monetary support was covert, which some have called the 'Liberal Conspiracy'[118]. Richard J. Aldrich, professor of International Security at the University of Warwick, wrote that Europe received a "discreet injection of over three million dollars between 1949 and 1960, mostly from US government sources", and this money was the main impetus

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[114] See Citizens for Europe, *European Movement: International*; Deschamps, "The International Committee of the Movements for European Unity"; Baimbridge, Whyman, and Mullen, "From Membership to Referendum"; Beddard, "The Background to the Convention."
[115] McWhinney, *Self-Determination of Peoples*, ix-xi.
[116] Ibid, x.
[117] Ibid, x-xi.
[118] Such as Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy*.

for eliciting "mass support for the Schuman Plan, the European Defence Community and a European Assembly" with the aim of overcoming "the staunch resistance of the British Labour government to federalist ideas". The covert American financial operations in postwar Europe were channeled through the American Committee on United Europe (ACUE), which was organised in 1948 by the Central Intelligence Agency and National Safety Council associate Allen Welsh Dulles as well as the former head of the Office of Strategic Services, William J. Donovan (Wild Bill), both of whom were responding to Kalergi and Churchill who had requested assistance[119]. In the meantime, the European notion of Eurafrica continued to be advocated and institutionalised in the post-war era.

The Congress of Europe (Hague, 1948) considered the development of African colonies an "imperative necessity" and a "collective benefit" for a war-devastated Europe to emerge as "a 'third force' in world politics"[120]. When the Labour Party came to power in Britain the Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin "launched his bid to establish a 'Third World Power'" involving the integration of the African colonies and their resources "into a Western European power sphere able to withstand a world order dictated by the United States and the Soviet Union"[121]. Bevin wanted to compete with the US, and even envisioned Americans being "dependent on us and eating out our hands"[122]. Bevin was speaking in a context of overt American financial aid to war-torn Europe in the form of loans and grants. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC, 1948, replaced in 1961 by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)) was established to administer the Marshall Plan/European Recovery Program (ERP), the American initiative to financially aid the post-war reconstruction of Europe

[119] Aldrich, "OSS, CIA and European Unity," 185.
[120] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 452.
[121] Ibid, 451.
[122] Deighton, "Entente Neo-coloniale?" 845.

($13 billion between 1948 and 1952)[123]. This move effectively institutionalised the Eurafrican project. The OEEC established an Overseas Territories Working Group "to promote European cooperation in colonial affairs, particularly towards Africa", and involved long term plans in infrastructure, agriculture, water works, and heavy construction development[124].

In 1952, the Council of Europe (1949)[125], which developed out of the Pan-European Union, the European Parliamentary Union, and the Hague Congress, adopted the Strasbourg Plan. This Plan aimed at profiting Europe by the joint development of the raw materials of African colonies and the settlement of these overseas territories to curb overpopulation in Europe, which was considered as "one of Europe's most critical human and social problems" at the time[126]. The Council also adopted the Schuman Plan (1950, authored by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman), which was vital for European integration and the development and exploitation of African resources. The Schuman Plan gave rise to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) involving France, West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries, which was established by the Treaty of Paris (1951) and influenced by the Harvard Committee of Experts. The 'chief architect' and president of the ECSC was Jean Monnet, founder of the Action Committee for a United Europe (1955). He thought that "France could give Africa as a 'dowry to

[123] See Marshall, "The Marshall Plan Speech"; Schain, *The Marshall Plan*.
[124] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 451.
[125] Not to be confused with the European Council, an institution of the EU comprised of the heads of state or government of member states, the President of the European Commission, and the Council's president. It was established informally in 1975 and was formalised in 2007 with the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon. It "defines the EU's overall political direction and priorities" and "sets the EU's policy agenda". European Council presidency rotates among Member States. See "European Council" and "History of the European Council: Fifty Years of Summit Meetings," European Council.
[126] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 453. There were widespread concerns about massive population growth stimulated by such works as *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) by Thomas Malthus, *Our Plundered Planet* (1948) by Fairfield Osborn, and *Road to Survival* (1948) by William Vogt, which influenced the seminal book, *The Population Bomb* (1969/1970) by Paul Ehrlich. There was also a feverish embrace of planned parenthood, the creation of Zero Population Growth Inc., and the rise of environmental movements that merged with feminism. Notwithstanding this, in the post-war era, Europe and Britain experienced what is familiarly known as a "baby boom", a time of greatly increased birth rate. In Britain and France this phenomena stretched nearly three decades (1946-1974); it came later, and for a shorter time, in Germany (1955-1967).

Europe'", a strategy that would also "seduce the Germans"[127]. The High Authority in the ECSC was the European Commission, which was also established in 1951 under the Presidency of Monnet[128]. It was the "idealistic, committed bureaucrats" of this Commission that gave further impetus to the European integration movement[129].

1.2.2 The European Economic Community

The same countries that signed the Treaty of Paris were involved in the Rome Treaty negotiations of 1956-1957. These discussions involved the promotion of the "economic and social development of the [colonial] countries and territories" and the establishment of "close economic relations between them and the Community as a whole"[130]. The signing of the Rome Treaties involved the determination "to lay the foundations of an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe" and "to ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action to eliminate the barriers which divide Europe"[131]. This ratification signalled the birth of the European Economic Community (EEC, 1957), a customs union that aimed to incorporate all the colonial possessions of the member countries: "French West and Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, Italian Somaliland and Netherlands New Guinea"[132]. During these developments, Guy Mollet, socialist premier of France, claimed that Europe's

> economic development will bring about a better standard of living to the Europeans as well as to the African peoples freely associated here. This is not a hazy dream, I am firmly convinced that EURAFRICA will be the reality of tomorrow[133].

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[127] Hansen and Jonsson "Bringing Africa," 454; Hansen and Jonsson, *Eurafrica,* 123.
[128] The President of the European Commission is elected by European Parliament and is the highest officeholder in the EU, meaning he or she has the most powerful position akin to a Prime Minister or Head of State, but unlike these, the President of the EC does not have the power to raise taxes, command troops, or determine foreign policy. See Hix, *What's Wrong with the European Union,* 155.
[129] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 381.
[130] European Commission, *The Treaty of Rome*, 2.
[131] Ibid, 2.
[132] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 454-455. Many members of European integration groups at the time were involved with the EEC, such as Alcide de Gasperi, who had pre-war links to the Peace and Pan-European movements, became the Prime Minister of Italy (1945-53), and was a key figure in the emergence of the EEC and Altiero Spinelli of the European Union of Federalists, who became EEC commissioner. See Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 381.
[133] Emile Noël, *"Discours de Guy Mollet 1956-58*."

On conclusion of the Rome Treaty negotiations, Mollet stated "EURAFRICA, [is] a close association in which we will work together to promote progress, happiness and democracy in Africa"[134]. This 'collective colonialism' of Africa was central to the European integration agenda regardless of the increasing autonomy and independence of the African colonies. In fact, many African states agreed with EEC relations with Africa. In 1963, under the Yaoundé Convention, a total of eighteen independent African states agreed to multilateral EEC association and by the mid-1970s, under the Lomé Convention, most African states had chosen EEC association[135]. Since the late 1950s integration of Europe with Africa (Eurafrica) changed to cooperation and partnerships, such as the Constantine Plan (1958, de Gaulle) between France and its former colony of Algeria[136]. Further details of the impact of Kalergi's PEU after WWII are discussed in chapter 3.

[134] Ibid.
[135] Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 460.
[136] Davis, "Eurafrica and De Gaulle's Constantine Plan."

2. The Fabian Society and the Frankfurt School

There were two influential international ideologies and movements that came to prominence in the early to mid-Twentieth century that are directly linked to the gradual, step-by-step European integration project of the cosmopolitan socialist elites described above: the socialism of the Fabian Society (Britain) and the socialism of the Frankfurt School (Germany), both of which extended across the Atlantic to America. There are many shared aspects between these two ideologies and movements: both claim to promote socialism; both are funded by capitalists; both promote the radical transformation of Western civilization through socialist utopianism; and both reject revolutionary Marxism and instead use and advocate stealth, infiltration, and "gradualism", a step-by-step process towards socialism. However, there are several differences between between these two ideologies, as discussed below.

2.1 The Fabian Society

The British East India Company (BEIC), founded in 1600, made many of its shareholders (many of whom were freemasons) very wealthy[137]. By the time of its end in 1873, several shareholders were major financiers and had a kind of pre-Fabian elitist philosophy, which eventually played a key role in the establishment of the Fabian Society. For example, John Stuart Mill was the secretary of BEIC (1856-1873) and was named by his father after John Stuart, the head of the BEIC. He was close friends with Richard Potter, the father of a core Fabian Society member, Beatrice Webb, and heavily influenced the Fabian philosophy with his well-known work, *Principles of Political Economy* (1848)[138].

[137] See Golder, "Freemasonry in British India 1728-1888"; Freemasonry Today, "The First Entente Cordiale."
[138] Mill, *"*Of Capital,*"* Chap III in *The Principles of Political Economy*.

On October 24th 1883, wealthy socialists, including members of the Society for Psychical Research (1882), met to discuss the creation of a British socialist organisation, *The Fellowship of the New Life,* which was based on the monastic ideas of the Scottish intellectual, Thomas Davidson[139]. This organisation was dedicated to the "cultivation of a perfect character in each and all" and sought to slowly and progressively transform society through individual example, advocating such ideas as pure intelligence, simple living, pacifism, and vegetarianism[140]. On November 7th of the same year, members of the Fellowship outlined their ultimate goal: "the reconstruction of Society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities"[141]. However, some members wanted to be more politically involved to aid in this socialist transformation, and so in January 1884 it was decided that a separate society would be founded that actively promoted the project of the slow, progressive transformation of society towards collectivism. This society was named the Fabian Society.

The founders of the Fabian Society included Frank Podmore (psychical researcher), Edward Pease (member of the Stock Exchange), Hubert Bland (commercial clerk) and his wife Edith Nesbit (author and political activist). Over a few years the Fabian Society attracted many influential people interested in go-slow socialism, with members including: George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Annie Besant, J.G. Stapleton, Graham Wallas, Margaret Cole, Charles Marson, Sydney Olivier, Oliver Lodge, Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Ramsay MacDonald, Emmeline Pankhurst, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb. In the decades to come, many powerful people and groups became members or became associated through various partnerships and funding processes.

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[139] See Pease, "The Foundations of the Society."
[140] Bevir, "British Socialism and American Romanticism," 79; Spencer, *The Heretic's Feast,* 283.
[141] Pease, "The Foundations of the Society."

Even though they were not overtly Marxist in their style of socialism, as they were influenced by an uncommon mix of disparate spiritual, scientific and utopian socialists and thinkers such as Plato, Auguste Comte, Charles Darwin, J.S. Mill, Robert Owen, Henry George, and, in particular, John Ruskin, Fabians were still influenced by (and utilised) the revolutionary socialist works of Engels and Marx and had the same ultimate objectives. A major distinction between Marxist socialism and Fabian socialism is in their strategy to change society. Believing in the inevitability of socialism, the Fabians stressed evolution not revolution. Long before the proletariat revolution (prescribed by Marx) failed, as signified by the failure of the working classes to unite in the face of WWI, the Fabians had already rejected the method of violent revolution by means of proletarian force and instead advocated gradual, stealthy, non-violent and reformist means to create a new world based on socialism. As Robert Sullivan writing for Brown University and the University of Tulsa puts it:

> The Fabians preferred the method of "permeation," or what Margaret (Postgate) Cole termed the "honeycomb" effect. Instead of undertaking direct confrontational action, for example, by aligning themselves with working-class trade unionism or other militant socialists, the Fabians sought to change the system from within, and would achieve this by a process of infiltration. Through their great intellectual weight, they would "persuade" members of government (whatever the Party), civil servants, and other people in power that ameliorating the plight of the less fortunate in society was a necessary and just cause. They achieved a measurable success at this because they possessed among their small number some of the best minds and celebrities of the time[142].

The Fabian Society was named after Quintus Fabius Maximus, a Roman general nicknamed "Cunctator" or "the Delayer" for his slow but sure measures to achieve his goal of defeating the large Carthaginian army led by general Hannibal in the Second Punic War (218-201 BC). Rather than dealing with head-on battles, Fabius used tactics of elusion, harassment, and attrition to allow the Roman army to regroup and defeat Hannibal's army. The strategy of the Fabians can be understood by their "doctrine of inevitability of gradualism", which is

[142] Robert Sullivan, "Fabianism."

clarified by G.B. Shaw, one of the leading figures of the Fabian Society dubbed the "Big Four" and one of the main promoters of cosmopolitanism in Britain. He wrote that the methods of the Society were "stealth, intrigue, subversion, and the deception of never calling socialism by its right name" [143]. As can be read from their first pamphlet, the Fabian idea was to be patient and stealthy, then strike at the right moment:

> For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain, and fruitless[144].

In other words, Fabians perceive they are in an ideological war with the established social order, which they will overthrow gradually at first through stealth and infiltration, and then, when the time is right, will launch a full and devastating attack.

Below is an image of the famed Fabian stained glass window designed by George Bernard Shaw in 1910 and executed by Caroline Townsend:

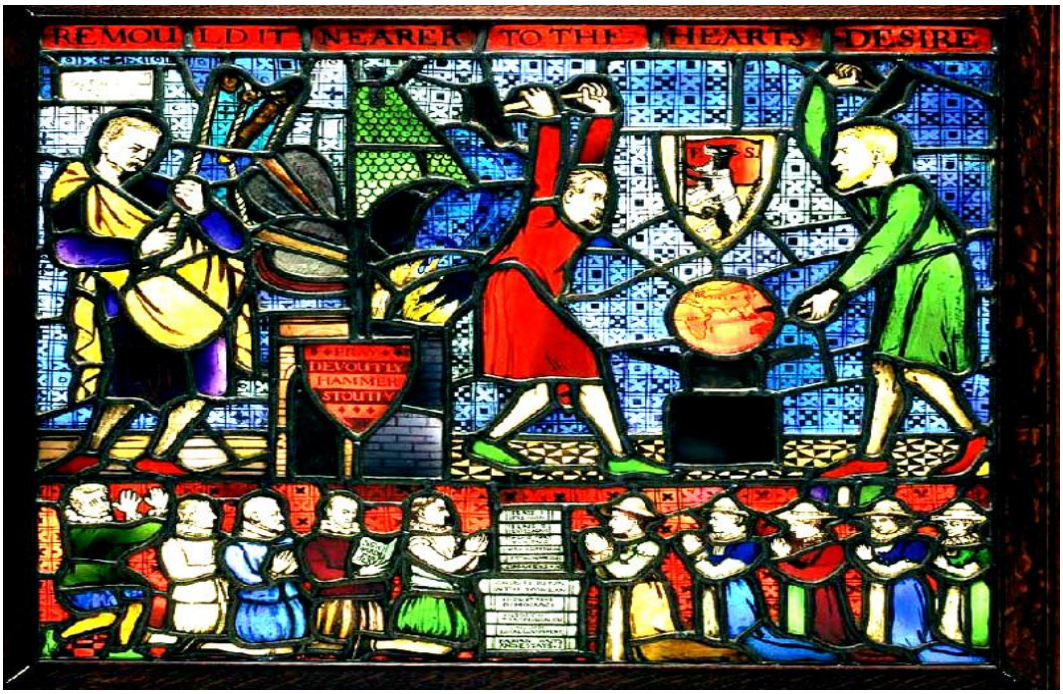

Figure 1. Fabian stained-glass window
Source: From *Freedom Is Knowledge Conservative Web Portal*

[143] Stormer, *None Dare Call It Treason*, 26.
[144] The Fabian Society, "The Fabian Story."

The window depicts Sidney Webb and G.B. Shaw (with hammers), Edward Pease (bellows) and other Fabians actively creating a "new world", and says "remould it nearer to the heart's desire" i.e. the whole world is to be governed by a socialist dictatorship designed and built by the Fabians. This line is taken from an Iranian poem written by Omar Khayyam[145]. Note the people at the bottom praying and worshiping a pile of books, which advocate the theories of socialism. Notice also the wolf in a sheepskin and the F.S., which stands for Fabian Society. The symbol of the Fabian Society is the tortoise:



Figure 2. Fabian tortoise symbol
Source: TVM, "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing," *One Piece at a Time* (blog), December 26 2013, http://onepieceatatime.info/blog/

According to American counterterrorism author and analyst Jon Perdue, the tortoise

> represented the group's predilection for a slow, imperceptible transition to socialism, while its coat of arms, a 'wolf in sheep's clothing', represented its preferred methodology for achieving its goal[146].

The tortoise represents the gradual but steady expansion of socialism and the kind of action taken when the moment is "right".

On 25th January 1884 Fabian J.G. Stapleton spoke on the "Social Conditions in England with a View to Social Reconstruction or Development," which was the first lecture of many to

[145] See Khayyam, "The Rubaiyat," stanza XCIX.
[146] Perdue, *The War of All the People,*" 97.

come[147]. In April 1884, the first pamphlet was distributed, entitled "Why Are The Many Poor?", which concluded that "The time approaches when Capital can be made social, and can be no longer left at the disposal of the few, but belong to the community for the benefit of all"[148]. By 1886 there were four leading figures of the Fabian Society, dubbed the "Big Four": G. B. Shaw, Graham Wallas, Sidney Webb, and Sidney Oliver. By 1889, 6500 tracts had been distributed and 721 lectures had been given by 31 speakers. Between 1891 and 1892 nearly 120 Fabians delivered 3,339 lectures and membership had grown to 400. At this time, the Fabian Society became associated with the Second Socialist International (est. 1889) and helped strengthen democratic and socialist elements in Great Britain[149].

Over the next few years more people joined the Society: there were 681 members in 1894 and 881 in 1899. By this time the Fabian Society had set up chapters in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Spain, Denmark, and Germany. In 1899, the most noted work on Fabian Socialism, *Fabian Essays in Socialism,* was produced by seven members and became the blueprint for socialist legislation. It sold hundreds of thousands of copies, was reprinted several times and translated into numerous languages. Another book written and edited by eight second generation Fabians, titled *New Fabian Essays*, was published in 1952.

Prior to becoming a member of the Fabian Society, H.G. Wells wrote his book *Anticipations: Of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human life and Thought* (1901). In this work, which was influenced by *The Republic* by Plato, Wells details the rise of the "New Republic", a system of world governance and scientific control. He describes its "more developed phases…as a sort of outspoken secret society with which even the

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[147] Pease, "The Early Days."
[148] The Fabian Society, *Why are the Many Poor?*
[149] LSE Digital Library, "Fabian Society and Young Fabians"; *Encyclopedian Dictionary* (blog), "Fabian Society," Encyclopedian.blogspot.ca, http://encyclopedian.blogspot.ca/2012/05/ fabian-society.html. The Third international (1919-1943) became "a truly global, anti-colonialist project"; see Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 377.

prominent men of the ostensible state may be openly affiliated" and "there are no doubt elements of technical treason"[150]. He goes on to say that the New Republicans "will constitute an informal and open freemasonry. In all sorts of ways they will be influencing and controlling the apparatus of the ostensible governments"[151]. In January 1902, the then secretary of the Fabian Society, Edward Pease, wrote to Wells to say that Sidney Webb and his wife were "pioneers of your New Republic"[152]. In February 1903, Wells became a member and during his membership wrote several non-fiction works, including *A Modern Utopia* (1905).

However, Wells was openly critical of the Fabian Society. He became increasingly disappointed with it, criticizing its lack of radical reforms and explicit propaganda, and its pandering to the middle class rather than the lower classes. In 1906 he wrote a pamphlet called the *Faults of the Fabians* outlining his goals of reorganizing the Society. Of course this was not favoured by the "inner circle" and in September 1908 Wells resigned[153]. Wells later denounced the Fabians as "the new Machiavellians"[154]. Nevertheless, Wells continued to be a staunch advocate of socialism, and in 1928 he published *Open Conspiracy: Blueprints for a World Revolution.* In this work he elaborates his ideas of the New Republic and ideas from his 1926 three-volume novel *The World of William Clissold*, the latter of which detailed a seven-point program for the development of the "new human community"[155]. In the *Open Conspiracy* he explained that the New Republic would be a classless World State run by an intelligent minority that controlled everything and who "may work in alliance with all sorts of movements and people" to further its aims. He wrote that the

> open conspiracy...will have become a great world movement as widespread and evident as Socialism and Communism. It will largely have taken the place of these

[150] Wells, *Anticipations,* 276.
[151] Ibid, 278.
[152] Mackenzie and Mackenzie, *H.G. Wells,* 170.
[153] Taunton, "H.G.Wells's Politics."
[154] Archibald B. Roosevelt, introduction and epilogue, *The Great Deceit,* n.7.
[155] Wells, *The World of William Clissold*.

> movements. It will be more, it will be a world-religion. This large, loose, assimilatory mass of groups and societies will be definitely and obviously attempting to swallow up the entire population of the world and become the new human community"[156].

In volume III of *The World of William Clissold* Wells wrote "we can weave a world system of monetary and economic activities, while the politicians, the diplomatists, and the soldiers are still too busy with their ancient and habitual antics to realise what we are doing"[157]. This "open conspiracy," according to Wells, was "not a project to overthrow existing governments by insurrectionary attacks, but to supersede them by disregard. It does not want to destroy them or alter their forms but to make them negligible by replacing their functions". The New Republicans will also be selective: "What is useful to them it will use; what is useless it will efface by its stronger reality"[158].

2.1.1 The London School of Economics and the Labour Party

Central to the Fabian strategy for gaining power gradually has been infiltration, replacement, and a socialist-capitalist alliance. Allies have foremost been sought in the universities, Churches, and newspapers, and speakers, writers, and politicians are trained and young scholars indoctrinated, all of whom eventually enter educational institutions, government agencies, and political parties to promote Fabian socialism. For example, Henry Hutchinson, a Derby lawyer and Fabian, left a generous sum of money (£20,000) to the Society for "propaganda and other purposes", which was "used by the Webbs, Graham Wallas and G.B. Shaw to found a research institute to provide proof positive of the collectivist ideal"[159]. In 1895 the Webbs, Shaw, and Wallas set up this institute as a branch of the University of London, called the *London School of Economics and Political Science* (LSE). According to conservative

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[156] Wells, *Open Conspiracy*, 59.
[157] Wells, *The World of William Clissold*, Book the Fifth.
[158] Ibid.
[159] The Fabian Society, "The Fabian Story."

author Kerry Bolton LSE "provides an influential means by which Big Business can foster its [Fabian Society] aims"[160].

In relation to Big Business, the Fabian LSE has been funded by wealthy members associated with the financial assets accrued from BEIC as stated above. The major financial contributors include the Indian millionaire Ratan Tata, the Rockefeller Foundation (in 1923 it contributed $1 million and between 1929-1952 it contributed $4,105,592), the Rothschilds, Sir Julius Wernher, Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, Mrs. Ernest Elmhurst, widow of Willard Straight who was partner of J.P. Morgan, the NGO Gaddafi Foundation that pledged a donation of £1.5 million, and Sir Ernest Cassel[161].

Cassel was a major merchant banker and capitalist, and a partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and Vickers Maxim Armaments. According to Lord Haldane, a friend of Cassel, the aim of LSE is to "make this institution a place to raise and train the bureaucracy of the future Socialist state"[162]. So here we have a socialist-capitalist alliance whereby Big Business elites utilise socialist institutions to nurture their own aims. This obviously begs a particular question: why do major capitalists and international finance organizations want to train the bureaucracy for the creation of a future socialist state? Isn't socialism, in its very essence, antithetical to capitalism? H. G. Wells explained why in 1920:

> Big Business is in no means antipathetic to Communism. The larger big business grows the more it approximates Collectivism. It is the upper road of the few instead of the lower road of the masses to Collectivism[163].

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[160] Bolton, *Revolution from Above,* 102.
[161] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "London School of Economics Gaddafi Links", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_School_of_Economics_Gaddafi_links#LSE_and_the_Monitor_Group (accessed May 2015) and London School of Economics. "A History of Philanthropic Support at LSE."
[162] Bolton, *Revolution from Above,* 102.
[163] Wells, "The Envoy."

In other words, not only is Fabian socialism different from classical Marxist socialism by strategy, they also prefer wealthy elites (intellectual, political, economic) rather than the proletariat (working class) as the source of revolutionary potential.

Over in America, in 1905 Fabians established the *Rand School of Social Science* in New York City and incorporated the *Intercollegiate Socialist Society* to promote "an intelligent interest in socialism among college men and women"[164]. A founding member was American Fabian John Dewey (1859-1952), an atheist, socialist, and evolutionist who is considered the father of progressive education. In 1921 the Fabian Rand School changed its name to *The League for Industrial Democracy* and established a network of 125 chapters with the aim of de-Christianising America. Dewey became president of it in 1941. Dewey also co-founded the *New School for Social Research* (NSSR) in 1919, which is the American equivalent to LSE. This school, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation ($208,100 between 1940 and 1944) and the Carnegie Corporation ($95,000 in 1940) among others, set up the Graduate Faculty on Political and Social Science in 1933, called the "University in Exile", and aimed to "accommodate the large number of socialist intellectuals" who fled or were expelled from Hitler's Germany[165].

Back in Britain, in the late 1890s the Fabian Society founded the *Labour Representation Committee*, which became the *Labour Party* in 1906. In 1918 the Labour Party adopted a program that implemented the ideas of Fabianism[166]. In 1931 the New Fabian Research Bureau was formed, joining the Fabian Society in 1939[167]. In 1940 the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society was established and in 1941 the Fabian International Bureau was formed to cater to international interests[168]. During WWII, "the Fabians created the intellectual architecture for

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[164] *Wikipedia,* s.v. "Intercollegiate Socialist Society," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Intercollegiate_Socialist_Society (accessed June 2014).
[165] Bolton, *Revolution from Above*, 112-113; Zygmund Dobbs, *Keynes at Harvard*.
[166] Hilton et al., "Fabian Society."
[167] Ibid.
[168] See Manuscript Collections of Africana; Fabian Society Archives, "Fabian Society."

the peacetime reconstruction" of Europe and an essay by Fabian member William Robson, titled "Social Security," greatly influenced the British Beveridge report[169]. In this 1942 report, actually titled *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, progressive socialist and economist Sir William Beveridge made various promises to Britons if they accepted his outlined social reforms[170]. In 1945, partly as a result of this report, Fabian socialists took over the House of Commons (over half of the members of Parliament for the Labour Party were Fabians) and created the British Labour government[171]. Within a few years British industries and services had been nationalised and were under government control. For example, in 1946 the Bank of England, which had been privately owned by shareholders since the mid- 17th century, was nationalised (came under the ownership of the Fabian created Labour government) and became the central bank of England[172].

Over the span of just over half a century, from the Fabian Society's inception in 1884 to 1945, when the Fabian-created Labour party became an established British power, Fabian Society membership swelled to 8,400 members. Currently, there are around 7000 UK Fabian Society members and, according to the UK website, "[a]round 80% of our members are also members of the Labour Party"[173]. Over the last twenty years, many Labour leaders and British Prime Ministers have been Fabians, such as Tony Blair (PM 1997-2007), Robin Cook (Foreign Secretary 1997-2001), David Blunkett (Home Secretary 2001-2004), Gordon Brown (PM 2007-2010), and Jack Straw (leader, House of Commons, 2006-2007). In addition, over 200 members of parliament are Fabians, Fabianism "continues to be at the heart of the Labour

[169] The Fabian Society, "The Fabian Story."
[170] Beveridge, "Social Insurance and Allied Services."
[171] *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, s.v.* "Fabianism", 2008, http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Fabianism.aspx (accessed June 2014).
[172] See Gowland, "Financial Reform in the UK."
[173] The Fabian Society, "Members."

movement", and "the Fabian Society and the LSE continue to work closely together" [174]. The UK Labour Party is now the leading advocate of the social and demographic engineering project that aims to transform the national character and ethnic identity of Great Britain through large-scale non-European immigration and immigrant multicultural ideology[175] while simultaneously condemning and silencing legitimate criticisms by indigeneous Britons of these non-democratic, top-down enforced practices and policies.

In the mid-1980s the Fabian-Labour Party sought out the ethnic vote, particularly in Birmingham. Romain Garbaye, affiliate of Worcester College, writes that "The Labour Party on the whole has been sympathetic to ethnic minorities in all the major cities, in return for strong electoral support from ethnic minority voters"[176]. After Labour once again came to power in 1997, "multiculturalism" became a fashionable term in politics and national speeches. In 2000, Tony Blair set out his new vision of "Britishness" and claimed that Britain was "a rich mix of all different ethnic and religious origins"[177]. In 2002 the Queen echoed his sentiments, saying in her Jubilee speech to Parliament: "our richly multicultural and multifaith society, a major development since 1952, is being achieved remarkably peacefully and with much goodwill"[178]. The Labour Party also instigated the open-border policy that saw the gates of Britain flung wide open from 2002 onwards. In fact, it has now emerged that through large-scale immigration the Labour Party intentionally turned London, the capital of Britain, into an unrecognisable "foreign city"[179]. In 2009, the scandal emerged. Andrew Neather, former advisor to PM Tony Blair, claimed that the true nature behind the open border mass-immigration policy of the Labour Party was politically motivated: it was a social and demographic engineering project. The

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[174] The Fabian Society, "Famous Members" and "The Fabian Story."
[175] Whitehead, "Labour Wanted Mass Immigration to Make UK More Multicultural, says Former Advisor."
[176.] Garbaye, "Birmingham," 91.
[177] *BBC News*, "Blair Defines 'British Values.'
[178] *BBC*, "Full Text of the Queen's Jubilee Speech."
[179] Sargeant, "How Labour Turned London into a Foreign City."

Telegraph newspaper reported that Neather had said that "Labour threw open Britain's borders to mass immigration to help socially engineer a 'truly multicultural' country" and "The huge increases in migrants over the last decade were partly due to a politically motivated attempt by ministers to radically change the country and "render their [the Right] arguments out of date"[180]. A new biography of Blair by investigative journalist Tom Bower, who interviewed more than 200 senior civil servants, ex-ministers and other insiders for his book, *Broken Vows: Tony Blair - the Tragedy of Power* (2016), alleges that immigration minister Barbara Roche told a senior immigration official: "Asylum seekers should be allowed to stay in Britain. Removal takes too long and it's emotional" and that Blair, during his time in power, was "presiding over a silent conspiracy" that allowed over two million more migrants to enter Britain than were expected[181].

Fabian Labour members also promote Eurafrica and integration with the Middle East and are intimately involved in the European Union. For example, in 2007, Fabian member David Miliband, former Labour Party politician, declared in a speech at the College of Europe in Belgium, that the "goal" of the EU

> must be a multilateral free-trade zone around our periphery - a version of the European Free Trade Association that could gradually bring the countries of the Mahgreb, the Middle-East and Eastern-Europe in line with the single-market, not as an alternative to membership, but potentially as a step towards it[182].

2.2 The Frankfurt School

The origins of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory can be traced to the German Jewish Marxist theoretician Karl Korsch (1886-1961). Korsch was born near Hamburg into a middle class family and went on to receive a doctor of jurisprudence in 1911 from the University of

[180] Whitehead, "Labour Wanted Mass Immigration."
[181] Mendick, "Tony Blair Accused of Conspiracy"; Morrison, "Tony Blair Let in 2Million Migrants."
[182] Miliband, "Europe 2030: Model Power Not Superpower."

Jena. A year later he joined the SPD (the German Social Democratic Party) and left for England to work with Sir Ernest Schuster, a professor of law[183]. Although Korsch remained in Britain for only a few years, while there he joined the Fabian Society. He was attracted by their emphasis on "will", "humanity" and "ideas"[184] and liked their "concrete, practical engagement" reflected in their attempt to construct "a finished plan for the socialisation of the economy"[185]. Most of his early writing reflects the influence of Fabianism on his thinking, such as his article *The Fabian Society* (1912) which praised and professed admiration for them.

In 1914 Korsch returned to Germany and increasingly turned towards Marxism. He broke with the SPD in 1919 and joined the German Independent Socialist Party (USPD), which was the most important section of the Second International at that time. In the same year the University of Jena offered him a professorship in Public and Labour Law, a position he held until 1923, and he became the assistant of the socialist professor Robert Wilbrandt on the Socialisation Commission for Coal Mining (Berlin). During his assistantship he developed his own serial Programme for Practical Socialism under the title "What is Socialisation?", with the hope that these would provide the "mentally gifted" a proper understanding of socialism and entice them to practically engage in the movement, much like what the Fabian Society pamphlets were doing[186]. In 1922 he attended a Marxist 'work week' in Ilmenau, Thuringia, which was funded by the young Felix Weil, who was the son of international grain speculator Hermann Weil, a member of the Frankfurt Soldiers' and Workers' Council, a student of Korsch's, and a previous student of Wilbrandt (1919). Participants in this week-long seminar included Georg Lukács, Friedrich Pollock, Karl August Wittfogel, and Richard Sorge[187]. This

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[183] "Memories of Karl Korsch: Interview with Hedda Korsch 1972."
[184] Renton, *Dissident Marxism,* 64.
[185] Levitt, "Karl Korsch: A Review Essay," 176.
[186] Wiggershaus, *The Frankfurt School,* 11.
[187] Carey, *Theonomy and Autonomy,* 68.

meeting of minds, which was centered on Korsch's unpublished manuscript "Marxism and Philosophy" became the organisational groundwork for the creation of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory[188]. In 1923 Korsch published *Marxism and Philosophy* and in October he became Communist Minister of Justice in the Thuringian government and a leading member of the Communist Party.

In *Marxism and Philosophy* Korsch defended revolutionary Marxism and criticised Second International socialism for its "degeneration" and inferiority to Marx's socialism; for Korsch, this form of socialism had become reformist rather than revolutionary, theoretical rather than practical, and accepting of the capitalist state[189]. He thought that the leading socialists of the day had ignored philosophy and separated scientific socialism off from the wider political and class-based struggles associated with original revolutionary Marxism. Surmising that Marxism is a form of revolutionary action that unites theory and practice via practical human action, or praxis, he attempted to "reconstruct the revolutionary, active side of Marxism, as exemplified in the Bolshevik Revolution [1917]". With this emphasis on practical socialism he opposed both the orthodox and revisionist strains of Second International Marxism[190].

When *Marxism and Philosophy* was published it was quite evident that Korsch was beginning to differ from Fabian-style socialism. Although leading Fabians G.B. Shaw and the Webbs also advocated practical socialism as reflected by Bolshevism – Shaw declared that "Stalin is a first rate Fabian"[191] and the Webbs co-authored the book *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization?* (1935) they were supportive of the Nikolai Bukharin-style socialism put forward by

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[188] Jay Bernstein, *The Frankfurt School,* 45.
[189] Renton, *Dissident Marxism,* 67.
[190] Mattick, "The Marxism of Karl Korsch."
[191] G.B. Shaw as cited in Eric D. Butler, *The Fabian Socialist Contribution,* 11. See also National Economic Council, *Economic Council Letter*, 290; Marilynne Robinson, *Mother Country,* 119.

Stalin in 1924 in the form of '*Socialism in One Country*'[192]. This version stressed national socialism (which differed from the national socialism of Hitler) via slow industrial change versus a violent and rapid proletarian revolution as a model for the world. In other words, it was very similar to the Fabian 'gradualist' step-by-step evolution towards socialism[193]. However, Stalin engineered a famine (Holodomor) between 1932 and 1933 in Ukraine that killed between 3.5 and 10 million people[194] and between 1934 and 1940 he initiated what came to be known as the *Great Purge* or the *Great Terror,* which saw 750,000 people executed and 3 million arrested, many of which were sent to the Gulag[195]. At this time leading Fabians, particular G.B. Shaw, supported and were apologists for Stalin[196], seemingly contradicting their emphasis on non-violent gradual reformism.

In the early 1920s the Bolshevism that Korsch endorsed was practical, revolutionary, proletarian, purely anti-capitalist and grounded in original Marxism, but the Bolshevism that the Webbs and Shaw liked was go-slow, elitist, violent and in cooperation with capitalists: it was a "state-capitalist, or state-socialist, form of capital production"[197]. Korsch eventually argued not just against capitalism and the reformism, revisionism, and Orthodoxy of the Second and Third Internationals, but also against Bolshevism. He was convinced that the latter was a regime of "false consciousness" that "exploited" the "international radical labour movement" and thus was not beneficial to proletarian communism[198]. Korsch's new ideas and dissent eventually led to his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1926. By the late 1920s

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[192] Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow,* 67-68.
[193] Bean, "Nikolai Bukharin and the New Economic Policy," 83.
[194] See Dietrich, *Taboo Genocide*.
[195] The estimated number of unnatural deaths during the Russian Civil Wars of 1917-1923 stands between 6 and 9 million; the estimated average number of unnatural deaths during the Stalin regime (1924-53) stands at around 20 million. See Conquest, *The Great Terror;* White, Source List and Detailed Death Tolls; *Conservapedia,* s.v. "The Great Purge", Conservapedia.com, http://www.conservapedia.com/Great_Purge.
[196] See Hollander, *Political Pilgrims*; *Conservapedia*, s.v. "George Bernard Shaw," http://www.conservapedia.com/George_Bernard_Shaw.
[197] Mattick, "Karl Korsch."
[198] Mattick, "The Marxism of Karl Korsch."

Korsch completely broke with Bolshevism, stating that "its content and function [had] become a seemingly classless but in reality *bourgeois and anti-proletarian state ideology*"[199].

2.2.1 Cultural Marxism and Critical Theory

The Weil-funded Marxist seminar in 1922 that centered on Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy* eventually led to the founding of the Frankfurt School, called the Institute for Social Research, on February 3rd 1923 by members of the German Communist Party at Frankfurt University[200]. This institute was funded by Felix Weil's father who provided "a yearly income of 120,000 Marks"[201]. It officially opened on June 22 1924, was co-chaired by Felix and his father, and directed (3rd Feb 1923) by Carl Grünberg (1861-1940), after the future-appointed first director (1922), Fabian member Kurt Albert Gerlach, died at the age of 36 from diabetes before he could take up the position. Nevertheless, Gerlach left his 8000 volume library to Felix Weil, who then passed it on to the Institute.

Initially, Korsch had a large influence on the Frankfurt School in terms of his emphasis on praxis – practical political activism – and in terms of introducing the 'gradualism' of Fabianism[202]. By this time the Marxist-prescribed proletariat revolution was obviously not going according to plan, as signified by World War I (the working classes, rather than aligning with their class, gave preference to their nations and fought each other), so Marxist intellectuals of the Frankfurt School set about a "searching re-examination of the very foundations of Marxist theory" and reformulated it "with the dual hope of explaining past errors and preparing for future action"[203]. As they reworked Marxist theories they developed a new strain of Marxism that gave priority to the radical transformation of the cultural superstructure (foundations) of

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[199] Levitt, "Karl Korsch", 179-181.
[200] The Frankfurt School, the Tavistock Institute, and the Pan-Europa Movement are interrelated.
[201] Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination*, 8.
[202] Jay Bernstein, *The Frankfurt School*, 45.
[203] Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination,* 3-4.

Western civilization. They perceived Christianity and Western cultural traditions as obstacles to their revolution and so they set about devising ways to sever them at their roots. This Marxist ideology came to be known as *cultural Marxism*, a non-violent collectivist revolutionary ideology that seeks the gradual gain of power via destructive effects to cultural and political structures, such as the modification of laws, traditional political and educational institutions, and social organisations. William S. Lind, an American paleoconservative and author, explains that

> Cultural Marxism is a branch of western Marxism, different from the Marxism-Leninism of the old Soviet Union. It is commonly known as "multiculturalism" or, less formally, Political Correctness. From its beginning, the promoters of cultural Marxism have known they could be more effective if they concealed the Marxist nature of their work, hence the use of terms such as "multiculturalism"[204].

In this sense, cultural Marxism is like Fabianism in that it conceals its true socialist nature.

There were several European Marxist thinkers that had a significant impact on cultural Marxism: Georg Lukács (1885-1971), Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), and Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979). Lukács was born in Hungary to a wealthy banker, József Löwinger, and was named Bernát György Löwinger, but in 1890, five years after his birth, his father altered their surname to Lukács. One year after the Hungarian revolution (1918) the young Lukács became Deputy Commissar for education and culture for the short-lived (just over 4 months) Bela Kun Bolshevik regime in Budapest, Hungary. During this position Lukács was involved in what was called the *Red Terror*, named after the Red Terror in Soviet Russia by the Bolshevik regime under Lenin that involved mass-murder, torture, and oppression[205]. A pack of about 200 young men, the "Lenin Boys," sought out and killed counter-revolutionaries and dissidents in Hungary at this time[206].

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[204] Bill Lind, "What is Cultural Marxism?" and "The Origins of Political Correctness."
[205] See Geifman, "Red Terror in Soviet Russia."
[206] See Borsanyi, *The Life of a Communist Revolutionary; New York Times*, "Execute Joseph Cserny."

While he was Deputy Commissar Lukács sought to destroy established society along with the traditional values of the West, writing: "I saw the revolutionary destruction of society as the one and only solution" and the "worldwide overturning of values cannot take place without the annihilation of the old values and the creation of new ones by the revolutionaries". He described his methods as *cultural terrorism*[207]. One of these methods to undermine traditional Western culture was the introduction of a radical sex education program, which involved "special lectures and supportive literature...to instruct Hungarian children" about free love and sexual intercourse, to repudiate middle class family codes of monogamy, and "to deride and ignore the authority of parental authority, and precepts of traditional morality"[208]. In addition, the promiscuity and rebellion of women against patriarchy was promoted. Yet, Lukács was disappointed with the way the revolution had developed – it was a disaster – and soon asked "Who will save us from Western civilization?"[209]

In 1922 Lukács attended the Marxist work week in Thuringia, helping to found the Frankfurt School. In 1923 he published *History and Class Consciousness*, the same year that Korsch published his *Marxism and Philosophy*. In this work, Lukács develops a theory of reification, a "socially induced pathology" created by capitalist commodity fetishism that reduces all objects, subjects, and social relations to things without quality, and, as such, renders people "atomized and isolated". For Lukács, the only way to overcome this alienation is through a communist revolution that destroys the social forces, the Western cultural institutions that had enabled capitalism to obscure people from understanding the dominant forces that affect their lives[210]. This work influenced the development of Critical Theory.

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[207] Lukács as cited in Buchanan, *The Death of the West,* 75. Also see Löwy, *Georg Lukács,* 93, 119, 151.
[208] Borst, *The Scorpion and the Frog,* 106.
[209] Poetschke, *Memoirs from the Turbulent Years and Beyond,* 582.
[210] Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, s.v. "Georg [György] Lukács,", November 4 2013, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/lukacs/#HisClaCon; Bill Lind, "The Origins of Political Correctness".

Critical Theory was largely developed by the writings of Max Horkheimer, the son of a wealthy textile businessman and the director of the Frankfurt School in the 1930s, and Theodor Adorno, son of a successful German wine merchant, and director of the School in 1958. These influential thinkers developed Critical Theory in the 1930s and early 1940s, culminating in their jointly written book, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944). Critical Theory is a dialectical method of destructive critical analysis of the existing social, political, and economic order of the West in order to foster social change. Martin Jay, the Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley explains that "At the very heart of Critical Theory was an aversion to closed philosophical systems" and it "was expressed through a series of critiques of other thinkers and philosophical traditions"[211]. It reflected what Karl Marx stated in note XI in his "Theses on Feurbach", that "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it"[212]. Lind explains that Critical Theory "is simply criticizing. It calls for the most destructive criticism possible, in every possible way, designed to bring the current order down"[213]. Similarly, author Raymond Raehn defines Critical Theory as

> essentially destructive criticism of the main elements of Western culture, including Christianity, capitalism, authority, the family, patriarchy, hierarchy, morality, tradition, sexual restraint, loyalty, patriotism, nationalism, heredity, ethnocentrism, convention and conservatism"[214].

All of these organisations and ways of life were targets for change: they were to be "captured…converted" and "politicised" into agents of revolution by a slow and gradual infiltration[215].

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[211] Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination,* 41.
[212] Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," note XI.
[213] Bill Lind, "The Origins of Political Correctness".
[214] Raehn, "The Historical Roots of Political Correctness." Raehn has an MA in International Affairs and founded the United States Global Strategy Council in 1981.
[215] Buchanan, *The Death of the West*, 77.

Horkheimer, like the Fabians and other European Marxists, wanted "a subtle revolution" that would be undertaken by "the penetration and transformation of the cultural traditions and institutions of Western Civilization"[216]. However, following Hitler's rise to power (1933), the Frankfurt School was shut down and many members left Germany and immigrated to the USA. In 1934, Columbia University helped these 'political refugees' and set up a version of the Frankfurt School based in New York City, called the *Institute for Social Research*. Around this time, an *Emergency Program for European Scholars* and, as mentioned above, the Fabian University in Exile, were established and funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, and intended to bring these Marxist scholars to the USA[217]. These Frankfurt intellectuals began careers in America that impacted the 1960s counter-culture movements and eventually laid the groundwork for the social and psychological sciences that dominate Western academia today.

Adorno left Germany for New York in 1938, obtaining teaching positions at Princeton and Berkley, and in 1950 he published a major work, *The Authoritarian Personality*, co-authored with Else Frenkel-Brunswik and Daniel J. Levinson. Writing the preface of this work, Horkheimer states: "This is a book about social discrimination" and "the position of minorities in modern society, and more specifically the problem of religious and racial hatreds" associated with "the authoritarian type of man", a 'complicated personality syndrome' that can be measured according to an 'F Scale' (F stands for fascism)[218]. Focusing on conservative rather than leftist authoritarianism, this work argued that the traditional Christian family is the "seedbed of 'fascism'", anti-minority prejudice, and anti-Semitism and there is an "inherent authoritarianism of the father-figure", which is the genetic origin of the fascist mentality[219]. Raehn writes that *The Authoritarian Personality* "was premised on one basic idea", namely that

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[216] Bolton, *Revolution from Above*, 105.
[217] 100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation, "Refugee Scholar Program."
[218] Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality,* ix.
[219] Bolton, *Revolution from Above*, 106; Hammer, *Adorno and the Political*, 62-63.

"a society of Christianity, capitalism and the patriarchal-authoritarian family created a character prone to racial prejudice and German fascism"[220]. Of course, this meant that such a fascist and anti-Semitic Christian society and all its traditional institutions needed to be overhauled and replaced with a new liberal democratic secular society and new institutions conceived by the Critical Theorists. Here are a few select quotes from the book:

> It is a well-known hypothesis that susceptibility to fascism is most characteristically a middle-class phenomenon, that it is 'in the culture' and, hence, that those who conform the most to this culture will be the most prejudiced.
>
> The power-relationship between the parents, the domination of the subject's family by the father or by the mother, and their relative dominance in specific areas of life also seemed of importance for our problem.
>
> It would then be more understandable why the German family, with its long history of authoritarian, threatening father figures, could become susceptible to a fascist ideology.
>
> A tendency to transmit mainly a set of conventional rules and customs, may be considered as interfering with the development of a clear-cut personal identity in the growing child[221].

What he calls the "psychologisation of politics", Pat Buchanan, an American conservative politician and political commentator, asserted in 1993 that the authors of the *Authoritarian Personality* are Leftists who see "themselves as mentally healthy and morally superior" and they look upon their "conservative adversaries as morally retarded and mentally ill, people who do not need to be answered so much as they need to be cured – of attitudes rooted in a middle-class upbringing"[222]. The attempted "psychologization" of the conservative viewpoint was scientifically attempted by the scholars Brad Verhulst, Lindon Eaves, and Peter K. Hatemi in an *American Journal of Political Science* article in January 2012. They declared that conservatives were more prone to psychotism and authoritarianism than liberals[223], a view that has been repeated by many, such as Dr. Barry X. Kuhle, a Psychology professor at Scranton

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[220] Raehn, "The Historical Roots of Political Correctness."
[221] Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality,* 229, 314, 370, 385.
[222] Buchanan, "Demonising America's Middle Class."
[223] Verhulst, Eaves, and Hatemi, "Correlation not Causation," 34–51.

University in his June 12, 2012 piece "Conservatism as a Mental Illness" for *Pscyhology Today*[224]. However, in an article in the American Journal of Political Science in January 2016, titled "Erratum to 'Correlation not Causation: The Relationship between Personality Traits and Political Ideologies' American Journal of Political Science 56 (1), 34–51", the authors of the 2012 study admit they made a mistake; the findings of the study were "exactly reverse" – Liberals were more prone to psychotism and authoritarianism instead[225].

Another Marxist theorist that influenced Critical Theory and cultural Marxism was the Italian, Antonio Gramsci. Like the Frankfurt School theorists, he thought that in order to overthrow capitalism the cultural institutions of the West, the roots, had to be severed. Between 1929 and 1935, while in prison, he outlined a plan for a future revolution involving cultural changes from within, now well-known in his *Prison Notebooks*[226]. Although he died in 1937 his writings did not become published until the 1950s. These writings contain his theory of cultural hegemony (cultural dominance by the ruling class), and two methods for a counter-hegemonic force to eventually gain power: 'war of position' and 'war of movement'.

According to Richard Howson, Senior Lecturer and Head of the School of Social Sciences, Media and Communications at the University of Wollongong in Australia, the 'war of position' is the "struggle for emancipation" of the subordinated and marginalised classes; it is a "tactical struggle" that

> enables the opposition forces to break down the dominating group's socio-cultural influence and, simultaneously, works to disperse their military strength, giving the opposition the spatial and temporal conditions to develop a collective consciousness and a determined will to construct and employ their own strikeforce,"[227]

[224] Kuhle, "Conservatism as a Mental Illness."
[225] Verhulst, Eaves, and Hatemi, "Erratum to 'Correlation not Causation'," E3–E4.
[226] Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.
[227] Howson, *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity*, 19.

what is called the 'war of movement' involving "direct violence and force"[228]. Gramsci's strategy of 'war of position' is one of gradual infiltration, like Fabian 'permeation' and 'honeycombing'; it is, in the 1968 interpretation by Alfred Willi Rudi Dutschke, "a long march through the institutions"[229].

In America, the leading spokesman ('guru') for the counter-culture movement in the 1960s, the most influential and supportive figure associated with American political activism and the New Left, was Frankfurt theorist Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse was born in Berlin into an upper-middle class family. He joined the Social Democratic Party while a student and received his PhD in 1922 from the University of Freiburg. He helped co-found the Frankfurt School and then moved to the USA in 1934. During World War II he worked with the government on anti-Nazi propaganda, and after the war he taught at a series of Universities: Columbia, Harvard, Brandeis, and the University of California. The student rebellion, the resistance to the draft, and the Vietnam War provided the conditions for Marcuse to promote his work and that of the Frankfurt School. Two of his books, *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry Into Freud* (1955) and *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (1964) influenced the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the student movement as a whole, and the sexual 'revolution'. Along with another member of the Frankfurt School, Erich Fromm (1900-1980), who wrote about the so-called social construction of gender differences, Marcuse synthesised Freudian psychoanalytical theories of sexual repression and Marxist theory.

In *Eros and Civilization* (1955) Marcuse advocated the idea that sexuality was "by nature 'polymorphous perverse'" (natural sexual libido of infants to age five), a notion that emphasised sexual liberation from socially normative sexual behaviors via an infantile and

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[228] Ibid, 19.

[229] Dutschke, "On Anti-Authoritarianism," 249. Dutschke (1940-1979) was the leading spokesperson for the German student movement of the 1960s and was inspired by Gramsci and the Frankfurt School.

primitive Pleasure Principle[230]. In line with Fromm and others, he promoted free love, and thought that "sexual repression" is a product of capitalist society – "enforced by the interests of domination and exploitation" – and that "sexual liberation" would precede a socialist revolution[231]. According to Bolton, this "sexual revolution" meant the necessary "destruction of traditional concepts of family, parenthood and child rearing"[232]. To Marcuse and his ilk, gender, sex, marriage, and the family were merely social constructs that needed to be deconstructed for liberation to occur.

In *One Dimensional Man* Marcuse argued that new forms of social control - mass media, advertising, and industrial management - had stifled the negation of oppositional activity, creating a one-dimensional universe empty of critical thought and revolutionary potential. People, who had formerly been of revolutionary potential i.e. the proletariat were now, in mass-consumer society, 'assimilated', but this did not indicate "the disappearance of classes, but the extent to which the needs and satisfactions that serve the preservation of the Establishment are shared by the underlying population". He added, that "[u]nder the conditions of a rising standard of living, non-conformity with the system itself appears to be socially useless"[233]. In other words, the working classes were no longer a viable source for revolutionary socialism. As such, Marcuse sought out new sources. According to Douglas Kellner, a third generation Critical Theorist, Marcuse

> reflect[ed] upon the potential for liberation in Third World revolutionary movements, the possibilities of solidarity between those organisations and racial forces in the highly industrialised countries, and the potential for emancipatory social transformation in the New Left, student anti-war movement, feminism, black power, and other social forces of the era[234].

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[230] Marcuse, *Eros and Civilization,* 49-50.
[231] Ibid, 239.
[232] Bolton, *Revolution from Above*, 106.
[233] Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man,* 17, 13.
[234] Kellner in Marcuse, *The New Left*, 17.

Marcuse claimed that such opposition movements had the 'right' to stake moral and political demands against Western orthodoxy in their bid for 'natural liberation' and emphasised their marginalisation, oppression, and victimhood as central to their solidarity.

2.3 Fabianism, Cultural Marxism, Pan-European Socialism, and The New Left

The 'permeation' strategies of Fabian socialism and the 'long march' of Frankfurt School cultural Marxism manifested in numerous cultural and political developments and reforms in the wake of the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Sexual Revolution that were harnessed as sources of revolutionary social change. They have included: feminism, affirmative action, deconstruction (Derrida, 1967), the transformation of the traditional family, church, education, and morals, Third-World opposition movements, anti-nationalism, cultural contempt, anti-discrimination, liberal immigration reforms, 'White Privilege', 'White Guilt', 'Diversity is Strength', 'tolerance', Political Correctness, and multicultural*ism*. The new sources of radical social change were also found in the enormous waves of Third-World immigrants into Europe and the West from the onset in the 1950s of non-European mass-immigration and the resultant growth of significantly large ethnic immigrant communities.

By the 1950s and 60s the revolutionary efforts of Fabianism, cultural Marxism, cosmopolitan pan-Europeanism, and the various other socialist and anti-nationalist organizations and movements at the time had infiltrated social and political institutions and disseminated their ideologies into the educational institutions. Essentially they gave rise to a 'New Class' (Daniel Bell and Alvin Gouldner). According to Eric Kaufmann, Professor of Politics at Birkbeck College, University of London, the New Class is a "sector of post-industrial societies [that] tends to be liberal on cultural issues, university educated, and drawn from relatively

younger age cohorts" and who identify with the world rather than a specific nation or locale[235]. They have "reduced national pride and a greater embrace of liberal-cosmopolitan values"[236] and are the Critical Theorists and 'organic intellectuals'[237] of cosmopolitan national networks that gain support from the elite, thus increasing their social capital vital for political action. This was furthered by transnational networks, the expansion of higher education, and centralised television media which has perpetuated the cosmopolitan transformation of the West. Some of the consequences of these developments have been multicultural national narratives, colour-blind immigration, and more entrenched liberal democratic efforts towards European integration[238]. By the early 1970s the New Left on both sides of the Atlantic had splintered into separate groups, yet, armed with their cultural Marxist and socialist ideologies, they continued their 'long march through the institutions' promoting their anti-authoritarianism, anti-establishmentarianism, and the destruction and remaking of Western culture and society.

Like the claims found in the *Authoritarian Personality,* cultural Marxists employ a pessimistic tactic involving the repetition of the false idea that Western societies "are the greatest repositories of racism, sexism, nativism, xenophobia, homophobia, anti-Semitism, fascism, and Nazism"[239]. This is a tactic that is similar, if not directly taken from, the Communist Directive of the Moscow Central Committee of 1943:

> When certain obstructionists (to communism) become too irritating, label them, after suitable buildups, as fascist or Nazi [...] and use the prestige of anti-fascist and tolerance organisations to discredit them. Members and front organizations must continually embarrass, discredit and degrade our critics. Accuse them of being traitors to the war effort, fascists, Red-baiters, peace-destroyers, Quislings, labor-traitors… The association will, after enough repetition, become "fact" in the public mind[240].

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[235] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 381-382.
[236] Ibid, 382.
[237] This term was coined by Gramsci; they were the American New Left and the European 68ers.
[238] Kaufmann, "A Comparative-Historical Perspective," 382-383.
[239] Buchanan, *The Death of the West*, 80.
[240] Committee on Un-American Activities, *Soviet Total War,* 347.

Another strategy is the labeling of the opposition as mentally ill and/or in need of psychological reconditioning, as mentioned above. Yet, although the 'scientific' studies have been debunked, programs such a sensitivity and diversity training have been designed to instill "correct attitudes" in non-liberal non-conformists, essentially aiming to forcibly replace their values and views with "politically correct" ones. Still another tactic, particularly under the rubric of "tolerance" and "political correctness", is the complete intolerance and punishment of any criticism or resistance to the government enforced policies of multiculturalism and mass-immigration. Some of the methods used are dehumanisation, demonization, stigmatisation, job loss, hiring practice discrimination, removal of children from the family, and even arrest, incarceration, and fines, which are nefariously justified by accusations of racism, supremacism, white privilege, Nazism, ethnocentrism, and right-wing extremism.

Not only is Fabian and Frankfurt School socialism different from Marxist socialism by explicit strategy (gradualism versus violent revolution), it is also different by source of revolutionary potential: rather than the proletariat (working class) Fabians focus on the elites and cultural Marxists harness the marginalized and Third World racial groups. Yet both can be considered as elite forms of socialism, whether in intellectual, political, cultural, or economic terms, as they no longer focus on the working classes. They are bourgeois revolutionary theories that instigate revolutions from above, not below; they are not grassroots or democratic; they are plutocratic, oligarchic, and dictatorial. These socialist intellectuals 'march through the institutions' to effect a 'gradual' revolution from above and are sponsored by the capitalist forces they supposedly oppose[241].

According to Bolton, the

[241] Bolton, *Revolution from Above*, 268.

> "[s]trategy of international oligarchy is dialectics: the conflict of opposing forces that generates a *synthesis*. This dialectical method … [explains] why the oligarchy so often seems to be backing opposite ideologies, governments and policies."

Bolton writes further that

> "The oligarchs…apparently operate on the dialectical premise that what will result from their 'controlled conflict' [through imposed diversity] will be a socialist-capitalist synthesis which we might call the 'World Collectivist State'; a world order that will be communistic in organisation but run by oligarchs rather than commissars"[242].

And, to repeat H.G. Wells' criticism of Fabianism:

> Big Business is in no means antipathetic to Communism. The larger big business grows the more it approximates Collectivism. It is the upper road of the few instead of the lower road of the masses to Collectivism[243].

Some writers, such as the late journalist and author Pierre de Villemarest, suggest that the Pan-European Union, among other organisations, were "the vehicles for the Fabian ideals and objectives" and "the majority of movements with an internationalist, socialist calling, born in the thirties, and especially after 1945 were, if not created by, at least totally infiltrated and influenced by the Fabians"[244]. Whether or not this is true, there is no denying that the 'permeation' and 'long march' of Fabian and Frankfurt School socialism continues today in Europe and European-based countries in the policies and practices of multiculturalism, multiracialism and mass-immigration.

A good example of the relationship between cultural Marxism/Fabianism and Pan European cosmopolitanism can be found in the liberal multicultural theories of a prominent Canadian intellectual of Queens University, William Kymlicka. He has written that "there was a

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[242] Ibid, 268. An economic example of such a dialectic synthesis is 'Third Way' economics, as advocated by Fabian PM's Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, and the UK Fabian Labour government. This is an attempt to reconcile left and right wing politics through a synthesis of right-wing *economic* policies i.e. capitalism and left-wing *social* policies i.e. socialism. See Flavio Romano, *Clinton and Blair*.

[243] Wells, "The Envoy." Kalergi himself explained in 1925 that "The General Staff of both parties [capitalism and communism] is recruited from the *spiritual guide breed in Europe: Judaism*", Kalergi, *Practical Idealism*, 33 (my emphasis). Translation by Landgraf. Original German text: "Der Generalstab beider Parteien rekrutiert sich aus der geistigen Führerrasse Europas: dem Judentum."

[244] Aquilion, "Extracts from Pierre de Villemarest' book."

deep institutional embedding of multiculturalism" in Canada[245]. Initiated in the federal statement of multiculturalism in 1971 by PM Pierre Trudeau, multiculturalism was gradually implemented, step-by-step, in what Kymlicka and his colleague Keith Banting explicitly refer to (without citing) as part of the "*long march through the institutions* at all levels of Canadian society"[246]. In fact, according to Hugh Donald Forbes, political economy professor at the University of Toronto, Pierre Trudeau considered multiculturalism "a big political experiment" that had as its "aim" the testing and refinement of "a theory of how to overcome national or ethnic conflict". This experiment involved the deliberate mixing of

> the populations of existing states even further, with a view to ultimately separating state and nation altogether, thus undermining the psychological basis for an intense and exclusive state patriotism and preparing the way for the necessary transition to a world of semi-sovereign states (or provinces) under some form of global governance[247].

The same can be said of the policies and strategies of multiculturalism/multiracialism in all European nations; they are a strategic part of an elite project of demographic engineering that aims to alter the ethnic populations of European nation-states and create multiethnic cosmopolitan socieities under global governance. This is discussed in detail in later chapters.

[245] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model of Diversity," 71-74.
[246] Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 52 (my emphasis).
[247] Forbes, "Trudeau as the First Theorist of Canadian Multiculturalism," 34.

3. International and Geopolitical Developments

Kalergi's notion of Eurafrica lacked any explicit mention of the African peoples or the Arabs of Africa and peoples of the Middle East and their cultures becoming embedded in Europe via mass-immigration. Instead Kalergi envisioned the eventual Europeanisation of these peoples and cultures through modernization[248]. Kalergi thought that "Europe is bound together by the Christian religion, European science, art and culture, which rest on a Christian-Hellenic basis."[249] There was also no indication that Islam was integral to the foundation of European culture and societies, that Europe required cultural enrichment from the Third World, or that Europe required massive immigration in order to survive, things that are claimed today by leading European elites, as shown throughout this work. Kalergi made it quite clear that Europe had a distinct identity that contrasted with other cultures: "European culture is said to be proudly 'distinct from the Islamic, Buddhist, Hindu and Confucian cultures of Asia'"[250]. But this all began to change in the post-WWII era.

During World War II President Franklin D. Roosevelt developed a Fabian-influenced Wilsonian vision of the postwar era that stressed international free trade, national sovereignty, and shared security. Woodrow Wilson, famous for his principles of world peace (Fourteen Points), was a fan of Fabian socialism and Roosevelt himself was well-connected to the Fabian Society as his wife, Eleanor, and his economic adviser, Stuart Chase, who authored *A New Deal* (1932), were Fabians. In August 1941 the US and the UK released a joint declaration on their post-war goals, called the Atlantic Charter. In point 4 of the Charter it states that Britain and the USA would

> endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade

[248] However, as mentioned above, Kalergi did envision a mixed race of the future.
[249] Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan Europe*, 162, quoted in Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 74.
[250] Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan Europa,* 29, quoted in Villanueva, "Elusive 'Object of Belonging'," 75.

> and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity[251].

For Roosevelt the "equality of peoples" was a necessary element for his plan of international free trade to materialise: "The structure of the peace demands and will get equality of peoples. Equality of peoples involves the utmost freedom of competitive trade"[252]. The Atlantic Charter also included the dismantling of the old-world imperialist system and Empire, as well as global reductions in armaments, for the purpose of creating world peace (as set out by the League of Nations post WWI). Iin actuality it was more like an American-led neocolonialism masquerading as free trade.

Just before the Atlantic Charter was officially declared, at a dinner in August 1941 British Prime Minister Winston Churchill responded to the Roosevelt plan by saying "Mr. President, I believe you are trying to do away with the British Empire. Every idea you entertain about the structure of the postwar world demonstrates it"[253.] He was not wrong. Regardless of this critical stance, Churchill signed the Charter anyway. He was also heavily influenced by Fabianism, accepting the 1942 Beveridge report of the UK Fabian-Labour Party led by Fabian PM Clement Attlee and, like the Webbs and G.B. Shaw, called Stalin "Uncle Joe"[254].

In 1942, a short document which came to be known as the United Nations Declaration was signed by 26 nations that pledged to uphold the Atlantic Charter[255]. Then, in 1945, the United Nations Conference on International Organization resulted in the creation of the United Nations Charter, the foundational treaty of the United Nations. However, due to WWII atrocities, a clear and concise definition of the rights referred to in the UN Charter was required. Fabian member Eleanor Roosevelt chaired the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

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[251] Lillian Goldman Law Library, "Atlantic Charter."
[252] Elliott Roosevelt, *As He Saw It,* 35.
[253] Lens, *The Forging of the American Empire,"* 327.
[254] Young, "The Real Churchill."
[255] United Nations, "Declaration by United Nations."

Drafting Committee, which began in 1946, and the principal drafter was the Canadian socialist, John Peters Humphrey. On 10 December 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly as the first global expression of abstract human rights and the inherent entitlement of all human beings to these rights.

The 1941 US-UK Atlantic Charter and the development of other post-war Western influenced global institutions such as the United Nations, the UDHR, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and NATO, institutionalised a new global order based on notions of a Western 'peace'. This new post-war development influenced the opening of European and Western nations to non-European immigration from the Third-World. Before World War II immigration into European countries was mainly intra-Western and based on "white-only" selection criteria. With the creation of the UDHR, modifications to immigrant selection criteria were considered necessary so that immigration laws were consistent with Human Rights. UDHR requirements meant that for the international system the selection of immigrant sources would no longer be based on the grounds of race as this was considered racist[256]. In fact, as immigration was necessary to fuel economic growth for the international free-trade agenda of the Atlantic Charter, and because cheap European labour power was limited post-WWII, including in non-war torn Canada and the United States, it was vital that race was removed from immigrant selection criteria.

After WWII Europe needed a supply of cheap labour to begin the reconstruction process. As this was also a time when Western colonial powers were providing independence for countries in Asia and Africa and elsewhere, such as the West Indies, a significant amount of the labour power came from these areas. For example, the French had settled the Algerian coastal plain and aimed at integrating Algeria into the French nation as a province. Algerian

[256] See Cairns, *Charter versus Federalism,* 23-26; Jacobson, *Rights Across Borders,* Chapters Two and Six.

soldiers who had fought alongside the French during WWI had been given French citizenship and many Algerian citizens were recruited as cheap labourers in France in the interwar and immediate post WWII era[257]. France also recruited labourers from its protectorates, such as Tunisia and Morocco, the amount of which increased in the 1950s and 60s when they gained their independence, and also recruited from other African countries and from Turkey[258]. In Britian, the British Nationality Act in 1948 guaranteed the 'right of entry' to the Commonwealth citizens of their former colonies (West Indies, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India) and they were recruited as a cheap labour force, settling and working in the various industries in Britain[259].

However, the Marshall Plan (1948-1952) had ushered in an 'economic miracle' and many European economies were booming and, at this time, workers were sought from high unemployment countries in Europe, such as Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain to work as cheap labourers[260]. It was only about ten years after the war, after rebuilding was almost finished, that immigration was officially initiated from the non-European world. For example, on 30 October 1961, a bilateral labour recruitment treaty between Turkey and Germany was signed, which initiated temporary work permits and the arrival of large numbers of Turks as "guest workers" (mostly cheap and unskilled labourers), who, instead of leaving after their set time of employment (at first two years, then in 1964 this was extended, and family migration began too), stayed and established Turkish diasporic communities in Germany. Germany also signed recruitment treaties with Morocco (1963) and Tunisia (1965)[261].

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[257] See Bloomberg, "The French Algerians"; Fogarty, "Between Subjects and Citizens."
[258] Bouvier, "Vue d'ensemble," 13.
[259] See Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain.*
[260] Germany, for example, signed bilaterial labour recruitment agreements with Italy in 1955 and Spain and Greece in 1960. See Shonick, "Politics, Culture, and Economics," 719-736; Oezcan, "Germany: Immigration in Transition"; Kolinksky, "Non-German Minorities in German Society," 79-80
[261] See Akgündüz, *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe*; Castles, "The Guests Who Stayed," 517-534; Gottfried Volker, "Turkish Labour Migration to Germany," 45-72.

In Britain, the British Nationality Act resulted in a dramatic increase in the amount of non-European non-economic migrants because "family reunification meant that every pre-1962 migrant would bring in two or four subsequent migrants in the form of his family members"[262]. In response the Act was overturned by the conservative government under Harold Macmillan, who initiated the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act to control the entry of Commonwealth citizens into the UK[263]. The Labour government under Harold Wilson (1964-1970) further tightened administrative controls over immigration and in 1968 amended the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act so that "a British subject was free from immigration control only if he, or at least one of his parents or grandparents was born, adopted, registered, or naturalised in the United Kingdom"[264]. By 1971 another Immigration Act was passed by the conservative government under PM Edward Heath, which gave only temporary work permits to non-European immigrants and made provisions for assisting the voluntary repatriation of those migrants who had come to the UK under the British Nationality Act[265].

As a result of the temporary work permits, in the 1970s, a great deal of non-Europeans voluntarily migrated to the UK because of good employment prospects. They were considered "guest workers", cheap and temporary labourers who would eventually return to their home countries. But this did not occur. For example, Christian Karner, associate professor of sociology at the University of Nottingham writes that "[m]any South Asian workers initially intended their stays to be temporary and a means of socio-economic mobility – through higher wages and remittances – for themselves and their extended families at home", what is now known as the "myth of return"[266]. It was a myth precisely because many of these non-European

[262] Randall Hansen, *United Kingdom*, 2.
[263] UK Parliament, "Commonwealth Immigrants," Col. 161.
[264] Dummett and Nicol, *Subjects, Citizens, Aliens, and Others,* 202-203.
[265] National Archives, "Commonwealth Immigration Control and Legislation."
[266] Karner, *Ethnicity and Everyday Life,* 75.

economic migrants (and those recruited but refusing repatriation) settled permanently in the UK, staying after the collapse of industries and rising unemployment in the 1970s. They also brought over their families via family reunification laws, leading to the massive growth of non-European multigenerational communities that we see today. The same is true of all European nations who recruited former colonial citizens and non-European temporary workers between the 1950s and 1970s. A more detailed discussion of non-European immigration in select European countries is found in chapters 7 and 9.

Simultaneous to non-European immigration into Europe was the entrenchment of Fabian (Britain) and Frankfurt School (Germany) socialism into mainstream society on both sides of the Atlantic. These two very influential 'permeation' and 'long march' socialist-cosmopolitan movements, along with the efforts of liberal pan-Europeanism and emphasis on the new Universal human rights, entered the mainstream media and educational institutions and were promoting the destruction and remaking of Western culture via anti-nationalism, anti-traditionalism, liberal progressivism, and non-European immigration and rights. Meanwhile, other issues were developing in the Middle East that would essentially affect the ethnic character of Europe and further European integration for decades to come.

3.1 Middle-East Conflicts and Euro-Arab Cooperation, 1948-1979

Between the late 1940s and late 1960s the military and political power of Europe in the Middle East and the conflicts there led to changes within Europe and changes in the notion and plans of Pan-Europa. One of the pinnacle events was the creation of Israel. After decades of Zionist campaigning for a Jewish homeland[267] and in direct relation to the Holocaust[268], the State of

[267] Zionist founder Theodor Herzl pushed for a homeland after the Dreyfus Affair and established the First Zionist Congress in 1897, which founded the Zionist Organisation (1897-1960, renamed the World Zionist Organisation); then came the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and the British Mandate for Palestine in 1923.

[268] According to Tomer Kleinman, writing for the UCSB Oral History Project, the Holocaust was integral to the "founding and long term visibility of the State of Israel in three respects: The Holocaust motivated large numbers of

Israel was formally created on May 14, 1948 and was immediately attacked by Arabs from Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt who were opposed to its establishment. It was not until February 1949 that an official truce was made based on "formal armistice lines"[269]. Meanwhile, movements towards a Pan-Arabism and a re-politicization of Islam, a Pan-Islamism, had been brewing for decades, grounded in Muslim Brotherhood ideology and its offshoots, as well as the shared oppositional stance of Arabs towards the creation of Israel. On July 26th 1956, the Suez Canal, which was owned and built under the French and British Suez Canal Company and linked the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, "a vital route for oil travelling to Britain", was seized and nationalised by President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt[270]. This presented a problem for European geopolitical aspirations. Nasser considered European political influence in the Middle East as an effort "to perpetuate their colonial domination"[271], in turn, socialist premier of France, Guy Mollet, among others, thought that Colonel Nasser had aspirations "to recreate the empire of Islam around Egypt", that Pan-Islamism "conspires with Soviet Pan-Slavism", and that the Near East and North Africa has but "one game...being played", "the expansion of Pan-Islamism"[272]. In this context, in September 1956 the Liberal International in Stresa, Italy, voiced their support for a United Europe to counter President Nasser[273].

Nasser was already considered a danger to Israel due to his Pan-Arabism and a rising Pan-Islamism, and the nationalisation of the Suez Canal threatened the British economy,

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immigrants to move to the new country, providing the necessary population; secondly, the Holocaust enabled Israel to pressure Germany into supplying the economic base necessary to build infrastructure and support those immigrants; and finally, the Holocaust swayed world opinion so that the United Nations approved the State of Israel in 1948". See Kleinman, "Did the Holocaust Play a Role."

[269] U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, "The Arab-Israeli War of 1948."

[270] *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Suez Crisis," http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/ suez-crisis/ (accessed June 2014).

[271] US Department of State, Office of the Historian, "The Suez Crisis, 1956."

[272] Guy Mollet as cited in Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 457.

[273] Hansen and Jonsson, 457.

especially in the Cold War context. As a response Britain, France and Israel, without consultation with America, plotted to invade Egypt and overthrow Nasser. On October 29th 1956 Israeli forces invaded the Sinai Peninsula and approached "within 10 miles of the Suez Canal" and two days later Britain and France launched a bombing attack on the Canal Zone. On November 6th the US, concerned that the Soviet Union would intervene to aid Nasser (which they did), pressured Britain and France to "accept a United Nations ceasefire" and publicly censured Britain and France by voting for a UN resolution that condemned their actions[274]. Britain and France felt humiliated. Mollet tried to convince Anthony Eden, the PM of Britain, not to cave in to American pressure regarding the Suez, but without success and Chancellor of Germany, Konrad Adenauer, comforted Mollet, saying a united "Europe will be your revenge"[275].

In May 1967, while the New Class was rising and convulsing in the West, President Nasser was mobilizing army units in the Sinai and closing Israel's connection, the Gulf of Aqaba, to the Indian Ocean. This initiated what came to be known as the Six Day War. Israel launched an air assault against Egypt on the 5th June and by the 10th Israel had captured Jerusalem's Old City and the Golan Heights. As a response to the Western support of Israel in this war, particularly by the United States and Britain, and knowing their reliance on Arab oil, the Arab states imposed an oil embargo against them (June – September 1967). At the Oil Ministers Conference in Baghdad (June 9-18), a Resolution was passed by several Arab countries that held that

> Arab oil shall be denied to and shall not be allowed to reach directly or indirectly countries committing aggression or participating in aggression on sovereignty of any Arab state or its territories or its territorial waters, particularly the Gulf of Aqaba[276].

[274] US Department of State, Office of the Historian, "The Suez Crisis, 1956."
[275] As cited in Hansen and Jonsson, "Bringing Africa," 456.
[276] U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States,* Doc. 232.

However, this embargo had limited effect on the US or Europe as it was disorganised and ended with the Khartoum Resolution (1967)[277].

In the aftermath of the Six Day War the UN adopted Security Council Resolution 242 (November 1967), which states that "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" should include the "[w]ithdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" and the

> [t]ermination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force[278].

In 1970 the member states of the EEC established the European Political Cooperation (EPC) or Davignon procedure to cooperate in "consultation, coordination, and ... action in foreign policy matters", particularly on the Middle East conflicts[279]. The EPC had a Political Committee (political directors of nine Foreign Offices) and working groups, including a working group of Middle East experts. Then, in 1972, the European Commission issued a memorandum to the Council of Ministers that included "consultations with oil-exporting countries" based on mutual interests and the socio-economic development of these countries "in exchange for certain guarantees of oil supply and price"[280]. However, none of the member states acted on this suggestion.

A year later (1973), another war broke out in the Middle East, which was a crucial moment for Europe: the Yom Kippur War. The Arab world had become increasingly incensed by what they saw as the occupation of Arab territories by Israel and the pro-Israeli stance of the United States. On October 6th Egypt (under President Anwar Sadat), Iraq, and Syria, with the

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[277] Council on Foreign Relations, "Khartoum Resolution"; Jewish Virtual Library, "Israel-Arab Peace Process: The Khartoum Resolutions."
[278] United Nations Security Council, *Resolution 242 (1967)*.
[279] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 323; see also Ye'or, *Eurabia,* 70.
[280] Ibid, 325.

help of Jordan, Libya, and other Arab states, launched an attack on Israel. Israel mobilised and pushed back, taking part of the west bank of the Suez Canal. In an effort to effect Western policies on the Middle-East conflict, a second oil embargo was imposed on pro-Israel Western countries by the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) (decided on October 17th) and this time it was effective[281].

3.1.1 1973 Oil Embargo and the Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD)

In September 1960, five Arab and non-Arab petroleum producing countries – the Islamic Republic of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela – signed an agreement that signalled the establishment of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and their status as the core founding members of this organization. Qatar, Indonesia, Libya, the United Arab Emirates, and Algeria joined OPEC in the 1960s, Nigeria and Ecuador in the 1970s, and Angola in 2007. The 'mission' of OPEC is

> to coordinate and unify the petroleum policies of its Member Countries and ensure the stabilization of oil markets in order to secure an efficient, economic and regular supply of petroleum to consumers, a steady income to producers and a fair return on capital for those investing in the petroleum industry"[282].

In January 1968, OAPEC was established by Kuwait, Libya, and Saudi Arabia and aimed at separating politics from the production and sale of oil[283]. However, both OPEC and OAPEC effected an oil crisis between 1973-1974.

Simultaneous to the attack on Israel on October 6th 1973, delegates from OPEC met with Western representatives of international oil companies (IOCs) in Vienna to renegotiate the price of oil, with OPEC demanding a 100% increase. The negotiations failed. OPEC met without the IOCs in Kuwait on October 16th and agreed to increase oil prices by 70 percent, rising the

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[281] Spencer C. Tucker, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Political, Social and Military History*, s.v. "Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries," (ABC-CLIO, 2008), 1:752-754.
[282] Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, "Member Countries" and "Our Mission."
[283] See Tétreault, *The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries*.

price of oil to $5.11 per barrel. The following day OAPEC initiated an oil embargo, cutting production by an initial five percent and then a further five percent per month[284]. America, due to their emergency aid ($2.2 billion) as well as the supply of weapons and other provisions to Israel during the Yom Kippur War, was the main target for the oil embargo. In Europe, out of the members of the EEC at that time (Nine) only the Netherlands[285] was completely embargoed, Britain and France were not directly targeted (they had prevented the US from using their airspace to resupply Israel), and the other six, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Denmark, and Ireland were subject to the "phased production of 5 per cent a month"[286]. As Rotterdam was the biggest port in Europe and was completely cut-off, the embargo "created economic turmoil in Europe including Britain"[287]. Britain was reliant on Arab oil – it had imported 624 million pounds of oil from the Middle East in 1970 – and it was affected by the "overall cut" in Arab oil production, which amounted to 25% by November 1973, and was also affected by the rise in oil prices, which had increased by 470 percent in 1973 to over $11 a barrel[288].

On November 6th 1973, the Middle East working group of the EPC issued a Declaration on the Crisis in the Middle East. This Brussels Declaration included an interpretation of the UN Resolution 242: it stressed Palestinian rights and Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories of 1967 and a return to the 1949 armistice lines[289]. Then, at the Sixth Summit of the

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[284] Yergin, *The Prize,* 587-589; Leslie Hayward, "The Oil Weapon."
[285] Rotterdam is the largest port in Europe and one of the largest ports in the world and also happens to be considered the Islamic capital of Europe. See Sandro Magister, "Eurabia Has a Capital: Rotterdam," *Chiesa News*, 19 May 2009, http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/1338480?eng=y.
[286] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 326.
[287] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue 1973-1978," 108.
[288] Ibid, 107-108.
[289] This was the second official attempt by Europe (after the EC appeal on 13 October 1973 for "Suspension of Hostilities in the Middle East") regarding its involvement in the Middle East peace process, which had been overseen by America partly because the Suez Crisis had limited European influence in the region and partly because of the Soviet issue (Cold War). The Soviet Union was considered a threat to Western business interests in the Arab world and had provided arms to Egypt and Syria during the Yom Kippur War. See European Political Cooperation, "Statements of the Foreign Ministers and Other Documents, 1973."

Arab Conference held in Algiers November 28th 1973, Arab heads of state issued the Arab Declaration of Algiers, which defined their parameters for cooperating with the EEC, including the "demand that the countries of Western Europe cease their military and economic support of Israel"[290]. This Declaration prompted French President of the European Commission, Georges Pompidou, to call for an EEC Summit meeting in Copenhagen (15 December 1973) to discuss the Middle-East crisis. Pompidou and West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt[291] sponsored this meeting. Four Arab Foreign Ministers attended, delegated by the Arab Algiers Summit, laid out their political objectives and suggested various strategies, including the offer of a relationship between the two regions based on "mutually beneficial cooperation"[292].

The Europeans, including Britain, thought that dialogue with the oil-producing Arab states was important but they had three choices to consider regarding the oil embargo: 1) a European approach versus an American approach, which is what the Arabs wanted, 2) abidance of American demands for a collective Atlantic stance against the oil-producers, and 3), the replacement of common Atlantic or European approaches with bilateral relations between individual European countries and oil-producing countries[293]. The Nine of the EEC went to the Washington Energy Conference in January 1974 but France did not participate in the International Energy Agency set up to develop Atlantic Solidarity (2nd choice). However, in an effort to deal with the oil supplies and protect industrial interests that relied on energy resources coming from the Middle East, at a political cooperation meeting in Brussels on March 4th 1974 eight of the Nine Foreign Ministers (excluding Britain) decided to begin a dialogue with the Arab League states, known as the Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD). The EAD established a

[290] Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "19 Declaration of the Arab Summit Conference at Algiers."
[291] Willy Brandt became the head of the Socialist International in 1979, at a time when this organisation had become not just anti-colonialist and anti-nationalist, but also anti-Israeli and anti-American.
[292] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 96; Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 53.
[293] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 326-328.

multilateral economic forum that was designed to reinforce cooperation between the Nine of the EEC and the twenty Arab League states, cooperation that included "a wide number of economic, financial, technical, and cultural fields"[294]. The EEC perceived that such cooperation would bring about economic benefits for Europe from "expanded oil, commercial, and industrial markets", which included the "massive sales of arms, as well as of industrial and nuclear equipment"[295]. It was also a way for Europeans to further strengthen their relations amonst themselves so to protect against Arab discrimination and future embargos[296].

Britain initially had reservations about joining the EAD as they were concerned what impact it would have on not just British interests but also on Israeli and Arab relations and American attitudes for peace brokering in the Middle East. They were worried that the Dialogue might impede the peace process as it could turn into a political forum that focused on the Palestinian issue rather than an economic forum[297]. However, British PM Edward Heath (1970-1974), leader of the Conservative Party (1965-1975) and supporter of Resolution 242, thought that Britain needed a unified voice and a common European policy in dealing with the Arabs. On December 13th 1973 at the House of Commons, Heath stated that Europe needed a "long term policy with the Arab world" that would involve "investments, Arab countries' balances and development of the Arab world....on an enormous scale"[298]. On 30 December he spoke to US President Richard Nixon and argued for the importance of European solidarity and a common position on the Middle East issue. He said that Europe did not need "to provoke the Arabs" and must "lay plans for the long term" due to their reliance on oil[299]. In February 1974 Secretary of State of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) under the

[294] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 95-97.
[295] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 70
[296] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 97.
[297] Ibid, 95.
[298] UK Parliament, "Energy Supplies."
[299] Edward Heath as cited in Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 99.

Conservatives, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, said that "We do not believe that the European dialogue with the Arabs can damage American policies" and

> It is not the Soviet Union or the United States which will suffer from any Arab oil policy. It is Europe which will suffer, and the Arab countries now understand this. It is a fact of life. Obviously we want to get as much oil as we can to Europe, but we do not want to submit to blackmail (by the Arabs).

He further said that

> what the Nine and the Community are doing does not conflict with either the search of peace in the Middle East or with the follow up to the Washington Energy Conference… Our objective is to ensure that the Dialogue and the Community's plans or cooperation with oil producers are all properly coordinated so that what is eventually offered to the various Arabs is seen by them as coherent and convincing of Community goodwill[300].

Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, was suspicious of the motivations behind the Arabs proposal of a dialogue however; he thought it may undermine Atlantic solidarity in dealing with the oil producers and that the "Europeans will be unable to achieve anything in the Middle East in a million years"[301]. Americans thought that the main impetus for a distinct "European approach was coming from the French for traditional anti-US reasons" and this weakened Euro-American relations[302]. When the British Labour Party came to power on March 4th 1974 under PM Harold Wilson these relations improved. The FCO Secretary of State, James Callaghan stressed that the EAD "was not concerned with the peace process" but it would "secure Britain's oil interests", "enable the Community to resist Arab pressure", and encourage the Arabs to perceive Europe as "a natural source of expertise and assistance" and thus restrain their hostilities towards "European interests in the Middle East"[303]. Furthermore, Callaghan said that the EAD was a "reinsurance policy against further use of the oil weapon[304] in case Dr.

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[300] Sir Alec Douclas-Home as cited in Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 99-100, 107.
[301] Henry Kissinger as cited in David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 327.
[302] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 327
[303] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 100.
[304] The oil embargo was considered a 'weapon' because the control of oil was control over a vital commodity.

Kissinger's peace initiative fails" and in any case, "the United States as a superpower with its own oil was in a much safer position" than Europe[305].

Nevertheless, the Europeans were accused by the Americans of not acting like allies as they had not consulted the Americans about their decision to initiate the Dialogue. Kissinger refused to accept the decision of the Nine because he had not been officially informed and criticised them for their "self-assertiveness"[306]. He thought the Dialogue could lead to "European support for the line taken by radical Arabs" and opposed it at the ministerial level[307]. The US State Department accused the EEC of deliberately subverting the Atlantic Solidarity and endangering Kissinger's peace mission, and wanted the Brits to refuse participation in the EAD. But the EAD had no effect on this process.

Nonetheless, on 15 March 1974 Nixon disapproved the European move and warned them not to "gang up against the United States in political and economic areas or they would face a reduction in the level of US troops stationed in Europe"[308]. Nixon exchanged letters with German chancellor Willy Brandt and German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel regarding the European approach to the Middle East conflict. While Nixon did not disagree of a long term relationship between the Arab and European worlds, he had a problem with the timing of it i.e. the US led Middle East peace process. The West Germans argued for the importance of the Dialogue for the European Community but agreed that "consultation with Washington in the framework of trans-Atlantic co-operation should be improved". However, the French thought that consultation with America in regards to the EAD was, in practice, "subservience to American wishes" and outright rejected it[309].

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[305] James Callaghan as cited in Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 100.
[306] Henry Kissinger as cited in Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 97.
[307] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 98.
[308] Bernard Gwertman, "Nixon Cautions the Arabs not to Attach Conditions to Lifting of Oil Embargo," *New York Times*, 16 March 1974.
[309] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 98.

In March 1974, Gideon Rafael, Israeli Ambassador to the UK (1973-1977), phoned Callaghan "to express Israeli dismay over the European approaches to the Arabs" but Callaghan convinced him "that HMG's sympathy with Israel was not in doubt" and that Israel must "accept the need of HMG to make harmless gestures that would allay Arab feelings". Callaghan further told the ambassador "We (UK) could be no use to Israel if we were crippled by Arab action against us over oil for example". However, a few years later, the Ambassador of Israel to the EEC, Itzhak Minerbi (1978-83), claimed the Dialogue represented European "anti-Israel and pro Palestinian (Arab) policy". Yet the FCO did not consider the Dialogue to be anti-Israeli, but rather an economically motivated strategy. The British Labour government had traditionally close ties with Israel and had stated its intention to not jeopardize these relations. Callaghan thought that if Britain did not endorse the Dialogue then the Arabs might see the Brits as succumbing to pressures coming from Israel and the United States and this might result in compromised oil supplies. In addition, if the UK rejected the Dialogue then the European Community might consider the Brits as being subservient to American pressures, which may have led to conflicts in European relations and possibly sour associations on the whole between the EC and the Arabs[310].

On the 17th March, 1974 the OAPEC oil embargo ended. Callaghan met Kissinger in London on March 28 1974 and reassured him that the Dialogue would not interfere with the American peace process and that the British were committed to preventing the Dialogue from being politicised by the entry of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), as this would "be a politicisation of it". The Brits did not recognise the PLO as it was not a state or government and because it did "not recognize Israel" and continued its "policy of terrorism"[311]. At this

[310] Ibid, 101, 95-96.
[311] James Callaghan as cited in Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 102.

meeting Kissinger informed Callaghan that the Americans understood the need for good relations between the Europeans, British, and Arabs and approved British involvement with the EAD. At the European Ministerial Summit in Luxembourg, April 2nd, 1974, Britain became a member of the EAD.

3.1.2 Politicisation of the EAD and Promotion of Islam in Europe

According to Loughborough University professor, David Allen, the EAD was "an exercise in self-interest for the Nine", interests that included profitable markets for European technology, future oil supplies, and avoidance of politically significant support of the Arab cause in the Middle East[312]. For the sake of political sensitivity to American and Israeli interests, the EEC gave assurances that the Euro-Arab dialogue would not affect the Middle East peace process undertaken by America and it was not anti-Israel, and certain discussion topics at EAD meetings were forbidden: deals over oil price, the supply problem, and the Middle East conflict. Even though the EAD did arise out of the oil crisis, 11 of the 20 Arab League states were not oil exporters (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Somalia, Sudan, Mauretania, Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen) and other oil-producing countries were not members of the Arab League, such as Iran (not Arab). The EAD was not just about producer-consumer negotiations; many non-oil producers of the Arab League were involved in the Middle East crisis, such as Syria and Egypt. Therefore, political matters necessarily informed this Dialogue from the beginning. The Europeans were already well aware of the rise in Arab political power and their geopolitical aspirations, as evident in the warnings socialist premier Guy Mollet gave in the 1950s about the expansion of Islamism and the rise of Pan-Arabism, and the necessity of European integration to stave off this threat. European involvement in the Suez crisis and the 1973 Brussels and

[312] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 340-341.

Algiers Declarations regarding European foreign policy in the Middle East conflicts revealed the political character of Euro-Arab relations as well.

The first official meeting between Europeans and Arabs at the ministerial level occurred on July 31st 1974 in Paris to ascertain the foundation and organization of the Euro-Arab Dialogue. The Nine founded the European Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation (PAEAC) with the aim of improving European integration by initiating a common foreign policy between the member states and "improv[ing] political, cultural, and economic cooperation between Europe and the Arab world", and it met biannually[313]. The Arabs founded the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU) with part of its aim being the development of "mutual interests" and the "strengthening...of an overall cooperation between the Arab and the West European Countries"[314]. PAEAC and AIPU have met almost annually since 1974 at the Euro-Arab Parliamentary Dialogue conference, which takes place alternatively in Europe and the Arab world[315]. At the first conference in Damascus in 1974 (September, 14-17) the "Arabs set out their political preconditions for economic agreements with Western European countries," which included the withdrawal of Israel to 1949 armistice lines and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) with its leader, Yasser Arafat, as observer in discussions and negotiations of the EAD[316].

On May 11th 1975 the EEC and the ECSC signed trade agreements with Israel[317]. A month later the PAEAC met at Strasbourg, June 7-8. At this meeting recognition of the "historical contribution of Arab culture to European development" and "the contribution that the European countries can still expect from Arab culture, notably in the area of human values"

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313 Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 54.
314 See Arab Inter-parliamentary Union, "Regional and International Activities"; UNESCO, "Arab Inter-parliamentary Union."
315 MEDEA, "Euro-Arab Parliamentary Dialogue."
316 Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 55.
317 Ehlermann, "The Institutional Context of EEC-Israel Economic Relations," 215.

were discussed. Also deliberated was the provision of the "means" created by the Arab countries, to enable Arab immigrants in Europe "to participate in Arab cultural and religious life" in their respective host countries, and included the propagation of Islam and the Arab culture throughout Europe, which was a priority of the EEC. To a large extent these discussions had been stimulated by a study on the conditions of Euro-Arab cooperation submitted to the economic commission of the PAEAC by Belgian member, Tilj DeClercq. He wrote that

> A medium and long term policy must henceforth be formulated in order to bring about economic cooperation through a combination of Arab manpower reserves and raw materials, and European technology and 'management'.

This essentially promoted further Arab-Muslim immigration into Europe. DeClercq also suggested that a "genuine political will must be at the base of the concrete plans for cooperation and must be demonstrated on three levels: the national level; the level of the continent; and at world level"[318]. In other words, economic integration was not possible until political support for Arabs in the Middle East was clarified.

DeClerrq's suggestions were elucidated in a speech given to a 1975 Euro-Arab Cooperation meeting in Amsterdam by Dr. Ibrahim A. Obaid, Saudi Arabia's director-general of the Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources and EAD delegate. He said that for the sake of peace the EEC should work toward "an Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories foremost of which is Jerusalem" and should "suspend all military and economic assistance to Israel until it abides by the UN resolutions 242 and 388". In response to Obaid, Dr. Louis Metzemaekers, Chief Editor of the financial newspaper, *Financieel Dagblad* in Amsterdam, agreed that

> the EEC member countries....should exert all possible diplomatic and political pressure at its disposal to convince Israel of the Palestinians' national rights [but]....such a European activity would not force Israel to withdraw from their occupied territories[319].

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[318] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 64-66.
[319] E.L.M. Volker, *Euro-Arab Cooperation,* 179, 188-189.

DeClerq's proposals were accepted by PAEAC and integrated into their resolutions, which included calls "for news coverage more favourable to Arab causes, as well as special conditions for Arab immigrants" such as the equal rights of Arab immigrant workers in Europe to that of national citizens[320]. The resolutions were published in July 1975 in *Eurabia*[321], a journal first published in 1970 by the European Committee for Coordination of Friendship Associations with the Arab World. This journal outlined an essential aim of the Euro-Arab Dialogue, a "continent-wide foreign policy unity, so as to become a global alternative to American power"[322]. The EAD, according to *Eurabia*, had to express "a joint political will" and European authorities had to create "a climate of opinion" that was "favourable to the Arabs". If Europe was to cooperate with the Arab world then it was necessary for Europe to "reaffirm their confidence in the Euro-Arab friendship and their respect for the millennial contribution of the Arabs to world civilization"[323]. In other words, the EAD was becoming politicised and effectively opened Europe up to not just further Arab-Muslim 'manpower' but also the promotion of Islam, essentially reversing the aims of Pan-Europa (Kalergi) and contradicting the supposed termination of the bilateral temporary migrant labour agreements in 1974[324].

Two days after the PAEAC meeting in Strasbourg, the Arabs and Europeans convened at the first meeting of experts (EAD) in Cairo (June 10-14, 1975). A Joint Memorandum was

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[320] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 65. Because most of the foreign-labourers that were recruited en-masse by various European countries in the 1950s and 1960s were not citizens and were considered as 'temporary' workers who would eventually go home, they were denied various rights, including those associated with the labour market, residence, political participation, and social security. Once they began to be granted long-term residence their legal status changed and hence their access to national rights was improved. See Castles and Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration,* 70.

[321] See Bat Ye'or, "Who Invented Eurabia?" *New English Review* (blog), 5 March 2012, http://www.newenglish review.org/blog_direct_link.cfm/blog_id/41014. The term Eurabia is a portmanteau of Europe and Arabia. Although used for the title of the journal *Eurabia* in the 1970s, Bat Ye'or defined the concept in the early 2000s to mean the Islamisation and Arabisation of Europe.

[322] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 63.

[323] As cited in Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 64.

[324] The labour agreements were terminated in the 1970s because of high unemployment and economic issues generated by the oil crisis. However, the termination of these agreements amounted to the end of the recruitment of unskilled labourers rather than labourers as such, with 'skilled' non-European workers continuing to arrive in European nations. See chapters 3 and 7.

issued that outlined the principles and aims of the EAD, including a detailing of the working group areas. The Memorandum stated that "The Euro-Arab Dialogue is the fruit of a common political desire" and that "The establishment of a cooperation of the two groups is inspired by neighboring ties and a common cultural heritage, as well as by their complementary and convergent interests". It listed several areas of cooperation, which included a section on 'Cooperation in the fields of culture and civilization' that "should embrace education, the arts, science, and information" and also cooperation with the Arab workforce in Europe, involving the equal treatment of immigrants in three main areas: employment, working and living conditions, and social security benefits[325].

The second EAD meeting convened in Rome (July, 22-24, 1975). Here the Arabs enquired about a meeting where political issues could be discussed, which was stalled by the Europeans. However, the discussion of political issues was becoming essential, as all the preparatory work had been completed. This occurred in Luxembourg, 18-20 May, 1976. At this meeting the organisational structure and procedures of the EAD were defined. The structure of the Dialogue was outlined as threefold: a General Committee, the Working Committees, and the Coordinating Committee[326]. The highest organ of the EAD, the core decision making body and platform to raise political issues, was the General Committee (GC). It maintained the focus of EAD goals (political, cultural, social, technological, and economic) and its meetings were prepared by a Coordinating Group – expert working groups that represented an institutional framework (within EPC) for dealing with projects in seven areas of cooperation: "Industrialisation, infrastructure, agriculture and rural development, financial cooperation, trade, scientific and technological cooperation, and cultural, social, and labour questions"[327].

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[325] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 67-68.
[326] Ibid, 57
[327] Commission of the European Communities, *Fourth Meeting*, 2.

The cooperative partnership of Euro-Arab trade for example, increased dramatically in the 1970s. In September 1976 the European Commission issued a report on Euro-Arab trade developments, revealing that there was a 334 percent increase in EEC exports to the Arab world between 1970 and 1975 and Arab-EEC trade with the world more than doubled, from 6.2 to 12.6 percent[328]. In 1974 alone, EC exports to Arab countries amounted to $13.2 billion accounting for 48 percent of total imports to the Arab League[329].

At the Luxembourg meeting (May, 1976) the Arabs pressed for a Foreign Minister level meeting, and their ultimate goal, a Summit meeting with Heads of Government, but the Europeans resisted. The Arab side questioned the European stance on the Middle East conflict and repeatedly focused on political issues of the Dialogue. The Europeans reiterated the November 1973 decision (UN resolution 242) and that the Nine were supporting the consideration of the idea of Palestinian rights, particularly national identity. Although the EAD was supposed to be based on economic initiatives only – channelling the political into economic developments – the adoption and reiteration of resolution 242 in effect addressed the political issues of the Arab side of the EAD i.e. the Israeli-Arab conflict and sympathy for the Palestinians. The EAD was effectively politicised, yet this move was a strategy in an effort to stall the complete politicization of the EAD and retain good relations with the Arab world.

Although the European approach aimed at being apolitical – the economic development of Arab countries – the Arabs demanded that political preconditions be fulfilled for progress in economic agreements. As a reponse the EAD was put on hold until the Dublin Solution of February 1975. European Foreign Ministers did not want to endorse the Arabs political demands and met in Dublin on February 13th to discuss how to get around formally

[328] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 337-338.
[329] Zakariah, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 107.

recognising the national compositions of delegations i.e. the PLO, so as to not discuss political issues. They decided to not permit national identities at the EAD meetings; rather, the Arabs and the Europeans "were to meet in the form of single European and single Arab delegations without national identification"[330]. However, Arabs appointed PLO representative, Ahmad Sidqi Al-Dajani, as the leader of the Arab delegation[331].

At the GC meeting in Tunis, February 1977, guidelines were laid down for the future and a group was created to establish procedures to deal with financial contributions for the various projects being discussed (i.e. economic development in the Arab countries). The Arabs gave a budget of $350,000 for EAD activities. The Communique of this meeting involved the

> transfer of technology, commercial cooperation (specifically an Arab request for the establishment of a 'Euro-Arab Trade Cooperation Center'), the protection and encouragement of investment, a number of industrial contracts, cultural cooperation, and finally, the living and working conditions of migrant workers[332].

"Cultural cooperation'" involved the Arabization and Islamization of European culture, and the encouragement, initiated by the Arab League and abided to by the Europeans, of Arab-Muslim immigrants to retain their cultural traditions in their new countries of residence. Included in this was discussion on the establishment of "a program for intensifying Euro-Arab cooperation in the media and information domain"[333]. Such cultural inroads were advocated by a Euro-Arab Seminar titled *Means and Forms of Cooperation for the Diffusion in Europe of the Knowledge of Arabic Language and Literary Civilization* that was held at the University of Venice from March 28 to 30, 1977[334]. This Seminar proposed a common culture for the "north and south shores of the Mediterranean" and offered nineteen recommendations[335] for the formation of Euro-Arab

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[330] Ibid, 97.
[331] Soliman, "The Euro Med Partnership," 4.
[332] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 336.
[333] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 82.
[334] Ibid, 91, 271.
[335] See Hopwood, *Euro-Arab Dialogue,* 317-23.

Cultural Centers in European capitals for the diffusion of Arab culture and language within Europe. Two years later, the Arab League Secretary General, Chedli Klibi proposed an "information" or "propaganda campaign" that had a "special, primary role" that would influence "all the international communities, especially Europe and America", a project that was fully approved by European leaders and the European Council[336].

On June 29 1977, the Nine of the EC issued a Declaration in London that stated in article 2, "the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967"[337]. Then at the 3rd session of the GC in Brussels on October 26-28, 1978 the Europeans furthered the politicisation of the EAD by reiterating these demands, including

> Israel's withdrawal to its 1949 borders; Israel's obligation to recognise the national rights of the Palestinians; and the invalidation of all measures and decisions taken by Israel in the administered territories outside the 1949 borders, including Jerusalem[338].

Also at this Brussels meeting, the Europeans contributed 3.5 million from the Community budget to the Dialogue for feasibility studies (of projects) and the Arabs contributed 15 million, all of which would be used for projects in the Arab states[339].

The fourth meeting of the GC in Damascus, December 9-11, 1978 was at the ambassadorial level and further confirmed the cultural and migratory inroads of Arabs into Europe. The stance of the EAD on the Middle East conflict was once again initiated and discussion of Euro-Arab cultural cooperation called for a significant demonstration of the closeness of Euro-Arab relations to be made at the Hamburg symposium, September 17-21, 1979. This session also produced the *Damascus Declaration*, which effectively provided Arab countries the right to transfer their culture, customs, and people into Europe[340].

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[336] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 91, 93, 83.
[337] European Council, "Statement on the Middle East," 93.
[338] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 58.
[339] David Allen, "The Euro-Arab Dialogue," 336.
[340] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 95.

While the 1977-1978 meetings took place between Europe and the Arabs, Washington was overseeing the Israeli-Egyptian peace negotiations at Camp David. Egyptian president Mohamed Anwar El Sadat addressed the Knesset on 20 November 1977, warning that

> Any talk about a just and lasting peace, any step to guarantee our living together in this part of the world in peace and security, while you occupy Arab lands by armed forces would be meaningless; there can be no peace built on the occupation of the land of the others[341].

However, Egypt ended up accepting the Egypt-Israel peace treaty (1979), which was rejected by the Arab League and, consequently, Egypt was expelled from the League (but later became a member again). This Egypt-Israel peace treaty led to a temporary suspension of the Dialogue.

The Iranian-Khomeini revolution in 1979 created another oil crisis, particularly for Western Europe, whereby Iran and OPEC reduced their oil production and caused huge inflation (11.5%). However, this stimulated the revival of the EAD along with an enforcement of the political requests of the Arabs. Chairman of OPEC, Mana Ben Saeed Al-Otaiba at the September 30th symposium in Rimini, Italy (1979), which saw the United Nations, the European Communities, the League of Arab States, and OPEC in attendance, declared threateningly that "We must all work together to calm this situation – this smouldering in the oil fields must be damped down otherwise it will burst into flames and then there would be no more oil to supply the industrialised countries with". He went on to say that

> Our cooperation should therefore be based on moral educational principles so that Europe should play its part in putting an end to injustice and restoring the people of Palestine to their rights. Unless these aims are adhered to, it will be difficult for Europe to have her petroleum supplies guaranteed[342].

[341] Soliman, "The Euro Med Partnership," 1.
[342] Cited in Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 81-82.

In June 1980 the EEC and the PLO met and the EC issued the Venice Declaration, which repeated that Israel must withdraw to 1949 lines and stated that Israeli occupation of territories prevented the peace process in the Middle East[343].

Israel had claimed West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in 1948, and in 1967 declared the whole of Jerusalem as the "eternal, undivided capital of Israel"[344]. This was a problem for the Arabs who claimed that this annexing of Jerusalem (or Al Quds in Arabic) was "a challenge to humanity as a whole". At the Fez Islamic Conference, September 18-20, 1980, which was the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers on the Question of Jerusalem, several resolutions were passed that aimed to "deny Israel's *right* to Jerusalem". Resolution 2 was a "commitment of Islamic countries to mobilise all their political, financial, petroleum, and military potentials to counter the Israeli decision of annexing Al Quds" and threatened any country that acknowledged and contributed to the Israeli position with a "political and economic boycott" and resolution 4 urged the Security Council "to adopt military and economic sanctions against Israel"[345]. Clearly, the Israel issue was central to EAD negotiations and dialogues.

3.2 Euro-Arab Cooperation and Integration, 1985 - 21st Century

In June 1985, France, Germany, and the Benelux countries signed a document called the *Schengen Acquis* that focused on the gradual elimination of the internal border controls between them. This agreement aimed to create the conditions for the free movement of Member State nationals, goods, and services across internal borders and "to strengthen the solidarity between their peoples"[346]. Schengen was implemented in 1990 by what is now known as the *Schengen Agreement*, which involved articles dealing with the harmonisation of

[343] See European Council, *Venice Declaration*.
[344] Dumper, "Jerusalem," 122.
[345] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 84-85, 278.
[346] EUR-Lex, "The Schengen Acquis - Agreement."

laws and regulations for policing and security across member states and the creation of a single external border[347]. The core five countries were joined by Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Austria, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden in the 1990s[348].

Various other European integration and common European foreign policies developed further in the late 1980s and the 1990s. In 1986 the *Single European Act*[349] (SEA, 1986) was adopted, and in 1991 the *Maastricht Treaty*[350] was approved by European heads of state and introduced Citizenship of the EU, which has been enforced since December 1st 2009 via an amended (2007) Treaty on the Functioning of the EU[351]. The Maastricht Treaty emphasised the collective definition and application of a common foreign and security policy for the EU and its members states. In 1992 *Maastricht Treaty on European Union* (TEU)[352] set down three pillars of the EU: the European Communities, a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and Cooperation in the Fields of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) (renamed Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC) in 2003). The CFSP enforces a common European foreign policy on member states and the JHA creates shared judgments on asylum and immigration policies as well as cooperation in civil and criminal matters, including terrorism[353].

The official establishment of the European Union came about with the enforcement of the *Maastricht Treaty* in 1993. The early EU was the amalgamation of earlier EEC treaties that focused on economic unification as key to the formation of a political union, along with the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Coal and Steel Community

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[347] EUR-Lex, "The Schengen Acquis – Convention."
[348] General Secretariat of the Council, "The Schengen Acquis."
[349] EUR-Lex. "The Single European Act."
[350] See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Maastricht Treaty," https://www.britannica.com/event/Maastricht-Treaty (accessed June 2014).
[351] See Part Two "Non-Discrimination and Citizenship of the Union," article 20, EUR-Lex, "Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union."
[352] See EUR-Lex, "Treaty of Maastricht on European Union."
[353] See Gerbet, "The Second Pillar of the European Union"; EUR-Lex, "Common Foreign and Security Policy"; Gerbet, "The Third Pillar of the European Union"; European Council, "Justice and Home Affairs Council Configuration (JHA)"; Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 103.

(ECSC). These three international communities, involving France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries, signed the *Merger Treaty* (Brussels Treaty) in 1965[354], which was enforced in 1967, and brought all three communities under a single institutional structure, the European Communities, which were "the first organisations based on supranational integration"[355]. In 1973, Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom joined as did Greece in 1981 followed by Portugal and Spain in 1986. In June 1993 at a European Council meeting in Copenhagen the criteria for membership in the European Union were laid down and have since been called the Copenhagen Criteria[356]. The European Council, the European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice, and the European Court of Human Rights have since clarified these criteria. They require that the

> candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union[357].

Two years later, Austria, Finland, and Sweden became Member States as did Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia in 2004. In 2007, Romania and Bulgaria became EU members, and in 2013 Croatia became the 28th member. In response to EU enlargement, another treaty, the *Treaty of Lisbon* (2007), which was implemented in 2009, amended the founding treaties with the aim of "enhancing the efficiency and democratic legitimacy of the Union and to improving the coherence of its action"[358]. Essentially this treaty aimed to reform and improve the function and structure of the enlarged European Union.

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[354] See "Treaty establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission."
[355] Valls, "The European Communities," 2.
[356] EUR-Lex, "Acession Criteria (Copehenhagen Criteria)."
[357] European Parliament, "Presidency Conclusions," 7.A.iii.
[358] EUR-Lex, "Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union"; EUR-Lex, "The Treaty of Lisbon: Introduction."

The gradual abolition of internal borders between EU member states created the need for a common policy on refugees, which began with the *Dublin Convention* (1990) that aimed to

> guarantee adequate protection to refugees in accordance with the terms of the Geneva Convention of 28 July 1951, as amended by the New York Protocol of 31 January 1967 relating to the Status of Refugees, hereinafter referred to as the 'Geneva Convention` and the 'New York Protocol' respectively[359].

The Convention came to be known as the *Dublin Regulation*, of which there have been two versions: the Dublin II Regulation (2003)[360] and the Dublin III Regulation (2013)[361]. The Dublin Regulation established the grounds to determine which states were responsible for processing asylum applications, and is essentially an effort to prevent irregular migrants entering Europe from making "multiple asylum claims or 'forum shopping' within the European Union"[362] whereby they choose a preferred destination country, usually a rich and generous welfare nation, to claim asylum rather than the first country they enter.

There were various other treaties, agreements, and conventions in the 1990s that further incorporated European nation-states, dissolved internal borders for the free movement of peoples, focused on humanitarian measures when dealing with immigrants, and strengthened external borders. For example, articles 17 through 20 of the *Edinburgh Agreement* (1992) outlined various preconditions for the Free Movement of Persons, including efforts that would protect against "dangers for public security" and would combat "illegal immigration". Article 25 (Migration) was concerned with the protection of immigrants against racism and the full implementation of European Council policies on the integration of legal immigrants[363]. In relation to the gradual erasure of internal borders was the issue of the creation of a single external border and the protection of this border from the illegal entrance

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[359] EUR-Lex, "Convention Determining the State Responsible."
[360] EUR-Lex, "Dublin II Regulation."
[361] EUR-Lex, "Regulation (EU) No 604/2013."
[362] Immigration Law Practitioners' Association, "Dublin III Regulation."
[363] European Parliament, "Conclusions of the Presidency," 9-10.

of foreign nationals. The *External Frontiers Convention* (1993) provided an initial approach to this matter, such as a proposal on decisions about external border crossings by third country nationals and the necessity of visas[364].

In terms of external border management and the prevention of organized crime (e.g. people smuggling and illegal immigration) it was necessary to develop intergovernmental cooperation and coordination among the police and judicial authorities of member states, which was established with the signing of the *Amsterdam Treaty* in 1999. Under this treaty member states essentially transferred some of their powers to the European Parliament, such as immigration legislation, civil and criminal law adoption, and foreign and security policy by "laying down the regulations and general conditions governing the performance of the duties of its Members". The Amsterdam Treaty also reiterated a major objective of the EU:

> to maintain and develop the Union as an area of freedom, security and justice, in which the free movement of persons is assured in conjunction with appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime[365].

This treaty also outlined the main objectives of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP):

> The Union shall define and implement a common foreign and security policy covering all areas of foreign and security policy, the objectives of which shall be: to safeguard the common values, fundamental interests, independence and integrity of the Union in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter; to strengthen the security of the Union in all ways; to preserve peace and strengthen international security, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, as well as the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the objectives of the Paris Charter, including those on external borders; to promote international cooperation; to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms[366].

The European Council on Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) has since developed efforts to improve cooperation in the areas of migration, asylum and security, such as the External Border

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[364] Commission of the European Communities, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, "Proposal for a decision, based on Article K3."
[365] European Parliament, "Treaty of Amsterdam," 43, 8.
[366] Ibid, 9-10.

Practitioners Common Unit (2002),[367] composed of members of the Strategic Committee on Immigration, Frontiers and Asylum (SCIFA)[368] and national border control services.

In 2004 the EC developed the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex), which aims to improve "procedures and working methods of the Common Unit"[369]. It "promotes, coordinates and develops European border management in line with the EU fundamental rights charter applying the concept of Integrated Border Management" and is in close cooperation with other EU agencies involved in Freedom, Security, and Justice, such as the European Police Office (Europol), the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), Eurojust (people-smuggling and trafficking), the European Police College (CEPOL), and the EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)[370].

3.2.1 Euro-Arab and Euro-Mediterranean Relations and Funding

After the Cold War ended Europe became more active in the establishment of Euro-Arab and Euro-Mediterranean relations. In 1995, the European Institute for Research on Mediterranean and Euro-Arab Co-operation (MEDEA) was established in Brussels with the aim of enhancing cooperation and development in the Mediterranean basin and further improving Euro-Arab relations. At the first Euro-Med conference in Barcelona, November 27-28, 1995, which was attended by 15 EU members and 12 non-members, including the Palestinian Authority[371], MEDEA developed a comprehensive Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED) that brought together Israel, the EU member states, and nine Arab states. The Barcelona delegates issued

[367] EUR-Lex, "Integrated Management of External Borders."
[368] European Council, "Strategic Committee on Immigration."
[369] Frontex, "Origin."
[370] Frontex, "Mission and Tasks."
[371] See "The Barcelona Process or Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Euromed)."

the *Barcelona Declaration*[372], which sought to transform the Mediterranean basin into a zone of cooperation, dialogue, and exchange, and has aimed at guaranteeing "peace, stability, and growth in the Mediterranean Partner Countries", a plan that has been further implemented by the Final Declaration of the EUROMED Forum meeting in Brussels, October 27-28, 1998[373].

EUROMED focused on cooperation through political, cultural, and economic fields, but with the political channeled through economic and socio-cultural projects, so as to not compete with American political mediation in the Middle East. It had three objective pillars: Political and Security Partnership, Economical and Financial Partnership, and Social, Cultural and Human Partnership, and focused on increasing Muslim immigration into Europe from Arab and Muslim countries and maintaining their status as a preferential source of immigrants[374]. In fact, in 2003 the advisory group to Romano Prodi, former president of the European Commission, stated that "the ground" needs to be prepared "to bring peoples and cultures together" and that within the next half century the two parts of the Euro-Mediterranean (European and African/Arab) area would have integrated their day to day life. This preparation will involve more efforts towards the creation of civil societies, such as educational programmes, that have ended "the discriminations from which European citizens of immigrant origin still too often suffer", and, in particularly, it intends

> to create conditions favourable to the harmonious combining of cultural, and particularly religious, diversity, of untrammelled freedom of conscience in every dimension, with the *neutrality of the public realm*. Once all these conditions are present they can ensure an inclusive process of secularisation without which racist (particularly anti-semitic and islamophobic) prejudices could persist[375].

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[372] See European Union External Action, "Barcelona Declaration."
[373] See "Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED)."
[374] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 252.
[375] European Commission, Report by the High-Level Advisory Group, 5 (my emphasis). Also see Tassinari and Holm, "Values Promotion and Security Management in Euro-Mediterranean Relations."

In other words, European ethno-cultural nation states in particular will be deliberately transformed into "neutral" and secular public environments of cultural and racial plurality favourable towards non-European immigrants, a process that will accomodate the Arabisation, Africanisation, and Islamisation of European cultures and populations.

Out of the Barcelona Declaration came the main financial instrument of the European Union for the enactment of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED), the Mediterranean Development Assistance program (MEDA[376]). Between 1995 and 1999 MEDA allocated €4.685 billion of tax-payers monies for "financial cooperation" of the countries of the Euro-Med and this was increased to €5.35 billion between 2000 and 2006. In 2003 the European Commission signed three MEDA-funded programs that amounted to €32 million. At the second meeting of the Policy Dialogue and Co-ordination Committee of the Facility for Euro-Mediterranean Investment and Partnership (FEMIP) in April 2003, the European Investment Bank (EIB) approved €1.5 billion for investment in Arab countries. A few months later, at its third meeting in Naples FEMIP announced that the Bank had given out more than €1.8 billion of new loans and also approved €1.8 billion of new investment operations in the Muslim world. About 90 percent of MEDA resources have benefitted the Mediterranean partners of Europe rather than Europe itself, which include Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and the Palestinian Authority[377].

3.2.2 Anna Lindh Foundation, European Neighbourhood Policy, and Union for the Mediterranean

In Brussels, June 2002, the Euro-Arab Parliamentary Dialogue, which brought together delegates from the PAEAC and AIPU, wanted to create another foundation to develop Euro-

[376] See MEDEA, "MEDA Program."
[377] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 108, 246, 201-202, 109

Arab joint cultural and educational programs. In October 2003 Romano Prodi said that the foundation would "give concrete form to the principle of co-ownership, of the feeling of belonging"[378]. This 'feeling of belonging' was explained in the same month by a High-Level Advisory Meeting in Brussels, mentioned above, which stated in their report that "feelings of belonging now work as intersecting circles, and no longer as concentric or juxtaposed circles" – it is no longer about people defining "themselves by opposition to others". According to this report, individuals do not first and foremost belong to an ethnicity, country, or region, but individuals act as individuals – "each person for themself" – and, next, act as world citizens[379]. In other words, they are are at once individuals and cosmopolitans, with nothing in between.

In Naples, on 2-3 December 2003, the Sixth Meeting of Euro-Mediterranean Ministers of Foreign Affairs met as part of the Barcelona Process and recommended the formation of a Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly, a Euro-Mediterranean Bank for Euro-Mediterranean Investment, and a Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue of Cultures. In addition, this meeting also stressed the importance of Ministers accepting the following ongoing programs: Euromed Heritage, Euromed Audio-Visual, Euromed Youth, and Euromed Platform Youth[380]. In Dublin in 2004, May 5-6, EUROMED founded the Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue of Cultures, which has since established HQ in Alexandria, Egypt. It aims to "bring people together from across the Mediterranean to improve mutual respect between cultures and to support civil society working for a common future for the region"[381]. It was named after the Social Democratic Party member Anna Lindh, who was assassinated in 2003.

In 2004, the EU developed the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) to govern its cooperation with its 'Southern' neighbours, (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya,

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[378] Prodi, "Sharing Stability and Prosperity," 5.
[379] European Commission, Report by the High-Level Advisory Group, 14.
[380] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 232.
[381] Anna Lindh Foundation: EUROMED, "Mandate and Founders."

Morocco, Palestine, Syria, and Tunisia) and its 'Eastern' neighbours (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine). Its aim is the "strengthening [of] the prosperity, stability and security of all" and it is rooted in "the values of democracy, rule of law and respect of human rights"[382]. The EU utilises the ENP to "achieve the closest possible political association and the greatest possible degree of economic integration" with its southern and eastern neighbours and as such, is "a key part" of the foreign policy of the EU[383]. The ENP was "revitalised" in 2011, partly as a response to the Arab Spring and the Syrian crisis, and aimed to strengthen EU relationships with neighbouring countries "through a 'more funds for more reform' approach" and included support for any "progress towards deep democracy, sustainable economic and social development"[384]. It was further revised in November 2015, mostly as a response to the rise in instability and Islamism in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as Islamist terrorism in Europe and the 'migrant crisis', and promoted its own "universal values" including "democracy, human rights and the rule of law and economic openness" for stability in the region, particular "in political, economic, and security related terms"[385]. In support of (and to incentivise) any achivements towards universal values, open economies and so on, the EU provides "financial support; economic integration and access to EU markets; easier travel to the EU; and technical and policy support" to their southern and eastern neighbours[386]. ENP funding is overseen by the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI), which allocated a budget of €12 billion between January 2007 and the end

[382] European Commission, "European Neighbourhood Policy."
[383] European Union External Action, "European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)"; Eurostat, *Euro-Mediterranean Statistics*, 7.
[384] Eurostat, *Euro-Mediterranean Statistics*, 7; European Commission, Joint Communication by the High Representative of The Union For Foreign Affairs.
[385] European Commission, Joint Communication to the European Parliament, 2; European Commission, "European Neighbourhood Policy."
[386] Eurostat, *Euro-Mediterranean Statistics*, 7.

of 2013, over €9 billion of which went to the southern neighbours[387] and was replaced by the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) in 2014, which has an allocated budget of over €15.4 billion for the period 2014-2020[388]. The vast majority of the EU funds goes to their southern and eastern neighbours for bilateral cooperation programmes[389].

In 2008 the original partners of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership established the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)[390], which is based on the Barcelona Process (1995) and encourages "economic integration and democratic reform across 16 neighbours to the EU's south in North Africa and the Middle East", including Albania, Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, Palestine, Syria (now suspended), Tunisia, Turkey, with Libya as an observer[391]. At the international level, UfM seeks to "advance to the wider world" the following principles that define its "own creation":

> democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law[392].

The European push for a Union of the Mediterranean continues to work towards the early Twentieth century notion of Eurafrica. In 2007, French President Nicolas Sarkozy spoke in Dakar and suggested that Eurafrica still remained the destiny of the two continents:

> What France wants to do with Africa is co-development...shared development….a joint strategy within the globalisation process....a jointly negotiated policy on immigration....What France wants to do with Africa is to prepare the advent of Eurafrique, this great common destiny which awaits Europe and Africa[393].

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[387] European Commission, European Neighbourhood and Partnership Initiative, 13; European Commission. "Southern Neighbourhood."
[388] EUR-Lex. "Regulation (EU) No 232/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council."
[389] European Commission, "European Neighbourhood Policy."
[390] See Soliman, "The Euro Med Partnership."
[391] See European Union External Action, "Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)"; Union for the Mediterranean.
[392] European Union External Action, "About the European External Action Service (EEAS)."
[393] Kwani Trust, "Africa, Le Pauvre."

On 17 December 2008 he gave an impassioned speech on diversity at the École Polytechnique de Paliseau, suggesting that "diversity should be set in the stone of the constitution" and advocated *métissage,* which denotes "the mixing of racial or ethnic groups[394]. He said that he wanted more ethnic diversity in the media, in politics, and in the elite schools and aimed to "end the stranglehold of France's white, monocultural elite"[395]. In a 2011 speech on Europe in Toulon (December 1st) he stated his goals: "a capitalism of production, regulated globalization, regulated finance, sustainable development, a new role for the state in the economy and a new European and global governance"[396]. In August 2014, the European Commission issued a press release stating the launch of a Pan-African Programme that will fund activities totalling €415 million and "offer new possibilities for the EU and Africa to work together" [397]. This Programme will continue until 2017 and "will contribute to increased mobility within the continent as well as between Europe and Africa", movements that involve student exchange programmes as well as "labour mobility" involving African migration to Europe[398].

As part of the enlargement plan towards a Euro-Mediterranean Union, the European Union has developed strategies for greater integration with the Arab and Muslim world as well as Africa, as evidenced by ENP partnerships and efforts to align culturally, economically, and politically with various Muslim countries, as discussed above. In this sense, the Union for the Mediterranean is not just about a cultural, political, and economic parternship and convergence with Africa but also with the Arab world, what some have called Eurabia[399]. British Labour politician, David Miliband, gave a speech in 2007 in Bruges, Amsterdam, which spoke of the enlargement of Europe that entailed a

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[394] Gastaut, "The 'Immigration Question," 341.
[395] Chrisafis, "Sarkozy Declares War on Elitism."
[396] France in the United Kingdom, "President Sarkozy's Keynote Speech on Europe."
[397] European Commission, "EU Launches New Programme to Support Africa's Continental Integration."
[398] Salami, "The EU's 'Eurafrica' Roots."
[399] See chapter 14.

> version of the European Free Trade Association that could gradually bring the countries of the Maghreb, the Middle East and Eastern Europe in line with the single market, not as an alternative to membership, but potentially as a step towards it[400].

In 2009 David Cameron, who has been advised by Tariq Ramadan[401], said to Muslims in Britain:

> It's not enough, as I've said many times, for a party like the Conservatives to open the door, and say 'come on in,' if all you see is a sea of white Christian faces. You need to see people from your own communities getting to the top of the army, getting to the top of the legal profession, getting to the top of business and, yes, getting to the top of the Conservative party and politics too[402].

Cameron has also declared his vision for the British capital: a world capital of Islamic finance[403].

In response to the 2015/2016 'migrant crisis', increased terrorism in Europe, continued destabilisation in the Middle East and North Africa, and Brexit, a June 2016 EU Global Strategy document titled "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe" declared that the the ENP will continue to support the EU's eastern and southern neighbours

> in implementing association agreements, including Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (DCFTAs). We will also think creatively about deepening tailor-made partnerships further. Possibilities include the creation of an economic area with countries implementing DCFTAs, the extension of Trans-European Networks and the Energy Community, as well as building physical and digital connections. Societal links will also be strengthened through enhanced mobility, cultural and educational exchanges, research cooperation and civil society platforms. Full participation in EU programmes and agencies will be pursued alongside strategic dialogue with a view to paving the way for these countries' further involvement in CSDP [Common Security and Defense Policy].[404]

EU High Representative Federica Mogherini, who oversaw this document, presented a new EU Global Strategy on foreign and security policy to EU leaders on June 28th 2016 in Brussels[405]. She essentially re-stated the basic claims and aims of the document, in which she had said that

> We live in times of existential crisis, within and beyond the European Union. Our Union is under threat. Our European project, which has brought unprecedented peace, prosperity and democracy, is being questioned.

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[400] Miliband, "Europe 2030: Model Power Not Superpower."
[401] See The Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch, "UK Foreign Office Hosts Meeting Including Tariq Ramadan."
[402] "Exclusive – 2/2 – David Cameron at the Conservative Muslim Forum Eid Party."
[403] Pizzi, "Cameron: London can be a World Capital of Finance."
[404] European Union Global Strategy, "A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy," 25.
[405] European Union External Action. "High Representative Mogherini."

She also declared that

> Grounded in the values enshrined in the Treaties and building on our many strengths and historic achievements, we will stand united in building a stronger Union, playing its collective role in the world[406].

Two days before Mogherini's presentation, a document titled "A Strong Europe in a World of Uncertainties" by German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier and French Foreign Minister Jean-Marc Ayrault, suggested the creation of a reformed Europen Union based on further political and economic integration and the handing over of important national sovereign powers to Brussels, the seat of the EU[407]. Nick Gutteridge writing for the *Express* newspaper stated on June 28th 2016 that a "long-held plan" for a new EU superstate was unveiled by European political chiefs, which involves merging all EU member states into one "giant superstate" whereby "EU countries will lose the right to have their own army, criminal law, taxation system or central bank, with all those powers being transferred to Brussels". They would also lose control over their national borders including the Dublin procedure regarding asylum seekers and refugees[408].

In the 'Strong Europe' document Steinmeier and Ayrault write that France and Germany, two of the 27 EU member states, will lead this EU integration reform. Such reform includes things like a common European Union army, police force, border and coast guard, a common criminal system, and the "continuous intensification of political governance as well as fiscal burden sharing". In terms of foreign policy, the reformed EU project will provide "joint initiatives in stabilisation, development and reconstruction in Syria and Iraq" and further intensify

> dialogue and cooperation with third countries in North Africa, the Sahel strip, the Lake Chad Basin, West Africa, the horn of Africa and the Middle East, as well as regional and sub-regional organisations (African Union, G5).

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[406] European Union Global Strategy, "A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy," 7.
[407] Rinke and Carrel, "German, French Ministers Plan for 'Strong Europe in Uncertain World.'"
[408] Gutteridge, "European SUPERSTATE to be unveiled."

And in terms of migration, the EU will remain "open to what migration and mobility can contribute to our societies in the fields of the economy, culture and diversity" and will develop a common asylum system that excludes "unilateral national answers to the migration challenge", promote a common responsibility to asylum seekers, and improve the Dublin system to ensure "a permanent and binding mechanism" of "burden sharing" among all European Union member states[409].

Once again, France and Germany are attempting to lead European integration, a project that began as an elite Pan-European socialist movement initiated by Kalergi involving the creation of a geopolitical bloc called Eurafrica that has morphed into an incredibly expensive, risky, and complex cosmopolitan and collectivist project of engineered cultural and racial plurality, Euro-Mediterranean partnerships involving new forms of geopolitical hybridity (Eurafrica, Eurabia), socialist marches through the institutions, the pervasive spread of universal values and public neutrality, non-European mass-migration, and the gradual but sure erasure of European national sovereignty and distinct ethnic identities.

[409] French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, "A Strong Europe in a World of Uncertainties."

Part II

Deep Ideological Currents

4. Original to New Cosmopolitanism, and a Critique

There are many models of cosmopolitan thought throughout Western history, from the ancient Greeks and Stoics to liberal, pluralistic, and new cosmopolitanism today. Cosmopolitanism describes a variety of different moral and/or political views envisioning human beings as citizens of a single community. A widely accepted definition holds that "cosmopolitanism is the ideology that all human ethnic groups belong to a single community based on a shared morality" and it "may entail some sort of world government or may simply refer to more inclusive moral, economic, and/or political relationships between nations or individuals of different nations"[410]. Contemporary cosmopolitanism is usually normative and critical of the current reality and rests on the notion of world-openness. According to Gerard Delanty, British sociologist and Professor of Sociology and Social & Political Thought at the University of Sussex, critical cosmopolitanism is "a condition of openness to the world and entailing self and societal transformation in light of the encounter with the Other"[411]. This is often linked to global justice. According to Gillian Brock, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, cosmopolitanism aims to "prohibit discrimination, exploitation and aggression towards others, and is, therefore, at least potentially a significant force in the struggle to secure justice on a global scale"[412]. However, according to Pheng Cheah, Professor of Rhetoric and Chair of the

[410] This definition is found in several e-study guides for various textbooks. Such as Baylis, *The Globalization of World Politics*.
[411] Delanty, "The Idea of Critical Cosmopolitanism," 41.
[412] Brock, "Cosmpolitanism and the Struggle for Global Justice," 179.

Center for Southeast Asian Studies at UC Berkeley, contemporary cosmopolitanism is an 18th century intellectual minority ethos that has been turned into a vision of an "institutionally embedded global political consciousness" and has no basis in actual reality[413]. Various forms of cosmopolitanism[414] have been central to socialist, neoliberal, and neoconservative elites who, in an effort to transform societies in the post-WWII Western world, have used cosmopolitan ideals to emphasize and justify mass-immigration, multiculturalism, anti-nationalism, one worldism, universal values, world citizenship, mass-culture, global governance, and the erasure of borders and national ethnic identities in Europe and European-based countries (the West).

4.1 Cosmopolitanism

The etymological origin of the word cosmopolitanism comes from the ancient Greek *kosmopolites* meaning citizens of the world. Diogenes of Sinope (c. 412 BC), founder of the Cynic movement, has been credited for creating the term cosmopolitan but actually had "little concern for others" and his 'I am a citizen of the world' was a "quip" rather than a serious statement about his existence[415]. Nevertheless other ancients had a very "strong notion of universal morality" and a common humanity, such as the Stoics[416]. Stoicism, a Hellenic philosophy that began in the third century B.C.E., considered the universe to be rational, purposeful, and orderly and asserted that human beings are free and rational creatures governed by and expressive of natural or divine law[417]. It held that as all human beings are rational creatures with divine reason they share a common humanity or nature that transcends "accidental differences of environment, language, ethnicity or civic status" and leads "to

[413] Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism", 486.
[414] According to Joachim Berger of the Leibniz Institute of European History the "18th-century masonic tradition of cosmopolitanism could be transformed into an organisationally tangible 'chain of international brotherhood'". See Joachim Berger, "European Freemasonries, 1850-1935," 26.
[415] Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Presumptions?" 1230.
[416] Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan Imagination," 28.
[417] Thornton, *Greek Ways*, 175.

affinity for other humans[418]. Being human meant belonging to a common humanity or inherently possessing cosmopolitan citizenship.

Early cosmopolitan thinkers such as Stoics like Zeno of Citium (333-264 B.C.E.) and Cleanthes (330–230 B.C.E.) proposed a united community encompassing all races and classes, as well as the abolishment of private property, sexual inequality, and 'natural' slavery[419]. A few centuries later, Seneca (4-65AD), a statesman of the Roman Empire, an advisor to Nero, and a Stoic and a Christian, embraced the notion that human beings are part of the cosmos and are interconnected through fellowship and reason; natural law enabled humans to form a "universal community that transcended geographic place, social position, or national citizenship"[420]. Later Stoic thought envisioned a utopian world, a "universal society" where worldly citizens were united by justice and philanthropy in common brotherhood in a 'great city of gods and men'[421]. Constantine, the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity, strived to establish a universal Christian empire that "would be global, permanent, and harmonious" and would come about by the art of peace, the Pax Romana[422]. This was an ecumenical idea, a utopian teleological metanarrative culminating in the Christian Empire, which was seen as a perfect, universal, and eternal state of humankind in promise of a lasting peace. Such religiously-derived cosmopolitan idealism necessarily involved the idea of a single world government and world citizenship; such notions were inseparable from imperialism, such as that witnessed in 18th century Western history[423].

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[418] Ibid, 80.
[419] Ibid, 175; Joseph Vogt, *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal Man*.
[420] Lee Trepanier, "Seneca," in *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*, edited by Deen K. Chatterjee (Springer Netherlands, 2011), 993.
[421] Joseph Vogt, *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man*, 35.
[422] Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 45.
[423] David Miller, "Cosmopolitanism: a Critique," 80.

4.1.1 Kantian Cosmopolitanism

By the mid-18th-century a 'cosmopolitan' was defined as "a man without a fixed abode, or better, a man who is nowhere a stranger" and who was "not subservient to a particular religious or political authority ... [or] biased by particular loyalties or cultural prejudice"[424]. A century later, cosmopolitanism had become embedded in philosophical convictions and moral ideals of a universal human community and the word cosmopolis meant "a city inhabited by people from many different countries"[425]. The most exemplary example of such thinking was Immanuel Kant who developed a cosmopolitan moral theory that has remained central to cosmopolitan thought since the Enlightenment. Although the ancient Greeks and Stoics had imagined that human beings have a natural affinity between and amongst themselves as the effect of divine reason and natural law that brings mankind together in fellowship under a benevolent world government, Kant stressed another aspect of human beings that has also drawn significant attention throughout the ages: human beings were not only social but also antisocial and possess both an affinity and aversion for the Other.

Drawing on all those giants before him, Kant put forward his now famous notion of the 'unsocial sociability' of human beings. As discussed elsewhere in this work, he perceived human history as progressing through a natural and mutual mechanism of antagonism between people who are naturally striving to serve their own interests, an agonism that was competitive and essentially benefits human society by drawing out all the latent human potentials possible. He thought this competitive antipathy was driving human history to an end point, a final destination of humanity: a perfect universal kingdom of ends and solidarity, a world federation

[424] Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, s.v. "Cosmopolitanism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2014 Edition), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/.
[425] Solesbury, *World Cities, City Worlds*, 26.

of states in perpetual peace. Kant's theories were based on the notion of cosmopolitan right and seen as the philosophical origin of cosmopolitan thought in our own age.

Writing during the height of the industrial revolution and the French Revolution Kant wrote several significant essays and books that laid the groundwork or philosophical foundation for his views on a cosmopolitan world order, which included *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1784), *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795), and *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797). According to Robert Fine, a British sociologist and scholar on cosmopolitan social theory, Kant perceived his age as having a universal community of people already; it was a commercial age involving world relations based on world trade. However, in this state of affairs, states, acting in their own interests, armed themselves against other states and, as such, increased the risks and costs of war. This gave impetus to a desire for a federation that would prevent war and aim towards peace, for "peaceful exchange is more profitable than plunder"[426]. As war needed to be excluded as a means to settle tensions and conflicts between states they had to be resolved in other ways. In this context, Kant laid out a blueprint for a constitutional global federation based on cosmopolitan right and a general rule of international behaviour.

Kant thought the best way to a lasting peace was a voluntary federal association between states that would gradually realise international law. His cosmopolitan model for a lasting peace was based on a federation of republican states, states where legislative and executive powers were divided and representation and respect for the right of freedom of citizens were realised. According to Thomas Mertens, professor of law at Radboud University in the Netherlands and author of around 100 publications, Kant held that all republican states possessed "political sovereignty and territorial integrity", and, as a "general rule of

[426] Fine, "Kant's Theory of Cosmopolitanism and Hegel's Critique," 614

international behaviour" they "should consent...to consider each other" as such and respect each other's autonomy. In order to protect these qualities of sovereignty and integrity and thereby reduce the chance of conflict and war between states, Kant wrote that international law meant states did not have the right "to forcibly interfere in another", even if a state is despotic. He described the state as a "moral person" that is "not a possession of a ruler" and it thus cannot be "acquired" by another state. Humanitarian intervention to bring freedom to a people or political community is also not a legitimate action for another state to undertake, for such intervention would render state independence "insecure". Although a despotic state violates the rights of its citizens it has the right to form its own identity even if is not based on freedom; it is not violating the rights of other states by doing so, and so there is no right or obligation of other states to interfere. The only justified reason for military interference in a state is when it threatens the integrity or sovereignty of other states[427].

According to Pheng Cheah, because Kant thought human sensibilities were not wholly rational, being based as they are on self-interested impulses, they tended toward disobedience of moral law, so Kant's cosmopolitan rationale did not mean universal freedom in a kingdom of ends. Instead, only a world based on a "simulacrum" of ends is possible, a place where cosmopolitan normativity cultivates hope and minimizes disobedience and gradually instills a sense of humanity, solidarity, and sympathy through cultural reforms, global social communication, and education in the arts and sciences[428]. According to Fine and Will Smith's reading of Kant, cosmopolitan right is "the duty to work towards perpetual peace that a cosmopolitan order would facilitate"[429]; the ideal of the highest political good is "a duty everyone ought to fulfil whether or not it accords with their inclinations" for it "is binding even

[427] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 330-331.
[428] Cheah, "Cosompolitanism," 487.
[429] Fine and Smith, "Jürgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 480. Will Smith is currently an associate professor in the Government and Public Administration department at the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

if there were not the slightest possibility of its realization"[430]. It is obligatory precisely because it is "a demand of reason itself"; it is a rational necessity not derived from experience or inclination but from the divine reason of Providence or Law of Nature[431].

Mertens describes Kant's cosmopolitan or international right as aiming towards peaceful relations between a "plurality of independent political communities" and is limited to universal hospitality. States are obligated to respect and be friendly towards other existing political communities and strangers – they have the right not to be plundered or enslaved – and foreigners have the right to hospitality when they voluntary visit or accidentally arrive in a foreign political territory – they have the right of visit and enter into friendly relations. Even though foreigners have this right, however, they do not have the right to remain indefinitely as a guest as this requires special treatment, i.e. legal rights and benevolence bestowed by the political community. As citizens belong to the state, their fatherland, by birth, they are distinguished from aliens who are foreigners that do not have the natural right to belong and are therefore not entitled to demand residency or citizenship. If a foreigner requests membership and aims to settle in a foreign state his admission or exclusion is decided by the political community who have the right to expel the person from their territory as long as it does not result in his death. Today,this is known in refugee law as non-refoulment[432].

Kant's cosmopolitanism vision of a world federation of separate states in perpetual peace did not intend for the elimination of the different characteristics of nations to create a world state ruled over by a single coercive government[433]. Kantian cosmopolitan or international right entails the right of every nation to its own identity and the existence of autonomous nations. Hence the "plurality of nation states" is a necessary condition for

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[430] Kant as cited in Fine, "Kant's Theory of Cosmopolitanism and Hegel's Critique," 614.
[431] Fine and Smith, "Jürgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 480.
[432] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 332-333.
[433] Fine, "Kant's Theory of Cosmopolitanism and Hegel's Critique," 613.

cosmopolitan right. If the plurality of separate nations were fused into a world republic then it would mean the end of internationalism, the elimination of rooted national differences, such as language and religion, the end of freedom, and interference in the creative drive of human progress, unsocial sociability. It would probably lead to a universal monarchy and despotism; one state would naturally desire to dominate all others and, through coercion, would violate the "will", sovereignty, and integrity of autonomous states[434].

Kant thought a world republic would be forcibly imposed upon other states, republican or despotic, by a single nation that represents itself as universality, of the true interests of humanity, but is not a true universality but a pretence by a particularity[435]. In an effort to prevent universal despotism through world government, Kant surmised that a world federation "based on mutual co-operation and voluntary consent among a plurality of independent states"[436] would exclude war and favour "legal proceedings" as the means to solve conflicts and tensions in international relations. Such a federation would keep nations separate, maintain distinct national characteristics, and defend national patriotism, thus guaranteeing peace by "an equilibrium of forces and a most vigorous rivalry" between nations[437].

4.1.2 Proletarian Cosmopolitanism

Since the Enlightenment cosmopolitan thinking has become increasingly anti-national and focused on issues of global justice. One of the most prominent examples from the mid-19th century that continues to inform contemporary cosmopolitanism is the proletarian cosmopolitanism of Karl Marx, which saw history as one of class struggle and aimed to replace free market capitalism with a socialist utopia. According to Pheng Cheah, the cosmopolitan

[434] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 341.
[435] Ibid, 331-343.
[436] Fine, "Kant's Theory of Cosmopolitanism and Hegel's Critique," 613.
[437] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 342.

unity of Marx was similar to the basis of Kantian global solidarity: it was grounded in economic activity and transcendent of territorial borders making civic society cosmopolitan in essence. Yet, in contrast to Kant, Marx thought the nation was distinct from civic society and was an ideological instrument of the state that invoked "anachronistic quasi-feudal forms of belonging in modernity", an instrument of class rule wielded by the bourgeois. For Marx, global forces of production exploited the masses of working classes in the world and had inadvertently created a universal proletarian class that transcended the nation in cosmopolitan solidarity. In an effort to overcome capitalist exploitation and bourgeois cosmopolitanism he argued that a global proletarian revolution against nationalism was necessary, which would usher in a socialist and post-national cosmopolitan age[438]. But no such revolution has ever occurred.

4.1.3 Critical Cosmopolitanism: Jürgen Habermas

Beginning in the early 20th century there was a cultural turn towards socialist leftism. Bourgeois radicals of the Frankfurt School, such as Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse and other Marxist internationalists reworked Marxism into a critical and normative cosmopolitanism (cultural Marxism) that pushed for social transformation, social justice, and humanitarian emancipation. Although there are various strains of critical cosmopolitanism that have arisen since the mid-20th century they all present, according to Delanty, "a post-colonial critique of the Eurocentric presuppositions of cosmopolitan thought"[439] and are based on Frankfurt School Critical Theory.

Critical cosmopolitanism moves beyond working class proletarianism by embracing a Third-World solidarity, a cosmopolitan perspective of the Other based on principles of global justice, cultural relativism, and the search for immanent transcendence. It views the social world as containing intrinsic possibilities for self-transformation, only realisable through

[438] Cheah, "The Cosmopolitical," 216; Cheah, "Cosompolitanism," 486-496.
[439] Delanty, "The Idea of Critical Cosmopolitanism," 41.

opposition to global capitalism and Western imperialism, colonialism, and cultural hegemony. According to Fuyuki Kurasawa, Associate Professor of Sociology, Political Science, and Social and Political Thought at York University, via a technique of critique and empirical sociology critical cosmopolitanism aims at universal emancipation through the production of different interpretations of existing nations, which have progressively undermined traditional theories, social structures, and value beliefs[440]. It emphasises global processes such as transnationalism, mass-migration, mass culture, and other global issues that have already radically transformed the traditional and existing political and social contexts of European nations.

Fine and Smith point out that contemporary cosmopolitanism "orientates thinking away from any association with national interest or identity" by emphasising global issues[441]. Similarly, Pheng Cheah claims critical cosmopolitans theorise that globalisation is altering the key functions of the nation-state, essentially rendering human solidarity and agency transcendent of national borders, which they laud as a good thing[442].The idea is that various global processes, such as transnationalism, mass migration, and the rise of global cities, are contributing to the development of a new global consciousness, a global form of mass-based political solidarity that is in a mutual feedback with global institutions. Such global processes create material conditions such as global networks, political institutions, and NGOs, which provide radical 'organic' cosmopolitanisms with a global reach and further the cause of 'global justice'.

A central figure of critical cosmopolitanism is Jürgen Habermas (b.1929). Habermas is a leading second generation Frankfurt School Critical Theorist who rejects Western Christian cultural traditions but is sympathetic with Eighteenth century Enlightenment thinking. In

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[440] See Kurasawa, "Critical Cosmopolitanism," 279-294.
[441] Fine and Smith, "Jürgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 471.
[442] Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism," 492.

response to Twentieth century National Socialism, fascism, and global financial capitalism Habermas has reworked Kant's cosmopolitan right to make it legal (rights) and moral (norms) and backed by force (threat of sanction) as a "world domestic policy"[443]. He perceives "the unity of cultural, linguistic, and historical forms of life" or pre-political ethno-national identity as "something irrational" and ethno-nationalism, an ontological belonging and destiny, as "a kind of regressive credo"[444]. Habermas thus rejects ethno-nationalism as a normative and valid form of national identity and as an organising principle of political communities.

Habermas thinks the global processes of transnationalism, mass culture, mass media, multiculturalism, mass migration, and environmental and criminal global issues (Beck's 'risk society')[445] 'partially unbundle' European nation-states. Pheng Cheah explains that Habermas thinks transnational migration (Third-World and intra-European) mixes European populations such that they become constituted by individuals from disparate cultures and ethnicities and this "accelerates the decoupling of political culture from the pre-political identity of the majority cultural group"[446]. In other words, the homogeneous ethnic, cultural, and political identity of a European nation, and the existing national institutions and ethno-national majorities, are undermined through the introduction and continued inflow of foreigners. Habermas endorses this transformative impact by calling for a "generous liberal immigration policy" and the 'right to migrate', which he claims is a basic liberty like religious freedom[447].

According to Cheah's understanding of Habermas:

> [T]he homogenous national-cultural base of civil-political solidarity, which is already undermined by the global dissemination of mass culture, is further eroded by economically-driven South to North and East to West migration, which changes the ethnic, religious and cultural composition of European nations.

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[443] Thomassen, *Habermas: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 149-150.
[444] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 470, 479-80; Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 335.
[445] Makes global issues primary and national issues secondary. Think of the Club of Rome and their creation of an environmental threat.
[446] Cheah, *Inhuman Conditions*, 56.
[447] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 337.

For Habermas the pre-political "homogenous nation-cultural base" of a nation represents the tyrannical "hegemonic cultural majority" who respond to the radical transformations of their fundamental national structures with "Xenophobic conflicts" that have to be "controlled" by further changes. Such changes involve the purposeful "construction" or social engineering of "a multicultural civil society that respects the differences of minority cultures" [448]. Involved in such a transition, Habermas argues that ethnonational patriotism ought to be replaced by a constitutional patriotism, a civic or enlightened post-national identity based on voluntary membership to a constitutional liberal democracy, a social contract (versus descent) that is "inseparable from legal rights and institutions"[449]. In fact, according to Fine and Smith, constitutional patriotism is "designed to integrate pluralistic and multicultural communities on a rational basis". Put another way, it actualises rational universal principles in national institutions because it is grounded in ethnic and cultural human diversity and immigration, and brings global politics to the local level[450].

In contrast to Kant who derived principles of right from transcendental deductions, Habermas argues rights and democracy arose simultaneously out of popular sovereignty; citizens are both the authors and recipients of governing laws, they have "democratic self-determination" and participate in democratic deliberation. Democratic deliberation leads to the "widening of moral and political horizons of cosmopolitan thought" and legitimates a system of human rights. Therefore the political community of a nation is rooted in both "rights and democracy"[451]. Democracy or popular sovereignty is also a "formal procedure", such that in a modern liberal-democracy individuals can only gain citizenship through democratic

[448] Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism," 492-494.
[449] Lupel, "Tasks of a Global Civil Society," 125.
[450] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 472.
[451] Ibid, 473-74.

participation in the constitutional "law-giving process". In other words, constitutional patriotism means "being loyal to the democratic procedures of the constitution" not membership to a people as a community bonded by ancestral, cultural, and ethnic ties[452]. It is a socially-integrative organizing principle of a nation that does not rest on the particularism of an ethno-cultural national identity. It is a "rationally based loyalty"[453] rooted in ethnic diversity, universal principles of right, democratic self-determination, intersubjective rational deliberation, and an ethic of solidarity among an ethnically mixed population. Citizenship rests upon universal procedural rules and human rights rather than pre-political ethno-cultural properties and a common ancestral and territorial membership.

Global processes at the European national level have also been accompanied by the emergence of new supranational political forms and new global political and legal institutions, such as the UN system and NGOs, which can be understood as signifying the decline of the legitimacy of the European nation-state. These international institutions exploit existing national structures and blur domestic and foreign policies to promote the cosmopolitan vision and initiate the development of global politics. Enduring large-scale immigration and other global processes constantly feed Human Rights discourses and develop cosmopolitan culture within European nations and the European Union. In this context, Habermas tackles the problem of reconciling a cosmopolitan community of world citizens and institutions with democracy.

If collective self-determination means there is membership and such collective identity of self-understanding within a specific democratic life is particularistic and not universal, then a community of world citizens cannot be democratic because democracy must distinguish

[452] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 336.
[453] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 470.

between members and non-members. In Fine and Smiths interpretation of Habermas, "democratic legitimacy simply is not possible for a political body that embraces everyone" because it cannot provide a "particular foundation for collective identity or civic solidarity". Regulating democratic praxis and "inculcating" on "a large scale" an "accompanying ethic of cosmopolitan solidarity" would be difficult in terms of representation, administration, enforcement, and legitimacy[454]. However, Habermas suggests a "multilevel" [455] model of cosmopolitan governance that stretches from the local to the national, regional, and global levels, successively forming a complex web of interconnected activities that he thinks makes a global order based on democratic cosmopolitan principles feasible.

For Habermas, cosmopolitanism and nationalism can be reconciled. The notion of a universal nation is defined by Fine and Smith as "a nation whose particular values and interests are seen to correspond with the universal values and interests of humanity in general"[456]. Universal nations include the French Republic, the neoliberal USA, and the European Union. Habermas depicts the EU as a political project that creates a European civic culture against both fascism and ethno-nationalism and provides a response to global capitalism and increasingly ethnically-mixed European populations. For Habermas, the EU project aims to create a transnational civil society or a "pan-European form of political community" that unites the diversity of peoples by a rights-bearing citizenship that adheres to the legal principles of constitutional patriotism and the feeling or consciousness of cosmopolitan solidarity and universal belonging. It does not intend to "level out the national identities of member nations, nor melt them down into a 'Nation of Europe'" but rather to extend civil solidarity to "all citizens of the Union" such that each nationality feels it is responsible for all others[457].

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[454] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 474-75.
[455] Thomassen, *Habermas: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 149.
[456] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 482.
[457] Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation*, 99.

Such an arrangement makes the European Union the "new bearer of universal values" i.e. a universal transnational entity based on human rights, which "alone [is] capable of conserving the democratic achievements of the nation-state – civil rights, social welfare, education and leisure – and of extending them beyond the limits of the nation"[458]. To establish such a vision of European unity according to Habermas, means transcending European national sovereignty and adhering to a democratic cosmopolitanism. He extends a shared sense of identity and "will-formation"[459] or constitutional patriotism throughout Europe, involving "deliberative politics, civic value orientations, and shared conceptions of justice" instituted by supranational organizations such as the UN and other human rights organisations, which establish a common European way of life, a "European model of society" involving "shared European values" and "political culture"[460]. According to him, such a regional political identity, which "depends upon a territorially based political identity situated in a shared history" will be a "democratized regional polity" that will enable EU citizens to be members of an international community, which is a basis for cosmopolitanism and world citizenship[461]. Through constitutional patriotism both the particularity of the European post-national nation and the more universal transnational political community of the European Union can be reconciled with cosmopolitanism and retain democratic legitimacy.

'Global domestic politics' or 'world domestic policy' fosters a cosmopolitan solidarity within nation-states and regional political communities, such as the EU, and can enable citizens to view themselves as cosmopolitan. Habermas thinks regional governance based on democracy, universal values, and human rights that bring together various nations into a transnational political community (political blocs) may lead to the "potential for transnational

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[458] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 482-483.
[459] Habermas, *The Crisis of the European Union*, 37.
[460] Fine and Smith, "Jurgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 482-483.
[461] Lupel, "Tasks of a Global Civil Society," 125.

coordination between regional polities, civil society actors, and international organizations" and may provide the first "democratically legitimate infrastructure to the international system"[462]. He envisions "a hierarchy of institutional forms of cosmopolitan governance at subnational, national, transnational, and supranational levels" involving the democratization of power and without a world government[463]. At the global level, supranational organizations such as the UN will be responsible for "world security and the protection and promotion of human rights"[464]; at the regional level, the focus will be on world domestic policy and will include "large-scale economic and environmental policies" and a "transnational negotiating system"[465]; and at the national level, nation-states will be left alone to deal with local issues.

4.1.4 Universal Cosmopolitanism: Martha Nussbaum

Similar to the cosmopolitanism of Habermas is the universal cosmopolitanism of liberal theorist Martha Nussbaum. Nussbaum has fifty-one honorary degrees from colleges and universities throughout the world, has been the recipient of several awards, medals, and prizes, and is the author of several influential books including *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (1996), *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical of Reform in Liberal Education* (1997), and *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (2006). Like Habermas, she updates Kantian cosmopolitanism and advocates world citizenship and internationalism while rejecting a world state or government. She also thinks international intervention against autonomous nations is justified to prevent genocide[466]. Influenced by the Stoics and Rabindranath Tagore, a highly influential Bengali polymath, humanist, and universal internationalist, as well as Mohandas Ghandi and Martin Luther King, she emphasises the

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[462] Ibid, 125.
[463] Pensky, *Ethics and Critical Theory*, 50; Lupel, "Tasks of a Global Civil Society," 122.
[464] Pensky, *Ethics and Critical Theory*, 50.
[465] Baynes, "Making Global Governance Public?" 125.
[466] Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Presumptions?" 1230.

notion of a common humanity that unites the diversity of human groups into an open community based on principles of global justice.

According to Catherine Lu, associate professor of political science at McGill University, Nussbaum's notion of a common humanity is a cosmopolitan ethic based on a universal morality "that eschews parochial, especially national, limitations or prejudices" and is ethical in that it is "an idea of shared or common moral duties toward others"[467]. In the words of Professor Des Gasper from the International Institute for Social Studies in The Hague, the moral cosmopolitanism of Nussbaum means "the principles of human justice and ethics apply with global reach"[468]. Lu concurs, saying that Nussbaum's cosmopolitan ethical orientation is rooted in a primary loyalty of human beings "to what is morally good", a good that is applicable universally[469]. Nussbaum writes that "all human beings are created equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights" and "moral obligations to the rest of the world are *real*"[470]. As all human beings are related and "equal" they have "substantive ethical obligations" that transcend national boundaries i.e. they have universal solidarity and cosmopolitan concern[471].

In the early 1990s Nussbaum criticized patriotic pride and endorsed world citizenship. In her essay titled "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" (1994) she declared that the "goal of national unity in devotion to worthy moral ideals of justice and equality" would be "be better served" by the "ideal of the cosmopolitan" who is a "person whose primary allegiance is to the community of human beings in the entire world". That is, the cosmopolitan is one "who puts right before country, and universal reason before the symbols of national belonging". She envisioned individuals as being "surrounded by a series of concentric circles" from self, family,

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[467] Lu, "The One and Many Faces of Cosmopolitanism," 245.
[468] Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Assumptions?" 1227.
[469] Nussbaum as cited by Lu, "The One and Many Faces of Cosmopolitanism," 245.
[470] Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," (my emphasis).
[471] Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Assumptions?" 1229-1230.

extended family, and local group, to "fellow city-dwellers" and countrymen, and finally to humanity itself, a single body of human beings. For her, world-citizens motivated by "reason and the love of humanity" should attempt to make this latter circle "part of our community of dialogue and concern" and deserving of "special attention and respect". She suggested that through education, democratic national citizenship could be replaced with world citizenship, claiming that cosmopolitan education allows us to look at ourselves "in the lens of the other" such that we can "come to see what in our practices is local and non-necessary" and what is "more broadly or deeply shared". She believed that cosmopolitan education can teach people that "the destinies of nations are closely intertwined" and that a "global dialogue" and international problem solving grounded in knowledge of the geography, ecology, and peoples of the world and a "world respect" would enable cosmopolitan progress. It would also enable the expansion of our moral circle to move beyond the national to the international level, and make economic and political decision-making take into account the right of human beings everywhere to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"[472]. In sum, Nussbaum rooted national patriotism in cosmopolitan ideals and values, and wanted national citizens to see themselves as world citizens who had a primary allegiance to a common humanity and universal morality, developments that she argued could be achieved through cosmopolitan education.

By 2008 Nussbaum had outlined what she considers an acceptable form of patriotism in an essay titled "Toward a Globally Sensitive Patriotism"[473]. Influenced by the late American philosopher, John Rawls, she wrote that patriotism ought to be constrained by "some strong duties to humanity" and global justice, but she also recognized that particular attachments to "people and places whom we love" are necessary for a healthy and meaningful human

[472] Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism."
[473] Nussbaum, "Toward a Globally Sensitive Patriotism," 78.

existence. People cannot be totally uprooted and divorced from their "particularistic forms of love and attachment"; instead, these forms of belonging and familiarity, especially "national sentiment" can be utilised "in creating a decent world culture" by being based in liberal-democratic principles. National sentiment must be moral, liberal, and democratic and be "nation-directed" i.e. it must not focus on "allegiances to smaller units" such as ethnic and gender groups or families, and cities, and must "engender sentiments of love and support in their citizens". Nussbaum essentially wants patriotism to be "purified" and "linked to the deeper principles of the political conception" so that citizens do not "exalt" their particular nation over another and are constantly aware of "suffering humanity wherever it occurs". This 'purified' patriotism will also be grounded by "shame" and "images of masculinity" that discourage "diseased stereotypes" and "aggressive military exploits". Furthermore, 'purified' patriotism will also be propped up by laws and institutions involving "constitutional rights and an independent judiciary", the "separation of powers that makes going to war more difficult", "protections for the rights of immigrants", "education about foreign cultures and domestic minorities" and "a vigorous critical culture" that produces critical thinkers[474].

Although influenced by Rawls' political liberalism, Nussbaum rejects his social contract theory (SCT) of justice. This social contract perspective is a thought experiment where bargainers are placed behind a 'veil of ignorance' in regards to their own social identity (i.e. no knowledge of their social standing or talents etc.) and then decide the best arrangement for international social justice in an effort to establish a fair social contract between states[475]. In this way, Rawls' SCT of international justice is based on an imagined society grounded by the model of a nation-state, a territorial political community. It is a logic of nationalism and not

[474] Ibid, 80-83, 85-86.
[475] See Mulhall and Swift, *Liberals and Communitarians*.

individual persons as cosmopolitans and thus does not adequately affiliate or root itself in the human rights or politically liberal approach, which informs Nussbaum's own theory of cosmopolitanism. According to Gasper, Nussbaum claims that SCT is unable to "give justice to weaker groups", ignores the family as a political realm of justice, "neglects the inviolability of each person", and cannot properly conceive of the complex of relationships involved in the world of moral affairs. For Nussbaum, societies are composed by individual persons who are "moral social creatures" grounded in rational social relations and have a deep desire for fellowship, described as peaceful and intelligent co-operation between members of society in a "common life"[476]. She seeks to extend this sociability of human beings, which is grounded in individualism and political liberalism, such as the UDHR, to the global level.

Although Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism is universalist and she stresses that theories of social justice must address world issues, she advocates internationalism rather than a world state or a political cosmopolitanism extended to the global level. She thinks that "the institutional structure at the global level ought to remain thin and decentralized"[477] and perceives the development of a world government, represented today by neoliberalism and "multinational corporations and the power motive", as not being rooted in egalitarianism or solidarity, not sufficiently accountable towards citizens or the moral values of local sovereignties, and not subject to external restraints[478].

4.1.5 Liberal and Pluralistic Cosmopolitanism: William Kymlicka

In contrast to the universal cosmopolitanism of Nussbaum and the critical cosmopolitanism of Habermas, William Kymlicka, Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy at Queen's

[476] Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Presumptions?" 1231-1235.
[477] Nussbaum as cited in Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Presumptions?" 1241.
[478] Gasper, "Cosmopolitan Presumptions?" 1230, 1243, 1241.

University, Kingston, promotes a "rooted", "anchored", "situated", "embedded" or "pluralistic" cosmopolitanism both in Canada and as a model for the rest of the world[479]. This type of cosmopolitanism is based on a civic and liberal multicultural society, a society that follows "the moderns' values of universalism", specifically individualism and freedom, "while accommodating a cultural diversity within"[480]. It is oriented to pre-existing groups, ascribing primary identity to individuals in terms of group descent, and is concerned with protecting and preserving the cultures of established groups through group or multicultural rights[481].

Kymlicka and colleague Keith Banting, who holds the Queen's Research Chair in Public Policy and is professor at the School of Policy Studies and the Department of Political Studies, explain that one of the "core ideas" of Canadian multicultural policy is "the recognition and accommodation of cultural diversity"[482]. For example, In his 1971 speech endorsing multiculturalism Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau said:

> Ethnic pluralism can help us overcome or prevent the homogenisation and depersonalisation of mass society. Vibrant ethnic groups can give Canadians of the second, third, and subsequent generations a feeling that they are connected with tradition and with human experience in various parts of the world and different periods of time[483].

In other words, Trudeau believed that the various traditional ethnic cultures of the Old world being imported into Canada via immigration were vital to the enrichment of Canadian culture, which had become dull as a result of mass-consumer society. This emphasis on ethnic diversity and cultural 'enrichment' is an 'enlightened' type of cosmopolitical thinking that is also perceived as a way to overcome ethnically driven violent political conflict.

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[479] Kymlicka and Walker, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," 3.
[480] Theriault, "Universality and Particularlity," 70.
[481] Hollinger, "Not Universalists, Not Pluralists," 239-240.
[482] Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 50.
[483] Trudeau, Speech to the House of Commons, 8 October 1971.

Kymlicka and others, such as Hugh Donald Forbes, perceive liberal multiculturalism as a method or project to solve the often deadly conflicts that arise between ethnic and national groups. For example, Forbes claims that Trudeau "advised" Canadians to "embark on a big political experiment", otherwise known as multiculturalism, which had as its "aim" the testing and refinement of "a theory of how to overcome national or ethnic conflict", involving the ethnic mixing of national populations, the separation of nation from state, and "some form of global governance"[484]. At this time, the post-WWII world was still reeling from the destructive effects of ethno-national aspirations and communism and it was assumed that the cosmopolitan peace of the Enlightenment could be achieved by "overcoming national partialities and nationalist ideologies" and by "creating new forms of transnational and global governance" such as the UN and EU. Such a form of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism amalgamates moral, political, and cultural cosmopolitanism and means, according to Kymlicka and Kathryn Walker, that "we should recognize the equal moral worth of all human beings by creating a single world political order united around a single common language and global culture". But Kymlicka and Walker reject the expectation of a world democratic state and consider a global culture as an essentially imperialist colonial project that leads to the "suppression of cultural and linguistic diversity" in the world[485].

Pluralistic cosmopolitanism is suspicious of global or transnational political institutions, which are not democratic and do not have democratically elected leaders. It instead, according to Kymlicka and Walker, "[t]akes seriously the political power of nation-states and of national identities in the modern world" and the possibility of "placing them at the service of cosmopolitan goals" as a "transformative and constructive potential". They suggest that "a

[484] Forbes, "Trudeau as the First Theorist of Canadian Multiculturalism," 34-35.
[485] Kymlicka and Walker, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," 6, 3, 7. Walker is a philosophy Professor at York University New College in Ontario.

postcolonial cosmopolitanism" remains committed to moral cosmopolitanism but distances itself from ideas of a world state and common global culture leading to "cultural homogenization or political unification". It embraces cultural diversity and affirms "the enduring reality and value of cultural diversity" in the world and the right of local or national governments to self-autonomy. Like Habermasian cosmopolitanism and the notion of a universal nation, it brings cosmopolitan values to the local or national level, moderating or constraining ethnonationalism "by commitments to human rights and global justice" and displacing ethno-national identity as the locus of national sovereignty[486].

Kymlicka endorses the views of Alison Brysk, an American political scientist who holds the Mellichamp Chair in Global Governance at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Brysk writes that

> national versions of cosmopolitan values can serve as an alternative to both neoliberal homogenization and the defensive, competitive particularism it evokes...our best bet for global cooperation is to enhance and mobilize constructive national values, and promote national identification with positive aspects of global good citizenship[487].

Yet, unlike the anti-national cosmopolitanism of Habermas and Nussbaum, Kymlicka's rooted or pluralistic cosmopolitanism is not averse to, indeed it requires, national identity politics. It views "cohesive and legitimate political units" such as "bounded" and "patriotic" political communities as necessary for the achievement of "cosmopolitan goals". Kymlicka and Walker write that a strong form of rooted cosmopolitanism holds that

> particularistic attachments are epistemologically required even to understand cosmopolitan goals. In this view, we can come to understand the moral significance of 'the other' only because we have first been immersed in our own particular communities and ways of life, which give us a 'thick' or 'deep' sense of moral value and moral responsibility. If we lacked these particularistic attachments, and hence saw the world only as a collection of abstract and undifferentiated human beings with their universal human rights, we would lack the concepts, virtues, and practices needed to understand truly why the lives of others matter, or what justice requires of us. People must first be successfully socialized into the habits and practices of moral particularism

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[486] Ibid, 7, 3, 7.
[487] Brysk, *Global Good Samaritans*, 221.

> before they are epistemologically and psychologically capable of morally engaging with the claims of distant others[488].

In other words, although Kymlicka wants to preserve national identities and thinks cohesive political communities are important drivers of cosmopolitanism, he argues that ethnonational identities need to be constrained and modified by cosmopolitan morals, values, and ideals rooted in human rights and global justice. Members of nations need to think of themselves as 'world citizens'. Indeed, the engineering of diversity through mass-immigration and multiculturalism has actively encouraged people to increasingly think of themselves as cosmopolitan. Kymlicka and Walker write: "being Canadian" has become synonymous with "being a good citizen of the world" or "being Canadian motivates being or becoming a cosmopolitan"[489]. By divorcing the traditional markers of national identity from the dominant ethnic group and by celebrating a multiplicity of rooted ethnicities and cultures in one single nation, the Canadian ideology of multiculturalism aims to prevent national ethnocentrism and to overcome racial, ethnic, and value differences that lead to violent conflicts.

Kymlicka often considers Canadian multicultural society as a representative cosmopolitan model that could work throughout the world. He argues that Canada is both a polyethnic and a multinational state that recognises diversity. It has a national majority (British or White Anglophones), national minority groups (the Indigenous minorities and the French) and many non-Anglophone European and non-European immigrant minority groups. Each of these groups has the same set of individual rights (human rights) and is subsumed within the larger national majority culture, which is liberal democratic. However, minority group individuals are also members of an ethnic (and/or racial) community and culture in distinction to the majority national culture. Therefore, in addition to liberal individual rights, members of

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[488] Kymlicka and Walker, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," 4.
[489] Ibid, 1, 5.

minority groups are also granted group rights[490]. There are different types of group rights corresponding to the distinction between national minority groups and ethnic immigrant minority groups.

Kymlicka argues that national minorities have a societal culture which

> provides its members with *meaningful* ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres[491].

This societal culture is *necessary* to the lives of members and the group as a whole as it is a "basic resource for people"[492]. Indeed, Kymlicka says it is "essential for individual freedom".[493] As both Francophones and the Indigenous populations of Canada, as national minorities, have been "disadvantaged in terms of access to their own cultures" and deprived of the right to one's language and one's land from British colonialism, the remedy to rectify this "disadvantaged" situation is in the form of "special protections"[494]. These protections, premised on the right of these groups to access their societal culture, are in the form of 'permanent' national minority group rights or "group differentiated rights"[495]. They include "rights and resources necessary to sustain a distinct culture", such as the allowance for self-governance, granting of territory, external protections, special representation rights, and exemptions from full blown integration into the national majority culture[496].

In contrast to national minorities, Kymlicka makes the case that ethnic minority immigrant groups do not have the right to sustain their societal culture in Canada and thus do not have the same rights as national minority groups: "national minorities do have societal

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[490] Day, 210, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*, 210.
[491] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship,* 76 (my emphasis).
[492] Gingrich, "Introduction to Kymlicka."
[493] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, 107.
[494] Sarah Song, "Multiculturalism" in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta (Fall 2016 Edition), http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/multiculturalism/, 3.
[495] Ibid, 5
[496] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, 76

cultures and immigrant groups do not"[497]. Ethnic minority immigrants willingly came to Canada as 'voluntary' economic migrants or through family immigration and 'waived' the right to practise their particular traditional ways of life in Canada. The primary motive behind their migration was not to reproduce their cultural life in a foreign country but to improve their economic condition and integrate. Yet, they did expect to retain certain aspects of their culture. It is here that Kymlicka assigns immigrant minority groups an "immigrant multiculturalism" involving what he calls 'polyethnic rights'[498]. These rights are framed around "a demand for fairer terms of integration through mostly *temporary* measures"[499]. These include the right to retain some features of their ethnicity through such channels as affirmative action, the wearing of religious symbols, special privileges, and certain exemptions. These rights are conceived as 'temporary protections' until integration is achieved and thus they are significantly different from the permanent rights of national minorities. They are "usually intended to promote integration into the larger society, not self-government". The ideal is that polyethnic rights will "help ethnic groups and religious minorities express their cultural particularity and pride without it hampering down their success in the economic and political institutions of the dominant society"[500]. Ethnic minority groups are not granted self-autonomy; they are ultimately governed by individual liberal rights and are meant to eventually fully integrate into the national majority culture.

Minority group rights were mandated in Canadian institutions by the 1982 constitution and reaffirmed in 1988 and 1997 and by what Kymlicka calls the "deep institutional embedding of multiculturalism"[501]. The ideology of multiculturalism has been gradually implemented, step

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[497] Ibid, 101
[498] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model of Diversity," 68.
[499] Song, "Multiculturalism," 5 (my emphasis).
[500] Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, 31.
[501] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model of Diversity", 73.

by step, in what Kymlicka and Banting refer to as the "*long march through the institutions* at all levels of Canadian society", which began in 1971 with the federal statement on multiculturalism[502]. Since then, the institutionalisation of multiculturalism has been "a government-wide commitment"[503] and has been carried out by a series of government funded programmes designed to bolster ethnic diversity, which have included:

> support for academic research and teaching on ethnicity; anti-racism education programmes; support to ethnocultural organisations to organise heritage-language education and multicultural festivals, or to assist in immigration integration services; and support to public institutions to implement reforms to remove barriers to the participation of ethnic groups.[504]

Other important procedures also contributed to the institutionalisation of multiculturalism in Canada, such as the Broadcasting Act of 1991[505] and the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) that developed "ethnic and multilingual programming"[506]. Similarly, other public institutions, including educational establishments, have followed suit, such as seen in the "adoption of a new multicultural curriculum in the local public schools"[507]. This 'long march through the institutions' gave "ample time" i.e. "a generation" for established organizations and the basic psyche of Canadians (including immigrants) to be slowly transformed by the policies and ideology of multiculturalism.

All in all, since the 1970s, the last few generations of Canadians have grown up with multicultural policies and ideology; they have been inculcated and indoctrinated in schools by teachers, and by the media, public speakers, and politicians with the message that multiculturalism is an essential aspect of Canadian identity and being a 'good' Canadian means

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[502] Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 52 (my emphasis). This reference to the revolutionary words associated with cultural Marxism are not to be forgotten and point towards the contribution of cultural Marxist ideology to Canadian multiculturalism.
[503] Ibid, 50.
[504] Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 50.
[505] *Wikipedia, s.v.* "Multiculturalism in Canada", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multiculturalism_in_ Canada (accessed June 2015).
[506] Ibid
[507] Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 51.

being a world citizen. This is how multiculturalism today has become entrenched as an essential aspect of Canadian identity and way of life. Similar legal acts, procedures, and processes to institutionalise the ideology of multiculturalism are found within all European-based and European nations.

Although Kymlicka considers the Canadian model of liberal multiculturalism to be successful and ought to be the type of cosmopolitanism emulated across the world, he also recognises that Canada is unique. He attributes the success of Canadian multiculturalism to its uniqueness in terms of geographical location, minimal illegal immigration, absence of hostile countries that are immediate neighbours, lack of ethnic ghettos, and a generally good historical record of relations between Canada and immigrants' countries of origin[508]. However, when Kymlicka discusses the 'failure' of European multiculturalism he suggests that Europe is reasserting its old racist ways by insisting that "newcomers…give priority to their new national identity over their inherited ethnic or religious identities"[509]. According to Banting and Kymlicka, multiculturalism has failed in Europe because it has promoted "ghettoisation", "social isolation", "prejudice and discrimination, between ethnic groups", "political radicalism" and "the perpetuation of illiberal practices amongst immigrant groups"[510]. Yet Kymlicka also recognises that Europe suffers from substantial illegal immigration, has neighbours (Africa, Asia and the Middle East) that are non-liberal and poor, and that a significant portion of incoming immigrants (and those who have already established ethnic communities in Europe) have historical grievances against their host or new country of residence. Immigrants in Europe, for example, have a "transnational extension of their original homeland into their new neighbouring country of residence"[511] and the majority of immigrants are Muslim (Arab, Asian,

[508] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model," 75-77.
[509] Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 45.
[510] Ibid, 45.
[511] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model," 75-77.

and African) with historical and contemporary grievances against various European nations and have no plans to integrate. These geographical, historical, and contemporary characteristics that define European immigration increase the risk of a single ethnic immigrant group developing into a dominant counter-hegemonic group that challenges the hegemony of the national majority culture, and thus continue to contribute to the failure of multiculturalism in Europe.

4.1.6 New Cosmopolitanism

Since the late 1990s a patriotic cosmopolitanism has arisen that recognises human diversity and the importance of ethnic communities to the feeling of belonging. In an effort to resolve the tension of the particular (patriotism, group identities, the local) and the universal (cosmopolitanism, global) or the dilemma of the one and the many, it stresses the importance of diversity and minority group identities within liberal-democracies. According to Delanty, contemporary cosmopolitanism theorises a new primary or loyalty politics based on the notions of world citizenship and consciousness, global politics, and a global civil society. It also involves a "normative critique of globalisation" based on the politics of recognition, reflexivity, and a global vision of the good life[512]. It is a form of "cultural cosmopolitanism" that combines "the global and the local in diverse ways", resists metropolitan culture, and involves "the creation and articulation of communicative models of world openness" often found within popular culture but in the context of a "global public". Delanty writes that contemporary cosmopolitanism is

> the interaction of the universal order of the cosmos and the human order of the polis. Cosmopolitanism thus concerns the multiple ways the local and the national is redefined as a result of interaction with the global. The resulting situation will vary depending on the precise nature of the interaction. Hybridization, creolization, indigenization may be the result of interactions in which the local appropriates the

[512] Delanty, "The Idea of Critical Cosmopolitanism," 41.

> global or in the case of global diasporas where the local is transformed into a new cosmopolitan global flow[513].

Likewise, David A. Hollinger, Preston Hotchkis Professor of History emeritus at the University of California, Berkeley, writes that contemporary cosmopolitanism encourages "mutual transformation" and new formations of wide-scope communities (voluntary) created "by changing historical circumstances and demographic mixtures" from immigration, miscegenation, multiculturalism, and various other global processes[514].

This new cosmopolitanism is similar to the rooted cosmopolitanism of Kymlicka, the critical cosmopolitanism of Habermas, and the cosmopolitan national patriotism of Nussbaum but it is more liberal, more oriented to the individual and various groups (including that of descent) and more focused on creating the new while being cautious about destroying the old. Delanty defines several characteristics of new cosmopolitanism including: the critical evaluation and relativisation of self-identity; the reinterpretation of Self by Other leading to major self and societal transformation; the development of world consciousness; the openness or tolerance to diversity and the overcoming of divisions; the recognition and inclusion of the Other in a shared normative culture oriented to global rather than national issues; the logic of exchange and deliberative communication; and the uprooting and dis-embedding of nationalism by non-national interests[515].

Contemporary cosmopolitanism is a critical, liberal, and political cosmopolitanism that advocates a post-territorial political community or global civil society and cosmopolitan citizenship[516]. It promotes cosmopolitan education, narratives, and identities within liberal-democratic nation-states and makes use of national sentiments and feelings of belonging (and

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[513] Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan Imagination," 35-36.
[514] Hollinger, "Not Universalists, Not Pluralists," 239-240.
[515] Delanty, "The Idea of Critical Cosmopolitanism," 41-44; Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan Imagination," 41-44.
[516] Chandler, "Critiquing Liberal Cosmopolitanism?" 53-70.

transnational organizations) to further cosmopolitanism. It views the sovereign rule of democratic nation-states as being challenged from above from globalization and from below by post-territorial political communities. The latter are arising out of transnational identities born from non-European migration flows and multiculturalism as well as from non-state actors or NGOs and human rights discourses that emphasise normative social constructionism and the extension and development of democracy and civil society to the international or global level. It perceives cosmopolitanism and some form of global governance as inevitable or immanent due to the processes of globalization, which has created global, regional, and transnational networks of power and the growth of cosmopolitan solidarity and self-identification of individuals as citizens of the world.

Yet, contemporary cosmopolitanism is also anti-globalization and critical of Western dominance or Western hegemony and imperialism in the world, especially its use of interventionist military might premised on cosmopolitan rhetoric. It is, according to Delanty, a "plural and post-universalist notion" that is "critical and dialogic" rather than universal, and is based on different modernities, processes of social transformation, and "the principle of openness"[517]. It explicitly rejects Eurocentric cosmopolitanism and the notion of a single world culture and recognises a plurality of cosmopolitanisms rather than a single Western model. It perceives minority groups, especially those who are oppressed by the Westphalian UN-based international order of sovereign nation-states that promotes Western cosmopolitanism, as the new global proletariat.

According to David Chandler, Professor of International Relations and Director of the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Westminster, in reaction to the neoliberal biopolitical global or Western

[517] Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan Imagination," 34-35, 27.

cosmopolitical governance that is perceived as "new totalizing mechanisms of intervention and regulation from above", minority groups are the "universal people" or the "multitude" who have cosmopolitan solidarity and global consciousness[518]. They are the universalising political subjects, the cosmopolitan individuals determined by human rights who are transcendent of "exclusion and hierarchy" and involved in a normative political project that severs the connection of citizenship and state-based political community or narrow nationalism, challenge the power of state sovereignty and the international state-based order, and usher in global civil society. Although NGOs and transnational identities denigrate territorial-based national identities and the international order, developments which contemporary cosmopolitanists deem positive, the dark side of such processes has led neoliberal global biopolitics, described as a "'super-sovereign' global hegemonic power" or global empire and not a genuine or ethical cosmopolitanism, to privilege human rights over territorial sovereignty rights and justify international interference and military intervention in autonomous states. New cosmopolitans are against neoliberal biopolitical governance which is conducting a "universalizing war waged 'over ways of life itself'"[519].

So, on the one hand, new cosmopolitanists applaud global processes and encourage the transformation of nation-states by such developments as "global capitalism", "cross-border flows" and diversity, "international media", "domestic heterogeneity", and "divisive subnational politics". Yet, on the other hand, they are critical of neoliberal biopolitical global governance and multinational corporations who use cosmopolitan rhetoric to justify their actions, actions that contribute to economic inequalities and violate human rights and also involve military interventions and thus violations of the territorial sovereignty of states[520].

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[518] Chandler, "Critiquing Liberal Cosmopolitanism?" 55-56.
[519] Ibid, 56-58.
[520] Calhoun, "The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers," 873.

4.2 Critique of Cosmopolitanism

Although critical and new cosmopolitanism are attempts to update Kantian cosmopolitanism, particularly his form of cosmopolitan right, to fit with modern currents, there are several general points to be made and several critical questions that need to be asked regarding Kant's version of cosmopolitanism and the development of it by Twentieth and Twenty-first century cosmopolitical intellectuals. Some of these points and questions are addressed and answered in the body of this dissertation, others will require further research and are beyond the scope of this work.

Kant claims that nations ought not, according to international law, forcibly interfere in other sovereign states and he denies the legitimacy of 'humanitarian' intervention even against despotic states, yet he makes no mention or does not anticipate the impact of economic or political developments of certain hegemonic nation-states or geopolitical blocs on other states. For example, dynamic economic arrangements stemming from Western nations affect the international economic sphere in the form of neoliberal corporate capitalism and can and do coerce particular states to change according to Western values. The same can be said of powerful geopolitical blocs, or universal nations such as the European Union, that have certain appeals for member states in the form of economic benefits, but demand potential members to adhere to a given set of rules that essentially alter the existing structures and values of these nation-states. In addition, Western elites, led by the neoconservative foreign policy agenda of the United States, attempt to spread 'democracy' and 'peace' to non-liberal-democratic areas of the world, particularly North Africa and the Middle-East, by force if necessary, dubbed 'creative-destruction' and 'humanitarian intervention', and also conduct pre-emptive strikes against nations they consider a threat to their values and their hold on global hegemonic power. Can these three examples of state-intervention by other states, both by forceful and

non-forceful coercion, be reconciled with Kant's non-interference framework or do they essentially violate it?

Kant makes the case that the only justifiable reason to punish a sovereign state is if it harms the integrity of other sovereign states, and punishment includes prevention of intrusion. Does this mean that those states that are harmed by the acts of other states have only the right to defend their borders or does this mean that they (and other sovereign states who are allies) also have the right to militarily strike, including pre-emptively, against the harmful state? What about non-state actors of terrorism with citizenship in a particular state and unconventional warfare? Do these conditions justify attacks against nation-states that are supposedly harbouring and supporting terrorists, even if there is no concrete evidence to prove this? If so, does this then mean that nations that are "hotbeds" of terrorists and terrorist networks who receive funding from within the state in various ways, including welfare benefits, are also legitimate targets for attack?

Kant emphasised 'universal hospitality', made a distinction between citizens and foreigners, did not advocate mass-immigration into sovereign nation-states or the mixing of disparate ethnic populations, and thought the integrity of nations and distinct national identities and political communities were integral to a viable international cosmopolitan order. He also rejected colonialism but thought that "colonization could sometimes be justified in terms of 'bringing culture to uncivilized peoples' and purging the home-country of 'depraved characters'" but argued that "there could be no justification for the injustices of plunder, slavery and extermination"[521]. Since the 1960s European nations and European-based nations have been practicing large-scale Third World immigration, which has often involved immigrants bringing their domestic political issues to domestic political levels of their host countries, which

[521] Fine, "Kant's Theory of Cosmopolitanism and Hegel's Critique," 613.

has led to harmful and divisive sub-national politics, among many other problems such as various forms of disrespect to the host political community, plundering of social welfare benefits, and the extermination of indigenous peoples in acts of terrorism. Critics have also compared mass-immigration into European nations to a form of neo-colonization by the rest of the world (Africanization, Islamization, Eurabia), often in terms of illegal immigration and the current 'migrant crisis' occurring in Europe, but also by legal immigration in the form of population replacement projects and the complete rejection of European laws and culture by immigrants who seek to replace it with their own. Immigration has also resulted in the ethnic mixing of European populations and the dilution of the majority ethnic group.

In this context, is immigration harmful to the integrity and identity of distinct existing nation-state ethnic majority populations that extend back into the past by millenia? Has Kantian cosmopolitan right been modified to justify immigration and undermine the nation-state and the existing political communities of European nations? If the end-goal of immigration is ethnic mixing then this will mean there will be no diversity or plurality of nations based on differences in identity. Will this mean the end of cosmopolitan right?

4.2.1 Jürgen Habermas

For Habermas, citizenship in a liberal democracy is grounded in constitutional patriotism, which is a "rationally based loyalty" to universal democratic procedures, rules, and human rights and does not rest on membership to a pre-political or ethno-national community. In this way, Habermas divorces European national identity from the particular and historical political community and thus from any kind of sense of belonging or rootedness to an ethnic group. Identity for Europeans is about legal proceedings, universal abstractions, and individual interests rather than substantial and meaningful bonds that are in the interests of a community of people united by ancestral, cultural, and other ties. On the one hand Habermas celebrates

this decoupling of the majority ethnic group of a European nation from their ethno-cultural political identity, and on the other hand, he rejects the preservation of incoming foreigners to their own national identities – which are ethnic, cultural, and political in nature, and which undermines the existence of a majority liberal culture in European nations[522].

For Habermas, "the democratic right of self-determination includes...the right to preserve one's own *political* culture, (...but it does) not include the self-assertion of a privileged *cultural* life form"[523]. Although immigrants settling in European countries are obliged to accept the democratic political culture of their new homeland, this does not violate Habermas' definition and conditions of self-determination. This is because he presumes that the political culture of European nations is universalist, procedural, and based on human rights and not rooted in an ethno-national historical majority population. In other words, the majority ethnic population of European nations do not have a particular political-cultural life form to preserve, unlike ethnic-minority immigrants. At present, immigrant minority groups are allowed to retain and preserve their distinct national cultural identity, which is also political, through multicultural rights. In other words, the dominant political culture of European nations does not violate the self-determination of non-European immigrant minority groups because it is universal and not particular and accommodates a plurality of minority national cultural identities. However, the majority population loses their particular ethno-cultural identity to accommodate all other ethno-cultural identities in a pluralistic and ethnically diverse constitutional liberal democracy. European majorities do not even become a minority amongst other minorities with the right to self-determination, for what determines their identity is

[522] See Duchesnse, "Germany Abolishes Itself"; Duchesne, "Jürgen Habermas and the Abolition of German Ethnic Nationality."
[523] Habermas as cited in Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 337.

solely deemed in terms of rational universal rights and legal procedures; they have a post-national identity only.

Global immigration into Europe, which Habermas advocates, results in the mixing of existing and distinct European ethnic populations. Although European ethnic minority groups have often been a feature of European nation-states, widespread non-European ethnic diversity in European nations has historically never occurred as a long-standing, induced, and enforced characteristic. Prior to the 1960s cultural diversity in Western European nation-states was a product of intra-European migration, various historical wars and annexation, and the advent of national boundaries, and was not non-European in character; both national and minority populations were overwhelmingly Caucasian. However, European ethnic minority separatist movements have been common over the last few hundred years and continue to this day in particular European nations[524], and now certain non-European immigrant minority groups are demanding autonomy, namely Muslim groups who have already created hundreds of parallel, self-contained communities that promote Sharia law and Muslim-only areas[525]. The reality of secession movements and the growth of separate immigrant communities under self-rule in European nation-states challenge the abstract idealism of Habermasian cosmopolitanism and his notions of the universal nation and world citizenship.

Habermas sees his cosmopolitan politics as a rational necessity and thinks his cosmopolitan right "*must* be institutionalised", a development that is non-negotiable. This goes against his emphasis on the importance of rational discourse, undertaken by citizens, to ascertain political morality and principles of right. His approach is that "the universal principles of right uncovered by the discourse analysis of modern law and morality trump all claims to

[524] See Preece, *National Minorities and the European Nation-states System*; Margaret Moore, *National Self-Determination and Secession*.
[525] See chapters 8 and 9.

national self-determination"[526]. This would mean that citizens cannot be authors of the laws they are subject to for it is lawyers and specialists in morality who 'uncover' and determine them. Besides, do the people who determine universal principles consider themselves national citizens or post-national cosmopolitan citizens? If the latter is the case, then this means that an elite minority of uprooted cosmopolitan individuals are determining and imposing laws and principles that they consider universal on existing and particular national populations without their actual input in a democratic process. This disrespects the purpose of rational discourse, obliterates differences in opinion, violates the democratic self-determination and political independence of individuals, and subjects them to the laws of universalising elites, amounting to a forced political subjection.

Although the cosmopolitanism of Habermas is rooted in Kantian cosmopolitanism, according to Mertens "Habermas' conception of popular sovereignty excludes the existence of a plurality of sovereign states". Habermas thinks that it is "our moral obligation to abandon the nation-state", abolish "all historical, empirical contingencies", and establish "a world-republic" inhabited by world citizens. Kant warned against this, arguing that it would violate the unsocial aspect of human relations, the driver of human progress, and lead to despotism and the end of freedom. Rather than cosmopolitan right meaning the establishment of proper relations "between states and strangers", as it did for Kant, Habermas alters it to mean that all human beings are in "direct membership" as "free and equal world citizens". What he attempts, according to Mertens, is the universalisation of communitarianism, a project that is not feasible for it denies the "significance of particularities" and the "moral importance of local loyalties"[527].

[526] Fine and Smith, "Jürgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 481.
[527] Mertens, "Cosmopolitanism and Citizenship," 338, 343, 339.

Mertens explains that communitarianism requires a "life-world", which is a particular community with a particular identity and culture that provides for individual identity and a non-abstract or non-impartial morality. Communities are based on "particularistic cultural biases" and "shared understandings" and are not constituted by legalities. Individuals cannot become a member of a political community merely by showing "loyalty to the democratic constitution" or by trying "to convince members" that he/she is a "constitutional patriot" for it also requires "loyalty to the cultural, ethnic and linguistic elements that also give this specific community its identity"[528]. Yet Habermasian cosmopolitanism ignores or dismisses the importance of these particularistic factors.

According to Fine and Smith, Habermas thinks that the European Union is "a necessary response to the history of National Socialism and the continued threat of fascism". He thinks that Nazism "robbed nationalism in Germany of its last traces of innocence" and because of the very fact that it existed this means that neither nationalism nor national identity based on "the unity of cultural, linguistic, and historical forms of life" are viable anymore as ethical norms or organizing principles of Germany and other European states. In other words, Habermas prejudicially equates nationalism with National Socialism, Nazism, and fascism and thinks National Socialism was the sole reason for WWII. He advocates the "reconstruction of German national identity" to reflect a post-national identity based on a "liberating power of reflective remembrance" involving the continuous reminder of German responsibility for the Jewish sufferings of WWII[529]. It is unclear how this guilt-complex based new post-national identity for Germany can be associated with Habermas' advocation for the elimination of all European ethno-national identities, as many of them were not involved in WWII, were not National

[528] Ibid, 329, 339.
[529] Fine and Smith, "Jürgen Habermas's Theory of Cosmopolitanism," 479-480.

Socialists or fascists but part of the opposition, some of whom were responsible for millions of German civilian and non-civilian deaths during and *after* the war[530].

It is clear that many cosmopolitanists perceive all European-based countries of the world and, by extension, all European peoples, as guilty of something or another: Nazism, colonialism, slavery, Eurocentrism or Westerncentrism, global capitalism, being White etc. It is through this narrative that the radical transformation of European societies and European peoples to align with the dictates of some form of cosmopolitanism is justified.

4.2.2 Elitism, Global Cities, and Mental Health

The belief in the existence of a mass global public or multitude with cosmopolitan solidarity and global consciousness is at best a fleeting and fringe notion that has no basis in reality. It stems from a small group of wealthy and young students, activists, and cosmopolitical elites in the West that lack actual and extensive representation. Cheah argues that cosmopolitan notions like a 'global public' are "generated and sustained by institutional structures" which are not yet widespread, meaning cosmopolitanism can be understood as "an intellectual ethos of a select clerisy, a form of consciousness without a mass base"[531]. Universalist cosmopolitanists, such as Nussbaum, are criticised for being far too utopian, abstract, and Westerncentric and for assuming that the nations of the world will necessarily emulate Western cosmopolitanism[532]. In opposition to Westerncentric cosmopolitical ideals and norms that essentially reject particular historical process and identities, many non-Western nations are embracing a re-indigenization

[530] For example, between 6.9 and 8.8 million Germans (military and civilian) died during WWII, particularly at the hands of the Red Army and from the air-bombing by the British and the Americans, and it has been estimated that a further 11 million German civilians and POWs were murdered by Russians, Poles, Czechs, and Serbs and other "allies" after WWII through ethnic cleansing, starvation, and slave labour, and the mass-rape of German women, many of whom committed suicide in despair. Where is the constant public reminder of their guilt? See *Wikipedia,* s.v. "World War II Casualties," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II_casualties (accessed December 2015); The National WWII Museum, "By the Numbers: World Wide Deaths"; and Keeling, *Gruesome Harvest.* Also see footnote 99.

[531] Cheah, "Cosompolitanism," 486.

[532] Hollinger, "Not Universalists, Not Pluralists."

of their national and collective identity and putting forward their own particularistic versions of cosmopolitanism, including definitions of human rights (such as the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights). Cheah criticizes the Western cosmopolitan vision on three counts – Euro and American centrism, unsustainability, and inequality – and he carefully remarks in Marxist terms that Northern or European-based multicultural states exploit the South to empower and economically sustain themselves, which is in contradiction with their cosmopolitan vision and ethic they wish to apply to the whole world[533].

According to Dutch-American sociologist and Columbia University Professor, Saskia Sassen, the management of global production networks and international finance has given rise to global networks of interlinked cities not bound by center and periphery, such as Tokyo, London, New York, Paris, Zurich, Seattle, Toronto, Hong Kong etc., cities that are dislocated from their nation-states and characterised by clusters of multinational corporate headquarters. These "global cities" are "transnational hinterland[s]" and "transterritorial marketplace[s]" that signify the "penetration of the nation-state by global forces"[534], or the globalizing of the local by neoliberal capitalism. They are also populated by a new cosmopolitan class.

According to Carlo Strenger, a Swiss-Israeli professor of psychology and philosophy at Tel Aviv University, the "upper echelons" of the multinational corporations that have embedded themselves and created global cities, involving "financial, legal and media sectors", have also created a "new social and economic class...called 'international symbolic analysts'". This new class, also known as the new cosmopolitan class or Enlightenment cosmopolitans, have altered "the economic landscapes of Global Cities" by driving up property prices, which affects the buying power of the local middle and upper-middle classes and essentially excludes

[533] Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism," 494-495.
[534] Sassen as cited in Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism," 492.

them from the property market of these cities. They have also aligned local service industries to their specific needs[535]. This latter development means that a large cheap labour force is needed to sustain the new wealthy cosmopolitan class, which for Western nations has been derived mostly from Third World immigration[536]. These cities also practice global outsourcing of both blue and white collar jobs, which contributes to the destruction of the local middle classes and further undermines employment prospects and fair wages for the native working class masses.

The new cosmopolitan elite composed of wealthy individuals have loyalties that cross or even transcend national boundaries. Influenced by this Information Age, they have strong global ties formed by global technology, global interpersonal communication, global transportation and other global networks, what Strenger calls the 'Network Society'. They have also "developed a new form of identity" that is neither national, nor ethnic, nor religious in nature, but transnational and cosmopolitan and based on "a set of shared assumptions: human rights, social justice, the right to happiness, and self-fulfillment" as well as scientific rationalism. Included within this class of rational and "symbolic" international elites is the "supercreative core of information economies" involving various professions, such as computer, math, architecture, engineering, education, training, library, arts, design, entertainment, sports, media, life, physical, and social sciences, and R-D cores of tech and life sciences. These professions "are all organised in global networks run in English" and a "prime example" is academia[537].

As academia, as well as many other professions associated with the new cosmopolitan class, have "integrated the liberation ethos of the 60s revolution into their way of life", their

[535] Strenger, "The New Cosmopolitans," 268.
[536] Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism," 492.
[537] Strenger, "The New Cosmopolitans," 268-269, 275-276.

"categorical imperative" is to "*transform the world*". 'Organic' cosmopolitan intellectuals are socialist ideologues who have high-brow academic support as well as neoliberal capitalist funding for their global projects. In other words, the new cosmopolitan class are composed of wealthy and influential elites who are either neoliberals motivated by global capitalism or some form of socialist (Leftists, cultural Marxists) motivated by universal values and societal transformation, or are both neoliberal and socialist: in a socialist-capitalist alliance. In either case, their primary identity is global or cosmopolitan, which is "completely independent from geography", nation, ethnicity, or religion and they seek to change the world according to their elite visions and ideals of humanity, the future, and the global economy[538].

However, there are definite conflicts between cosmopolitans and local peoples who have identities that are rooted in their traditions, territory, and ethno-political communities. As the new cosmopolitans have a universalist frame of reference this clashes with more traditional forms of life to the extent that cosmopolitans "are resented for not accepting the mores of town, country, and religion unquestioningly"[539]. For example, in 1949 the American sociologist Robert K. Merton published a landmark book, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (STSS) in which he made a distinction between 'cosmopolitan influentials' and 'local influentials' in a given town. He found that, based on their personality, their habitual frames of reference were different. In comparison to locals, cosmopolitans were less attached to the town, indifferent to locals, had less local friendships and connections, had jobs through expertise and speciality rather than through local popularity and sense of community, and had influence outside of the town. Cosmopolitans therefore had a lower sense of loyalty and allegiance to the town at the

[538] Ibid, 274, 269, 265.
[539] Ibid, 276.

expense of the locals[540]. Today, now that neoliberal globalisation and cosmopolitan elites are more pervasive, these divisions between locals and cosmopolitans are even greater.

The new cosmopolitans also tend to have mental health issues. As cosmopolitans have a universalist framework and seek to "transform the world" they obviously experience difficulty achieving these lofty aims, which leads to "impostor syndrome", a sense that one's life is not significant and one is a fraud that has not accomplished the point of existence: changing the world. Strenger explains that as many cosmopolitans are wealthy intellectuals with a transnational sense of identity they may also suffer from "deep isolation", which is further impacted by other sources of vulnerability. Such as a lack of a secure sense of belonging due to their demands for freedom (travel, relocation, global rather than local competition in the marketplace etc.) and from their renouncement of "a number of existential moorings of more traditional forms of life", relations that provide "long-standing support networks" that are "stable". Thus "they cannot rely on family, community, religions, and national identities as a matter of course". They also have a combined sense of intellectual superiority, moral arrogance, and existential insecurity, often involving fear of "natural groups"[541].

Although, on the one hand, cosmopolitanists reject a tribal group based on traditional or natural relations such as "territory, ethnicity, or simple local belonging," on the other hand, they seek to belong to a cosmopolitan "tribe" that has been artificially created and is necessarily exclusionist (meritocratic and nepotistic financially and familially)[542]. And they want to impose this artificial cosmopolitan tribal life on everybody by enforcing a top-down cosmopolitanism.

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[540] Shiller, "The New Cosmopolitans."
[541] Strenger, "The New Cosmopolitans," 270, 272, 274-75.
[542] Ibid, 269, 272.

4.2.3 Kymlicka: Minority and Majority Rights

In addition to having their major cities and capitals transformed into global cities that are dislocated from their nation-state, their blue and white collar jobs out-sourced, their wages and thus jobs under-cut by cheaper immigrant labourers, their houses bought by transnational foreigners, their traditions and political culture undermined and altered to accommodate the plurality of immigrants' ethnic identities and align with cosmopolitan visions of the future, their national identity scrubbed free from any notion of their ethnicity and descent, and their leaders and other European elites making and implementing ground-breaking decisions without democratic consultation, native Europeans are also not afforded special rights to protect, celebrate, and enhance their unique and collective ethnic identities and ways of life. Instead, they are compulsed into political subjection and silenced through various methods of state-enforced coercion such as multiculturalism, political correctness, and punishment of dissent.

British philosopher Roger Scruton explains that the post-modern anti-national Western elite (cosmopolitans) are "oikophobes," or those who are averse to their home:

> [T]he oikophobe repudiates national loyalties and defines goals and ideals *against* the nation, promoting transnational institutions over national governments, accepting and endorsing laws that are imposed from on high by the EU or the UN, and defining his political vision in terms of cosmopolitan values that have been purified of all reference to the particular attachments of a real historical community.

Oikophobes consider themselves as "defender[s] of enlightened universalism against local chauvinism"[543]. To better explain this view, one only has to return to Kymlicka's theory of rights. As mentioned above, Kymlicka grants privileges to minority ethnic immigrant groups in the form of polyethnic rights and he affords national minority groups group differentiated rights, which include self-government rights. Both of these groups have special privileges, such as the right to preserve their distinct cultures and ethnic identities, and they also have

[543] Scruton, "Roger Scruton on Immigration."

individual rights. Although pluralistic cosmopolitanism means that different ethnic groups are merely one cultural group among many with no single one being official, and that all cultures and ethnicities should be preserved and celebrated, Europeans are not included within this 'enlightened' cosmopolitical project.

Kymlicka does not grant positive recognition or afford special rights to the majority ethnic group of European nations i.e. indigeneous Europeans, and implies that the identity of the majority is not based on race, ethnicity, heritage or culture, but is defined only in terms of language, universal rights, multiculturalism, democracy and liberal individual rights. In other words, the European societal cultures and ethnic identities are *not* to be preserved in the way that national minorities are granted special permission to do so – non-European Old-World cultural and ethnic groups are encouraged by various government programs, policies, and acts to embrace, preserve and celebrate their past, identity, history, heritage and culture. European ethnic majorities are only granted individual rights, which, it is assumed, have come to define their societal cultures and identities since 1948 with the introduction of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the onset of large-scale non-European immigration in the 1960s, and the implementation and institution of multicultural ideology from the 1970s onwards.

In fact, the ethnic identities of Europeans are stripped altogether from the national identity of their own nations i.e. national identity now means being multicultural and cosmopolitan. They are told to reject their own historical culture, their heritage, their ethnic identity because of its racist, imperialistic, ethnocentric, and supremacist characteristics, and to fill the vacuum with new liberal and cosmopolitan behaviours, such as a hearty embrace of universal liberal values and 'enrichment' by distinctively non-European ethnic cultures. As such, the sense of a collective identity for European ethnic groups has been replaced by a government-instituted ideal type model, an Enlightenment culture that is neutral to the

characteristics that legally define non-European ethnic groups and national minorities, such as culture, history, and race. This neutralization has resulted in diminished European traditions, cultural practices, and heritage, the privileging and trumping of foreigner rights over indigenous European native rights by the granting of special rights and recognition to ethnic minorities, and the violation of the right to self-determination, which includes the right to an ethnic identity and the right to preserve, enhance, and celebrate it for European majorities. This means that ethnic European majorities have gone through a radical transformation in their identity over the last 45 years; from a European based ethno-cultural distinctiveness to an 'enlightened' universalism not defined by race, ethnicity, culture, or heritage.

One of the leading definitions of ethnicity within the social sciences stems from the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920). He argued that ethnicity is not fixed; it is not something objectively known as it is a social construct. It is "a form of 'social closure' in which a group excludes others in order to obtain a status advantage over them". Alan Simmons, Professor of Sociology at York University, Toronto, argues that modern-constructionists "view ethnicity, ethnic pride, and ethnic nationalism as modern inventions" that appeared in the context of the 19th century. Post-modern constructionists view ethnicity as "not singular and fixed, but rather multiple and flexible" such that immigrants are "fragmented" people who have "hyphenated and hybrid forms" of ethnic identity[544]. Turkish-American philosopher Seyla Benhabib writes that immigrants have "multiple, overlapping allegiances which are sustained across communities of language, ethnicity, religion, and nationality" and that these

> developments have arisen as a result of cultural pluralization arising from migration, ethnic multiculturalism, cultural diversity of all kinds and the growing demands for the recognition of different life choices.[545]

[544] Simmons, *Immigration and Canada*, 196-198.
[545] Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan Imagination," 29-30.

Taking the above definitions of ethnicity into account, Kymlicka's liberal multiculturalism, even if it grants temporary group rights and is based on the expectation that minorities will assimilate to liberal values, can be interpreted as a form of stereotyping in that it grants special group rights to minorities. It contradicts both the modern and post-modern social constructionist view of ethnicity by emphasising the objective existence of the ethnic identities of minorities.

It is difficult to reconcile the fact that minorities, on the one hand, claim they are transnational or cosmopolitan and thus have multiple identities but then, on the other hand, demand multicultural ethnic immigrant rights i.e. they have ethnic solidarity in distinction to individual rights only of the majorities, who are viewed as world citizens. In fact, claims to ethnic solidarity of ethnic minority groups challenges cosmopolitan ideals. Despite this, Kymlicka implies that ethnicity is a real and important characteristic of peoples who differentiate, and more importantly, self-identify themselves collectively from one another, especially noticeable in the form of societal culture, and thus require special rights that enable them to preserve, enhance, and celebrate their uniqueness. However, European ethnic majorities are the only ethnic groups that Kymlicka ignores. Thus, he might be perceived as being anti-ethnic-European identity.

Another criticism of Kymlicka is his claim that his theory of multicultural group rights does not contradict liberal rights. He argues that immigrant illiberalism is checked by the "limits of tolerance", which rejects illiberal cultural practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), honour killings, forced arranged marriages, wife beatings, and polygamy and any "cultural defense" of these in the courts. In Canada for example, Kymlicka claims that the "deep institutional embedding of multiculturalism", its "long march through the institutions at all levels of Canadian society" since the 1970s has offset any problems that may arise from illiberal

cultural practices that have and are being imported into the country by non-European immigrants[546]. Any problems that have arisen have generally been resolved and have not involved demands for exemptions from "the basic principles of liberal democracy in the name of multiculturalism". Any "hard cases", meaning those difficult situations that require the transformation of illiberal immigrant groups towards liberalism, will also be resolved over time according to Kymlicka:

> *ideally* they would do so gradually and imperceptibly so that the ability and willingness of such groups to work within a liberal framework can become established in practice before it becomes a matter of heated public debate[547].

In other words, group rights are meant to be temporary. Immigrant groups are meant to eventually integrate into Canadian society and their cultural practices are meant to become harmonious with liberal values. The same can be said for all European countries.

Kymlicka's line of reasoning for temporary group rights and illiberal practices fails in several ways. In particular, he does not grasp that regardless of liberal policies a significant number of new and older Muslim immigrants in the West, even into their third generations, continue to practice a conservative-style of Islam involving illiberal practices. Immigration into European countries from illiberal countries, including conservative Muslim nations, also continues daily, monthly, and yearly. This replenishes imported illiberal customs, grows the stock of Muslim immigrant groups, and contributes to the growing depth of demands and claims for various accommodations in the form of permanent collective minority group rights, contradicting the fact they are meant to be "temporary". Some of the most serious of demands (implicit and explicit) are in the form of separatism: separate religious schools, legal procedures (Sharia Law), social communities (Sharia zones), and financial institutions (Sharia finance).

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[546] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model of Diversity," 71-74; Banting and Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism," 52.
[547] Kymlicka, "The Canadian Model of Diversity," 73-74.

The formation of counter-hegemonic ethnic groups against the host or majority national society is a form of group practice that is considered illiberal according to Kymlicka. He admits that radical and demographically strong Muslim groups are challenging the authority, values, and way of life of the national majorities in Europe. The main source of large-scale immigration into Europe, both legal and illegal, tends to be impoverished Third World countries with majority conservative Muslim populations. Out of the population of non-European immigrants in Europe, 80-90 percent are Muslim (Arabs, Blacks, and South Asians)[548]. In some local areas of European countries Muslims now form the largest or most dominant ethnic immigrant groups, and have formed distinct ethnic enclaves characterised by anti-Western thinking and where traditions, languages, cultural norms, and self-identified Muslim peoples make up a kind of transnational microcosm of their homelands in parallel to their host nations. Many source countries of Muslim immigrants in Europe were colonized in the past by various European powers and many today are the subject of Western military, cosmopolitcal, and capitalist intervention. As such, many Muslim immigrants who have direct or transnational ties, whether political, religious, or familial to the countries in question, have historical and contemporary grievances and resentments against Europe and refuse to subscribe to Eurocentric cosmopolitical ideals and integrate into the national majority way of life. Instead they often prefer to form their own transnational communities in parallel to the host country. They have also gained local political power in these areas[549]. This growth of Muslim populations and their acquisition of political power has led to growing demands on national governments for special, extended, and more permanent collective group rights, calling into question the feasibility of 'temporary' immigrant group rights. In addition, some representatives of Muslim

[548] Ibid, 73-74.
[549] See chapters 8 and 9.

communities in Europe have become increasingly bold in their future political aspirations for the country i.e. Sharia Law, and challenge the established institutional structures and political sovereignty of European nation-states.

Both the rise of political Islam and Islamic terrorism in Europe pose a legitimate and serious security concern and they present numerous challenges to the European project of cosmopolitanism, issues that are discussed in later chapters[550].

[550] See chapters 8, 9, 11.3, and 12.

5. Liberalism

Liberalism is a tradition of social, economic and political thought that is centered on limited government, individual rights, utilitarianism, private property, laissez faire economics, legal protections, progress, freedom, and perfectibility. It also stresses the toleration of differences, particularly differences in viewpoints and beliefs, and a respect for individual freedom of thought. A general meaning of liberalism is as follows: an ideology that situates society in the rule of law, restricts state power to constitutional limitations (separation of powers), and favours legal or administrative reforms in the direction of its two primary values, democratic governance and individual freedom (economic and political). Liberalism has four basic principles: i) individualism, involving moral primacy of the person over the collective and individual choice of life-defining decisions; ii) egalitarianism, meaning that all peoples have the same moral status, and legal or political hierarchies based on differences are illegitimate; iii) universalism, which holds that the human species is morally united and particular historical and cultural forms are secondary; and iv) meliorism, or the belief in progress and the improvement or perfectibility of both human beings and society[551].

5.1 Classical Liberalism

Although traces of liberal thought can be found in the Magna Carta, liberalism *proper* or classical liberalism is said to have arisen in the 17th and 18th century European Enlightenment when European philosophy began to renew a deep interest in the natural order of things. Classical liberalism draws upon the theories of notable individuals such as Baruch Spinoza, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Montesquieu, Immanuel Kant, Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mill, Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, and Adam Smith. It developed the methods of rationalism and

[551] Thorsen and Lie, "What is Neoliberalism?"; Scruton, "Liberalism," 394-396.

empiricism, theories of knowledge that represented a turn towards nature to find the true origins of humanity and gain 'proper' insight into the human condition that went beyond Christian conventions. This 'turn' involved a complex re-evaluation of human nature, a major political cleavage between conservatism and liberalism, and instigated historical revolutions and reforms that changed the direction of Western history.

The Enlightenment was a time when the ideals of *tabula rasa,* freedom, and equality were used against established authority, as represented by traditional powers of the clergy and aristocracy. It was a period of rethinking how things were done and the restructuring of human society through knowledge and reform towards human uplift, liberation, and a moral significance without a Christian dogma. In an effort to account for the operations of human beings and the natural environment, natural rather than supernatural forces gained ground and signalled the severance of Western man from his historical traditions. A central figure of this transition was the English political philosopher John Locke (1632-1704). In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), he wrote that the human mind was like "white paper void of all characters", *tabula rasa*, an idea known as the Blank Slate. In this view humans have no innate or defining features at birth and there is nothing in the mind that is not first in the senses; ideas (including of god, mathematics etc.) are *a posteriori* or from experience only[552].

Although *tabula rasa* was and continues to be an influential Western idea, it came to be presumed that man, in his original nature, was good. The Francophone Genevan political philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), among many others of his time, railed against the corrupt and degenerate human present and envisioned a superior human past of original innocence. Influenced by the discovery of primitive indigenous hunter-gatherer tribes during the onset of Western colonialism, Rousseau romanticised the original condition of primal man

[552] Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 4-5.

in his *Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men* (1755). He thought that although man is privy to his needs of self-preservation and his irrational and amoral passions, in his original state he is inherently virtuous; he has a golden nobility of the soul. He exists in a sublime state of material satisfaction and egalitarianism; he is "naturally good" or a noble savage[553] - peaceful, instinctual, communal, selfless, innocent, and untroubled. Although Rousseau surmised that there is no going back to this former harmonious age, he thought that over time man can become perfect as he has the instinct of self-interest, "the faculty of self-improvement"[554]. Endowed with intelligence, sentience, and liberty man is distinguished from an animal – man can free himself from his instincts – and as he is aware of this freedom; he is a free agent. Our "faculty of making progress", our use of reason to be free from our instincts and live in a contractual society is what separates man from beast[555]. It is our sentience and liberty, our willing and choosing, our rational, intelligent mastery of the passions that is the process of perfectibility, which gives human beings the ability to progress.

A few years later, Rousseau published *The Social Contract* (1762). In this work he declared that "man is born free but is everywhere in chains"; it was not liberty but the "law of property and inequality…labour, servitude, and misery" that defined modern life[556]. At this time, ideas of Enlightenment progress became associated with individual prosperity, wealth of the nation, and limited government. The Scottish moral philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790) explained in his *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), that individual economic competition between free enlightened individuals, the ambitions, self-interests, and egoisms of men, was a system of natural liberty that by "the rule of justice" provided wealth, prosperity, stability, and progress

[553] Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men," in Crocker, 42.
[554] Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men" in Gay, 190.
[555] Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men," in Crocker, 37-38.
[556] Herman, *The Idea of Decline in Western* History, 29.

to the social order. Profits and material wealth from individual self-interest in a market economy, or laissez-faire capitalism, ultimately trickle back, by an 'invisible hand', into society as a public good, which essentially leads to economic progression and happiness or to a "natural progress of opulence"[557]. Smith also advocated limited government; the state should have a restricted role in society, upholding only the fundamental aspects of public order such as the armed forces, law enforcement, education, infrastructure, and legal rights, and should have limited interference in the market economy (no tariffs or subsidies affecting supply and demand), an arrangement he thought would lead to greater democracy and freedom[558]. These ideas of a limited government, free-market capitalism, and the 'invisible hand' have dominated the liberal politics and economics of Western societies since their inception, albeit with various additions and amendments, but were seriously challenged by the 1930s Great Depression.

The Enlightenment ideas of a blank slate at birth, an inherently good human nature, and human perfectibility and progress, became central theoretical tools of Enlightenment rationalism[559], a dominant view of history that perceives an increasing development and universalisation of human knowledge, institutions, laws, and happiness and a future World Federation of States in Perpetual Peace. Overall, Enlightenment rationalism envisions the building of a new world society through knowledge, reform, and the universal promotion of the ideals of liberty, equality, prosperity, peace and fraternity. Human beings and the natural environment are seen as malleable and are to be mastered, that is, altered, shaped, and created to become aligned with the vision of a progressive secular society in pursuit of virtue, truth, freedom, and prosperity on a mass scale. Liberalism has utilised industrialism, technology, urbanism, and rationalism, and employed empirical observation, rational

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[557] Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 190-192; Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*; Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.
[558] John Mills, *A Critical History of Economics*; Eamonn Butler, *The Condensed Wealth of Nations*.
[559] Pinker, *The Blank Slate*, 18; Rose, Lewontin, & Kamin, *Not in Our Genes*, 48.

management, economic freedom, and secular regulation to transform social reality to a more perfect type[560].

As Classical liberalism is situated in the delegitimization of the authority of the Church and religion in human life, and separates politics from the realm of economics, it also appeals to tradition-independent norms that can be applied universally. It aims to provide to the world a political, economic, legal framework with rationally justifiable principles (freedom, liberty, equality) that are divorced from any historical tradition, and which, it is hoped, will allow for peaceful relations between different peoples and nations. The aim is to create a harmonious global order in which everyone co-exists in an open, liberal-democratic society. Two of the most important historical events in Western European history that encapsulate these aims are: the codification of a foundational document of liberalism in 1789, the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, which was similar to the American *Declaration of Independence* and based on universal natural rights[561], and the French Revolution (1789-1799), which overthrew the aristocratic monarchy, established a republic based on radical and liberal Enlightenment ideals, such as "liberty, equality, fraternity", and created massive turmoil (Napoleonic wars) and the spread of classical liberal ideals across most of Europe[562].

5.2 Modern, Social or New Liberalism

In comparison to Classical Liberalism, Modern liberalism, also known as social or new liberalism (Leftism), arose as a political movement in reaction to the social and economic consequences of the 1930s Great Depression. It is based on social welfare, egalitarianism, and Keynesian economics (1945-1970) and draws upon the theories of such notables as Karl Marx, J.S. Mill,

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[560] See Crocker, *The Age of Enlightenment*; Gay. *The Enlightenment*; Herman, *The Idea of Decline*; Lowith, *Meaning in History*; Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*; Nisbet, *The Sociological Tradition*; Nisbet, *Social Change and History*.
[561] Lillian Goldman Law Library, "Declaration of the Rights of Man – 1789"; Meacham, *Thomas Jefferson: President and Philosopher*, 131.
[562] See William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*.

John Maynard Keynes, Matthew Arnold, and John Rawls. Although social liberalism shares classical liberal ideas of the individual and individual rights, it pushes these further by advocating civil rights, civil liberties, and social justice, supporting groups and collective rights over individual rights and responsibilities, and promoting affirmative action (racial preference policies) and identity politics. It rejects the creation of wealth through free markets based on private property and instead advocates for a Marxist correction of free market inequalities and an expanded role of the state in the economy, such as more influence on the regulation of the marketplace, the redistribution of wealth (more taxes) and power, and the supplying of essential goods and social services to all in a welfare state. Modern liberalism has been a central force in the implementation of social welfare programs across the Western world in the twentieth century, resulting in the creation of what are known as welfare states, particularly prevalent in the post-WWII era, through such initiatives as social liberal reforms in the UK, which were supported by Fabian socialists John Maynard Keynes, William Beveridge, and Winston Churchill, and social liberal policies in America, such as the New Deal (1930s and onwards), which was supported by the Social Democrats[563].

Although social liberalism arose proper after the Great Depression it has roots in the growing appeal of socialism in the late 19th century, initiated by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and his theses on dialectical or historical materialism and the end of capitalism. Marx argued that socio-economic circumstances determine consciousness and that all history is "absorbed into an economic process" and is moving linearly forward toward "a final world revolution and world renovation" which would be after capitalism. He saw capitalistic society as being divided into proletariat and bourgeoisie with the proletariat being "enslaved to alien power, to capital"

[563] De Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, 155–157; Gerald Gaus, Shane D. Courtland, and David Schmidtz, "Liberalism", in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* edited by Edward N. Zalta (Spring 2015 Edition) http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/liberalism/; Derbyshire, "The Origins of Social Liberalism"*;* Gellner and Cansino, *Liberalism in Modern Times.*

and suffering from alienation from the existence of private property. He claimed that the industrial and scientific powers had become the master of man and nature, altering the relationship of man with his production such as through the specialised division of labour, and had objectified things, concretised abstract exchange values, exploited man economically and rendered his life empty and uninspired. He argued that "modern society cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of social relations of production" and that the historical pattern of advance was about the struggle between social classes, a dialectic between oppressors and oppressed, between forces of production and social conditions. Historical progress for Marx occurred through economic antagonisms. He thought capitalism was the "last antagonistic form of the social process of production" and saw the proletariat achieving "the eschatological aim of history by [an explosive] world revolution" to overcome the bourgeoisie[564].

Marx envisioned the abolishment of private property, competition, and profit and a collectivist, centralised absolute political power, a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in which the working class of the world unite to end history as progress[565]. This could be achieved by the working class becoming new men, the communists, and transforming the existing socio-economic order into a classless society in which men are in charge of their own social development, and the desires of individuals and social relations are united in "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all"[566].

By the end of the 19th century modern man had come to emphasise gradual progress in the material world, of gradual progress on earth to a secular goal without god and without providence. The belief in a future goal was framed in terms of the material perfectibility of

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[564] Lowith, *Meaning in History*, 33-40; Marx and Engels, "Bourgeois and Proletarians"; Fromm, "Marx's Historical Materialism"; James D. White, *Karl Marx and the Intellectual Origins of Dialectical Materialism*.
[565] "Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York," March 5, 1852; Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program (1875)."
[566] Marx and Engels, "Proletarians and Communists"; Lowith, *Meaning in History*, 41.

man, the totalising of the world under one powerful and secular empire, and the complete mastery of man over his environment in terms of profit. The West saw everything according to its own values and all non-Western peoples as being at a previous stage of human development. Progress was perceived to be a universal and spiritual motivating force, an impersonal, secular and material teleology of progressive and successive evolution, manifesting the developments in learning and intelligence, in achievements and advances of science and industry, of new tools and technologies, of a growing economy and the production of material comforts, of increasing types of entertainment and leisure, and of rights and freedoms. It was affirmed in the movements of socialism and communism, in revolts, strikes, and new organisations of the working class and also in world fairs and exhibitions, such as the 1933 Chicago World Fair, titled "A Century of Progress"[567]. Attempts to hasten and to clear any obstacles to progress via methods of humanitarian intervention focused on resolving the conditions of poverty, insecurity, and deprivation caused by capitalism.

Although the belief in liberal economic progress survived the Great Depression, New Liberalism argued for political intervention in social and economic issues through cultural government planning and regulation. Social liberals pushed to make society more liberal and adopted a proliferation of social reforms based on social science methods. These social reformers were Democratic politicians, liberal intellectuals, as well as sociologists who wanted to shape the future using social engineering or social science methods to identify problems and develop government programmes that were divorced from traditional institutions. There were five main intellectuals that influenced the transition from classical to new liberalism and advocated greater state intervention based on applied social science. British liberal political theorist, sociologist, and former Fabian L.T. Hobhouse (1864-1929) called for more state

[567] Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 305.

intervention and suggested a "conditional teleology," or the "fusing of biological, social, and moral progress" with social-science informed guidance by the government. English social scientist and member of the Fabian Society J.A. Hobson (1858-1940) argued for state regulation of economic and social progress from the use of social scientific principles that produce "enlightened political legislation". American sociologist Lester Frank Ward (1841-1913) suggested "social telesis", meaning government and education were to guide and hasten natural progress. Norwegian-American economist, sociologist, and Fabian Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) suggested the expansion of governmental power, legislation and reason into all areas of human life so to ameliorate the social conditions produced by capitalism. And American philosopher and Fabian John Dewey argued for rational progression through the instrumental reform of society, education, and morality[568].

Morality for social liberals rests not upon moral realism but relativism. Moral relativism is a radical individuality stemming from the Enlightenment emphasis on individualism, on the subjective and personal interpretation of morality and the denial of *telos*. The work of this historical period revealed the situational context of all inquiry, such that different traditions have different standards of rational justification. There can be no objective and impersonal standard of right and wrong as each tradition is revealed to have its own standards, its own logic, and therefore none is better than another. Disputes between these different ethical systems cannot be rationally terminated. In this way there is a lack of *rational* moral argument in contemporary liberal society i.e. we are stuck with perpetual assertion and counter-assertion in arguments. In other words, there is no rational method to secure agreement about true and false moral judgments. Moral argument is often about "expressive assertion" says Scottish moral and political philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre. The adoption of a position, a stance on a

[568] Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 301-305; Zygmund Dobbs, "American Fabianism."

particular moral matter is because of a "non-rational decision" and thus it is a "disquieting private arbitrariness". Its main tenet is that anything is permitted; there is no universal or sacred morality (other than individual human rights). This leads to the degradation of values, for moral human relationships in the social milieu involve people treating each other as an end in themselves, whereas non-moral human relationships i.e. in contemporary liberal society, involve people treating each other as a means to an end. This latter form of social relationship involves individual wills with own attitudes and preferences meeting and using each other to achieve some satisfaction and in this way it is all about opportunities for enjoyment and the prevention of boredom. This type of social interaction also involves a "manipulative mode of moral instrumentalism", or persuasion rather than normative rationality[569].

In response to the metaphysical void left by the 'death of god' produced by Enlightenment rationalism and science and by the failure of secularism to provide any viable objective moral standards due to moral relativism, in the 1930s social liberalism, influenced by analytical philosophy and logical positivism, declared man as emotivist. Stemming from the theories of A. J. Ayer, particularly his book *Language, Truth and Logic* (1936) and the theories of C. L. Stevenson, especially his papers entitled "The Emotive Meaning of Ethical Terms" (1937) and "Persuasive Definitions" (1938), and his book *Ethics and Language* (1944), the doctrine of emotivism holds that evaluative or moral judgments "are *nothing* but expressions of preference, experience of attitude of feeling, insofar as they are moral or evaluative in character". It denies the rational justification of objective moral standards yet it utters universal principles, but they are apparently only based on preferences "embodied in our culture"[570]. Liberal emotivists are historicists as they are sceptical towards metanarratives

[569] MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, 10, 8, 23.
[570] Ibid, 11, 21.

because grand theories dismiss the chaos and disorder of the universe and ignore the heterogeneity and variety of human existence. They also hold the belief that grand narratives are created and reinforced by power structures, such as the church, and so are untrustworthy and, in general, are an unacceptable view of historical development regarding progress towards a specific universal goal. Liberal emotivists argue that the promotion of universal principles and norms alienates men. What is valuable is the local and temporal; localised narratives, local contexts and specifics. However, emotivists also retain and defend the belief that there are immutable laws in history – that the natural law of progress can explain the historical evolution of humanity.

Social liberalism is close to Fabian socialism and cultural Marxism in that it advocates more government intervention to achieve social equality, rejects traditional Christianity, absolute moral standards, and various other 'older' institutional cultural and political structures. It also stresses democracy, individual rights, freedoms, and social justice, and emphasizes Enlightenment rationalism, progress, social science engineering, and reformism to exact transformative changes to existing society towards a socialist good. Two separate but interlinked political views, neoliberalism and neoconservatism, developed in the late 1950s and 60s as a response to the implementation of new or socialist liberalism.

5.3 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is a distinct political-economic liberal ideology that arose after WWII and became prevalent in the 1970s as a response to economic and social problems arising from modern or social liberalism. After WWII European and American economists suggested a third way between classical liberalism and socialist planning, arguing that "the only protection against dictatorship, fascism, or rule by military junta was individual freedom, which only a weak

government and unfettered, free-market capitalism could preserve"[571]. Fabian-socialist Keynesian economics was viewed as "interfering with the free market", social liberal welfare spending was perceived as creating a "dependency culture", and trade unions were seen as causing "high wages and industrial disruption". American economist Milton Friedman (1912-2006) and other writers influenced by liberal economic theories of the founders of the Mont Pélerin Society – Austrian-British Friedrich von Hayek (1899-1992) and Austrian-American Ludwig von Mises (1881-1973) – suggested the need for a "reversal of social liberalism" through economic deregulation, privatization, and reduced funding of social services. Friedman advocated monetarism, a theory that simply means that the money supply should determine GDP and prices and the control of the money supply can stabilise the economy. Neoliberalism defined the governments of UK PM Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan[572].

The central feature of neoliberalism is economic liberalism whereby society is principally governed by free market and free trade mechanisms (the political is subsumed by the economic), but it continues to share several principles with liberalism *proper*, such as belief in the rights of the individual, individual freedom of choice (natural law), and minimal state intervention in the economy. According to social scientist and Distinguished Professor of anthropology and geography at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, David Harvey, neoliberalism is

> a theory of political economic practices that proposed that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate for such practices

such as safeguarding individual and commercial liberty and private property rights[573].

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[571] Hardisty, "From the New Right to Neoliberalism," 2.
[572] Faulks, *Political Sociology*, 71-75.
[573] David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, 2.

Neoliberalism also considers democracy to be flexible when it comes to neoliberal reforms. In their 2007 paper "What is Neoliberalism?", associate professor of political science at the University of South Norway, Dag Einar Thorsen and co-author Amund Lie state

> if the democratic process slows down neoliberal reforms, or threatens individual or commercial liberty, which it sometimes does, then democracy ought to be sidestepped and replaced by the rule of experts or legal instruments designed for that purpose[574].

In fact, neoliberal political reforms have been criticised for limiting democratic governance and the political authority of society, which have relocated power from the political (the state, legislature/lawmakers, and executive authorities) to the economic (individuals, markets, and corporations) and judiciary (judgment authorities). As such market mechanisms are increasingly extended into all aspects of society by state intervention, while at the same time a neoliberal economy is not controlled by the power of the state, but by other actors, such as rich and powerful individuals, groups, and domestic and international corporations who monopolize the economy, have economic endeavours that do not necessarily have the interests of society in mind, and influence the political governance of states; corporations rather than the people increasingly effect societal governance. Individuals have freedom within a realm of talents and enterprises, which makes neoliberalism oligarchic and meritocratic rather than democratic, and individuals and groups are defined in terms of the marketability of their skills. In other words, a society and individuals are defined in terms of the economy, rather than the politic[575].

Neoliberalism goes beyond issues of domestic social economics to extend to the international or global financial system. At the international level, neoliberalism is a system of free markets and free trade that is regulated in terms of assuring commercial liberty and property rights and forms the capitalist world economy. It "favors the opening of foreign

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[574] Thorsen and Lie, "What is Neoliberalism?" 15.
[575] Pinson and Journel, "The Neo-liberal City," 137-153; Ayers and Saad-Filho, "Democracy Against Neoliberalism," 597-618; Thorsen and Lie, 16.

markets by political means, using diplomacy, economic pressure and, for some neoliberals, military might" and multilateral political pressure through international organizations such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Bretton Woods, the United Nations, and the African Development Bank[576].

International capitalism became a main tool of post WWII 'take-off' theories, a method of modernization and development of the whole world via capitalist interventionist policies. Former Howard Payne University Professor Joseph Weatherby described their goal: "to create a critical mass of concentrated capital that will support takeoff of Other World economies into sustained economic growth"[577]. It is thought that Other-world economies can achieve self-sustaining growth in a capitalist world economy; this is an inundation of the utopian promise of eventual material abundance for all via large scale industries and the creation of jobs. Take-off theories attribute problems of inequality to the necessities of progress. Human beings are thought to be unequal in essence and that it is necessary for human evolution that a top few have unencumbered progress, thus supporting the imperialistic agendas of the most powerful nations and justified by economists such as proponents of Mont Pélerin capitalism and social evolutionism. Of course, capitalism is responsible for the increase in life expectancy, literacy, access to education, and development of infrastructure in these 'un-developed' countries. Yet, take-off development strategy is implemented to intentionally benefit the strong as it is focused on individual gain rather than egalitarianism, and structural adjustment programs and other loan programs create massive debt and dependence of these 'developing' countries on the 'strong'[578]. In these ways, hierarchy and elitism characterise neoliberalism.

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[576] Mills, Mills, Bratton, and Forshaw, *Organizational Behaviour in a Global Context*, 570.
[577] Weatherby, *The Other World*, 55.
[578] Toussaint and Millet, *Debt, the IMF, and the World Bank*.

Neoliberalism is associated with the spread of global capitalism and consumerism and the increasing power and wealth of transnational corporations and elite groups. Its critics argue that it is a political-economic ideology that advocates "a globalized economy under the implicit control of an international financial elite outside the regulative power of any state jurisdiction" and "favors the creation of an international system of consumption, production, financing, [and] a drastic reduction of state power which is accomplished by [the] local political elite of all the state which is serving local and global financial interests"[579]. According to the late political scientist and social activist Jean Hardisty, neoliberalism has become

> characterized by the use of international loans and other mechanisms to suppress unions, squelch regulation, elevate corporate privilege, privatize public services, and protect the holdings of the wealthy[580].

American sociologist David Fasenfest argues that neoliberal foreign policies are an

> attempt to alter the legislative landscape in countries around the globe in order to accommodate globalization, to attack social welfare by forcing countries to impose 'austerity' policies that create a more compliant labor force, and to promote financialization of economic activities for short-term gains at the expense of long-term growth and development[581].

Many other opponents of neoliberalism, particularly its activities at the global level, also accuse it as being a form of exploitation and neocolonialism. For example, Louise Racine, Professor in the Department of Health Sciences at the University of Saskatechewan and Amélie Perron, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Ottawa, write that globalization and neoliberalism are "neocolonialist discourses and practices from which social injustice arises" and that "corporate capital and transnational trade jeopardize democracy, human rights, freedom of speech and social agency because of their effects on economic and

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[579] Louis Brassard, November 18, 2013, comment on Gwendolyn Yvonne Alexis, "Is 'Neoliberalism' Just an Euphemism for Right-wing Conservatism?" *Research Gate*, November 16 2013, http://www.researchgate.net/post/Is_neoliberalism_just_an_euphemism_for_right-wing_conservatism.
[580] Chomsky, *Profit over People*; Hardisty, "From the New Right to Neoliberalism."
[581] Fasenfest, "Neoliberalism, Globalization, and the Capitalist World Order," 630.

financial systems worldwide"[582]. Professor Henry A. Giroux, who holds the McMaster University Chair for Scholarship in the Public Interest at McMaster University, writes that

> Wedded to the belief that the market should be the organizing principle for all political, social, and economic decisions, neoliberalism wages an incessant attack on democracy, public goods, the welfare state, and non-commodified values. Under neoliberalism, everything is either for sale or is plundered for profit[583].

Author Mary C. Diang writes that "Neocolonialism and neoliberalism are all offshoots or veiled forms of colonialism"[584] and Researchgate member, Louis Brassard writes that neoliberalism "is a generalization of colonialism to the whole world under an international financial elite. It is a financial refeudalization of the world"[585].

Global neoliberalism has also led to a radical opposition and large-scale emigration to the Western world. According to Roderick Parkes, a senior analyst at the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), writing a brief for the European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS) titled *Tourism, Terrorism, and Migration* (April 2016), "Wherever the West has promoted globalisation [in terms of economic modernisation], radical groups have emerged to oppose it" and many "young workers, seeking a way out of the dead-end jobs, may turn to radical groups or consider the emigration option". He further writes that Western states "increasingly view the growth in terrorism and disorderly migration as an intrinsic part of the development process – economic modernisation is now conceived as an automatic trigger of violent extremism and migration"[586]. In other words, neoliberalism is viewed by its proponents as a form of creative-destruction, which is in-line with the goals of neoconservatism.

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[582] Racine and Perron, "Unmasking the Predicament of Cultural Voyeurism," 193.
[583] Giroux, "Neoliberalism and the Demise of Democracy."
[584] Diang, "Colonialism, Neoliberalism, Education and Culture in Cameroon," iv.
[585] Louis Brassard, November 18, 2013, comment on Gwendolyn Yvonne Alexis, "Is 'Neoliberalism' Just an Euphemism for Right-wing Conservatism?" *Research Gate*, November 16 2013, http://www.researchgate.net/post/Is_neoliberalism_just_an_euphemism_for_right-wing_conservatism.
[586] Parkes, "Tourism, Terrorism, and Migration," 2.

6. Conservatism: Classical to Neoconservatism

Russell Kirk, a renowned American Conservative who helped found two conservative journals *National Review* (1955) and *Modern Age* (1957), describes conservatism as "neither a religion nor an ideology" but rather "a state of mind, a type of character, a way of looking at the civic social order" that is "sustained by a body of sentiments, rather than by a system of ideological dogmata"[587]. Often called classical or paleo-conservatism, conservatism emerged as a social and political movement in response to Enlightenment rationalism, the spread of democracy, science, and capitalism, and the French Revolution. It provided a critique of the abstract social theorizing and universalism of progressive liberal policies on radical change.

6.1 Paleo-Conservatism

According to Arthur Herman, an American historian and senior fellow at the conservative Hudson Institute, Classical conservatism insisted that "material comfort and opulence has drained away all creativity and life". Striving and struggle were lacking, which produced pervasive disillusionment and despair and the "soft and effeminate" base personality of narcissistic philistines and decadents[588]. In this context, former American sociologist Robert Nisbet wrote that Conservatives brought in "a profound doubt" about the qualities of utilitarian and progressive social development[589]. French political scientist and historian Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) for example thought that democracy could produce a "majority tyranny", a despotic and dark side of democratic equality that reduces arts and sciences, creates boredom from wealth, leads to community breakdown, and 'homogenises' and 'regiments' individuality and personal ambition[590]. Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818-

[587] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles."
[588] Herman, *The Idea of Decline*, 43.
[589] Nisbet, *Social Change and History*, 127-132.
[590] Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 319.

1897) saw his age as one of "civilized barbarism" and thought the radical democratic striving for power and gain produced social despotism, vulgarization, mediocritization, standardization, dictatorship (military and economic) and shunned individual responsibility and liberty. He argued that progressive civilization, the modern striving for a higher standard of living, amounted to the "conquest of all things earthly"[591] and prophesised that republican "military commandoes" would lead "new tyrannies" and "primitivisms" after the "*terribles simlificateurs*" had destroyed civilization[592].

Other Enlightenment era conservatives, such as French politician and philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865) thought that although the rise of Christianity had laid the foundations of modern society, modern society had led to the decay of Christianity, to social dissolution, sadness, and decadence, a crisis characterised by the "prostitution of conscience, triumph of mediocrity, confusion of truth and falsehood, betrayal of principles, baseness of passions, cowardice of morals"[593]. Still others, such as French sociologist and economist Frederic Le Play (1806-1882) argued that "democracy, liberalism, laissez-fare industrialism" are a "negation of morality and human happiness" and German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) wrote of the 'death of god' and lamented over "decadence, philistinism, and idle romanticism"[594]. Overall, 19th century conservatives were concerned with the progressive rationalisation of the human spirit, the emergence of tyranny and bureaucratisation from democracy and liberal despotism, and the disenchantment, moral vacuity, and decadence arising from materialism.

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[591] Lowith, *Meaning in History*, 26-27.
[592] Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 319.
[593] Proudhon as cited in Lowith, *Meaning in History*, 66.
[594] Lowith, *Meaning in History*, 66; Nisbet, *Social Change and History*, 127-132.

Conservatism has several binding principles that are stressed differently according to various contexts[595]. Kieron O'Hara, a conservative author, philosopher, and computer scientist at the University of Southampton who draws heavily on the counter-revolutionary conservative Edmund Burke (1729-1797), isolates two main principles, which are useful for a general understanding of overall conservative thinking. The first principle, the knowledge principle, is based on the limits of knowledge. O'Hara writes that

> because society and its mediating institutions are highly complex and dynamic with natures that are constantly evolving as they are co-constituted with the individuals who are their members, both data and theories about society are highly uncertain.

The second principle, the change principle, is based on risk-aversion:

> because the current state of society is typically undervalued, and because the effects of social innovations cannot be known fully in advance, then social change (a) must always risk destroying beneficial institutions and norms and (b) cannot be guaranteed to achieve the aims for which it was implemented. It therefore follows that societies should be risk-averse with respect to social change, and the burden of proof placed on the innovator, not his or her opponents. It also follows that change, when it does come, should ideally be (a) incremental, (b) reversible where possible and (c) rigorously evaluated before the next incremental step[596].

Keeping in mind these two principles, let us examine some of the main themes of conservative thought.

The conservative counter-revolutionary Edmund Burke was an Anglo-Irish politician who was one of the most distinguished intellectuals of the conservative 'Old' Whig Party during the Enlightenment and continues to be a central figure of the conservative movement today. He denied the worth of Enlightenment reason, which emphasised human progress and perfectibility based on "*theoretical* or *abstract reasoning*" or "reasoning without contextual restriction, independent of the pragmatic, historical or contingent considerations". He instead stressed "*practical reasoning*" or "reasoning in a concrete context" and "the importance of

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[595] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles."
[596] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 49-50, 88.

human fallibility"[597]. For Burke and those who follow his conservatism, human beings are, by a constant and enduring nature, inherently flawed; we are 'restless' and imperfectible creatures, with limited knowledge yet have "moral truths [that] are permanent"[598]. In contrast to liberal man who is first and foremost an individualist or a private rationalist that is entitled to liberty, conservative man, according to Keith Feiling, is "born...'under a yoke'", into "an interlocking circle of communities", relationships that are often binding, involuntary and non-reciprocal, such as between parent and child. Man is also bequeathed with "all hopes, all passions, all delights, all morals and all powers" by his people[599]; he inherits a "people's historic continuity of experience", a moral order, which is a behaviour that insures the goodness of a society, a people's generational stability and longevity, and social continuity. Society and individuals derive their meaning from the continuity of social institutions, "the life-blood", which links "generation to generation" and have been established over "centuries of trial and reflection and sacrifice"[600]. These relationships make man necessarily dependent on others, not just others of the present, but also others of past and future generations. Man is therefore a socially and politically bound historical creature rather than merely an individualist.

For Burke and other conservatives, the implementation by Enlightenment rationalists (and other social engineers) of theoretical social designs (social experiments) to alter or govern society and human beings in pursuit of human progress and perfectibility is problematic. As human beings are fallible and have limited knowledge, society, too, is naturally imperfect and cannot be transformed into a 'Terrestrial Paradise'. Socially transformative theories, applied domestically and universally, are based on what Burke called "abstractions"[601], a priori ideas

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[597] Ibid, 26.
[598] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles"; O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 24.
[599] Feiling, *Principles of Conservatism*, 132-134. Feiling (1884-1977) founded the Oxford University Conservative Association in 1924 and was former Chichele Professor of Modern History at the University of Oxford.
[600] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles."
[601] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 93.

not grounded in the reality of historical and situated human contingencies. One such contingency is inequality. Conservatives adhere to a principle of variety, which Kirk describes in the following way:

> For the preservation of a healthy diversity in any civilization, there must survive orders and classes, differences in material condition, and many sorts of inequality. The only true forms of equality are equality at the Last Judgment and equality before a just court of law; all other attempts at levelling must lead, at best, to social stagnation

and, at worst, to "some tyranny or host of squalid oligarchs" that will "create new forms of inequality". Socialists who want to destroy "natural and institutional differences", such as private property[602], to impose measures of equality "do not take the range of constraints on a functioning society into account", constraints such as social provisions of "prosperity, relief from poverty, security, liberty, art and culture, diplomacy and so on"[603]. In other words, there are more goals of an existing society than just equality, and pursuit of these other goals means that a purely egalitarian society is impossible to achieve.

Conservatism is opposed to the rationalist drive to socially engineer a new utopian-like egalitarian future grounded in abstract *a priori* ideals, theories or ideologies that view existing society and institutions, morals and laws, as wrong or bad, and must be radically corrected. Social engineering reforms, 'top down' policies fashioned and imposed by politicians and bureaucrats, destroy existing institutions without grasping their positive benefits. O'Hara explains that conservatives criticise rational liberal policies that use various legislation, novel institutions, technologies, and big business markets to effect radical change upon "the physical form and social function" of societies, which has had unforeseen and unwanted consequences, such as unemployment, unsustainability, tyranny, and oligarchy[604]. Kirk argues that for a just

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[602] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles"; private property teaches responsibility, motivates integrity, supports "general culture", enables for "leisure to think and freedom to act" and raises "mankind above the level of mere drudgery."
[603] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 77-78.
[604] Ibid, 52-53.

and healthy society to function decisions that directly affect citizens ought to be "made locally and voluntarily" – organically – rather than based upon an ideal of "abstract Democracy" and designed and enforced by a "central administration, or a corps of select managers and civil servants" that are distant from the community and against the will of the people. Enforced change by a small and dominant group "without check" is despotism[605].

The forced restructuring and remaking of society and its institutions, changes that are based on abstract theorising, is elitist and despotic, and it does not take into account both the knowledge and the risk-averse principles. These principles, and the historical institutions that are founded upon them, guard against changes based on non-historical theory, changes that suggest hypothetical benefits but lack a serious anticipation of errors and unquantified risks. For instance, will proposed reforms actually be effective, have the opposite effect, or have serious side-effects that cannot be controlled or reversed? In the words of O'Hara:

> the rationalist, who believes that they are removing the unknown, is in fact taking us from the known unknowns [of which their probability (of risk) can be calculated] to the unknown unknowns [of which their probability (of risk) cannot be calculated][606].

However, conservatism is not against innovation and does think society can be improved, but only through incremental changes that have been deeply evaluated for their risk factor – a "reasoned and temperate progress". Kirk writes that change "ought to be gradual and discriminatory, never unfixing old interests at once". That is, the conservative questions how much damage may be inflicted upon the survival and well-being of the nation over the long-term from a proposed change in social structure or from the adoption of a particular innovation. They ask, are such modifications necessary; is the damage, or risk, from such alterations on an established people and its way of life, worth it in terms of long-term survival. Societal change must be prudent, that is, based in "sufficient reflection" of the knowledge of

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[605] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles."
[606] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 85.

societal complexity and on long-term survival goals, and situated (context and significance) in the authority (and continuity) of the local and traditional existing ways of life and other concrete or historical experience and knowledge[607]. As Burke has said, "the wisdom of the many, laid down and aggregated through time, is superior to that of the few"[608]. Societal change must be based on evidence-based policies, and independent (not NGO, Corporate, or government) and scientific data collection, analysis, and evaluation.

Conservatism also opposes the universalisation of Enlightenment liberalism, itself offering no alternative "universal prescriptions". Although conservative thinkers may agree that the various ethnic groupings of human beings across the world share certain natural traits, this does not mean that such commonalities should therefore be taken as "normative or essential" and promoted and enforced across the globe[609]. According to Feiling, the idea that there is a set of Universal Human Rights, (and for that matter, such a thing as 'Humanity'), which are ascertained from a "purely intellectual process" or "metaphysical speculation"[610] and applied on a global level – to all humans – is completely wrong. What is considered a 'human right' by Liberals is continuously contested and altered by the ever-changing human rights discourse across the world, stimulated by the continuing myriad of distinct peoples that exist, who have their own notion of the human being, of human rights, and the 'good life'. These varieties represent a serious challenge to the validity of imposing a Western-based liberal democratic world order rooted in human rights on a universal level.

To impose, from top-down and without full consent, such and such a version of rights and changes upon a society, whether domestic or foreign, is to socially engineer a society and its people in a potentially 'harmful' way. At what costs, ask conservatives, is certain change

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[607] Kirk, "Ten Conservative Principles."
[608] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 27.
[609] Ibid, 6.
[610] Feiling, "Principles of Conservatism," 131.

implemented? O'Hara thinks that rationalists, seeking to make change, commit "terribly mistaken purposes in promoting innovation". As they cannot predict demand or organic-driven change, which they oppose, they manipulate it and attempt to cause it via the implementation of specific institutional programmes, such as ideological intellectuals sponsoring projects or legislating policies not approved by the public[611]. Such projects lead to bureaucratization. Burckhardt thought that the future was in the hands of "bureaucracy and militarism", the "twin forces" of democracy; Weber criticised the rationalisation of everything including "society, thought, and mind"[612]; and MacIntyre argues that managerial bureaucracy "disguises and conceals rather than illuminates" and "bureaucratic authority is nothing other than successful power"[613]. Knowledge does not always lead to improvements, to social amelioration for many, as the interests of a few can monopolize knowledge for power and profit. In his book *After Virtue* MacIntyre makes the case that law-like generalisations required by managerial organisations are false and the establishment of universal laws, which occurred in the Enlightenment era and the early 20th century, are associated with the rise of the social sciences. The rise of the human sciences garnered information and knowledge about the behaviour of human beings, information that has been used to further political and economic ends.

Conservativism also has an isolationist or non-interventionists approach to foreign policy. It opposes neoconservative foreign policy that aims to alter traditional non-Western societies so they conform to neoliberal economic policies and neoconservative ideals of freedom and democracy, by military force if necessary. O'Hara aptly writes that Iraq under Saddam Hussein "was in much better shape before the invasion than after it" and that "Even when a society is clearly vile, unjust or violent, one should be cautious about wishing it

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[611] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 74-75.
[612] Nisbet, *Social Change and History*, 127-132.
[613] MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, 103, 25.

away"[614]. Although various harms were committed by Saddam, the destruction of his regime by George Bush and Tony Blair under the pretext of bringing democracy and freedom to the Iraqi peoples actually left Iraq crippled and the people worse-off. The Iraq war created a power vacuum where various ethnic factions fight over power, leading to great violence, terror, destruction, and oppression. We see today (2015-2016), as ISIS storms various areas in Iraq, tyranny has not been toppled and democracy and freedom have not been installed.

Taking the above points in mind, conservatism is a body of thought that conceives the human being as a social-political historical creature and inequality as a natural aspect of human society. It aims to apply historical experience and preserve "older forms of life" (social institutions, customs, values etc.) when confronting liberal or individualistic-inspired universal and egalitarian projects towards human progress and perfectibility, schemes that represent profound foundational changes to the existing social structures and institutions of a given society. Essentially, conservativism views liberalism as "the ideology of western suicide"[615] and argues that moral relativism has left Western man without certainty and order leading to the threat of societal breakdown. It holds that in order to understand reality reason must be supplemented with an understanding of the limits to who we are and what we do. As such, conservatism is not adverse to social innovation, but seeks to procure maximizing benefits i.e. the preservation of traditions and customs vital to the longevity of a particular people, by a rigorous analysis of the risks and costs fo societal change to old ways of life. It seeks voluntary or desired "organic change", a genuine demand for reform stemming from an un-coerced population, both domestic and foreign, which is evaluated for its risk factor, rather than an "artificial" change that is based merely on theory and designed and imposed, and even

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[614] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 70-71.

[615] See Burnham, *Suicide of the West,* 341. James Burnham (1905-1987) was a former American philosopher, conservative intellectual, and political theorist.

violently enforced, upon a particular population or people in general by a small but powerful ideological and despotic elite[616].

6.2 Neoconservatism

Neoconservatism is a political and intellectual body of thought that arose in America in the post-WWII Cold War and Counter-Cultural Era that became distinguished from both Conservatism and Social Liberalism in terms of foreign and domestic economic and political theories, practices, and policies. Neoconservatives claim that neoconservatism is not a movement or an ideology, but rather a "tendency" (Norman Podhoretz), a "persuasion" (Irving Kristol), or a "mood" (James Q. Wilson)[617]. Douglas Murray, a British journalist, author, and director of the Centre for Social Cohesion, a think-tank based in London, describes neoconservatism as "not a political party, or social set, but a way of looking at the world" or "a particular creed" or "philosophy for dealing with the world" that "can provide the philosophical and practical solution to many mature Western political parties"[618]. It rejects communism and radical cultural and social changes and emphasises limited government, neoliberal economic policies, social traditionalism, and foreign "democratic interventionism", challenging hostile regimes antagonistic to the alleged values and interests of the United States, and "aggressively support[s]" and spreads the values of democratic capitalism throughout the world[619].

Neoconservatism can be generally defined by two brief but concise descriptions of its domestic and foreign policy, provided by Murray. He writes that neoconservatives are united through their domestic policy

> by specific and general objections to the post-Sixties western status quo, to increasing secularism, to illiberalism masquerading as liberalism, and to the destructive effects of

[616] O'Hara, *Conservatism*, 73-74.
[617] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 44.
[618] Ibid, ix, xxii-xiii.
[619] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism", in *Encyclopedia of Modern Political Thought,* edited by Gregory Claeys, (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2013): 585-589.

> the counterculture. Implacably opposed to relativism, they invariably differ in what they believe the specific foundations of contemporary culture should be, but not in the belief that American society was better off and more itself when the common values of organized religion formed its bedrock[620].

Murray also explains that neoconservative foreign policy is "an attitude to conflict" that is "inspired" by "the ancients, in particular from Thucydides" and is based on a set of "instinctive beliefs" that include "patriotism is a good and natural thing", "world government [UN] is to be rejected", and "leaders should distinguish clearly between friends and enemies"[621].

Sydney Hook, Norman Podhoretz, Daniel Bell, and Irving Kristol were the leading liberal intellectuals who influenced the rise of neoconservatism in the second half of the 20th century. In the 1930s, 40s, and 50s the liberal democratic intellectuals and social scientists at the City College in New York were proto neoconservatives. They endorsed Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, the protection and spread of democracy and capitalism, the overthrow of communism, interventionism and imperialism in foreign policy, and Roosevelt's New Deal liberalism, a series of Relief, Recovery, and Reform programmes in response to the Great Depression. Mostly the children of poor Jewish immigrants[622] these neoconservative founders were known as the New York intellectuals who had fierce debates with their pro-Stalinist colleagues[623].

According to Anson Rabinbach, history professor at Princeton University and director of the Centre for European Studies, the rivals of the New York Intellectuals were the German refugees or "Frankfurt School exiles" (cultural Marxists) who arrived in America in the 1930s and 40s. They were overwhelmingly "anchored in universities, institutes, and the elite newspapers" and were from "upper-bourgeois German-Jewish households" before they

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[620] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 45.
[621] Ibid, 45-46.
[622] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[623] See Alexander Bloom, *Prodigal Sons*; *Christian Science Monitor,* "Empire Builders."

emigrated[624]. In addition, unlike the New York intellectuals, they were pro-Communist, did "not regard Stalinism as the 'main enemy'", and they developed "an analysis of capitalism that saw more convergence than confrontation in the Cold War systems of power"[625] i.e. a socialist-capitalist alliance. The 1967 Vietnam War saw many of these uppercrust German-Jewish intellectuals reconsider the existing foreign policy and "support new foreign-policy ideas" that aimed to "reduce American commitments overseas" and create "an international regime stabilized by economic interdependence and stronger legal mechanisms"[626]. In contrast, the lowercrust New York Jewish intellectuals or paleoliberals as some identified at the time[627], maintained their anti-communism and anti-Stalinism, and supported the Vietnam War.

By the early 1950s New York intellectuals like Kristol, Bell, and Podhoretz, had become dominant thinkers within American liberalism. They began playing a leading role in the Americans for Democratic Action during the Harry Truman era (1945-53), and, as they were professors in literary, cultural, and artistic criticism hoping to address their academic concerns in a practical way, they also disseminated and advocated liberal, reformist, and mildly socialist reforms "into the mainstream"[628], supporting the civil rights movement, racial integration, Martin Luther King, and the New Deal social reforms[629]. However, by the 1960s these anti-communist liberal-democratic intellectuals became disillusioned with Left liberal approaches to American problems of political, economic, and racial inequality and the anti-war movement, which were increasingly becoming conventional. As captured in Bell's book *End of Ideology*

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[624] Rabinbach, "German-Jewish Connections," 108, 110. Interestingly enough in 1994 Irving Kristol, a first generation neoconservative, thought that "there is a class war in the US today between cultural or social conservatives, who are largely in the working and lower-middle classes, and the cultural left in the higher-paid and more economically secure professions". See Kristol, "The New Face of American Politics," A10.
[625] Rabinbach, "German-Jewish Connections," 109.
[626] Jeremy Beer, Bruce Frohnen, and Nelson O. Jeffrey, "neoconservatism" in *American Conservatism: an Encyclopedia* (Open Road Media, 2014).
[627] Jeffers, *Norman Podhoretz*, 150.
[628] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 43.
[629] *Nuechterlein,* "The End of Neoconservatism," 14–15.

(1960)[630], the New York intellectuals viewed the New Deal social reforms as failures as they were too ideological and impractical, and they were disillusioned with Lyndon B. Johnson's 'Great Society' domestic programs (war on poverty and racism i.e. Civil Rights and Economic Opportunity Acts)[631], which had led to radical cultural changes. Such changes included: anti-American countercultural movements and urban deterioration, liberal utopianism, increasing welfare enrolments and costs, radical New Left coalition politics and the rise of black militancy, anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, pro-Communism and anti-war movements, the Port Huron Statement[632] inspired student revolution, and the promotion of alienated minorities (rather than working-class majorities and labour activists) as the main forces of social change[633].

The proto-neoconservatives explained the failures of social reform by questioning the theories behind government administration and programs. They became skeptical of the effectiveness of social scientists and government to shape society and claimed government planning in a liberal state had led to harmful social instability. For example, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Harvard sociologist and neoconservative, wrote that

> A program was launched that was not understood, and not explained, and this brought about social losses that need not have occurred....The government did not know what it was doing. It had a theory. Or, rather, a set of theories. Nothing more[634].

As identified in early neoconservative journals, such as *Public Interest*, which was founded by Bell and Kristol in 1965, and *Commentary*, which was founded and edited (1960-1995) by Podhoretz and endorsed by the American Jewish Committee, these neoconservatives revealed their disillusionment with the increasingly Leftist Democrats, launched a counter-attack against

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[630] See Bell, *The End of Ideology*, 1962.
[631] The Heritage Foundation, "LBJ Launches the Great Society."
[632] Hayden, *The Port Huron Statement*; Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), "Port Huron Statement."
[633] Balint, *Running Commentary,* 100-118*;* Mason*, Richard Nixon and the Quest for a New Majority,* 81-88*.*
[634] Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding*, 170.

the New Left, and began emphasising certain conservative values, such as "traditional modes of behaviour" and "restraints" and a "politics of stability"[635].

By the end of the 1970s the proto-neoconservatives had completely broken with the pro-communist radical Left over the student movement, failed economic and foreign policies, and failed liberal government programs and social reforms, and came to be known as right-wing liberals or neoconservatives. Some even self-identified with the term, such as Irving Kristol, who published '*Confessions of a True, Self-Confessed Neoconservative*' (1979), and Norman Podhoretz, who wrote '*The Neoconservative Anguish over Reagan's Foreign Policy*' (1982). They mobilized support for alternative policies through influential journals, newspapers, think-tanks, and public policy institutes such as the American Enterprise Institute (founded by Lewis Harold Brown in 1938) and the Heritage Foundation (founded in 1973 by Paul Weyrich, Edwin Feulner, and Joseph Coors), and helped develop and spread new ideas about reducing the size of federal government and countering the liberal establishment[636].

These early neoconservatives were influenced by the ideas of several prominent thinkers and politicians, such as Leo Strauss and Henry 'Scoop' Jackson. Despite the intellectual rivalry between New York intellectuals and the German refugee exiles, Leo Strauss arrived in America as a Jewish refugee from Germany in 1938, taught at the New School for Social Research in New York (1939-1949) and the University of Chicago, but also had a lasting influence on neoconservative thinking from the 1950s onwards. He thought that the West was in crisis because it lacked a moral purpose, which was the result of its nihilism, its emphasis on natural right over natural law through the Enlightenment cultivation of reason, specifically the

[635] Glazer, "The Limits of Social Policy," 54; Moynihan, "The Politics of Stability," 6-10; Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America Since 1945*, 507-531.
[636] Arin, *Think Tanks, the Brain Trusts of US Foreign Policy*; Rekart, *Public Funds, Private Provision*, 143.

natural rights of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau[637]. Strauss thought the solution to this crisis was the restoration of the heritage ideas and faith of Classical Greek Philosophy and Judeo-Christianity, including the duties of man, virtue, and discovery of the best regime. Strauss endorsed the Greek philosopher Aristotle and his notion that natural beings have a natural end, a destiny that "determines what kind of operation is good for them"[638].

Aristotelian natural-end ethics is a philosophy of internal teleology and realisation; all natural beings had a valuable potential that ought to be realised as an end in-itself according to natural or moral law. The good life is the life in which "the requirements of man's natural inclinations are fulfilled in the proper order to the highest possible degree"; it is "the perfection of man's nature", a life in accord with nature, which is "the life of human excellence or virtue". The proper function, indeed the natural or moral law of human nature, a universal, is to pursue their natural end in virtuous action. The virtuous action of men is found within political communal life, which develops and implements virtues that enable the transition from is to ought. Self-restraint of "lower impulses" is necessary for the perfection of man's humanity[639].

For Strauss, our good, the good life, is sorted out with others via an unconditional commitment to the rules of reason, the precepts of natural law in rational (political) debate, not conventional notions of 'might is right', coercion, or other modes of non-rational persuasion. Strauss rejected the individualism, natural rights, vulgar conventionalism, positivism, "scientific approaches to epistemology", and historicism of the Enlightenment[640]. Instead, he pitted the ancients over the moderns, embraced rational political community (defined in terms of happiness and justice rather than sovereignty and force), natural law, the

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[637] Strauss, *Natural Right and History*; Allan Bloom, "Leo Strauss," 372–92; East, "Leo Strauss and American Conservatism," 2-19.
[638] Strauss, *Natural Right and History*, 7.
[639] Ibid, 126-133.
[640] Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement, 94.*

good life, virtuous action, and human fulfillment. His philosophy influenced Kristol, Podhoretz, and Paul Wolfowitz, and became "an intellectual pillar" of neoconservatism[641].

Another influential figure for neoconservatism was Henry 'Scoop' Jackson, an American Senator, Cold-War liberal and anti-communist Democrat. Some of the first generation neoconservatives, such as Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle, worked for him as aides during the 1970s and they, among others, specifically endorsed his foreign policy[642]. Jackson opposed the détente (SALT I and the Helsinki Accords) between America and Russia under President Nixon and promoted American power as a force of good facing evil in the world. He pursued a "robust foreign policy" that was "based on clear universal principles such as the global promotion of the rule of law, liberal democracy, civil rights, environmental responsibility and the market economy"[643]. When Jackson lost to Jimmy Carter in his second presidential campaign (1977), first generation neoconservatives became disillusioned; they broke with the Democrats and turned to Republicanism, endorsing Ronald Reagan and joining his administration in 1981[644].

In the late 1970s and early 80s, domestic issues for first generation neoconservatives such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, involved dealing with a "new class", the counter-culture communist Left (cultural Marxists) or "second level stratum of political elite", that were increasingly able to "shape debate, determine agendas, define standards, and propose and evaluate policies"[645]. She and other first generation neoconservatives thought Leftists were effectively "unmanning the West" as they attacked the "family, business, and schools"[646] and impacted the "composition of the ruling elite"[647]. Irving Kristol wrote

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[641] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 54.
[642] See Vaïsse, "The Second Age: Cold War Democrats in Dissent" in *Neoconservatism*, 81-109.
[643] The Henry Jackson Society, "Statement of Principles."
[644] Abrams, "Empire."
[645] Kirkpatrick, "Politics and the New Class," 42.
[646] Heilbrunn, *They Knew They Were Right*, 168.
[647] Kirkpatrick, "Politics and the New Class," 42.

> Today there is a new class hostile to business in general, and especially to large corporations. As a group, you find them mainly in the very large and growing public sector and in the media. They share a disinterest in personal wealth, a dislike for the free-market economy, and a conviction that society may best be improved through greater governmental participation in the country's economic life. They are the media. They are the educational system. Their dislike for the free-market economy originates in their inability to exercise much influence over it so as to produce change. In its place they would prefer a system in which there is a very large political component. This is because the new class has a great deal of influence in politics. Thus, through politics, they can exercise a direct and immediate influence on the shape of our society and the direction of national affairs.[648]

In *Neoconservatism: an Autobiography of an Idea* (1995), which traces his intellectual thoughts from 1949 to 1995, Kristol further writes that the New Class is created by capitalism but they feel "alienated" from and "hostile to the business community" because they feel they have not received "sufficient power and recognition" from the liberal capitalist system. Very "few" of the New Class are actually "intellectuals"; they are educated through higher education but are "self-designated 'intellectuals'" who are driven by "ideals" that oppose the market economic system and are "elitist" in that they "pursue power in the name of equality" and appeal "to populist anxieties". They "do not 'control' the media, they *are* the media" and the "educational system...public health and welfare system"[649]. This ever-pressing counter-culture was the effect, according to Kirkpatrick, of "the ideological assault on authority symbols and structures preced[ing] the anti-war movement" in the 1960s, which, by portraying the United States as an immoral "'sick society' guilty of racism, materialism, imperialism, and murder of Third World people in Vietnam", attempted to undermine the "legitimacy" of America[650].

In foreign policy, Kirkpatrick is known for what is called the 'Kirkpatrick Doctrine'. Based on her '*Dictatorships and Double Standards*' in *Commentary* (November 1979) in the context of the Cold War, she supported anti-communists dictatorships, criticised America's détente with USSR, argued for military force against Soviet expansionism, and advocated the gradual

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[648] Kristol, *Two Cheers for Capitalism*.
[649] Kristol, *Neoconservatism,* 89, 208, 175, 228, 207.
[650] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 56.

liberalization of autocratic countries[651]. Kirkpatrick's 'Doctrine' was a big hit with the Reagan administration and she became Reagan's Ambassador to the UN for four years (1981-85). Other first generation neocons were also coming into administrative positions of power regarding American foreign-relations, such as two former aides of Jackson, Wolfowitz and Perle, who respectively became Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs and Assistant Secretary of Defense regarding the Soviet Union and Europe. American Neoconservatives were also influencing politicians and political affairs in the United Kingdom, such as Margaret Thatcher, who was a close ally with Reagan and Conservative Prime Minister of Britain between 1979 and 1990, and in Israel amongst the mainstream right, particularly the Likud nationalist party[652]. Michael Gove, a British politician and, since the 2015 general election, the Secretary of State for Justice, wrote in 2004 that the "stance" of Churchill and Thatcher was neoconservative, for they believed that "to stand up for liberty against its enemies" was the "duty" of the West[653].

A younger, second generation of neoconservatives, including Charles Krauthammer, Joshua Muravchik, and William (Bill) Kristol, came of age in the post-Cold War world and openly aligned with the Republican Party. Bill Kristol, the son of Irving Kristol and American historian, Gertrude Himmelfarb ('Bea' Kristol), worked as Chief of Staff for William Bennett, Secretary of Education in the Reagan administration and was a "major architect" of the 1994 Republican Party campaign[654]. Foreign policy was a 'key concern'. Beginning in the 1990s neocons pushed a radical foreign policy agenda, rigorously promoting democratic progress and the "advance of freedom" in the face of communism and fascism, "the twentieth century's twin evil ideologies". They perceived their task as getting America to send these wicked political systems

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[651] Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards."
[652] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[653] Gove, "The Deadly Mail."
[654] Scruton,"Neo-conservatism," 472.

"conclusively back into history"[655]. Compared to their intellectual forefathers, the foreign policy goals of second generation neocons have been "much more visionary ... and militant", much more interventionist. For example, during the Bill Clinton administration (1993-2001) neoconservative organizations like the Project for a New American Century (PNAC) pressed "for a significant increase in the defense budget and for military intervention and regime change in countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq"[656]. They thought the regimes of Slobodan Milosevic (Yugoslav Wars, 1991-2001) and Saddam Hussein (Kuwait, First Iraq War, 1990-1991) had to be overhauled and replaced with liberal democracies, types of war they considered to be conducted "in the interest of American security" and "driven by humanitarian instincts" based on "technologically advanced [military] power"[657].

The PNAC was founded in 1997 by Bill Kristol and Robert Kagan, a foreign policy commentator and a foreign policy adviser to US Republicans since the early 1980s, such as Jack Kemp and John McCain, and to Democrats, such as Hillary Clinton. The PNAC aimed to "promote American global leadership"[658] and represented "a neoconservatism that was almost exclusively foreign-policy inspired", a foreign policy that proclaimed that for over a century "the use of American power" in the world was "repeatedly...shown" as "a force for good". They prescribed several projects that America needed to undertake over the "next century", which included increased funding for America's global defence "responsibilities" and the American promotion "of political and economic freedom abroad", both of which were based on a "Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity" and the preservation and spread of the

[655] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 68-69.
[656] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[657] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 78, 81. The Yugoslav wars, for instance, were, according to Murray, "the ideal postmodern war" for they were defined by "Humanitarian aims, mixed with massive contemporary military technology, [which] allowed America to target a regime without waging war on the people who suffered under that regime. Humanitarian intervention to alleviate suffering —which had hitherto so often been desirable— was proved to be practical and possible" (Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 81).
[658] Project for the New American Century, "About PNAC."

interests and values of America[659]. Neocon influence on American foreign policy was most apparent with George W. Bush Jnr., the Bush doctrine, and the War on Terror.

Bush Jnr. was leading the United States as the 43rd president when the Islamist terrorist attack against the World Trade Center on the 11th September 2001 occurred, almost 8 months after he came into office. 9/11 was a decisive factor in the adoption of the neocon view that American security was linked to hostile international developments and foreign policy needed to change. Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle were among Bush's "senior appointees" and according to Murray "neoconservative ideology" helped "define George Bush's escape not just from the shadows of his father's style of politics, but from the whole oppressive philosophy of status-quo American conservatism" i.e. non-interventionist and isolationist foreign policy. Bush implemented militaristic-style foreign policies, what is collectively known as the War on Terror. This was a distinctly "neoconservative" approach to "terror" such as the war against Afghanistan (2001-2014) and Iraq (2003-2011), and involved the Bush Doctrine, which was interlinked and based on the neocon 'persuasion' of the PNAC[660].

The Bush Doctrine explicitly rejected moral relativism or natural right and wholeheartedly expressed the necessity "of moral judgment in the realm of world affairs" in the post-9/11 context[661]. Going against the prevailing liberal orthodoxy of the West , according to Michael Gove, it combined "humanitarian liberalism and brute force"[662] and according to Murray provided "coherent policies for dealing with the dilemmas of the day: genocide, dictatorships, and human rights abuses"[663]. It was a new strategic doctrine that emphasised pre-emptive war, as stated in a 2002 National Security Council *Security Strategy* text*:*

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[659] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 82-83.
[660] Ibid*,* 89, 212.
[661] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 95.
[662] Gove, "The Deadly Mail."
[663] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 97.

> The United States has long maintained the option of preemptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security. The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction— and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy's attack. To forestall or prevent such hostile acts by our adversaries, the United States will, if necessary, act preemptively[664].

This security strategy also explained the American approach to enemies and rogue nations. Identifying "the enemy" as "terrorism – premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against innocents", it states that terrorism is not just committed by non-state actors or terrorist "cells", but by states who "knowingly harbour or provide aid to them". Bush Jnr. stated in his September 20, 2001 address to the Joint Session of Congress, that America

> will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime[665].

A year later, at his speech to the US Military Academy at West Point, June 1st 2002, Bush stated that America was fighting "for a just Peace...that favors human liberty" that will be defended "against threats from terrorists and tyrants", preserved "by building good relations among the great powers", and extended "by encouraging free and open societies on every continent" of the world[666]. The 2002 *Security Strategy* also warned that "We must be prepared to stop rogue states and their terrorist clients before they are able to threaten or use weapons of mass destruction against the United States and our allies and friends". Terrorism is of "global reach" and the war on global terrorism is against a "particularly elusive enemy"; there are thousands of terrorist cells throughout the world. The effective dismantling of these regimes will involve not just actual military offensives, such as the Afghanistan and Iraq Wars, but also a "war on

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[664] United States and Bush, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America,* 15.
[665] Bush, Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.
[666] *New York Times,* "Text of Bush's Speech at Westpoint."

ideas" including the promotion of "the free flow of information and ideas" to incite hope and liberty against those who sponsor global terrorism[667].

Policy analysts suggest that this Bush Doctrine resembled recommendations of the controversial *Defense Planning Guidance* draft, February 1992, co-authored by Paul Wolfowitz, who was Under Secretary of Defense for Policy during the first Bush administration, and his deputy, Scooter Libby. This initial set of military guidelines states that

> Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival, either on the territory of the former Soviet Union or elsewhere, that poses a threat on the order of that posed formerly by the Soviet Union. This is a dominant consideration underlying the new regional defense strategy and requires that we endeavor to prevent any hostile power from dominating a region whose resources would, under consolidated control, be sufficient to generate global power.[668]

This doctrine was given the unofficial name, the Wolfowitz Doctrine, after it was leaked to the New York Times in the first quarter of 1992 and caused a public outcry against American defense and foreign policy. Former chief correspondent for the New York Times, Patrick E. Tyler, claimed that the document "asserted that America's political and military mission in the post-cold-war era will be to insure that no rival superpower is allowed to emerge in Western Europe, Asia or the territory of the former Soviet Union" and that America would be the sole world superpower wielding "benevolent domination" and "whose position can be perpetuated by constructive behavior and sufficient military might to deter any nation or group of nations from challenging American primacy"[669]. Such American aspirations for world hegemony abounds in contemporary neoconservative thought. Murray, for example, states that America is "the world's supreme superpower and defender of freedom"[670], and influential American neocon author Bruce Bawer thinks that America is the guiding light of the world[671].

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[667] United States and Bush, *National Security Strategy*, 1-6, 14.
[668] Paul Craig Roberts, Address to the Conference on the European/Russian Crisis.
[669] Tyler, "U.S. Strategy Plan Calls for Insuring No Rivals Develop."
[670] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 92.
[671] Bawer, *While Europe Slept,* 99, 231.

The Bush Doctrine was also heavily influenced by the PNAC report *Rebuilding Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century* (2000). Indeed, according to Dutch political scientist Cas Mudde, this report "functioned as the blueprint of the Bush Administration's response to 9/11"[672]. It stated that "At present the United States faces no global rival. America's *grand strategy* should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible" and this can only be achieved by "U.S. military capabilities"[673]. Only through "military modernization or transformation" can "American global leadership" and the "American Peace" be realised[674]. This neocon approach to foreign affairs was also outlined in a major book, *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy* (2000), edited by Bill Kristol and Robert Kagan, founders of the PNAC. They wanted a "sustained American attempt to spread freedom and democracy"[675] and stated that "we will occasionally have to intervene abroad even when we cannot prove that a narrowly construed 'vital interest' of the United States is at stake"[676]. In other words, it is in American neoconservative interest to spread democracy and freedom throughout the world, through force if necessary, and pre-emptive strikes against states that challenge this interest are justified.

After 9/11 and the invasion of Afghanistan, Kagan and Kristol wrote that

> President Bush grasped that our response to the attacks must go beyond simply destroying some terrorist groups, important as that is. He also understood the underlying truth that there's no substitute for American leadership--a leadership that is willing not just to use our military strength, but also to defend and advance liberal democratic principles. George W. Bush is now a man with a mission. As it happens, it is America's historic mission[677].

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[672] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[673] Donnelly, *Rebuilding America's Defenses,* i-ii.
[674] Ibid, iv-v.
[675] Murray, *Neoconservatism, 84*.
[676] Kristol and Kagan, "Introduction: National Interest and Global Responsibility", 13.
[677] Kagan and Kristol, "The Bush Doctrine Unfolds."

Max Boot agreed. Boot, a neocon military historian and the Jeane J. Kirkpatrick Senior Fellow in National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, has written that he is a 'hard Wilsonian' who agrees to the use of "American might to promote American ideals". He explains that a hard Wilsonian is one who "embrace[s] Woodrow Wilson's championing of American ideals but reject his reliance on international organizations [such as the United Nations] and treaties to accomplish our objectives"[678]. In an interview with PBS he said that

> We have to go out and stop the terrorists overseas. We have to play the role of the *global policeman*.... [and] we ought to go further.... I think we have to shape the global environment.... I think we have to shape the world much more in our own image, and we have to be much more aggressive about that even acting as a quote, unquote great empire should[679].

Hard Wilsonian or neo-Wilsonian foreign policy ideals were aimed at defending and exercising American hegemony in the world, extending and enforcing American democratic capitalism, peace, prosperity, and liberty, through unilateral and militaristic methods if necessary. This neocon foreign policy was based upon the assumption that "the United States and its allies were safest in a world of democracies"[680], otherwise known as Democratic Peace theory. Democratic Peace is the idea that democratic regimes are less likely to start wars with each other compared to other regimes. It claims that the success of America is based upon democracy and individual freedom. As non-democratic, rival or opposing regimes in the world violate human rights, which belong to everyone, and lack secular general education and economic opportunities, which leads to radicalism and extremism, places like Saddam's Iraq will have to be overcome by American might and by the forced proliferation of "democratic institutions and free economies" within their nations[681].

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[678] Boot, "What the Heck is a 'Neocon'?'"
[679] Think Tank with Ben Wattenberg. "The Bush Doctrine," (my emphasis).
[680] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[681] Scruton, "Neo-conservatism," 487.

In sum, Democratic Peace promotes interventionist policies in regions of the world where democracy does not exist, especially Arab and Muslim regions (Middle East, South Asia, North Africa) as well as China and North Korea, with the aim of liberating them. The goal of spreading democratic ideals is the erasure of tyrannical regimes, such as communism and Islamism, and "nation-building" that is designed to be friendly to America and her allies[682]. The invasion of Iraq for example was seen as a "regime change" in one country that would produce "a domino effect" that essentially democratized the entire region, thus making Iraq, the region, and the world "safer" for America and its allies, particularly Israel[683].

Democratic Peace is one aspect of the Bush Doctrine, the other is 'the end of history' principle. Francis Fukuyama, a Senior Fellow at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law at Stanford University and a former contributor to the Reagan administration, wrote an essay titled "The End of History?" published in *National Interest* in the summer of 1989. In this essay he provided a view of world history claiming that the end point of human history as progress was the achievement of economic and political liberalism. He writes that

> What we may be witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government.[684]

Fukuyama continued this idea in his book, *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992), in which he essentially argued that

> if a society wanted to be modern, there was no alternative to a market economy and a democratic political system. Not everyone wanted to be modern, of course, and not everyone could put in place the institutions and policies necessary to make democracy and capitalism work, but no alternative system would yield better results[685].

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[682] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 73.
[683] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[684] Fukuyama, "The End of History?"
[685] Fukuyama, "The Clash of Cultures and American Hegemony."

The end of history thesis is not exclusive to Fukuyama[686] and is rooted in notions of progress, progress towards a particular place in the future, particularly Hegel's notion, which Fukuyama held to be "an absolute moment - a moment in which a final, rational form of society and state became victorious"[687]. In summary, the 'end of history' is the idea that struggles between left and right politics were going to come to an end, that human social-cultural evolution, or "human thought about first principles" or first things, has an end point and there is a final form of human government: liberal democracy[688].

According to Murray, most second generation neocons agreed with Fukuyama's end of history thesis. They perceived liberal democracy as "the desirable endpoint of all human societies" because democracy is "the surest means of preventing nation-states waging war on each other"[689]. And it was clear in the foreign policy of the Bush regime. Bush claimed during his June 2002 West Point speech that there was

> a single surviving model of human progress based on nonnegotiable demands of human dignity, the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, respect for women and private property, and free speech, and equal justice and religious tolerance[690].

In other words American liberal democracy was the end point of human history. The current president of the United States, Barack Obama, although a Democrat rather than Republican also agrees with it, as well as the Bush Doctrine. He adheres to American unilateralism, pre-emptive war[691], Bush's counterterrorism policies[692], the democratic peace theory, and the spread of liberal democracy throughout the world in terms of American security interests.

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[686] Many others, such as Marx, Hegel, and Kant, had theories of historical progress towards some definite end that were very influential upon Western political thought.
[687] Fukuyama, "The End of History?"
[688] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 65.
[689] Ibid, 65, 68.
[690] *New York Times,* "Text of Bush's Speech at Westpoint."
[691] Feaver, "Obama's Embrace of the Bush Doctrine."
[692] Thiessen, "The Obama-Bush Doctrine"; Stephen Carter, "President Obama's Foreign Policy Echoes Bush Doctrine."

Speaking at the U.S. Military Academy on May 28th 2014, Obama said that "The United States will use military force, unilaterally if necessary, when our core interests demand it" and

> America's support for democracy and human rights goes beyond idealism. It is a matter of national security. Democracies are our closest friends and are far less likely to go to war. Economies based on free and open markets perform better and become markets for our goods. Respect for human rights is an antidote to instability and the grievances that fuel violence and terror[693].

Although not a self-identified neocon, Tony Blair, British Labour PM from 1997-2007 also endorsed the end of history principle in his 1999 Chicago speech during the height of the Kosovo war and generally supported second generation neocon foreign policy[694]. He supported "interventionism" and surmised that "[t]he political debates of the 20th century – the massive ideological battleground between left and right – are over" and "If we can establish and spread the values of liberty, the rule of law, human rights and an open society then that is in our national interests too. The spread of our values makes us safer"[695].

Although Fukuyama's end of history principle was validated through the speeches of Bush, Obama, Blair and many others, and although Fukuyama was active in the PNAC, signing its 1997 Statement of Principles which promoted "American global leadership" and "a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity"[696], he later rejected the foreign policy of the Bush Administration, attesting that it had nothing to do with his views on "democracy and development" and that his argument about the end of history does not constitute the "intellectual foundation" for the Bush administration. In an April 2007 article he wrote titled "The History at the End of History", he stated:

> I believe that the European Union more accurately reflects what the world will look like at the end of history than the contemporary United States. The EU's attempt to transcend sovereignty and traditional power politics by establishing a transnational

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693 Obama, "Remarks by the President at the United States Military Academy Commencement Ceremony."
694 Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
695 Blair, "The Blair Doctrine."
696 Project for the New American Century, "Statement of Principles."

> rule of law is much more in line with a "post-historical" world than the Americans' continuing belief in God, national sovereignty, and their military.[697]

Compared to Fukuyama, neocons like Murray berate the Europe Union for its lack of military action in the War on Terror and its lack of Bush Doctrine foreign policy. Murray explains that the EU is unlike America in three distinct ways: it does not have the ability "to sustain a prolonged and costly modern war"; it perceives war as "a pointless and irrational thing in the modern world" (i.e. preferring debate and dialogue, legislation and legal means to solve conflict); and it leaders (the Brussels Eurocrats, socialists and Leftists) are proud of its post-Christianity or age of moral relativism[698]. This European character is in stark contrast to American neoconservatism, which has the view that the world needs an absolute moral standard and that America should bolster its military, act as 'global policeman', and justify pre-emptive albeit 'humanitarian' (i.e. technologically advanced) wars against tyrannical regimes in the world in terms of liberal democratic interests, and the security and safety of America and allies.

However, 21st century anti-war movements, especially against the American-led Afghanistan and Iraq wars, are found on both sides of the Atlantic, in Europe and America. But Murray, and other neocons, such as David Horowitz, cast the anti-war movements in Europe and the U.S as part of a new socialist-inspired counter-culture movement whose primary target is Israel and secondary targets are Britain and America, the foremost supporters of Israel and neocon foreign policy in the Western world. Horowtiz, in his 2004 book *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left*, makes the claim that "leftist criticism of U.S. foreign policy constitutes an alliance with terrorism"[699] and Murray concurs, asserting that anti-war coalitions also support the American Muslim Council and the Council on American-Islamic Relations

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[697] Fukuyama, "The History at the End of History."
[698] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 94.
[699] Chapman and Ciment, *Culture Wars,* 319.

(CAIR), and therefore support Hamas. Murray also argues that the anti-war movement came to be supported by Muslims in the West, influential imams and influential radical Muslims in the Muslim world, as well as "extremist racists and white supremacists" who believed, along with "far left organizations", that Jews were dictating world policy. This new or second counterculture that is 'anti-Semitic' and transatlantic is, according to Murray, "an assemblage of people specifically and consistently opposed to [Western] culture", people who adhere to the ideologies of fascism, socialism, and Islamism and who attack the West variously, from support of "caliphates or socialist dystopias" and "international courts and supranational institutions" to open violence, death and destruction[700].

According to Murray, what underlies neocon opposition to the anti-war movement in Europe is the view that a generation of socialists had come to power and were creating "an entirely new society" that is "hostile" to both America and Europe. This new society is a "utopia" grounded in "long-disproved assumptions about human nature and the course of our future" and centred on such themes as "integration", "unity", and "perpetual peace" and "the myth of human perfectibility", both of the human and social kinds. This last myth "exists as a substitute for faith in humankind, not as an expression of it". Furthermore, perfectibility is not "progressive" or an "inevitable" story of humanity, but it is an "alien ideology" that is "woefully blind to human and political reality" (citing Irving Kristol) and is being enforced upon Europeans by EU elites. The central narrative of these elites has been that European nations have gone to war with each other because of the very existence of the nation state. Therefore, to eliminate war and the potential for war, nation-states have to be discontinued as a viable form of

[700] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 123, 125, 128.

collective existence, and/or super-states had to be created, such as the EU. Murray calls this generalised reasoning about nationalism 'absurd' and "entirely based in relativism"[701].

The supra-national EU is problematic to neocons such as Murray because they perceive the only aim of the EU is the "passing [of] laws" that separate what "matters" from public debate and democracy, and removes the Eurocrats from any responsibility to hear and encompass public opinion. The EU is an "experiment" that has aimed to "make war illogical, indefensible, and impossible" and has involved "an assault of national identity", such as the adoption and implementation of Muslim immigration and immigrant multiculturalism, campaigns against the Catholic Church, silence in the face of Islamic terrorism, funding for the spread of Islam in Europe, and rights for Muslim terrorists. The European Convention on Human Rights, particularly Article 2, is "ridiculous" according to Murray, for it forbids European countries from deporting "culprits if their lives may be in danger". It means that terrorists or immigrants causing societal unrest or antagonism are protected by lawyers who claim that their foreign clients will face endangerment if they are extradited to a particular country and so, because of humanitarian legalities, they must remain in the host country at the taxpayers' expense. In other words, the EU project has been "unable to stop Hamas, Hezbollah, and al-Qaeda demonstrations and supporters, because they have given such people rights that cannot be breached"[702]. Furthermore, the morality of immigration is one-directional; there is no advocated diversification of the sending countries, such as Saudi Arabia or Pakistan.

Murray further writes that

> A nation that dares not mention matters of race and culture is a nation that lacks the confidence needed to survive, let alone be a global leader. And it is a country that leaves itself open [through immigration, multiculturalism, and relativism] not only to the strongest, but also to the weakest of alien creeds. Multiculturalism has become

[701] Ibid, 194-195.
[702] Ibid, 198, 203, 215, 210.

> such a rampaging force that it can end careers and force the populace as a whole to live under a petty tyranny of political correctness[703].

Or, as Huntington has put it, quoted by Murray: "Multiculturalism is in its essence anti-European civilization...an anti-Western ideology"[704]. Irving Kristol absolutely agrees, adding that multiculturalism is "as much a 'war against the West' as Nazism and Stalinism ever were"[705]. Quoting Tony Blankley, an English-American political analyst and former press secretary for Newt Gingrich, Murray warns that if Europe transforms into Eurabia this would mean the destruction of the "birthplace of the West" and a loss of America's "cultural and historic first cousins, our closest economic and military allies, and the source of our own civilization". To rectify this situation, Britain, America's closest ally, must exit the EU, improve its relations with America, and continue to assist America in its "targeted warfare of the new century"[706].

Neoconservatism is not just opposed to the European Union but also the United Nations, which is seen as having "no spiritual authority, no legal authority"[707]. This is related to another important aspect of neocon foreign policy: Zionism and support for Israel. A self-identified Jewish neocon, Murray Freidman wrote in *The Neoconservative Revolution: Jewish Intellectuals and the Shaping of Public Policy* (2005) that Zionism was part of the original neoconservative stance, as outlined in *Commentary* and published by the American Jewish Committee[708]. Likewise, Murray asserts "Zionism was...itself a precursor to neoconservative thinking" and contends that neocons support the right of Israel to exist and defend itself because it is the sole democratic nation amongst a sea of "squalid dictatorships" in the Middle East"[709]. Murray explains that Jewish and non-Jewish neocons wholeheartedly disagree with

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[703] Ibid, 191-192.
[704] Huntington as cited by Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 192.
[705] Kristol, "The Tragedy of Multiculturalism," 52.
[706] Murray, *Neoconservatism, 214*, 207
[707] Ibid, 199
[708] Friedman, *The Neoconservative Revolution*.
[709] Murray, *Neoconservatism,* 51-52.

the 1975 UN Resolution 3379, *Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*, which stated that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination"[710], a resolution which was aggressively rejected in public by Moynihan on "behalf of the US" who called it an "infamous act"[711] and which was officially revoked in 1991[712]. For Murray and other neocons resolution 3379 was anti-Zionist and therefore anti-Semitic and represented "a moral inversion taking place" that made aggressors into victims (i.e. Arab states attacking Israel were now victims), and this was a microcosm of the current decadence or "decay" brought about by cultural liberalism/Marxism, by "relativism and countercultural equivalence", which had affected people's ability to discern the truth. Murray also argues that UN resolution 3379, which was endorsed for 16 years, revealed that "world government was a dangerous and potentially tyrannical concept"[713]. Although the UN, the closest thing to world government, was partly modeled after Immanuel Kant's notion of Perpetual Peace, it ignored the First and Second Definitive Articles, which clearly stated that for a system of perpetual peace to work, every nation must be 'republican' (a liberal democracy) and united in a federation of free states. As the UN is not constituted by free republican states as some of them are "hostile dictatorships", and as UN people are "unelected", Murray declares that the UN is rather a non-democratic "pseudo-world government"[714].

Neoconservatism has been criticized in various ways and from various thinkers on the Left-Right political spectrum. There are five main interrelated issues against neoconservatism: i) their endorsement of neoliberal economics; ii) their readiness for interventionist, pre-emptive American foreign policy applied unilaterally, especially in the Middle East and against

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[710] United Nations General Assembly. *3379 (XXX)*. *Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*.
[711] Murray, *Neoconservativism,* 49.
[712] Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 260 General Assembly Resolution 46-86- Revocation of Resolution 3379.
[713] Murray, *Neoconservatism*, 50.
[714] Ibid, 50, 52-53, 60, 201, 203.

global Islam, and based on absolutist moral categories (good and evil; friend and enemy) and military power; iii) robust support for the security of Israel at the expense of America; iv) their left-wing origins; and v) their predominantly Jewish constitution. Jonathan Clarke, senior fellow at Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, and Stefan Halper, foreign policy scholar and Director of American Studies at the University of Cambridge, wrote in 2004 that David Frum and Richard Perle's book *An End to Evil: What's Next in the War on Terrorism* (2004) reinforces the neoconservative thesis that

> American interests and values are best pursued with a maximum of military stick and minimum of negotiating carrot. It makes little difference whether the issue is Libya, Iran, or North Korea. The authors believe market-democracy is best delivered on the back of a Tomahawk missile[715].

John McGowan, Humanities professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and author of several books on liberal democracy and cultural criticism, thinks neoconservatives are attempting to build an American Empire, a successor of the British Empire, and the goal is to perpetuate a Pax Americana. He writes in 2007 that "Frank neoconservatives like Robert Kaplan and Niall Ferguson recognize that they are proposing imperialism as an alternative to liberal internationalism" and tells us "that 'only through stealth and anxious foresight' can the United States continue to pursue the 'imperial reality'". He continues by saying that

> The Bush administration, justifying all of its actions by an appeal to 'national security', has kept many of those actions as it can secret and has scorned all limitations to executive power by other branches of government or international law"[716].

Similarly, in 2008, Joe Klein, an American journalist and columnist, complained about the neocon attempt to export and impose freedom and democracy on the non-Western world. Writing for *Time* magazine, he described neocon foreign policy as being "best described as

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[715] Halper and Clarke, "Twilight of the Neocons"; Lobe, Jim. "Attacking Neo-Cons from the Right."
[716] McGowan, *American Liberalism,* 129-130.

unilateral bellicosity in the utopian rhetoric of freedom and democracy"[717]. This is certainly the case, as can be seen by such statements by neocon foreign policy analyst Michael Leeden:

> We tear down the old order every day, from business to science, literature, art, architecture, and cinema to politics and the law. Our enemies have always hated this whirlwind of energy and creativity, which menaces their traditions (whatever they may be) and shames them for their inability to keep pace. Seeing America undo traditional societies, they fear us, for they do not wish to be undone. They cannot feel secure so long as we are there, for our very existence—our existence, not our politics—threatens their legitimacy. They must attack us in order to survive, just as we must destroy them to advance our historic mission[718].

Conservative Pat Buchanan sees neocons as "undocumented aliens from the Left, carrying with them the viruses of statism and globalism" and are war-mongers, interventionists, and for open borders[719].

In 2009, in an interview with Jeffrey Goldberg of *The Atlantic*, Joe Klein stated that

> I just don't want to see policy makers who make decisions on the basis of whether American policy will benefit Israel or not. In some cases, you want to provide protection for Israel certainly, but you don't want to go to war with Iran. When Jennifer Rubin or Abe Foxman calls me antisemitic, they're wrong. I am anti-neoconservative.

Klein further declared that examining the predominate religion of neoconservatism is legitimate, for there is a case to be made against the disproportionate Jewish influence, and their allegiance to Israel, on US foreign policy, such as angst towards Iran and the actual Iraq war, and he thinks that this "represents a dangerous anachronistic neocolonial sensibility"[720].

In March 2006 John J. Mearsheimer, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago, and Stephen M. Walt, Professor at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University published an essay entitled "The Israel Lobby" and in September of that same year they published a revised Working Paper titled "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy" in the *Middle East Policy* journal. In these works, they argue that US foreign policy in the

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[717] Joe Klein, "McCain's Foreign Policy Frustration."
[718] Leeden, *The War Against the Terror Masters*, 212-213.
[719] Buchanan, "The Old Right and the Future of Conservatism"; Buchanan, "Whose War?"
[720] Goldberg, "Joe Klein on Neoconservatives and Iran."

Middle East is "primarily" influenced by "domestic politics and especially... [by] the activities of the 'Israel Lobby'" in America and that this group has convinced "Americans that U.S. and Israeli interests are essentially identical"[721]. In February 2009 Andrew Sullivan, a former neoconservative supporter, saw the basic tenet of neoconservatism as a defense of Israel:

> neoconservatism, in large part, is simply about enabling the most irredentist elements in Israel and sustaining permanent war against anyone or any country who disagrees with the Israeli right....And to insist that America adopt exactly the constant-war-as-survival that Israelis have been slowly forced into....But America is not Israel"[722].

Likewise, in 2003 Paul Gottfried, a Jewish-American paleoconservative political philosopher, insisted that Jews "have a special inviolable right to an ethnic state, while Euro-American gentiles are expected to practice multiculturalism."[723] In other words, neoconservatives have double-standards in that Jews have a "right to ethnocentricity" whereas Europeans are obliged "to have open borders and to exchange their traditional identities for 'human rights'", which Gottfried thinks has led to European old conservatives opposing Israel.[724]

For paleoconservatives, neoconservatism is not considered as truly conservative[725] for they continue to have "the emotional gestalt of liberalism, the liberal sensitivity and temperament" leftover from their days of liberalism[726]. Some think it is an illegitimate addition to conservatism, particularly after the Cold War, or it has stolen conservatism from the paleoconservatives by "shaping the trajectory of post-Communism conservatism" and "leaving the paleoconservatives isolated and marginalized"[727]. Paleocons are concerned with the influence of neocon publications and their ability to raise funds and they criticize the media for suggesting neocons represent all conservatives, as they don't, because, according to Gottfried,

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[721] Mearsheimer and Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," 30.
[722] Daily Dish, "A False Premise."
[723] Gottfried, "Cultural Masochism."
[724] Kantor, "For Israel, Without Illusions."
[725] Cas Mudde, "Neoconservatism."
[726] Francis, "The Neo-Conservative Subversion."
[727] Lerner, "Making a Modern Conservatism."

they "have always favored social democratic policies together with an aggressive liberal internationalist foreign policy", which is something that paleocons reject (i.e. are non-interventionist and isolationist)[728].

One of the major distinctions between neo- and paleo-conservatism is in regards to foreign policy. Conservatives are concerned that aggressive American policy is serving Israeli interests at the expense of American interests and are skeptical of efforts to spread American democracy abroad, especially by force, or by "wars of peace", such as the Iraq and Afghanistan wars[729]. They are also critical of the way neoconservatives are quick to label any opposition to them as 'fascist' or anti-Semitic. For example Thomas Fleming, editor of the paleoconservative magazine *Chronicles*, derisively writes that "an anti-Semite is anyone who uses the term neoconservative"[730]. Russell Kirk, who in a 1988 lecture at the Heritage Foundation said "Not seldom has it seemed as if some eminent Neoconservatives mistook Tel Aviv for the capital of the United States"[731] was criticised for his comment by neoconservative Midge Decter, wife of Podhoretz and director of the Committee for a Free World, who claimed that Kirk's remark was "a bloody outrage, a piece of anti-Semitism"[732]. Such labelling of the opposition, which also includes such notable conservative figures as Buchanan and Kirk among many others, was criticized by Samuel Francis, a leading paleoconservative and political theorist, who wrote:

> The dedication of their neo-conservative enemies to driving them [paleoconservatives] out of the movement they have taken over and demonizing them as marginal and dangerous figures has no legitimate basis in reality. It is clear evidence of the ulterior aspirations of those behind neo-conservatism to dominate and subvert American conservatism from its original purposes and agenda and turn it to other purposes[733].

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[728] Gottfried, "What the Neocons Really Want."
[729] F. Roger Devlin, "Against the Neoconservatives"; Michael Lind, "How Neoconservatives Conquered Washington."
[730] Fleming, "The Despair of the Neoconservatives."
[731] Kirk, "The Neoconservatives: An Endangered Species."
[732] Lerner, "Making a Modern Conservatism."
[733] Francis, "The Neo-Conservative Subversion."

Part III

Demographics: Immigration and Islam

7. Immigration: EU and Five Country Profiles

European nations were overwhelmingly ethnically homogeneous prior to the 1960s but due to rapid and high volumes of non-European immigration since this time they have become more ethnically diverse. In a 2012 report for the Migration Observatory, Oxford University demographer David Coleman states that

> Migration has become the primary driver of demographic change in most high-income countries and may remain so. On current trends European populations will become more ethnically diverse, with the possibility that today's majority ethnic groups will no longer comprise a numerical majority in some countries.[734]

Since the 1980s non-European ethnic immigrant communities have been steadily growing in all Western European nations. This is due to a mixture of factors, notably temporary foreign guest worker programs of the 1950s to early 1970s, which were "strongly encouraged by Marshall Plan officials" and turned into permanent settlement, and the granting of citizenship to members of former colonies[735]. Subsequent developments, such as the Euro-Arab Dialogue that emphasised Arab manpower, as well as new labour agreements, illegal immigration, high birth rates of non-European immigrants, family reunification policies, and asylum laws, have continually contributed to the rapid growth of non-European immigrant populations in Europe over the last few decades.

[734] David Coleman, *Immigration, Population, and Ethnicity*, 2.
[735] Zolberg, "Are the Industrial Countries Under Siege?" 59.

Several Western European countries thought that immigration levels were too high in the 1970s[736], mainly due to repercussions of the oil embargo – economic recession and high unemployment – but also because of civil unrest and political violence, which were increasingly committed by migrants at this time[737]. Various policies were introduced to restrict non-skilled non-European labour immigration and laws were enacted for the repatriation of 'guest workers'[738]. However, many of the temporary 'guest workers' decided to stay in their host countries and began bringing over their families; they became what are known as 'first generation immigrants'. The courts granted guest workers and their families the right to residence and any attempts by "[e]xecutive and administrative authorities...to reverse the migration flows" were increasing limited by 'legal and constitutional constraints'[739]. This meant that immigration changed from a temporary and limited rights phenomenon to a permanent program of immigrant settlement embedded with human rights[740]. As such, immigration at this time continued in the form of marriage migration, foreign students (those of who then became permanent residents), Arab manpower and highly skilled workers (who settled), refugees and asylum seekers, illegal immigrants (who are naturalised in times of liberalisation of citizenship), and through family reunification[741].

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[736] The number of European governments that viewed the level of immigration as "too high" were as follows between 1976 and 2001: 5 out of 29 in 1976, 7 out of 29 in 1986, 16 out of 43 in 1996, and 14 out of 43 in 2001. The number of European countries who had government policies to restrict immigration were as follows: 5 in 1976, 13 in 1986, 28 in 1996, and 21 in 2001. See: United Nations, *National Population Policies 2001*, 26, 29.
[737] Mark J. Miller, "International Migration and Security," 201-202.
[738] Castles, "The Guest Worker in Western Europe"; Castles, "Guestworkers in Europe: A Resurrection?";
[739] Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," 895; Ben-David, "Europe's Shifting Immigration Dynamic." Liberal laws that act as a pull factor for immigrants to Europe also prevent limiting immigration and the deportation of illegals and foreign criminals.
[740] Messina, *The Logics of Politics of Post-WWII Migration,* 2.
[741] Marriage migration differs from family reunification in that an immigrant will travel from the new country of residence to their home-country origin to marry and then their spouse will also immigrate. Then, the spouses' family may immigrate under family reunification laws. A never-ending cycle. See Schrover, "Marriage Migration," 2108-2122.

By the late 1990s various Left-wing governments came to power in many EU member states, opening their doors to large-scale immigration once again. They liberalised naturalization and citizenship policies, including for illegal migrants. In addition, in order to offset low birth rates, "a shortage of highly skilled workers", and "make their economies more competitive in a rapidly globalizing world", they created new foreign labour recruitment programs. These included not just recruitment of highly skilled workers but also seasonal workers, particularly from Eastern Europe with the enlargement of the EU[742]. At this time human rights and refugee laws became increasingly enshrined in immigration practices in Europe, especially when a large influx of asylum seekers arrived, mostly produced by the Balkan and Middle East wars. Since the early 21st century, the populations of second and third generation non-European immigrants (children and grandchildren of first generation immigrants), and new immigrants (family members, marriage migrants, foreign students, economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and illegal immigrants[743] and their children) have rapidly increased in European nations.

Table 1 below shows the number and percentage of immigrants that were granted residency permits in the EU-28 between 2008 and 2015 based on one of four main categories of immigration: 1) Family, 2) Education 3) Employment and 4) Other. The category 'Other' involves reasons that include: "international protection [refugees], residence without the right to work (e.g. for pensioners), diplomatic duties, and people in the intermediate stages of a regularisation process"[744]. Excluding the category 'Other', it can be ascertained from the information that in the eight-year period between 2008 and 2015 people were given residency permits in the EU for reasons in the following order: family (36.3%), employment (19.6%), and

[742] Hollifield, 899-900; Castles and Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration*, 70.
[743] A 2009 report stated that there were an estimated 1.9 to 3.8 million undocumented migrants in the EU27 in 2008. See: ELIAMEP, *Undocumented Migration,* 12.
[744] Eurostat, "Residence Permit Statistics."

education (4.8%). This means that over 41 percent and possibly more of all residency permits granted in the EU between 2008 and 2015 were not given for economic reasons.

Table 1. Types of EU Granted Residency Permits, 2008-2015 (Numbers and Percent)

	FAMILY		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		OTHER	
2008	4,208,149	28.4%	511,758	3.4%	3,160,465	21.3%	6,957,209	46.9%
2009	4,810,247	29.6%	509,172	3.1%	3,621,053	22.3%	7,319,339	45.0%
2010	5,822,702	36.8%	506,303	3.2%	3,031,396	19.2%	6,462,775	40.8%
2011	5,829,996	36.2%	525,040	3.3%	3,338,535	20.8%	6,385,564	39.7%
2012	6,567,664	36.9%	1,076,860	6.0%	3,664,153	20.6%	6,500,642	36.5%
2013	7,112,380	40.3%	1,104,639	6.3%	3,117,044	17.7%	6,306,764	35.7%
2014	7,067,047	41.0%	1,113,739	6.5%	2,971,270	17.3%	6,063,647	35.2%
2015	7,434,970	41.0%	1,161,463	6.4%	3,111,298	17.2%	6,420,518	35.4%

Source: Data from Eurostat, "All Valid Permits by Reason."

On January 1st 2015 the total population of the EU was 508.2 million; it had grown by one million people in just one year, most of it coming from net migration[745]. In the 1980s net migration levels were around 200,000 people per year and almost quadrupled in the 1990s to around 750,000 per year[746]. According to a 2009 EU report, since 2002 net migration to the EU has "tripled to between 1.6 million and two million people per year"[747] and according to a European Commission press release in April 2013, net migration has "tripled since 1960"[748]. In 2015 a European Commission report projected that net migration between 2015 and 2060 will remain between 1 million and 1.5 million a year, peaking around 2040 and declining thereafter[749].

The foreign-born population in the EU in 2010 amounted to 47.3 million, which was 9.4 percent of the total population. Out of this foreign-born population 31.4 million or 66.4 percent were "born outside the EU". The total non-EU foreign-born population would likely be much higher if the many Eastern European countries with smaller foreign-born populations compared

[745] Eurostat, "First Population Estimates," 1.
[746] European Commission, *The 2015 Ageing Report,* 17.
[747] Michaels, "Muslim Europe: The Demographic Time Bomb Transforming Our Continent."
[748] European Commission, "Migrant Children More Likely to End Up in Poor Schools," 3.
[749] European Commission, *The 2015 Ageing Report*, 17.

to Western European members of the EU were excluded from the calculation. In Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Austria and Greece foreign-born residents "exceeded one million people" in 2010[750]. In 2011, out of 780,000 new citizenships awarded in the EU, 49 percent were given to Africans and Asians; the two largest groups from these regions were Moroccans (64,300) and Turks (48,900)[751]. In 2014 non EU-born residents of EU member states amounted to 33.5 million, representing an increase of 2.1 million non-EU born residents since 2010. Overall, many immigrants arriving into EU member states are much younger than the national populations, with the median age of immigrants in 2014 standing at 28 years of age compared to the median age of nationals at 42 years of age[752].

For many Western European countries, the first and second generations of post-war immigrants now constitute between 10 and 20 percent of the total population and, as trends will inevitably continue, it has been projected that by 2050 the "post-war immigrant population" will amount between 20 and 40 percent. Eventually the majority ethnic groups (indigenous Europeans) of these nations will become a minority in their homelands due to their low birth rates (the total fertility rate for the EU28 in 2013 was 1.52 whereas it was 2.43 in the 1970s) and due to large-scale sustained immigration and the high birth rates of non-European immigrants[753].

7.1 Belgium

Belgium has a current population of 11.2 million and a landmass of 30,528 km^2. In 1960 the total fertility rate (TFR) was 2.94. By 2012 it had dropped to 1.79, and a year later had dropped further to 1.76. This means that Belgians now have below replacement fertility (2.1 children)[754].

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[750] Vasileva, "6.5% of the EU population are foreigners and 9.4% are born abroad," 1-2.
[751] Eurostat, "Acquisition of Citizenship in the EU."
[752] Eurostat, "Migration and Migration Population Statistics."
[753] David Coleman, *Immigration, Population, and Ethnicity;* OECD (2016), Fertility rates (indicator).
[754] Eurostat, "Total Fertility Rate, 1960 – 2012"; OECD (2016), Fertility rates (indicator).

There is also a negative correlation between the amount of young and the amount of the elderly over time in Belgium. Persons aged 0-15 years in 1970 accounted for 23.6 percent of the total population and by 2014 this age group accounted for only 17 percent of the population. Persons over the age of 65 constituted 13.39 percent of the population in 1970 but by 2014 increased to 17.94 percent[755]. This means that Belgium is aging *and* is not producing enough children to replace its population. This scenario is a central concern for economic theorists and others who argue large-scale immigration into Europe is a necessary practice for the survival of European nation states. Their argument is that native population decline is not conducive to the longevity of the current needs of the economic system (labour power and tax base of welfare states) or the successful participation of Belgium in the global capitalist economy, therefore mass-immigration of actual and potential labourers and tax-payers is necessary. In fact, most (almost 75%) of the population growth in Belgium in the last couple of decades has been from net immigration[756].

Figure 3 below shows that in the 1960s net migration in Belgium ranged between 498 (1968) and 43,823 (1964) persons per year. In the early and mid-1970s the net migration rate dropped to below 20,000 and by the late 1970s and into the late 1980s it had decreased into negative numbers (-17,682 in 1983 and -34 in 1988), meaning there were more emigrants than immigrants. Beginning in 1989 net migration once again increased, ranging between 10,000 and 25,000 per year until 2001. At the turn of the century net migration showed a steady overall increase, jumping from 35,000 in 2001 to 79,500 in 2010. Between 2010 and 2013 there was a marked decrease of net migration, but it rose again in 2014, reaching almost 48,000 in 2015[757].

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[755] OECD (2016), Young population (indicator); OECD (2016), Elderly population (indicator).
[756] Statistics Belgium, "Population in Belgium Still on the Rise."
[757] Also see Belgian National Contact Point (BE NCP), *Annual Report on Asylum and Migration Statistics for Belgium*; and Statistics Belgium, "Population – Chiffres population 1990-2011."

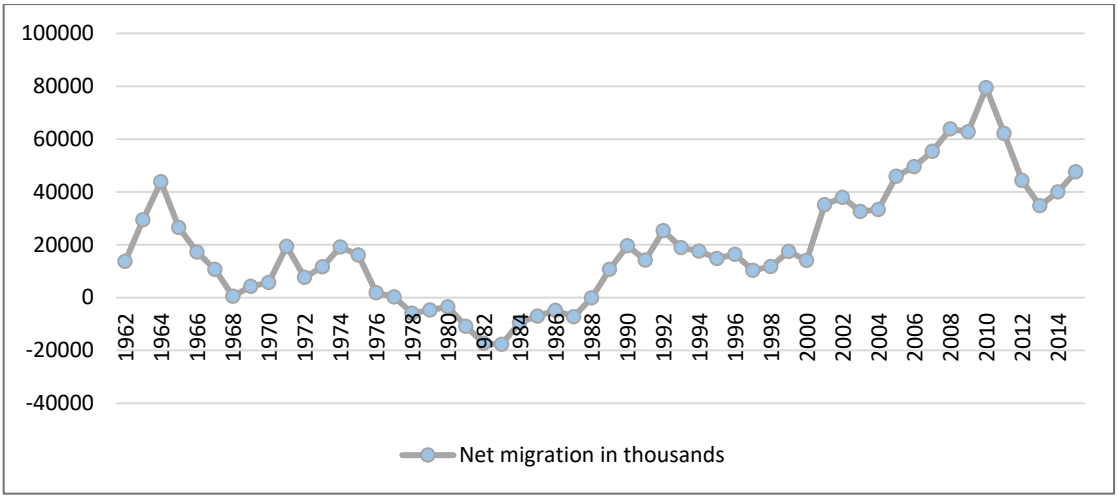

Figure 3. Net Migration 1962-2015, Belgium.
Sources: Data for 1962-2010 from DEMIG (2015) DEMIG TOTAL and data for 2011-2015 from Statistics Belgium, "Population – Chiffres population 2010-2016."

Like many Western European countries in the post-World War II era of 'economic miracles' and growth, Belgium made bilateral agreements with several countries to bring in a cheap foreign-labour supply. Most migrants came from Italy, Spain, Greece, Morocco, and Yugoslavia, but, especially beginning in the mid-1960s, many others were recruited from Asia (Turkey) and Africa (the Republic of Congo). By the 1970s, as a response to the Arab instigated oil-embargo economic crisis and the eruptions of violent migrant conflict, Belgium began to halt unskilled labour immigration (1974), especially of Third Country Nationals. However, immigration continued in the form of non-economic migrants, particularly foreign students, next of kin (family reunification), marriage migration (marriage abroad, immigration of spouses, and possibly their relatives), and EU migrant labour flows[758], with family reunification constituting around half of all immigrant intakes[759].

Table 2 below shows the amount of valid residence permits that were granted per year by reason given between 2010 and 2015 in Belgium. As can be ascertained from the information only nine percent or less of all valid permits were given for reasons of

[758] International Organization for Migration, *Compendium of Migrant Integration Policies and Practices*, 26.
[759] Petrovic, "Belgium: A Country of Permanent Immigration."

employment; family reasons have consistently been over 50 percent, and have showed a steady increase from 51.5 percent in 2010 to 62.5 percent in 2015.

Table 2. Types of Granted Residency Permits in Belgium, 2010-2015 (Numbers and Percentage of Total)

	FAMILY		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		OTHER	
2010	160,286	51.5%	10,929	3.5%	27,596	9%	112,455	36%
2011	173,994	53.6%	10,698	3.3%	28,484	8.8%	111,496	34.3%
2012	178,169	56%	11,023	3.4%	28,572	9%	100,478	31.6%
2013	182,672	58%	11,541	4%	27,956	9%	91,421	29%
2014	193,521	60.4%	12,104	3.8%	28,565	8.9%	86,078	26.9%
2015	204,233	62.5%	12,828	3.9%	28,768	8.8%	80,795	24.7%

Source: Data from Eurostat, "All Valid Permits by Reason."

In 2011 the total native population of Belgium was 9,371,282 and the total foreign-born population was 1,628,812, or 17.4 percent of the total population. In 2012, 62 percent of the capital of Belgium were of foreign-origin[760]. In 2015 the total foreign-born population was 1,809,000 or 16.1 percent of the total population, the majority of which were non-EU foreign-born, who accounted for 954,800 or 8.5 percent of the population[761]. This lower percentage, compared with 2011, may be explained by the naturalisation of immigrants who are no longer counted in immigrant statistics.

Since the turn of the 20th century African and Asian migration into Belgium has increased steadily[762]. In 2011 the two largest non-European foreign-born populations came from Africa and Asia amounting to 6 percent of the total population[763]. Between 1991 and 2010 immigration from Morocco increased from below 4000 a year to over 10,000 a year and Turkish immigration increased from 3000 to 4000 per year[764]. In 2001 Moroccan nationals amounted to 88,813 individuals or 10.3 percent of the total foreign national population and in 2014 they

[760] *Bruzz*, "62 procent Brusselaars heeft vreemde herkomst."
[761] Eurostat, "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth."
[762] Vezzoli, Villares-Varela, and de Haas, "Uncovering International Migration Flow Data," 23-24.
[763] United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD), "Foreign-born Population by Country/Area of Birth, Age, and Sex" and "Native and Foreign-born Population by Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence."
[764] Gsir, Mandin, and Mescoli, *Corridor Report on Belgium,* 13; Plasman, Bouajaja, de Wind, and Flament, *Geographical Labour Mobility in the Context of the Crisis: Belgium*, 3.

accounted for only 6.6 percent of all foreign nationals. In 2001 Turkish nationals amounted to 56,172 or 6.5 percent of the total foreign national population and by 2014 they accounted for only 3.3 percent. This can be explained by the "significant" rates of naturalization of Moroccans and Turks compared to all other foreign nationals, standing at first and second place in 2005 and first and third place in 2013[765].

Table 3 below shows the top ten non-European countries of origin for the foreign-born population in Belgium in 2011 (this does not include their descendants who are born on Belgian soil, illegal immigrants, or those who previously held a foreign nationality but have since been naturalised). It also shows the amount of under 30 year olds by country and their percentage per country total and their percentage relative to the size of the total top ten foreign-born population.

Table 3. Population of Top Ten Non-European Foreign-Born Populations and Under 30 Years, Belgium 2011

Country	Thousands	Age						Total	%
		0-4	**5-9**	**10-14**	**15-19**	**20-24**	**25-29**		
Morocco	189,137	585	1,392	2,692	4,383	9,990	17,648	**36,690**	19%
Turkey	96,999	366	738	1,606	2,386	6,258	10,145	**21,499**	22%
DR Congo	81,291	223	775	1,942	2,993	5,098	5,796	**16,827**	21%
Algeria	24,255	68	164	401	566	1,060	1,869	**4,128**	17%
China	17,072	341	1011	604	586	1,468	2,633	**6,643**	39%
India	16,798	374	483	596	856	1,467	3,049	**6,825**	41%
Rwanda	13,488	54	224	621	1,187	1,757	1,919	**5,762**	43%
Cameroon	12,074	73	363	545	662	1,434	2,222	**5,299**	44%
Tunisia	12,060	79	99	139	170	486	1,280	**2,253**	19%
Pakistan	10,346	196	414	448	511	717	995	**3,281**	32%
Total	**473,520**	**2,359**	**5,663**	**9,594**	**14,300**	**29,735**	**47,556**	**109,207**	**23%**

Sources: Data from UNSD: "Native and Foreign-born Population by Age, Sex and Urban/Rural Residence" and "Foreign-born Population by Country/Area of Birth, Age, and Sex".

As can be seen the three largest non-European foreign-born groups in 2011 were from Morocco at 189,137 persons, Turkey at 96,999 and the Democratic Republic of Congo at 81,291. The percentage of those who were under the age of 30 was 23 percent, with Cameroon (44%), Rwanda (43%), India (41%), China (39%), and Pakistan (32%) having the most share of

[765] Statistics Belgium, *Chiffres clés – Aperçu Statistique de la Belgique*, 15-17.

their population under 30 compared to all other foreign-born groups listed. Four out of the ten foreign-born populations listed above had higher proportions of under 30 year olds compared to the national percentage in Belgium, which stood at 37 percent in 2011[766].

7.2 United Kingdom

The UK has a population of 63.4 million and a landmass of 243,610 km^2. The total fertility rate in 2013 was 1.83, which is comparable to 2.43 in 1970. This means that the UK, like Belgium, has below replacement fertility. There is also a negative correlation between the percentage of young and the percentage of the elderly over time. Persons aged between 0-15 years of age in 1970 accounted for 24.1 percent of the total population and by 2014 this age group accounted for only 17.8 percent. Persons over the age of 65 constituted 13.03 percent of the population in 1970 but by 2014 increased to 17.26 percent[767]. The UK is aging *and* is not producing enough children to replace its population.

In the 1960s and up until the early 1980s more people left the United Kingdom than entered. But, as figure 4 below shows, by 1983 net migration was 17,100 and steadily climbed to 77,000 in 1994. Since the late 1990s net migration has risen to over 100,000 per year, ranging from 140,000 in 1998 to 323,000 in 2015. Over half (53%) of the population growth in the UK is from net immigration and is projected to contribute more than 5 million to population growth in the next 25 years[768].

[766] OECD, "Total Population by Age and Sex."
[767] OECD (2016), Fertility rates (indicator); OECD (2016), Young population (indicator); OECD (2016), Elderly population (indicator).
[768] Cangiano, *The Impact of Migration on UK Population Growth*, 2*;* Withnall, "UK Population to Rise by 10 Million in Next 25 Years with Net Migration Accounting for 50%."

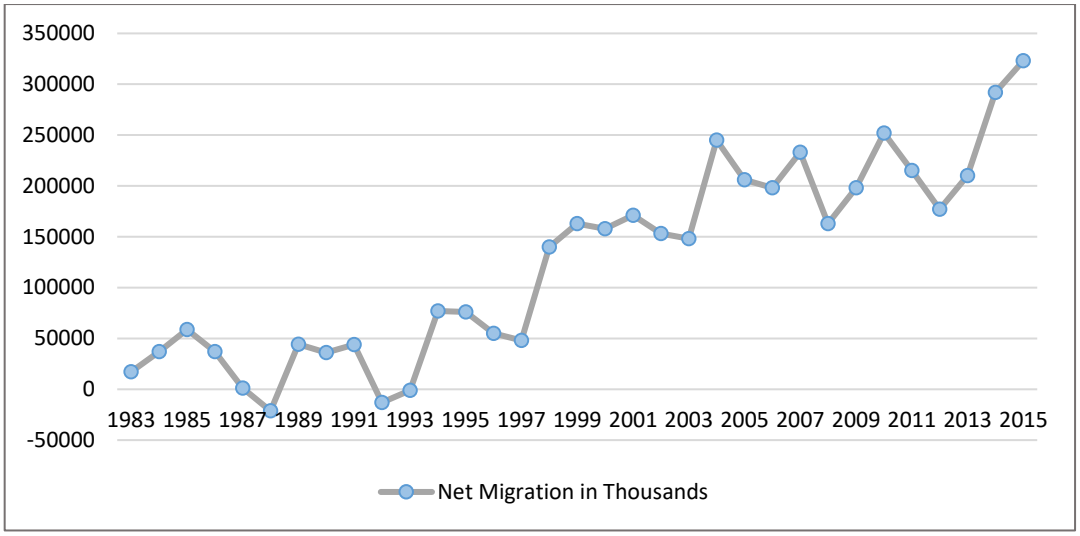

Figure 4. Net Migration 1983-2015, UK
Sources: Data for 1983-2011 from DEMIG (2015) DEMIG TOTAL and data for 2012-2015 from Office for National Statistics, *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: February 2016*

As mentioned in chapter 3 after WWII the Labour government in postwar Britain recruited cheap labour from former colonies in the Commonwealth, namely the West Indies, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India. Between the British Nationality Act of 1948 and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, citizens of Commonwealth countries were granted the 'right of entry' or the right to settle and work in the United Kingdom. As a response to the large volumes of immigrants arriving from the Commonwealth, and because of the closure of many industrial sites, the economic recession, and violent ethnic conflicts, by the 1970s this 'right of entry' was replaced with temporary work permits, which restricted Commonwealth immigration. But, like Belgium and elsewhere in Europe, the initial post-war labour migrants became permanently settled and, with the enactment of temporary work permits, as well as family reunification and refugee laws, immigrant populations continued to grow in the UK.

Illegal immigrants also make up a large portion of non-British peoples in the UK; it is estimated that they constitute around 800,000 to 910,000 or 1.4 percent of the total

population[769]. As discussed in chapter 2, in the late 1990s Labour initiated an open-door policy of mass-immigration, particularly in terms of family reunification, refugee laws, and other liberal immigration policies. Unlike Belgium and the EU as a whole, the majority of immigrants in the UK over the last decade have arrived for work or educational reasons, although the work category also includes those looking for work and not just those who have been guaranteed work, the latter of which are generally understood as highly-skilled workers. Table 4 below shows the main reasons for long-term international immigration to the UK per year between 2005 and 2015 (year ending in September).

Table 4. Types of Granted Residency Permits in the UK, 2005-2015 (Numbers and Percentages of Total)

	FAMILY		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		OTHER	
2005	84,000	15.7%	140,000	26.1%	246,000	45.9%	66,000	12.3%
2006	105,000	18.9%	157,000	28.3%	235,000	42.3%	55,000	9.9%
2007	85,000	15.7%	148,000	27.4%	242,000	44.8%	65,000	12%
2008	88,000	16.1%	175,000	32%	220,000	40.2%	64,000	11.7%
2009	76,000	14.3%	211,000	39.8%	193,000	36.4%	50,000	9.4%
2010	80,000	14.3%	238,000	42.4%	203,000	36.2%	40,000	7.1%
2011	74,000	13.9%	232,000	43.7%	184,000	34.7%	41,000	7.7%
2012	62,000	13.3%	180,000	38.7%	180,000	38.7%	43,000	9.2%
2013	71,000	14.1%	177,000	35%	214,000	42.4%	43,000	8.5%
2014	89,000	14.7%	191,000	31.5%	278,000	45.9%	48,000	7.9%
2015	77,000	13.1%	174,000	29.5%	290,000	49.2%	48,000	8.2%

Source: Data from Office for National Statistics, "Long-Term International Migration estimates of immigration to the UK."

In 2008 the population of foreign born (including European nationals) amounted to 6.9 million people, or 11 percent of the UK's total population, up from 4.9 million in 2001. *UN Data* shows that in 2011 the total native population of the UK was 55,188,698 and the total foreign-born population was 7,993,480 or about 13 percent of the total population. The two regions of the world that constituted the largest percentages of the foreign-population were from Asia at 2,889,436 and Africa at 1,364,954, constituting around 7 percent of the total population. Table 5 below is a break-down of seventeen of the largest (over 60,000) non-European groups by

[769] See Schain, "Immigration Policy: A Transatlantic Comparison," 109-114.

country of origin that formed the foreign-born population of the UK in 2011 (this does not include their descendants who are born on British soil, illegal immigrants, or those who previously held a foreign nationality but have since been naturalised). It also shows the amount of under 30 year olds by country and their percentage per country total and their percentage relative to the size of the total top 17 foreign-born populations.

Table 5. Population of Top Seventeen Non-European Foreign-Born Populations and Under 30 Years, UK 2011

Country	Thousands	Age						Total	%
		0-4	**5-9**	**10-14**	**15-19**	**20-24**	**25-29**		
India	722,433	11,774	13,709	12,146	13,458	43,527	81,902	**176,516**	24%
Pakistan	502,796	4,360	9,762	12,176	15,327	35,059	58,491	**135,175**	27%
China	294,771	1,837	3,565	7,580	24,653	69,989	37,448	**145,072**	49%
Bangladesh	214,091	964	2,549	4,396	6,740	17,695	28,597	**60,941**	28%
Nigeria	201,184	2,314	5,698	6,953	10,939	16,492	24,764	**67,160**	33%
Jamaica	160,776	193	525	3,041	5,109	5,023	7,032	**20,923**	13%
Kenya	140,536	345	894	2,303	3,855	4,884	5,739	**18,020**	13%
Philippines	129,836	1,207	3,904	8,597	6,509	6,203	8,526	**34,946**	27%
Sri Lanka	129,076	836	1,699	3,066	4,002	8,419	13,711	**31,733**	25%
Zimbabwe	123,671	356	2,158	8,612	9,653	8,665	12,630	**42,074**	34%
Somalia	103,049	695	3,092	8,227	10,406	12,295	11,091	**45,806**	44%
Ghana	95,666	487	1,176	2,206	3,171	5,631	9,021	**21,692**	23%
Turkey	93,916	625	1,097	3,021	4,036	7,660	12,528	**28,967**	31%
Iran	84,735	334	844	1,999	3,835	6,655	9,435	**23,102**	27%
Iraq	75,295	697	1,390	2,789	4,028	5,425	10,950	**25,279**	34%
Malaysia	69,939	955	1,393	1,531	2,506	9,794	6,219	**22,398**	32%
Afghanistan	63,496	820	2,075	5,263	9,219	7,540	8,153	**33,070**	52%
Total	**3,205,266**	**28,799**	**55,530**	**93,906**	**137,446**	**270,956**	**346,237**	**932,874**	**29%**

Source: Data from UNSD: "Native and Foreign-born Population by Age, Sex and Urban/Rural Residence" and "Foreign-born Population by Country/Area of Birth, Age, and Sex.".

The three largest non-European foreign-born groups in 2011 were from India at 722,433 persons, Pakistan at 502,796, and China at 294,771. Twenty-nine percent of the foreign-born people from the 17 most popular countries of origin were under the age of 30, with Afghanistan (52%), China (49%), Somalia (44%), Zimbabwe (34%), and Iraq (34%) having the most share of their population under 30 compared to all other foreign-born groups listed. Only three out of the 17 foreign-born populations listed above had higher proportions of under 30 year olds than the national percentage in the UK, which stood at 37.5 percent in 2011[770].

[770] OECD, "Total Population by Age and Sex."

Since Labour came to power in 1997 and opened the borders of Britain to mass-immigration the foreign-born population has risen by around 50 percent. By 2014 the foreign-born population was over 8.3 million or around 13.1 percent of the total population[771], which is an increase of 1.4 million since 2008. Since at least 1991 the majority of immigrants to the UK have been non-EU nationals. In 2014 over half of all immigrants came from outside of the EU: 287,000 non EU nationals, and 264,000 EU nationals[772]. Around half were residing in inner and outer London (36.9% or 3,090,000) and the South East (13.6% or 1,109,000)[773]. By 2015, the foreign-born population stood at 8,411,000 or 13 percent of the total population, with non-EU foreign-born accounting for the majority (5,320,400 or 8.2 percent of the population)[774].

According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) the non-White British population in 2001 was 6.6 million and by 2009 it was 9.1 million[775]. In 1991 non-Whites accounted for just less than six percent of the British population but just over 20 years later, in 2011, the non-White population was 13 percent as is shown in table 6 below. Based on these figures and the increase in net migration over the last 20+ years, a conservative estimate for the non-White population of Britain in 2016 is 20 percent.

Table 6. Main Ethnicities in the UK, 1991-2016 (percent)

MAIN ETHNICITIES	1991	2001	2008	2011	2016 ESTIMATE
WHITE	94.1	91.3	89.9	87.0	80.0
ASIAN	3.3	4.4	4.9	6.3	8.6
BLACK	1.9	2.2	2.3	3.0	4.3
CHINESE	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.7	1.4
OTHER	0.4	1.7	2.5	3.0	5.7

Sources: Data for 1991, 2001, and 2008 from Sommerville, Sriskandarajah, and Latorre, "United Kingdom" and data for 2011 from the Office for National Statistics, "2011 Census: Key Statistics and Quick Statistics for Local Authorities in the United Kingdom." 2016 estimate by author.

[771] Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, *Migrants in the UK: An Overview*, 2.
[772] Hawkins, "Migration Statistics," 12-13.
[773] Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, *Migrants in the UK: An Overview*, 3-4.
[774] Eurostat, "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth."
[775] Rogers, "Non-White British Population Reaches 9.1 Million."

In the 2011 UK census 'White British' was used as an ethnic classification. The total White British population in 2011 was 80.5 percent in England and Wales[776]. By 2013 White Britons were already a minority in London, Leicester, Luton, and Slough. Birmingham is projected to quickly follow suit. In 2011 Birmingham was 53.1 percent White British, which is a decrease by 12.5 percent in just ten years, and less than a third of school age children were White[777].

Table 7. White British Population in English Cities, 2011/2013 (percent)

City	White British (%)
Birmingham	53.1
Bradford	63.9
Cambridge	66.1
Coventry	66.7
Leicester	*45.2*
London	*45.2*
Luton	*44.7*
Manchester	59.5
Nottingham	65.6
Oxford	63.7
Sandwell	66.0
Slough	*34.7*
Watford	62.0
Wolverhampton	64.7

Sources: Data on Leicester, London, Luton, and Slough from Doughty, "White Britons are Now a Minority." Data on Birmingham from Birmingham City Council (2013). Data for Bradford, Cambridge, Coventry, Manchester, Nottingham, Oxford, Sandwell, Watford, and Wolverhampton from the Office for National Statistics, "2011 Census: Table CT0010 Ethnic group."

Coleman has stated that "On current trends European populations will become more ethnically diverse, with the possibility that today's majority ethnic groups will no longer comprise a numerical majority" and that "white Britons will be in a minority by 2066" in their own country[778]. In addition, ethnic minorities are increasingly advancing into majority White parts of

[776] Office for National Statistics, "Table KS201EW: 2011 Census."
[777] News Agencies, "Fewer than a Third of Birmingham Schoolchildren Are White, Report Finds."
[778] David Coleman as cited in Martyn Brown, "Migrants Change UK Forever."

the country, including rural areas of England. In 2001 there were over 5000 wards out of 8850 that were over 98 percent White, by 2011 there were less than 800[779].

7.3 France

The population of France currently stands at 66 million and its landmass is 643,801km^2. The total fertility rate of France was 1.98 in 2014 which is comparable to 2.48 in 1970 and means that France, like Belgium and the UK, has below replacement fertility. There is also a negative correlation between the percentage of young and the percentage of elderly over time. Persons between 0-15 years of age in 1970 accounted for 24.8 percent of the total population and by 2013 this age group accounted for only 18.4 percent. Persons over the age of 65 constituted 12.87 percent of the population in 1970 but by 2013 their numbers increased to 17.95 percent[780]. France is aging *and* not producing enough children to reproduce its population.

Like Britain and Belgium, population growth in France is driven by net migration. But net migration of non-French immigrants has remained around 140,000 since 2007. As figure 5 shows below, between 2006 and 2013 the total net migration in France was 1,144,000. Although the inflow of non-French immigrants into France increased significantly between 2006 and 2013, standing at 193,000 and 235,000 respectively, the outflow of non-French immigrants reveals a positive correlation. This is possibly due to an increase in short-term labour mobility throughout the EU, but it may also be related to sharp increases in immigrant influxes and high net migration levels in Britain and Germany due to greater economic opportunities and/or certain social benefits in these nations.

[779] Kaufmann, "Half Full or Half Empty?"; Electronic Immigration Network, "Demos: Almost Half of Ethnic Minority Population Now Live in Majority Non-white Areas."
[780] OECD (2016), Fertility rates (indicator); OECD (2016), Young population (indicator); OECD (2016), Elderly population (indicator).

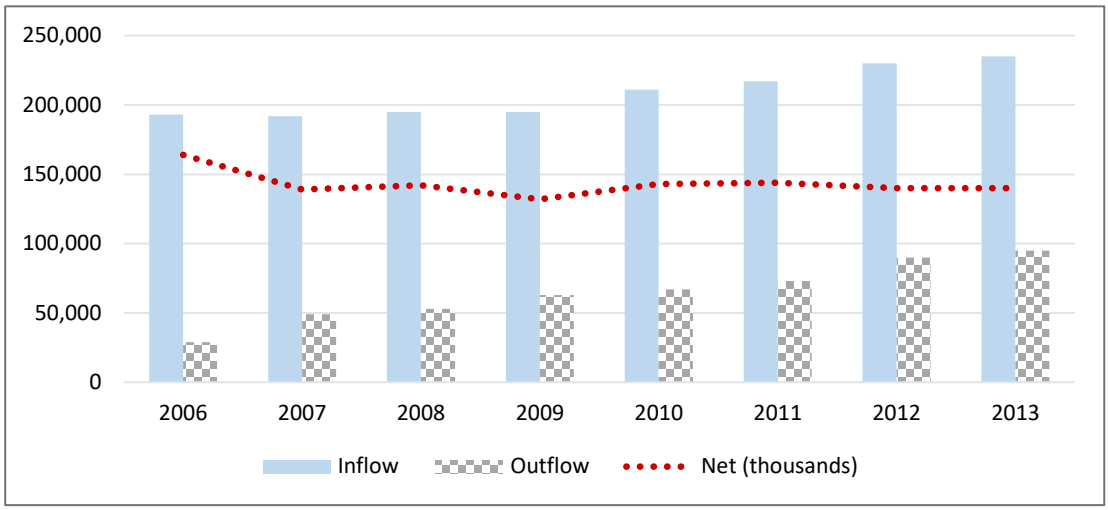

Figure 5. Immigration, Emigration, and Net Migration of Non-French Immigrants, 2006-2013 France.
Source: Data from INSEE, "L'analyse des flux migratoires entre la France et l'étranger entre 2006 et 2013."

As mentioned in chapter 3, after WWI France provided citizenship and/or recruited foreign labour from its colonies and protectorates, specifically Algeria, Morocco, and Tunsia. At this time, labourers were also recruited from Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Poland. After WWII recruitment from the Maghreb region picked up and was supplemented by labourers from other areas of Africa as well as from Portugal and from Turkey[781]. But, like other Western European countries that experienced economic recession and rising unemployment from the 1970s Arab oil embargo as well as rising ethnic violence[782], in 1974 France officially stopped its 'unskilled' labour migration program. However, immigration did not stop, and continued in the form of family reunification and illegal migration. Illegal immigration into France has been primarily from West Africa and the Maghreb; the amount of illegal immigrants in France was estimated for 2005 to be between 200,000 and 400,000[783] or more[784]. Table 8 below shows the amount of valid residence permits that were granted per year by reason given between 2008 and 2015 in France. Less than four percent every year were given for work related reasons.

[781] Bouvier, "Vue d'ensemble - Les descendants d'immigrés," 13.
[782] International Organization for Migration, *Compendium of Migrant Integration Policies and Practices*, 85.
[783] Engler, *France*, 4.
[784] Schain, "Immigration Policy: A Transatlantic Comparison," 109-114.

Table 8. Types of Granted Residency Permits in France, 2008-2015 (Numbers and Percentages of Total)

	FAMILY		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		OTHER	
2008	876,972	38.1%	130,465	5.7%	72,017	3.1%	1,219,847	53.1%
2009	889,429	39.1%	106,934	4.7%	75,717	3.3%	1,201,148	52.8%
2010	909,824	41.7%	110,075	5.1%	80,681	3.7%	1,079,668	49.5%
2011	933,042	41.6%	143,211	6.4%	86,782	3.9%	1,080,364	48.1%
2012	961,762	41.5%	144,549	6.2%	91,882	3%	1,117,797	48.3%
2013	984,234	41.4%	145,352	6.1%	90,602	3.8%	1,156,023	48.7%
2014	1,023,458	42.1%	145,377	5.9%	94,419	3.9%	1,169,484	48.1%
2015	1,047,981	42.3%	148,849	6.0%	100,639	4.0%	1,181,651	47.7%

Source: Data from Eurostat, "All Valid Permits by Reason."

According to UN Statistical Data, in 1999[785] the total native population of France was 54,215,232 and the total foreign-born population was 5,971,853 or 10 percent of the total population. Of this foreign born population, 48.2 percent came from Africa (2,877,434) and 10.9 percent came from Asia (650,902), together constituting 59.1 percent of the foreign-born population and around six percent of the total population of France. The top ten countries of the largest (over 43,000) non-European foreign-born populations in France in 1999 are listed in table 9 below (this does not include their descendants who are born on French soil, illegal immigrants, or those who previously held a foreign nationality but have since been naturalised). It also shows the amount of under 30 year olds by country and their percentage per country total and their percentage relative to the size of the total top ten foreign-born population.

[785] No UN Data is available for 2011 for comparison purposes with Belgium, the UK, Sweden, and Germany. However, the National Institute for demographic studies (INED) provides information for 2013, but unfortunately does not provide specific age demographics.

Table 9. Population of Top Ten Non-European Foreign-Born Populations and Under 30 Years, France 1999

Country	Thous.	Age						Total	%
		0-4	**5-9**	**10-14**	**15-19**	**20-24**	**25-29**		
Algeria	1,250,282	5,463	12,547	17,070	19,413	31,530	46,182	**132,205**	11%
Morocco	711,520	3,298	7,374	17,735	36,161	49,405	52,547	**166,520**	23%
Tunisia	341,632	1,456	2,267	3,569	5,372	8,926	11,868	**33,458**	10%
Turkey	179,426	1,432	2,614	6,998	12,782	21,525	29,781	**75,132**	42%
Vietnam	115,046	5,302	1,637	1,210	2,633	6,324	8,453	**25,559**	22%
Mada-gascar	83,922	1071	1,564	2,285	3,214	5,089	7,704	**20,927**	25%
Senegal	83,204	801	1,452	2,556	4,259	6,306	7,483	**22,857**	27%
Cambodia	55,937	291	231	323	1,321	3,225	6,385	**11,776**	21%
Côte d'Ivoire	45,696	495	1,234	2,612	4,537	5,780	6,774	**21,432**	47%
Congo	43,012	434	968	2,479	3,435	3,508	4,161	**14,985**	35%
Total	**2,909,677**	**20,043**	**31,888**	**56,837**	**93,127**	**141,618**	**181,338**	**524,851**	**18%**

Source: Data from UNSD: "Native and Foreign-born Population by Age, Sex and Urban/Rural Residence" and "Foreign-born Population by Country/Area of Birth, Age, and Sex."

As can be seen the three largest non-European foreign-born groups in 1999 were from Algeria at 1,250,282 persons, Morocco at 711,520, and Tunisia at 341,632. The percentage of foreign-born people who were under the age of 30 was 18 percent, with Côte d'Ivoire (47%), Turkey (42%), and Congo (35%) having the most share of their population under 30 compared to all other foreign-born groups listed.

The National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) provides statistical information derived from the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) on the non-European foreign-born population of France by country of birth in 2013, as shown in table 10 below, which does not include descendants, naturalised immigrants, foreigners born in France, or illegal immigrants. It also does not include information on foreign-born populations aged 29 and under. This data will be used for comparison purposes in the summary section below.

According to INED, the population of France in 2013 stood at 63,652,034[786] and the total foreign-born population was 5,719,761, or nine percent of the general population[787]. This

[786] INED, "Population by Age."
[787] INED, "Immigrants by Country of Birth, 2013."

contrasts with data published by the OECD that relied on INSEE annual census data, which stated that the total foreign-born population in France in 2012 was already 7,538,000 or 11.9 percent of the generation population[788]. Of the INED reported foreign-born population, 44.1 percent came from Africa (2,523,946) and 14.6 percent came from Asia (835,195), together constituting 58.7 percent of the foreign-born population and around 5.3 percent of the total population of France. The top ten countries of the largest (over 70,000) non-European foreign-born population in France in 2013 are shown in table 10 below. Like figures shown in 1999, the three largest non-European foreign-born populations in France in 2013 were from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

Table 10. Population of Top Ten Non-European Foreign-Born Populations, France 2013

Country of Origin	*Population (in thousands)*
Algeria	759,757
Morocco	709,001
Tunisia	258,597
Turkey	248,616
China	98,039
Senegal	88,848
Vietnam	74,910
Côte d'Ivoire	74,374
Cameroon	73,841
DR Congo	70,463
TOTAL	**2,456,446**

Source: Data from INED, "Immigrants by Sex, Age, and Country of Birth 2013."

According to French conservative think-tank *Institut Montaigne* in 2004 Whites amounted to 85 percent of the population of Metropolitan areas in France, North Africans 10 percent, Blacks 3.5 percent, and Asians 1.5 percent[789]. By 2008 foreign-born immigrants and their descendants (this only includes the second generation) aged between 18 and 50 made up 30 percent of the metropolitan France area. According to INSEE in 2008 immigrants and their

[788] OECD (2014), *International Migration Outlook 2014*, 368
[789] Sabeg and Méhaignerie, "Les oubliés de l'égalité des chances."

direct descendants amounted to 12 million or 20 percent of the total population of France[790] and over 1.5 million direct descendants were 30 years old or younger, meaning that they were, overall, younger than the general population[791]. In the Paris region alone, 37 percent of 18-20 year olds were the descendants of immigrants[792]. Also according to INSEE, in 2010 the proportion of African-born immigrants residing in the metropolitan France area amounted to 43.4 percent and the proportion of Asian-born immigrants residing in the same area amounted to 14.5 percent[793]. According to *Eurostat* on January 1st 2015 the foreign-born population of France stood at 7,908,600 or 11.9 percent of the total population, which included the non-EU foreign-born population, which stood at 5,724,000 or 8.6 percent of the total population[794].

7.4 Sweden

Sweden has a landmass of 449,964 km2 and a total population of 9,845,155 in 2015. The total fertility rate in Sweden for 2014 was 1.88 which is comparable to 2.17 in 1960 and means that Swedes have below replacement level fertility[795]. Persons aged between 0 and 15 in 1970 amounted to 20.8 percent of the population but by 2013 they only amounted to 16.5 percent. Persons aged over 65 amounted to 13.67 percent of the population in 1970 but by 2013 increased to 19.91 percent[796]. This shows a negative correlation between the percentage of young and percentage of elderly in Sweden's total population over time. Sweden is aging *and* not producing enough children to replace its population.

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[790] Bouvier, "Vue d'ensemble - Les descendants d'immigrés," 14, 18.
[791] Lhommeau and Simon, "The Populations Surveyed," 14; Borrel and Lhommeau, "Être né en France d'un parent immigré."
[792] Borrel and Lhommeau, "Être né en France d'un parent immigré."
[793] INSEE, "Distribution of the Immigrants According to their Country of Birth."
[794] Eurostat, "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth, 1 January 2015."
[795] Statistics Sweden, "Summary of Population Statistics 1960-2015."
[796] OECD (2016), Young population (indicator); OECD (2016), Elderly population (indicator).

Like Belgium, France, and the UK, population growth in Sweden comes from net migration[797]. Between 1998 and 2015 net migration in Sweden amounted to 780,275 and has shown a steady increase from 10,873 in 1998 to an overall high in 2015 at 78,410, as shown in figure 6.

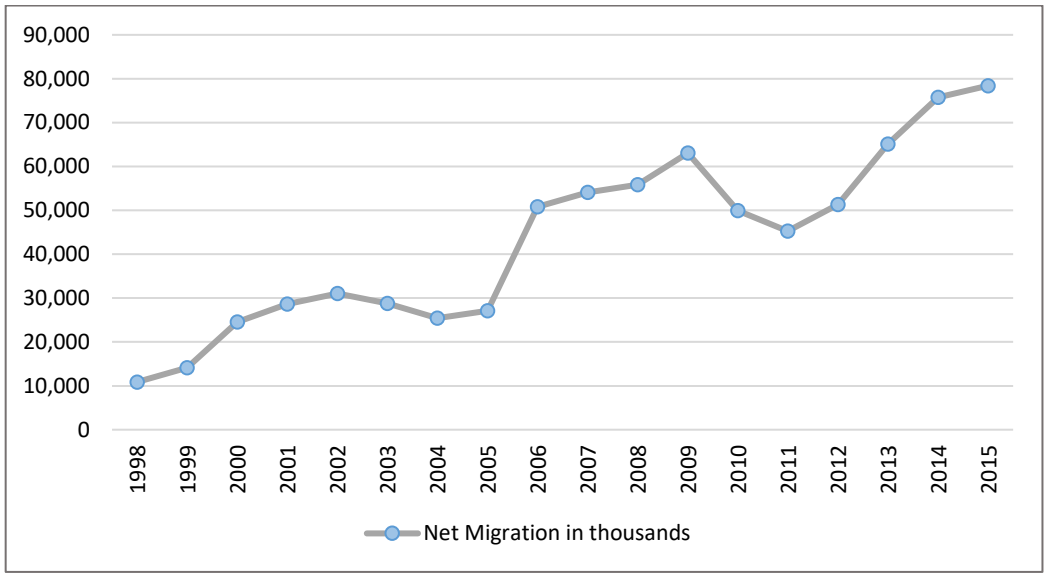

Figure 6. Net Migration 1998-2015, Sweden
Source: Data from Statistics Sweden, "Preliminary Population Statistics, by month, 2016."

In contrast to other European countries, labour recruitment in the postwar era for Sweden was for the most part intra-European and considered permanent, in that workers were considered future citizens and derived mainly from Finland, and other Nordic countries, as well as from Yugoslavia and Greece. There were a few immigrants from Africa and Asia who came as refugees[798]. It wasn't until the late 1960s and early 1970s that Sweden began to accept large influxes of non-Europeans as labourers, such as from Turkey, and refugees, from other regions in Asia (Iran and Iraq) and Africa (Somalia and Ethiopia). Similar to other European countries responding to the oil crisis, however, Sweden ended unskilled labour immigration from non-

[797] Statistics Sweden, "Preliminary Population Statistics, by month, 2016."
[798] Westwin, "Sweden."

Nordic countries in 1972[799]. Yet immigration continued from these non-Nordic countries in the form of family reunification and especially in the form of asylum seekers from the Balkan and Middle East wars. In the late 1980s an overwhelming mass influx of Bulgarian Turks entered Sweden, causing crises. In response, PM Ingvar Carlsson, leader of the Social Democrat party, enforced the Lucia decision in December 1989, which effectively halted all asylum seekers aside from those who could be identified as refugees under the UN Refugee Convention. However, in 1991 the Christian Democrats were elected, and under PM Carl Bildt, the Lucia Decision was repealed, which coincided with the large inflows fleeing the Balkan war[800].

Most immigrants today (68.4%) continue to come to Sweden in the form of refugees and under family reunification laws; they are not economic migrants who have secured a job in Sweden before arrival. Only 14.3 percent arrive in Sweden as labour market immigrants[801]. Table 11 shows the amount of valid residence permits that were granted per year by reason given between 2008 and 2015 in Sweden; between 53.5 percent and 80.6 percent every year have been given for family related reasons.

Table 11. Types of Granted Residency Permits in Sweden, 2008-2015 (Numbers and Percentages of Total)

	FAMILY		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		OTHER	
2008	147,393	53.5%	19,260	7%	11,536	4.2%	97,530	35.4%
2009	160,722	53%	25,183	8.3%	16,417	5.4%	100,959	33.3%
2010	160,871	73%	26,549	12.1%	14,522	6.6%	18,330	8.3%
2011	171,084	74.4%	19,474	8.5%	20,620	9%	17,711	7.7%
2012	183,630	76%	16,261	8.5%	25,930	9%	15,714	7.7%
2013	189,123	78.1%	12,592	5.2%	25,496	10.5%	14,855	6.1%
2014	204,886	80.6%	14,135	5.6%	26,229	10.3%	8,934	3.5%
2015	220,778	70.7%	14,676	4.7%	32,920	10.5%	44,070	14.1%

Source: Data from Eurostat, "All Valid Permits by Reason."

[799] International Organization for Migration, *Compendium of Migrant Integration Policies and Practices*, 195.
[800] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Luciabeslutet", https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luciabeslutet (accessed May 2016); Hinnfors, Spehar and Bucken-Knapp, "The Missing Factor"; Brochmann and Hagelund, *Immigration Policy*, 49.
[801] Migrationsinfo.se, "Sweden."

In 1960 the number of foreign-born citizens was almost 300,000 or four percent of the total population. By 2014, this number had increased by 500 percent to 1,603,551 or 16.5 percent of the total population. In 2015 the non-EU foreign-born made up the majority of the total foreign-born population, accounting for 1,083,300 or 11.1 percent of the total population[802]. Table 12 below shows the size of the foreign national and foreign background populations of Sweden's three largest cities in 2011.

Table 12. Size of Foreign Populations in Stockholm, Goteborg, and Malmo, 2011 (Numbers and Percent)

	Stockholm		Goteborg		Malmo	
Total Population	**864,324**	**100.0%**	**520,374**	**100.0%**	**302,835**	**100.0%**
Foreign Background	257,569	29.8%	159,234	30.6%	123,557	40.8%
Foreign-Born	*65,938*	*25.6%*	*36,305*	*22.8%*	*37,685*	*30.5%*
Swedish-born with two foreign parents	*10,818*	*4.2%*	*12,420*	*7.8%*	*12,726*	*10.3%*
Foreign Nationals	108,041	12.5%	49,436	9.5%	42,397	14.0%
Total Foreign	**365,609**	**42.3%**	**208,670**	**40.1%**	**165,954**	**54.8%**

Source: Data from Statistics Sweden, "Sveriges befolkning."

In 2008, 55.9 percent of children in Malmo, 40.5 percent in Goteborg, and 39.3 percent in Stockholm had a foreign background. Two years later these percentages had increased to 57.6, 42.0, and 40.1 respectively[803].

Table 13 shows the twelve largest non-European foreign-born population groups in Sweden in 2011 by country of origin (this does not include their descendants who are born on Swedish soil, illegal immigrants, or those who previously held a foreign nationality but have since been naturalised) and the amount and percentage of under 30 year olds by country.

[802] Eurostat, "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth."
[803] Malmö City Welfare Accounting, 29.

Table 13. Population of Top Twelve Non-European Foreign-Born Populations and Under 30 Years, Sweden 2011

Country	Thous.	Age						Total	%
		0-4	**5-9**	**10-14**	**15-19**	**20-24**	**25-29**		
Iraq	125,902	901	5,339	8,028	11,120	14,037	14,708	**54,133**	43%
Iran	63,982	176	487	841	1,246	2,809	8,838	**14,397**	23%
Turkey	44,041	165	404	759	1,095	2,721	4,944	**10,088**	23%
Somalia	40,650	620	2,511	3,228	4,285	5,708	6,419	**22,771**	56%
Thailand	33,695	458	1,429	2,594	2,839	2,036	3,125	**12,481**	37%
Chile	28,712	71	155	303	441	831	2,785	**4,586**	16%
China	26,870	1,022	2,410	1,422	1,123	3,242	5,243	**14,462**	54%
Lebanon	24,423	57	213	319	338	1,489	3,090	**5,506**	23%
Syria	22,367	266	350	518	639	1,295	2,560	**5,628**	25%
India	18,641	391	484	553	545	2,060	4,258	**8,291**	44%
Afghanistan	17,526	162	432	1,096	4,156	2,510	2,369	**10,725**	61%
Ethiopia	14,466	223	373	391	542	803	1,790	**4,122**	28%
Total	**461,275**	**4,512**	**14,587**	**20,052**	**28,369**	**39,541**	**60,129**	**167,190**	**36%**

Source: Data from UNSD: "Native and Foreign-born Population by Age, Sex and Urban/Rural Residence" and "Foreign-born Population by Country/Area of Birth, Age, and Sex."

As can be seen from table 12, in 2011 the largest non-European foreign-born population in Sweden was Iraqi at 125,902 persons, followed by Iranian at 63,982, and Turkish at 44,041. The percentage of those who were under the age of 30 was 36%, with Afghanistan (61%), Somalia (56%), China (54%), India (44%) and Iraq (43%) having the most share of their population under 30 compared to all other foreign-born groups listed. Six out of the 12 foreign-born populations listed above had higher proportions of under 30 year olds than the national percentage in Sweden, which stood at 35 percent in 2011[804].

In 2014, just over 43,500 foreign citizens were granted citizenship in Sweden with Iraqis (7293) accounting for most of the naturalizations; 37 percent came from a country in Asia and about 16 percent came from a country in Africa[805]. In the same year, the amount of residents with a foreign background, which includes "foreign-born and swedish-born with two foreign-born parents" and excludes those born in Nordic countries, amounted to 2,092,206 or 21.5

[804] OECD, "Total Population by Age and Sex."
[805] Statistics Sweden: Unit for Population Statistics. "One Country – 200 Citizenships."

percent of the population, which is an increase of 803,959 persons since 2000[806]. According to public policy consultant, F. Leslie Seidle, Sweden now "has a higher proportion of foreign born than most European countries"[807] and according to Statistics Sweden in 2014

> one-fifth of the persons aged 25–64 were born abroad. This percentage is expected to increase to one-fourth in 2020, and close to one-third in 2030....[In 2060] it is expected that one-fourth of those who are age 80 and older will be foreign-born[808].

In 2015, the amount of residents with a foreign background (includes Swedish-born with two foreign-born parents but excludes Nordics) had increased to 22.2 percent. This means that nearly one quarter of Sweden's population are already of foreign background. If trends continue, by 2030 foreigners in Sweden will make up over 1/3 of the Swedish population[809].

7.5 Germany

Germany has a landmass of 357,168 km^2 and had a total population of 81.5 million in 2015. The total fertility rate in Germany for 2013 was 1.41 which is comparable to 2.03 in 1970 and means that the Germans along with the Swedes, British, French, and Belgians have below replacement level fertility. Persons aged between 0 and 15 in 1970 amounted to 23.2 percent of the population but by 2014 they only amounted to 13.1 percent. Persons aged over 65 amounted to 13.2 percent of the population in 1970 but by 2014 they amounted to 21.5 percent[810]. This shows a negative correlation between the percentage of young and percentage of elderly in German's total population over time. Germany is aging *and* is not producing enough children to replace itself.

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[806] Statistics Sweden, "Summary of Population Statistics 1960-2015"; Eurostat, "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth, 1 January 2014"; Larsson, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Sweden*, 11.
[807] Seidle, "Sweden" in *Comparative Research and Analysis - Country Profiles*, 1.
[808] Statistics Sweden, Demographic Reports: *The Future Population of Sweden 2015-2060*, 276.
[809] Statistics Sweden, "Summary of Population Statistics 1960-2015"; Eurostat, "Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth, 1 January 2014"; Larsson, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Sweden*, 11.
[810] OECD (2016), Fertility rates (indicator); OECD (2016), Young population (indicator); OECD (2016), Elderly population (indicator).

Like Belgium, the UK, Sweden, and France, population growth in Germany comes from net migration[811]. Foreign net migration between 2005 and 2014 for Germany totalled 2,178,924 and in this same time period net migration of nationals was -346,751, meaning more nationals departed than arrived in Germany, a phenomenon not witnessed for decades. In 2015, Germany received over two million foreigners while just under 860,000 foreigners emigrated, meaning that net migration of foreigners amounted to over 1.1 million, the highest amount in the history of Germany. In just two years (2014-2015) Germany received over 1.7 million foreigners. Net foreign migration has fluctuated since 1991 at rates between +596,392 (1992) and -33,455 (1998). Figure 7 shows net foreign migration between 1991 and 2015.

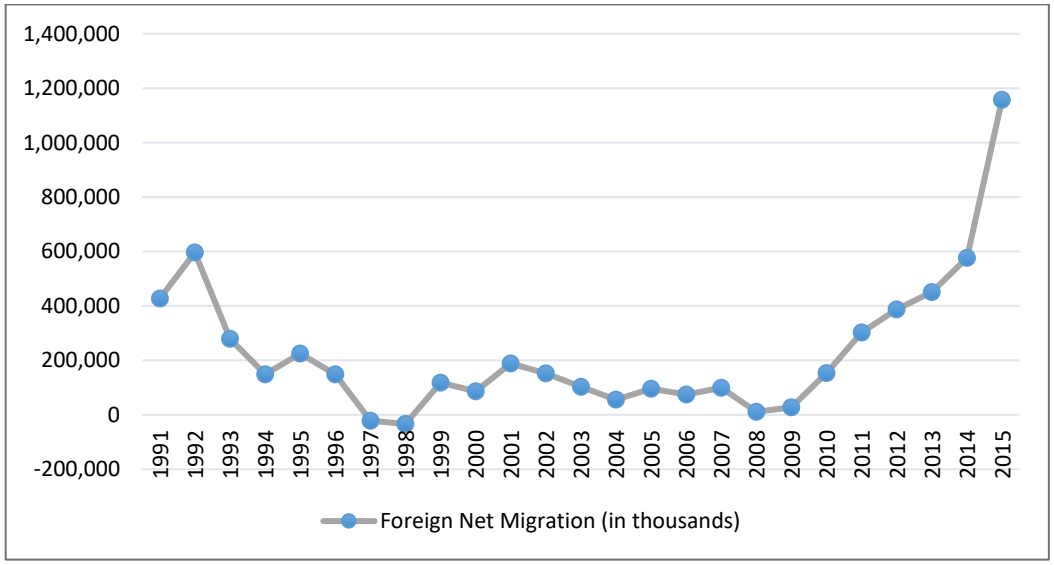

Figure 7. Foreign Net Migration 1991-2015, Germany
Source: Data from Destatis, "Migration between Germany and foreign countries 1991 to 2015."

As discussed in chapter 3, like most Western European countries in the post-war era, Germany initially recruited labourers from high unemployment countries in Europe and then turned to cheap foreign labour from outside of Europe in the 1960s. In 1961 Germany signed a bilateral labour recruitment treaty with Turkey, which initiated temporary work permits and

[811] Destatis, "81.2 Million Inhabitants at the End of 2014."

the arrival of large numbers of Turks as 'guest workers'. Germany also signed recruitment treaties with Morocco in 1963 and Tunisia in 1965[812]. These temporary foreign workers, instead of leaving after their set time of employment (at first two years, then in 1964 this was extended), stayed and established diasporic communities in Germany[813]. By the early 1970s, with rising unemployment, an economic recession, and rising migrant violence, Germany officially stopped foreign labour recruitment programs[814]. But, just like other European countries, immigration continued in the form of family reunification, refugees, and so on, with the overwhelming majority of asylum seekers coming from Muslim majority nations[815].

In May 2000 Germany initiated a new temporary (five year) recruitment program (German 'Green Card') to recruit 20,000 high skilled non-EU workers. It was rigorously supported by Chancellor Gerhard Schroder who declared that

> We [Germans] must make sure that in these times of globalization we don't suffer from a lack of cosmopolitanism...There's a huge amount of international competition for the best people, and Germany would be making a big mistake if it didn't take part[816].

And in 2012 the 'Blue Card' program was initiated that aimed at the temporary (four-year) recruitment of non-EU highly skilled workers. However, rising trends in immigration law that promote human rights laws above national sovereignty, such as the 2005 New Foreigner Law (NFL) and the 2007 Directive Implementation Act, the latter of which implemented the EC Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification, legally constrain attempts to limit the permanent settlement of these workers and their bringing of family members[817]. Illegal immigration has also become a rising problem, with the head of Germany's federal police in

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[812] See Akgündüz, *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-194;* Shonick, "Politics, Culture, and Economics"; Oezcan, "Germany"; Kolinksky, "Non-German Minorities in German Society," 79-80.
[813] Castles, "The Guests Who Stayed"; Gottfried Volker, "Turkish Labour Migration to Germany."
[814] Teitelbaum, "The Role of the State in International Migration,"161.
[815] Speckesser, *The Immigrant Workforce in Germany*, 11.
[816] Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," 885-886.
[817] Aksakal, and Schmidt-Verkerk, "New Migration Trends in Germany," 19-24.

2014, Dieter Romann, stating that Germany is the "number one destination" in Europe for illegal immigrants[818]. As can be seen from table 14, which shows the amount of valid residence permits that were granted per year by reason given between 2008 and 2015 in Germany, the vast majority of permits given (excluding the category of Other) have been for family reasons (41%), which have been increasing each year, whereas only a tiny fraction have been for work related reasons (2.4%).

Table 14. Types of Granted Residency Permits in Germany, 2008-2015 (Numbers and Percentages of Total)

	FAMILY		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		OTHER	
2008	1,199,985	32.8%	127,234	3.5%	70,207	1.9%	2,256,251	61.8%
2009	1,356,998	36.7%	116,549	3.2%	65,995	1.8%	2,155,602	58.3%
2010	1,368,389	37.8%	118,356	3.3%	69,792	1.9%	2,066,771	57%
2011	1,460,107	40.9%	104,820	2.9%	73,731	2.1%	1,931,763	54.1%
2012	1,523,286	42.2%	115,692	3.2%	84,985	2.4%	1,886,840	52.3%
2013	1,494,354	44%	126,563	3.7%	90,455	2.7%	1,681,905	49.6%
2014	1,535,898	44.6%	141,063	4.1%	102,104	3%	1,666,002	48.4%
2015	1,586,491	45.3%	156,037	4.4%	118,595	3.4%	1,643,807	46.9%

Source: Data from Eurostat, "All Valid Permits by Reason."

According to UN Data for 2011 the total native population of Germany was 67,234,125 and the total foreign-born population was 11,805,690 or 15 percent of the total population; over a quarter (3,308,608) came from Asia while 368,608 came from Africa, together constituting about 5.5 percent of the total population. Table 15 shows the twelve largest (over 55,000) non-European foreign-born population groups in Germany in 2011 by country of origin (this does not include their German-born descendants, illegal immigrants, or those who have since been naturalised) and the amount and percentage of under 30 year olds by country.

[818] Bewarder and Lutz, "Deutschland ist Zielland Nummer Eins."

Table 15. Population of Top Twelve Non-European Foreign-Born Populations and Under 30 Years, Germany 2011

Country	Thousands	Age						Total	%
		0-4	**5-9**	**10-14**	**15-19**	**20-24**	**25-29**		
Turkey	1,348,340	1,913	3,648	9,203	18,745	47,350	81,623	**162,482**	12%
Kazakhstan	828,802	353	3,979	16,547	46,059	95,961	118,511	**281,410**	34%
Iran	112,561	352	579	1,305	2,447	4,905	11,732	**21,320**	19%
Iraq	94,359	1,461	3,098	5,538	9,043	10,219	11,850	**41,209**	44%
Morocco	93,604	130	333	606	1,147	4,148	11,174	**17,538**	19%
Vietnam	92,394	232	605	1,510	2,133	4,296	7,472	**16,248**	18%
China	90,343	1,318	878	990	2,202	13,279	18,715	**37,382**	41%
Afghanistan	81,781	615	1,033	2,143	7,483	9,583	11,061	**31,918**	39%
Kyrgyzstan	68,274	47	440	1,311	3,537	9,418	11,977	**26,730**	39%
Lebanon	65,142	227	392	673	1,154	4,652	9,355	**16,453**	25%
Thailand	61,869	701	1,383	2,840	3,500	2,890	4,417	**15,731**	25%
India	56,299	1,117	1,103	965	1,368	4,282	9,586	**18,421**	33%
Total	**2,993,768**	**8,466**	**17,471**	**43,631**	**98,818**	**210,983**	**307,473**	**686,842**	**23%**

Source: Data from UNSD: "Native and Foreign-born Population by Age, Sex and Urban/Rural Residence" and "Foreign-born Population by Country/Area of Birth, Age, and Sex."

As can be seen the three largest non-European foreign-born groups in Germany in 2011 were from Turkey at 1,348,340 persons, Kazakhstan at 828,802, and Iran at 112,561. The percentage of those who are under the age of 30 is 23 percent, with Iraq (44%), China (41%), Afghanistan (39%), Kyrgyzstan (39%), Kazakhstan (34%), and India (33%) having the most share of their population under 30 compared to all other foreign-born groups listed. Half (six) of the foreign-born populations listed above had a higher proportion of under 30 year olds compared to the national percentage in Germany, which stood at 30.1 percent in 2011[819].

In 2014 about 16.4 million people had a migrant background in Germany, constituting 20.3 percent of the total population and represented an increase of 3 percent since 2013[820]. About two thirds were foreign-born and a third are second and third generations[821]. According to *Destatis*, the total population of foreign citizens was 8.2 million in 2014, the highest number ever recorded, and showed an increase of 6.8 percent or 519,300 from 2013; this number does

[819] OECD, "Total Population by Age and Sex."
[820] Destatis, "Numbers of Immigrants in Germany at a Record High."
[821] Hoßmann and Karsch, "Germany's Integration Politics" 1-2.

not include naturalised citizens who are counted as Germans (between 2004 and 2014 over 100,000 naturalisations occurred on average per year)[822]. On January 1st 2015 the total foreign-born population was 10,220,400 or 12.6 percent of the total population, with the non-EU foreign-born population standing at 6,210,100 or 7.6 percent of the total population[823].

7.6 Summary

The size of foreign-born populations, not including naturalisations, illegal immigrants, or descendants, in 2011 as a percentage of the national population in four of the five European countries profiled were: 15 percent for Belgium, 13 percent for the UK, 15 percent for Sweden, and 15 percent for Germany. For France, the total foreign-born population was 10 percent in 1999 and between nine and 11.9 percent in 2012/2013. Between these five countries there were 10 main non-European countries of origin that provided the bulk (7,119,367 out of 9,616,735) of the foreign-born population in 2011 (again, this does not include naturalizations, illegal immigrants, or descendants). This information is outlined in table 16 with data for France from 2013.

Table 16. Top Ten Foreign-born Populations in Five EU Countries, 2011/2013

Turkey	1,831,912
Morocco	991,742
Kazakhstan	828,802
India	814,171
Algeria	784,012
China	527,095
Pakistan	513,142
Iraq	296,556
Tunisia	270,657
Iran	261,278

The total African and Asian foreign-born populations in 2011 for three of the five countries (Belgium, United Kingdom, and Germany) amounted to 8,590,057. If we included

[822] Destatis: “8.2 Million Foreigners in Germany”; “Naturalisations”; “Slightly Less Naturalisations in 2014.”
[823] Eurostat, “Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth.”

conservative estimates for Sweden (1.2 million) and France (4 million) then the total foreign-born population from Africa and Asia in 2011 for all five of the countries would be 13,790,057 or between five and seven percent of the national populations. In regards to the total EU28 population in 2011, which stood at nearly 505 million, these five countries' African and Asian populations alone accounted for almost 3 percent of the total EU population. One would assume that such figures have increased significantly since 2011 from continued large-scale immigration, high birth rates of immigrants, as well as the large influx of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers in 2015/2016, most of whom are from Muslim countries in Asia and Africa[824]. In addition, if one estimated the foreign-born descendants beyond the second generation and added this to official non-native population figures, then the non-European populations could constitute as much as 20 to 30 percent of the total national populations already.

All five countries profiled experienced population growth from net migration and all but France have seen a steady increase in net migration since the 1990s. France showed a relatively stable net migration rate since 2006, possibly due to immigrant labour mobility within the EU. Net-migration is also decidedly non-European. In 2015, the foreign-born populations of the five countries were between 12.6 and 16.4 percent of the total national populations, with non-EU foreign-borns accounting for the majority, standing between 7.6 and 16.1 percent of the national populations. In addition, all five countries have very low fertility levels and all are aging. Only 19 of the 51 top non-European foreign-born populations in four of the countries profiled (not including France) had a higher proportion of under 30 year olds compared to the national population in 2011, which challenges the idea that immigration is necessary to off-set ageism and increase labour force numbers. This correlates with the reasons given for

[824] A detailed discussion on the 'migrant crisis' is covered in Part IV.

immigration, which, for four of the countries profiled (not the UK) and the EU-28 as a whole, has overwhelmingly been for family and not economic reasons, as shown in table 17.

Table 17. Average Percentage of Residential Permits Given by Reason in Five EU Countries, 2010-2015

	FAMILY	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT	OTHER
BELGIUM	57.0%	3.7%	9.0%	30.5%
UK	13.9%	36.8%	41.2%	8.1%
FRANCE	41.8%	5.9%	3.7%	48.4%
SWEDEN	75.5%	7.4%	9.3%	7.9%
GERMANY	42.5%	3.6%	2.6%	51.3%
EU-28	38.7%	5.3%	18.8%	37.2%

As shown in table 18, the majority of the top countries of origin for non-European foreign-born populations in Belgium, the United Kingdom, France, Sweden, and Germany, are Muslim-majority countries. What is significant, is that Muslim populations in Europe have a higher fertility rate than native populations[825]. This means that the Muslim populations are increasing quite rapidly in comparison to the national populations, a trend that is found throughout all Western European countries. Islam is also the fastest growing religion in Europe[826]. Such population growth and the spread of Islam has enormous bearing on the identity and security of European nation-states and the EU, issues that are fully explored in the following chapters.

[825] Pew Research Center. *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*, 131.
[826] Nachmani, *Europe and its Muslim Minorities,* 35; Cherribi, *In the House of War,* 33.

Table 18. Muslim Majority Countries out of the Thirty-Six Top Countries of Origin

Turkey	1,831,912	Muslim Majority
Morocco	991,742	Muslim Majority
Kazakhstan	828,802	Muslim Majority
India	814,171	14.2% Muslim
Algeria	784,012	Muslim Majority
China	527,095	Chinese Religion/Communist
Pakistan	513,142	Muslim Majority
Iraq	296,556	Muslim Majority
Tunisia	270,657	Muslim Majority
Iran	261,278	Muslim Majority
Bangladesh	240,091	Muslim Majority
Nigeria	201,184	50% Muslim
Vietnam	167,304	Mixed/Socialist
Afghanistan	162,803	Muslim Majority
Jamaica	160,776	Christian Majority
DR Congo	151,754	10-12% Muslim
Somalia	143,699	Muslim Majority
Kenya	140,536	10% Muslim
Philippines	129,836	11% Muslim
Sri Lanka	129,076	10% Muslims
Zimbabwe	123,671	Christian Majority
Ghana	95,666	18% Muslim
Thailand	95,564	6% Muslim
Lebanon	89,565	Muslim Majority
Senegal	88,848	Muslim Majority
Cameroon	85,915	20.9% Muslim
Côte d'Ivoire	74,374	40% Muslim
Malaysia	69,939	Muslim Majority
Kyrgyzstan	68,274	Muslim Majority
Chile	28,172	Christian Majority
Syria	22,367	Muslim Majority
Ethiopia	14,466	34% Muslim
Rwanda	13,488	4.8% Muslim

Sources: Data from *Wikipedia*: s.v. "Islam by Country," https://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_by_country; s.v. "Democratic Republic of Congo," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic_Republic_of_the _Congo; s.v. "Vietnam," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam; and s.v. "China," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China (all retrieved June 2016).

8. Islam and Islamism

Islam was founded by Mohammed, a political and military leader, in the 7th century in what is now known as Saudi Arabia. Mohammed preached his religious message for 21 years before he died in 632AD, but within this timeframe he had conquered the entire Arabian Peninsula. After his death Muslims expanded from Saudi Arabia and by 710 had conquered and dominated all of North Africa, as well as Syria, Egypt, Persia, Iraq, and Armenia. In 711 they conquered Spain and by 721 they dominated almost all of the Iberian Peninsula. By 732 Islam had conquered Palestine and also spread into France, being stopped at Tours near Paris in the Battle of Poitiers. In just over a century Islam had come to dominate the Middle East, North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula (Spain, Portugal), and parts of France. By the eighth century Islam had established a caliphate in Baghdad and by the tenth century secondary caliphates had been developed in Cairo and Cordoba[827].

In the 15th century the Ottoman Turks conquered Byzantium, the Balkans, and in 1453 had captured Constantinople and converted the Hagia Sophia into a mosque, which had been built by and was a major symbol of eastern Christianity. In 1492 the Reconquista expelled the Moors from Spain and the Iberian Peninsula was re-conquered by the Christians. In 1529 Muslims attacked Europe a second time; the Ottoman Turks advanced into Austria and attempted to capture Vienna but failed. In 1571 they engaged in a fierce naval battle with the Hapsburgs of Spain in the Mediterranean, the Battle of Lepanto, which they lost. Over one hundred years later they attempted to take Vienna a second time (1683) but again failed, being stopped at the 'gates' of Vienna (the Battle of Vienna), which ended the Ottoman expansion into Europe. At this time Western civilization rose to military supremacy and global dominance

[827] See: Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam*; Gettleman and Schaar, *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*.

and essentially undermined Muslim imperialism and depoliticised Islam. By the early 20th century almost the entire Middle East was subjected to Western control and the Ottoman Empire had been dismantled; in 1920 only four Muslim countries - Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Afghanistan - remained independent[828].

8.1 Re-Politicisation of Islam

Over the last century, the re-politicisation of Islam has gained ground by the spread of the political philosophy, doctrines, and groups founded and inspired by Islamists. A key figure is Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949), the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB or Ikhwan-movement) in 1928. In Egypt, al-Banna sought to reconstruct an Islamic society governed by sharia law and the expansion of Islam to the world[829]. He declared that "[I]t is our duty to establish sovereignty over the world and to guide all of humanity to the sound precepts of Islam and to its teachings, without which mankind cannot attain happiness"[830]. He was highly critical of the West, its colonialism, materialism, decadence, secularism, and Westernisation and was foundational to jihad totalitarianism. He declared that

> *jihad* is a communal obligation imposed upon the Islamic *umma* in order to broadcast the summons [to embrace Islam], and that it is an individual obligation to repulse the attack of unbelievers upon it. Today the Muslims, as you know, are compelled to humble themselves before non-Muslims, and are ruled by unbelievers....Hence it has become an individual obligation, which there is no evading, on every Muslim to prepare his equipment, to make up his mind to engage in *jihad*, and to get ready for it until the time is ripe[831].

Al-Banna was assassinated in 1949 for plotting a coup against the westernised Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmoud an-Nukrashi Pasha. Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) replaced Al-Banna as the main

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[828] Hasan, *Believers and Brothers*, 161; Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam*; Gettleman and Schaar, *The Middle East and Islamic World Reader*; Crowley, *Empires of the Sea*; Armour Sr., *Islam, Christianity, and the West*; Lewis, *Islam and the West*; Watt, *Muslim-Christian Encounters*; Nafziger and Walton, *Islam at War*.
[829] Stewart, *The Middle East Today*, 176; Saleh, *Hassan al-Banna*; Khosrokhavar, "Jihadism," 59-102.
[830] Al-Banna, *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna,* 72.
[831] Ibid, 150.

leader of the MB. He advocated freedom from Western dictatorship via Jihad, which involved the abolishment of the *Jahili* (ignorance of divine law) secular system within the Islamic world that had been endorsed by westernised Muslim leaders. He said, "Our mission is not to compromise with the practices of the Jahili society, nor can we be loyal to it. Jahili society, because of its Jahili characteristics, is not worthy to be compromised with"[832]. Qutb himself was executed in 1966 for plotting to assassinate Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The legacy of the Muslim Brotherhood found strong footholds in the Islamic world from the mid-20th century and is today composed of Sunni Muslims that seek a fundamentalist and political revival of Islam, otherwise known as Islamism[833]. According to the Netherlands General Security Service radical Islam is "the politico-religious pursuit of establishing – if necessary by extreme means – a society which reflects the perceived values from the original sources of Islam as purely as possible"[834]. Along with the MB, other Sunni Islamist movements, such as the Pakistani Jamaat-e-Islami[835], Wahhabi-Salafism of Saudi Arabia[836], and the South Asian Tablighi Jamaat[837], helped spread political Islam back into the Muslim popular mainstream**.**

[832.] Qutb, *Milestones*, 19-21.

[833] Peter Mandaville, the Director of the Ali Vural Ak Center for Global Islamic Studies, Professor of International Affairs at George Mason University, and non-resident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, defines Islamism in the following way: "forms of political theory and practice that have as their goal the establishment of an Islamic political order in the sense of a state whose governmental principles, institutions and legal system derive directly from the shari'ah". Mandaville, *Global Political Islam*, 57.

[834] Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. *From Dawa to Jihad*, 3.

[835] The radical Islamic revivalist party founded in 1941 by Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979).

[836] Wahhabism is a fundamentalist school of Islam that has become "an integral part of the core ideology of the Wahhabi/Salafi school of radical Islam that motivates Islamist extremism and terrorism". It is Saudi Arabia's state religion (Sunni) and influential throughout the Arabian Peninsula. Since the 1970s it has been "exported and promoted" in non-Muslim regions of the world, such as Europe, particularly with enormous funding from Saudi Arabia. Between 1973 and 2002 Saudi spent more than $80 million USD establishing "a huge international network of Wahhabi mosques, Islamic centers, madrassas, and charities that constitute the actual infrastructure of Islamic extremism worldwide". Most Wahhabis call themselves Salafis. Wahhabi-Salafist ideology has much in common with the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and the Deobandi of South Asia and the movement often provides funding for these latter groups. See Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 41-42.

[837] Tablighi Jamaat, founded in 1927 by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Kandhalawi (1885–1944) in Mewat, India, is "the largest Muslim missionary movement in the world" and very influential in South Asia (HQ in Pakistan). It preaches Deobandi Islamism (an interpretation of Sunni Islam that is adhered to by Pakistani jihadists and the Taliban) and is "an integral part of the radical Islamist movement", being called, in 2002, "the antechamber of fundamentalism" by French counter-terrorism officials. It came to the West in the 1960s, and, with funding from Wahhabi circles, it established its European HQ in Dewsbury, England in 1978. See Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 83-86.

Over the past 50 years both Shia and Sunni Muslim-majority nations, most notably Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Egypt, have undergone radical transformations in their national identity and systems of governance, changes that have been based on the rejection of secularism and westernisation and the establishment of a political-religious Islamic regime. For example, the Islamic (Shia) revolution of Iran led to the Supreme leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini and a fundamentalist Islamic Regime defended by what is known as 'Iran's Hezbollah' (the Sepah Pasdaran or Islamic Revolutionary Guard that helped Lebanese Shia to establish Hezbollah, a Lebanon-based militant-military organisation)[838]; the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan, a Sunni Muslim Islamist group influenced by Osama bin Laden (al Qaeda); the Sunni Islamic Regime of Pakistan under General Zia-ul-Haq and Jamaat-e-Islami (founded in British India by India-Pakistani Abul Ala Maududi); and the ascendancy of the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.

Today there is ISIS/ISIL or *Daesh* in Iraq and Syria (and Libya), which has become adept at using social media, online propaganda, and other forms of ICTs to recruit and disseminate their message. According to a book review written by Malise Ruthven of *Islamic State: The Digital Caliphate* (2015) by the editor-in-chief of *Rai al-Youm* (an Arab world digital news website) Abdel Bari Atwan, ISIS has its "beginnings in the branch of al-Qaeda in Iraq dominated by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi," who was killed in 2006; his successors "joined with other Sunni groups to form the umbrella Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), the nucleus of ISIS"[839]. ISIS is led by Iraqi-born Ibrahim bin Awwad bin Ibrahim al-Badri al-Qurayshi who goes by the name Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and has two main goals as outlined in table 19.

[838] See Phares, "Political Islam in the Mediterranean Basin," 23.
[839] Malise, review of *Islamic State.*

Table 19. The Goals and Objectives of ISIS

Primary Goal	Establish Transnational Caliphate
Objective	Local and Global Allegiance to Promote Establishment of Global Caliphate
Objective	Cleansing of Caliphate of Infidels and Apostates
Secondary Goal	Correct Injustices Committed by Western States[840]
Objective	Lone Wolf Terrorist Attacks in Western States
Objective	Liquify the U.S.A.

Source: Information adapted from Leggiero, "Countering ISIS Recruitment in Western Nations."

ISIS has formal military allies in at least 11 countries according to the Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium (TRAC) and they have support, allegiance, and affiliations from up to 60 jihadist groups spanning 30 countries[841]. ISIS seeks to create an Islamic Caliphate in Iraq and the Levant (hence ISIL), but seeks to expand this into Europe and elsewhere:



Map 1. Proposed ISIS Caliphate Region, 2014
Source: Simon Tomlinson, "We Will Recover Our land From the Invaders."

The various Islamist-Jihadist terrorist[842] movements that are currently operating in the Muslim world have re-sacralised and de-westernised Islamic politics and globalised jihad. They

[840] As surmised by Leggireo, this will occur in a "grand battle against the Crusaders at the End of Days".
[841] Zavadski, "ISIS Now has a Network of Military Affiliates in 11 Countries Around the World"; Mohammed, "ISIS Beheads Another American as 60 New Terror Groups Join."
[842] The European Union's Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism states that terrorism is "An intentional act which may seriously damage a country or an international organisation, committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, unduly compelling a Government or an international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, seriously destabilizing or destroying fundamental political, constitutional, economic or

have expressed political violence within the Islamic world directed at the West, such as violent riots targeting American embassies, flag burning, hostage taking, executions and other killings, destruction of non-Islamic ancient cultural monuments and churches, and so on[843]. As most are aware, Islamist-jihadist ideology is not confined to a single country and is not restricted to changing just the Islamic world for it seeks to change the whole world, especially the West. Qutb advocated the notion of "jihad as a permanent Islamic world revolution…in pursuit of establishing global *Hakimiyyat Allah*" (God's rule)[844]. His ideas are not new to Islam; traditional Islam is based on waging war against non-believers and spreading Islam to the whole world. The late scholar of Islamic governance and Law professor Emile Tyan wrote that

> [O]ne of the basic principles of Islam is that it must be extended to the whole world by conversion or at the least by submission to Islamic authority. The caliph has an obligation to promote and fulfill this universalism, if necessary by the force of arms. This is the meaning of holy war or jihad[845].

Taken directly from the Quran itself, one can read that traditional Islam perceives nonbelievers or those who do not embrace Islam as "infidels" who are essentially sinners or "friends of Satan" that "fight for the devil", and are therefore the "inveterate foe" of Muslims. As such, Muslims cannot make friends with nonbelievers, including Jews and Christians: "Let not believers make friends with infidels in preference to the faithful" and "Believers, take neither the Jews nor the Christians for your friends". In fact, it is imperative, a duty, for Muslims to fight a holy war or jihad against the infidels: "Fighting is obligatory for you, much as

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social structures by means of attacks upon a person's life, attacks upon the physical integrity of a person, kidnapping, hostage-taking, seizure of aircraft or ships, or the manufacture, possession or transport of weapons or explosives" See European Union, *Council Framework Decision 2002/475 on Combating Terrorism*, 6. To supplement this definition, according to Peter C. Sederberg of the Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina, terrorism also involves "the threat or use of violence for political purposes when such action is intended to influence the attitudes and behaviour of a target group wider than its immediate victim." See Whittaker, *The Terrorism Reader*, 4.

[843] See: Al Shalchi, "U.S. Ambassador to Libya, Three Staff Killed in Attack on Consulate"; *Al Jazeera*, "Angry Protests Spread Over Anti-Islam Video"; M.R., "Algeria's Hostage Crisis: A Murky Mess"; *Times of India*, "Westerners Executed by ISIS Militants"; Curry, "Here are the Ancient Sites ISIS has Damaged and Destroyed."

[844] Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism and its Challenge to Europe and to Islam," 39.

[845] Tyan as cited in Bostom, *Sharia Versus Freedom*, 31.

you dislike it" because "If you do not go to war, He will punish you sternly, and will replace you by other men" for it is "The true believers [that] fight for the cause of God", which includes "mak[ing] war on the infidels who dwell around you". Mohammed himself was ordered by God to commit jihad against infidels: "Prophet, make war on the unbelievers and the hypocrites and deal rigorously with them. Hell shall be their home: an evil fate". The "cause of God" for Muslims is the establishment of the religion of Islam, Islamic rule, over the whole world (Caliphate) through jihad: "Make war on them [infidels] until their idolatry shall cease and God's religion shall reign supreme"[846]. Such traditional Islam is at the heart of violent Islamist terror groups today.

8.2 Islamism: Counter-Hegemonic Global Ideology

The current form of Islamist-jihadism is not merely a defensive reaction against previous western colonialism or the current War on Terror, but is an emergent or revivalist Muslim identity that began in the early 1920s involving the re-politicisation of Islam[847]. Such Islamism takes the form of a counter-hegemonic global ideology that is opposed to the culturally modern Westphalian, neoconservative and neo-liberal global world order. It transcends national boundaries and mobilises and unites thousands of Muslim militants, insurgents, and resistance forces across the Muslim world and the globe in solidarity as a Pan-Islamic counter-hegemonic movement against the West[848]. According to Thomas Butko, terrorism and security expert and Professor of Political Science at the University of Alberta, terrorism can be defined

[846] *The Koran*, 68, 71, 45, 85, 32, 137, 68, 146, 141, 129.
[847] There were several Islamist movements in the 1800s as well. Many of them were linked with liberation from colonialism. S.V.R. Nasr writes that "anticolonialism is the language of the jihad, relating struggles for liberation to Islam - [is] a powerful paradigm that continues today to be relevant to Muslim struggles." See Nasr, "European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States."
[848] This Islamist counter-hegemony can be considered as a potentially "global mass movement" with a "distinctive and complex tradition of religious belief, political ideology, social norms, world outlook, and philosophical method." See Tony Evans, "The Limits of Tolerance", 1752-1753.

as "counter-hegemonic political violence"[849]. This type of violence is not conventional warfare, which is based on "organised state armies" and governed by a set of international laws, rather, it is a "new pattern of warfare" – "an irregular war" committed by non-state actors following 'laws' that violate the international system[850]. It is in these ways that in an effort to subvert Western hegemony the Islamist political ideology and irregular war-waging strategies that target Western civilization and citizens and Western-influenced governments in the world can be understood as terrorism i.e. it is 'counter-hegemonic political violence'. What this means is that there is an ideologically-driven global conflict occurring between two global hegemonies and their *Weltanshauungens* – between the worldviews and strategies of globalism of the West and of Islam – that has led to conventional and irregular strategies of physical and psychological warfare.

In Gramscian terms, Islamists are in a 'war of position' *and* a 'war of movement'. According to Richard Howson, associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Wollongong in Australia, the 'war of position' is rooted in hegemonic principles of a subordinated or marginalised/subaltern group that is "struggl[ing] for emancipation from [an] invading force"[851]. This position

> enables the opposition forces to break down the dominating groups socio-cultural influence and, simultaneously, works to disperse their military strength, giving the opposition the spatial and temporal conditions to develop a collective consciousness and a determined will to construct and employ their own strikeforce,

what is called a 'war of movement'[852]. According to Butko, the ability of an ideology "to cement and unify" the "entire social bloc" in "confrontation with the dominant hegemonic group" is "the most important measure of a successful revolutionary ideology"[853]. Although militant

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[849] Butko, "Terrorism Redefined," 145.
[850] Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism," 37.
[851] Howson, *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity,* 19.
[852] Ibid, 19.
[853] Butko, "Revelation or Revolution," 48-49.

Islamists make up a relatively small group of the global Muslim population, Islamism is actually a "highly efficient movement based on the complex social networks of a transnational religion"[854]. It is a transnational movement based on transnational networks spanning the globe. In this case, Islamists, considered as a dominated and thus marginalised subaltern alliance group, are in a 'war of position' as a counter-hegemonic ideological force that aims to free the 'Islamic world' and the rest of the globe of hegemonic Western influences by mobilising as a 'war of movement', the physical manifestation of the ideological, i.e. violent global Jihad directed against the power structures of the West.

Bassam Tibi, a liberal Muslim scholar and Professor emeritus of International Relations at the University of Göttingen in Germany, considers Islamist jihadism "as a declaration of war on the existing world order"[855]. This global jihadism is expressed by the brutal political violence and terrorism of al-Qaeda, ISIS and other Salafi-Jihadi-Wahhabi global networks[856], whose calls for global jihad are based in the "intellectual and political" ideology of al-Banna and Qutb[857]. The revelation of overt Islamic counter-hegemony against the West occurred in militaristic form with the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993 and then the second attack in 2011 by Al-Qaeda on the Twin Towers in New York and also in Washington (9/11). Then there were the Islamist bombing attacks in France in 1995, the terrorist attacks in Madrid in 2004 (M-11), in London in 2005 (7/7), in Boston in 2013, in Paris and Saint-Denis in France in January and November 2015, in Brussels in March 2016 and numerous other attacks (mass shootings, beheadings, stabbings, assassinations etc.) and thwarted attacks on British, European, and Western soil. Such bloody events as well as the ongoing efforts to dismantle terrorist cells throughout Europe (since at least the 1990s) and the implementation of widespread programs

[854] Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism," 38.
[855] Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism," 46.
[856] Mandaville, "Muslim Transnational Identity," 500.
[857] Tibi, "International Relations and the Study of Islam," 9.

to de-radicalize neighbourhoods, schools, prisons, and mosques, have revealed the magnitude and influence of jihadist ideology and the breadth of radical Muslim networks in the West.

8.3 Three Types of Islamists and Three Types of Activities

Apart from the Islamist terrorist attacks on Western soils, the Islamist 'war of position' (ideological) and 'war of movement' (physical) has played out in other pervasive and influential ways. A central tactic of Islamism to create a global caliphate involves stealth or non-violent forms of Jihad rooted in political Islam (Islam-*ism*) and includes various strategies: Islamic expansionism through migration or the demographic colonisation of non-Islamic lands (increasing the number of Muslims through conversion, high birth-rates, high immigration rate, high family reunification, high illegal immigration, and marriage migration); da'wa or the proselytising of Islam (and conversion) in non-Islamic lands; separatism or remaining distinct or separate in non-Islamic societies by clear disassociation from disbelievers (not assimilate or integrate) through the use of minority rights i.e. multiculturalism; development of transnational Muslim networks; overseas funding and support from conservative Muslim countries for the establishment of Islamic institutions, such as madrassas, mosques, and political organizations in non-Muslim countries; use of demographics and democracy as strategies for power tipping and power transition (see chapter 15.2); entry into the educational, political, and social institutions of non-Islamic countries with the aim of the eventual establishment of a Islamic political order (government, political and social institutions, and legal system) based on Sharia law; claims of Islamophobia resulting in suppression of indigenes' criticism of Islamisation; and agitation and social instability (can be seen as soft jihad) that includes riots, arson, other petty crimes, and high welfare dependency[858].

[858] Welfare dependency can be see in terms of Islamism. Throughout history Muslim majority nations have extracted a poll tax from non-Muslims called *jizya*, which is mandated in the Quran and hadiths, and has funded various

Security analyst and senior fellow at the U.S. think tank the International Assessment and Strategy Center (IASC), Alex Alexiev argues in his policy research paper "Wages of Extremism" (2011) that Islamist networks invest in three main types of activity: 1) proselytism (*dawah)* and indoctrination (*tarbiyya*); 2) radicalisation; and 3) infiltration[859]. He describes *dawah* as "the Muslim obligation to work for the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam and also to encourage Muslims to greater piousness and orthodoxy in practicing their faith" and that such "proselytism is a weapon as powerful as jihad in the arsenal of the Islamic movement". *Tarbiyya* is taken to mean the "inculcating" and "imparting" of a specific value system" by "upbringing". Used by the Wahhabi-Salafi Brotherhood, *tarbiyya* "serves" as "an instrument for ideological indoctrination". Islamists reject the Western value system (popular sovereignty, democracy, freedom of religion, secularism, rule of law), as such *tarbiyya* represents "the indoctrination of individuals in the proper Islamist value system". In addition to proselytism and indoctrination Islamists also attempt to radicalise[860] moderate Muslims and infiltrate "non-Muslim societies and their political and social institutions" with the aim of Islamizing them[861].

These three types of activity are closely associated with what Lorenzo Vidino, Director of the Program on Extremism, George Washington University, and a security expert who

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Muslim projects, including military expansion. Today, because European welfare monies are derived from the labour tax base and because Muslims are over-represented in unemployment and welfare figures in Europe (see chapter 9), one could conclude that the reason for such over-representation is because many Muslims consider welfare as a form of jizya, that is, as a deserved tax from non-Muslims or Europeans. In fact, leading Islamist in Britain, Anjem Choudary has stated it clearly: "We take the Jizya [tax on non-Muslims], which is ours anyway. The normal situation is to take money from the kuffar [non-Muslim]. They give us the money. You work, give us the money, Allahu Akhbar [Allah is great]. We take the money." He calls it "Jihad Seekers Allowance." See: Robert Johnson, "Muslim Preacher Tells Followers"; Kern, "Anjem Choudary, in His Own Words"; Abdel-Haleem*, Understanding the Qur'ān,* 70, 79*.*

[859] Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 7.

[860] According to Tarik Fraihi, a Moroccan-Flemish political philosopher and publicist, "Radicalisation is a process in which an individual's convictions and willingness to seek for deep and serious changes in the society increase. Radicalism and radicalization are not necessarily negative. Moreover, different forms of radicalization exist." See Fraihi, "(De-)Escalating Radicalization," 135. In terms of Muslim radicalization, particularly in prisons, the US Department of Justice states that radicalization is the "process by which inmates...adopt extreme views including beliefs that violent measures need to be taken for political or religious purposes." See U.S. Department of Justice, *A Review of the Federal Bureau of Prisons' Selection of Muslim Religious Services Providers*, 6.

[861] Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism,* 80-90**.**

specialises in Islamism and political violence in Europe and North America, identifies as three types of Islamists in Europe: "violent rejectionists, non-violent rejectionists and participationists". The first category, violent rejectionists, are the jihadists, the "individuals and networks that, often linked to or inspired by al Qaeda, reject participation in the democratic system and use violence to advance their goals". They appeared on the European scene in the 1980s and early 1990s, a time when 'Afghan Arabs' arrived who had been involved in the Afghanistan-Soviet war, and others who had been accepted and settled in Europe as refugees, escaping persecution from their governments in the MENA region for their extreme political views. They focused on supporting radical Islamist groups in their home countries through "propaganda, fundraising, and recruitment" and set up various Muslim organizations in Europe[862]. At this time global jihad was being preached by leading Islamists in the Muslim world and began to be proselytised in various radical mosques throughout Europe[863].

According to Butko,

> for a counter-hegemonic force to be successful there must be present a small 'inner circle' of individuals who are willing to lead the movement in all facets of its ideological teachings, organisational structure, and strategic planning[864].

These individuals form "the vanguard", the counter-elite, the Islamist imams, muftis, ayatollahs, and mullahs[865] whose Islamist views of "jihad against the West" are disseminated to the Muslim diaspora in Europe and the West through various channels such as mosques, neighbourhoods, schools, prisons, social media, the internet, and satellite television[866]. According to Political Science professor at Duke University, Alex Schulman, "radical and anti-Western imams" who are "openly imperialistic and antagonistic" were given political asylum in

[862] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 2.
[863] See Vidino, "A Dagger in the Soft Heart."
[864] Butko, "Revelation or Revolution," 53.
[865] Ibid, 54.
[866] Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Islamist Jihadism," 37; Vidino, "Aims and Methods of Europe's Muslim Brotherhood."

Europe and granted citizenship within European nations[867]. These Muslims were central to the development of mosques and schools over the last few decades in Europe, developments that were and continue to be "Saudi-financed and Wahhabist-oriented"[868]. These schools and mosques are, according to Tibi, 'safe havens' "for Jihadism in the West itself"[869]. Tibi argues that Islamists were granted citizenship and civil rights and this allowed them "to turn Europe into the battlefront of Islamism"; they have established themselves as imams, 'holy' leaders, counter-elites and Islamist activists and are preaching and teaching the Islamist counter-hegemonic ideology in mosques and Islamic schools across European lands[870]. Such Islamist figures include Omar Bakri Muhammad, Khalil El-Moumi, Mohammed Fizazi, Shahid Mehdi, Abu Qatada, Mohammad al-Massari, Saad al-Faqih, and many others.

After being banned from most of the Muslim world for his radical views, Syrian Islamist Omar Bakri was granted asylum in Great Britain in the 1980s. Along with the infamous British-born Pakistani hate-preacher, Anjem Choudary, he proceeded to set up a "radical splinter group of the already radical Hizb ut-Tahir" (Liberation Party, HT) – the Salafi-Wahhabi organization *al-Muhajiroun* (the Emigrants), which was banned as a terrorist organization in 2010. He then became involved with the "Islamist circles radiating around the infamous Finsbury Park Mosque"[871] and revealed his support for the re-establishment of the Islamic Caliphate and Sharia law. He has openly incited Muslims to kill Jews, supported the terrorist attacks on Western embassies and the bombings of London and Madrid by al-Qaeda, and advocated the Beslan schoolhouse massacre as "the type of attack" that would be "legitimate

[867] Schulman, "Stockholm Syndrome," 470; Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism,* 44.
[868] Schulman, "Stockholm Syndrome," 470.
[869] Tibi, "Introduction", 4.
[870] Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Islamist Jihadism," 38.
[871] Schulman, "Stockholm Syndrome," 474. Finsbury Park mosque was a center for radicalised Islamism in London, headed by imam Abu Hamza al-Masri (who was convicted), and was implicated in several terrorist attacks on the West, including by members that were loyal to the infamous Chechen warlord, Shamil Basayev.

for British Muslims to carry out"[872]. Bakri and other Islamists who are preaching hatred of the West in some mosques, Islamic schools, and other Islamist-based organisations in Europe are effectively influencing the European Muslim diaspora, facilitating their further separatism from the European community[873].

After the onset of the Afghanistan war in 2001 jihadist networks in Europe have continued to be part of the global jihadist movement but have begun to focus on their "immediate environment": Europe. Many violent rejectionists are made up of the children of first-generation Muslim immigrants (1950-70s) in Europe, and they seek to inflict change on the non-Islamic constitutions of European nations as well as influence European foreign policy directed at various Muslim countries, particularly military intervention policies. They range from small "homegrown groups", which are constituted by "mostly European-born radicals" who "act with absolute operational independence", to "compartmentalized cells", which are "contained in a well-structured network and subjected to a hierarchical structure"[874]. For the last several years some of these European-born Muslims have gone overseas to join militant Islamic groups, such as al-Qaeda and ISIS, to fight alongside them, receive training and expertise, and return to Europe to recruit, enlarge, and commit terrorism in the name of Islam. According to a report by various specialists and analysts in European affairs, many known terrorist groups active in Europe "use Europe as a fundraising and logistics base, and seek to recruit Europeans for terrorist activities elsewhere in the world" and include Al Qaeda and offshoots, Islamic Jihad Union, Hamas, Hezbollah, Ansar al-Islam, al Shabaab, [and now ISIS][875].

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[872] Schulman, "Stockholm Syndrome," 475.
[873] See Pew Research Center, *Common Concerns about Islamic Extremism*.
[874] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 3; Vidino, "Political Islam in Europe."
[875] Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe, 8.*

In April EU Justice Commissioner Vera Jouriva stated that "At the European level, we estimate that 5,000-6,000 individuals have left for Syria", but this estimate was quite conservative[876].

Like the jihadists or violent rejectionists, the second category that Vidino identifies, non-violent rejectionists, utterly reject "Western values" and aim to establish a global Islamic state[877]. These non-violent rejectionists have formed movements and organizations throughout Europe based on Salafist and Wahhabist ideology, both of which rest on a traditional interpretation of Islam through the Quran, hadith, and Sunnah. They have formed "groups and networks that openly express their opposition to any system of government that does not strictly conform to *shari'a* (Islamic law)" but this opposition is presented peacefully. Many of these Islamists are either born in Europe and travel to conservative Islamic countries such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt to attend Islamic universities and then return to spread their Salafism or are religious teachers from these countries who have travelled to Europe to spread their Islamist message[878].

Like the violent rejectionists, non-violent rejectionists use the media in its various forms – websites, publications, leaflets, mainstream mosques, YouTube videos, conferences and other forms of media and information communication technologies (ICTs) – to spread and radicalise Muslims with their Islamist message of salvation. One such movement is Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), which was established in East Jerusalem in the 1950s and has since become a global movement. The central view of HT is that

> all the solutions to man's political, economic, cultural, and social problems are to be found in Islam, and the only way for humanity to achieve justice is to abandon any man-made system (including democracy) and establish a Caliphate encompassing not only today's Muslim world, but the entire globe[879].

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[876] *Agence France Presse* (AFP), "About 6,000 Europeans are Reportedly Fighting with Jihadist Groups in Syria."
[877] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 4.
[878] Amghar, "Ideological and Theological Foundations of Muslim Radicalism in France," 29-30.
[879] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 5; Baran, *Hizb ut-Tahrir*.

They think that "Islam is under attack," that "Muslims have a duty to defend their fellow Muslims worldwide," and in order to defend Islam, Muslims "must establish the caliphate." Shiraz Maher, a former HT regional director in England said that "Hizb ut-Tahrir despises democracy and believes *shari'a* law must be imposed over the whole world, by force if necessary" and Maajid Nawaz, a former senior HT member, said that HT are prepared "to fight other countries and to kill people in the pursuit of unifying this state into one state"[880].

By propagandizing its message through "websites and publications...leaflets...and conferences" HT has actively attracted "thousands of sympathizers" from both "the disaffected masses of unassimilated European Muslims" and the "highly educated young [Muslim] professionals" throughout Europe[881]. Such non-violent rejectionist groups, which are highly political in nature, are seen by some, such as Turkish-American scholar Zeyno Baran, as having a direct link to terrorism, in that they act like a "conveyor belt"[882]. For example, HT was involved in the creation of the now defunct London-based group al-Muhajiroun, which in turn created a network of Islamist groups that have "provocative initiatives and [the] ability to manipulate the media", particularly Sharia4Belgium and other like-wise named groups in European nations, which have been since shut-down and members prosecuted as jihadists[883].

The third Islamist group that Vidino identifies, the participationists, are "the numerically most significant component of political Islam in Europe". They are so-called moderates but are in fact radical-izers that have adopted a "clever and flexible" tactic: "engagement with the European establishment"[884]. These particular Islamist groups in Europe are extensions of various Islamist groups outside of Europe, such as the Muslim Brotherhood

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[880] Vidino, "The Tripartite Threat of Radical Islam to Europe."
[881] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 5.
[882] Baran, "Fighting the War of Ideas." Baran is a Turkish-American scholar on Islamist ideology, Director of the International Security and Energy Programs at the Nixon Center, and a senior fellow of the Hudson Institute.
[883] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 6; also see chapter 9.
[884] Ibid, 7.

(Egypt), Jamaat-e Islami (South Asia), and Millî Görüş (Turkey)[885] and were mostly set up as student organizations in the late 1960s and 1970s by early Muslim refugees. Various Muslim organizations in Europe with such ties to Islamism have been termed the 'European Brotherhood' and include the Union of Islamic Organizations in France (UOIF), the Islamic Society of Germany (IGD), and the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB). Despite their seemingly 'integrative', 'moderate' and 'participationist' approach, these Islamist organizations have a fundamentalist agenda and are practicing 'taqiyya', or deception, which is encouraged "as a strategy of religious conquest". They are, according to Vidino, "engaged in a slow but steady social engineering program, aimed at Islamizing European Muslim populations and ultimately at competing with European governments for their allegiance"[886]. These Islamists are "modern-day Trojan horses, engaged in a sort of stealth subversion aimed at weakening European societies from within" to initiate societal transformation to create the socio-political conditions to eventually replace European order with Islamism[887]. Such stealthy subversion through infiltration has become ever more evident with documents such as *Operation Trojan Horse*,

[885] Millî Görüş is a network of Islamist political parties and a politico-religious movement that arose in Turkey in the 1970s. It was inspired by Necmettin Erbakan, a Turkish politician, who had written a manifesto in 1969 with the same name. This work outlined a vision of political Islam that rejected the European Common Market and Western values and development, which were viewed as attempts to assimilate and de-Islamize Turkey. It has come to be one of the most influential Islamist organizations in the West and has tens of thousands of members from the Turkish diasporas in Europe. See Vielhaber, "The Milli Görüs of Germany."
[886] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 10. Yet, there are Muslims who practice their faith moderately in the West while integrating peacefully into their host societies and do not aim to radicalise anybody.
[887] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 10.

which aimed at the Islamization of British schools[888], and the infiltration of political parties by Islamists[889].

Alexiev makes the case that such strategies of infiltration by Islamists in Europe are best represented by a Muslim Brotherhood (MB) manifesto called "The Project" (1982)[890], which was written by Sa'id Ramadan[891], son-in-law of Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. This 'Project' aims to Islamize "non-Muslim societies and their political and social institutions" through peaceful infiltration. Citing "The Project", Alexiev states that "The Project" was a strategic program that envisioned:

> 'Progressive efforts targeted at controlling the local centers of power through institutional action' and 'placing them in the service of Islam'. Engaging in 'temporary cooperation' between the Islamic movement and other political movements that espouse causes conducive to Islamic objectives. Avoiding 'confrontation with adversaries at the local or the global level'. 'Working within various influential institutions and using them in the service of Islam'. Encouraging Muslims 'to take part in parliament, municipal councils, labor unions and other institutions of which the membership is chosen by the people in the interest of Islam and of Muslims'[892].

The European Brotherhood describes Europe as the "land of preaching" (*dar al dawa)* rather than a land of war or land of Islam[893], hence its emphasis on peaceful infiltration. Leading MB ideologue, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, advocated the radical but peaceful proliferation of Islam in Europe through *dawah* and *tarbiyya* in his 1990 book *Priorities of the Islamic*

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[888] Gilligan, "Trojan Horse 'Links to Terror'"; Gilligan, "Guide to School Islamisation"; *BBC News*, "Trojan Horse 'Plot' Schools Timeline"; Kassam, "Fears of More Radicalised Children"; Griffiths and Kerbaj, "'Trojan Horse 2' in London"; Patton and Gilligan, "Head Teachers Raise 'Serious Concerns' Over Islamic School Take-Over"; Hirsch, "'Muslim School Plot' Fears Were Raised in 1994"; *BBC News,* "Bradford School Governors 'Promoted Islamic Agenda'"; *BBC News*, "Books 'Promoting Stoning' Found at Olive Tree Primary School"; The Clarion Project, "UK Muslim School Fails Inspection Over Pro-Stoning Books"; "Birmingham Schools 'Target of Extremist Plot' (2:00pm)," YouTube video (Sky News), 04:47.

[889] Daniel, "The Rise of Political Islam in Europe"; *The Local*, "Green Party may have been Infiltrated by Islamists"; Gilligan, "Islamic Radicals 'Infiltrate' the Labour Party"; Kassan and Deacon, "Exclusive: As Paris Burned"; *Telegraph View*, "This Secretive Agenda Must Be Taken Seriously."

[890] For English translation see Poole, "The Muslim Brotherhood 'Project' (Continued)."

[891] Ramadan studied law at Cologne University in Germany, earning his Ph.D. in 1959 with a thesis on Islamic law. He then set up the Munich Islamic Center as the Egyptian MB's HQ in Germany and Europe. This Center was essential for the Islamic Community of Germany, which is also associated with the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood and has its HQ in Aachen. See: Steinberg, "Germany and the Muslim Brotherhood," 87-89.

[892] Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 90.

[893] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 7.

Movement in the Coming Phase. He pushed for the establishment of "a web of Islamic centers, think tanks, magazines, mosques, and conferences so that the Islamist movements can spread its politicized version of Islam among Western Muslims"[894]. This was already happening due to the Euro-Arab Dialogue in the 1970s, with its political views on Israel and Palestine and its pressure for Europe to accept Arab manpower, spread and advocate Islam in European nations, and provide political rights to Arab labourers (see chapter 3.2). Qaradawi thought that the Brotherhood could groom (indoctrinate and radicalise) the minds of Muslim immigrants by taking on "the role of the missing leadership of the Muslim Nation with all its trends and groups"[895]. Islamists like Qaradawi essentially thought that integration into a secular, atheistic, rule-of-law society, such as liberal-democratic European nations based on Western human rights, is akin to apostasy[896], in that Islamists are not secular, liberal democratic, or atheistic, and do not abide by universal human rights, but rather rights based on Sharia Law. He thus appealed to Muslim immigrants to "Try to have your own small society within the larger society...your own Muslim ghetto", hence the emergence of Muslim enclaves in Europe[897].

Although many Muslims coming to the West may not intend to subvert their new places of residence and alter them to make them theocratic like their homelands, many are, however, influenced by the views of radical Islamic scholars, imams, and leaders. Sometimes they are radicalised by Islamists who have become the "*de facto* representatives of the Muslim community" and promote a strict, theocratic, traditional Islamic teaching[898]. As stated by Vidino, Alexiev, and others, Islamists, such as Qaradawi, strive to become "partners of European governments and elites" to then gain "financial and political capital", which in turn

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[894] Ibid, 8.
[895] Qaradawi as cited in Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 7.
[896] As Islam is a politico-religion, apostasy to Islamists is akin to treason and punishable by death.
[897] Qaradawi as cited in Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 8; also see chapter 9.
[898] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 8.

"would allow them to significantly expand their reach and influence inside the community" and grant them power to administer "all aspects of Muslim life" in European nations involving education, institutions, and social life. And, by "[h]ighlighting common values", they can encourage "Muslims to simultaneously participate in society and spread their Islamic principles" [899]. In other words, Islamists encourage Muslims in Europe to remain distinct yet become politically and socially engaged, press for the Islamist point of view, and alter the existing non-Islamic European system with the Islamic way of life, including Sharia Law.

8.4 Demographic Conquest and Islamisation of Europe

Jihad today is often in terms of migration (associated with *hijrah*) or the spreading of Islam to where it is not i.e. non-Muslim societies (the land of the *Kufr*). Filip Dewinter, a notable Flemish politician (Vlaams Belang) in Belgium, has argued that by 2100 Europe will be an Islamic continent. He has said that

> mass-immigration and multiculturalism have become the Trojan horse of Islamisation. Millions of Muslims and their families come to live in Europe and multiculturalism encourages Islam and under the guise of freedom of religion put it on equal terms with European religions. Europe will be colonised by Islam[900].

In March 2015 Aldo Carcaci, Belgian MP for the Belgian People's Party, stated that "It's an invasion, it's a Trojan horse…It is for us, we are in the end of civilisation. Because if we continue to accept the Muslim immigration, for us, it's a big problem"[901]. Leading Islamists themselves have stated explicitly their aim of eventually dominating Europe through demographic colonization and Islamisation – using immigration as a Trojan Horse method. As far back as 1974 Algerian president Houari Boumedienne addressed the assembly of the UN and said that

> One day millions of men will leave the southern hemisphere to go to the northern hemisphere and they will not go there as friends. Because they will go there to conquer

[899] Ibid, 8
[900] Dewinter, "The Colonisation of Europe: How Europe Will Become Eurabia."
[901] Perraudin, "Muslim Immigration is 'Trojan Horse' Invasion."

> it. And they will conquer it with their sons. The wombs of our women will give us victory[902].

In 2006 former Libyan leader, Muhammar al-Khaddafi, stated on Arabic T.V. that

> We have 50 million Muslims in Europe. There are signs that Allah will grant Islam victory in Europe without swords, without guns, without conquests. The fifty million Muslims in Europe will turn it into a Muslim continent within a few decades

and in 2010 he stated that "Islam will become the religion of the whole of Europe[903]. Abu Imran a.k.a Fouad Belkacem, an Islamic leader of Sharia4Belgium, stated on June 15, 2010 that

> We won't rest until Europe has become an Islamic state and then we will march on towards the white house and the Vatican, we will carry out the promise of our dear prophet in the peaceful way, and we will continue until the lord grants us victory[904].

Imam Abu Baseer, a leading supporter of Al-Qaeda, stated that

> One of the goals of immigration is the revival of the duty of Jihad and enforcement of power over the infidels. Immigration and Jihad go together. One is the consequence of the other and dependent upon it[905].

Omar Bakri said "It is our duty to establish an Islamic State in every part of the world, even in Great Britain" and in 2015 in the context of the migrant crisis, Sheikh Muhammad Ayed from the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, urged Muslim asylum seekers to "give [Europeans] fertility. We will breed children with them, because we shall conquer their countries"[906].

The British Channel 4 documentaries *Undercover Mosque Dispatches* reveal that demographic-jihad aims of Islamisation are indeed being taught in mosques throughout the UK and also by the leaders of the Islamic Forum of Europe (IFE)[907]. Even British Labour politicians are promoting the Islamisation of London, such as Ken Livingstone, who said in 2012 while speaking at Finsbury Park Mosque,

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[902] Boumedienne as cited by Hashmi, *Global Jihad and America*, 22.
[903] Al-Qadhafi, "Europe and the US Should Agree to Become Islamic or Declare War on Muslims."
[904] Dewinter, "The Colonization of Europe."
[905] Baseer as cited in Paz, "Middle East Islamism in the European Arena," 73.
[906] Bakri as cited by Israeli, *Muslim Minorities in Modern States*, 15; Pickles, "Imam tells Muslim migrants."
[907] Channel 4 Dispatches*, Undercover Mosque*.

> I want to spend the next four years making sure that every non-Muslim in London knows and understands [Mohammed's] words and message. That will help to cement our city as a beacon that demonstrates the meaning of the words of the Prophet[908].

And, in 2013, the Prime Minister of Britain, David Cameron, pronounced his aspiration for making London the world capital of Islamic finance[909].

In mid-February 2015 Charles Winter, a senior researcher at the Quilliam Foundation, wrote that ISIS was thinking of using Libya as "a gateway to Europe". His evidence comes from Islamist propaganda written by online recruiter Abu Arhim al-Libim, which he translated and analyzed in a document called "Libya: The Strategist Gateway for the Islamist State"[910]. According to this document and several newspaper reports, Jihadists were planning to take over Libya and had united "a panoply of militant factions under a single banner" there. They had taken the port city of Derna (October 2014, but lost this in July 2015), Tripoli, the capital of Libya, as well as Sirte, and Benghazi, which are all along the Mediterranean coastline. They then wanted to monopolize the already booming human smuggling industry[911] operating out of Libyan ports that sees hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants from Africa traversing the Mediterranean to reach the southern coast of Europe each year[912]. They would then flood Libya with Syrian and Iraqi militia who would go to Europe by boat "posing as migrants on people trafficking vessels" who would then wage war in southern Europe. Winter writes that

> The risks Europe faces from Isil pre-eminence in Libya are substantial. Talk of terrorist infiltration into European cities through illegal trafficking is not, it seems, just found in the rhetoric of politicos in Brussels. For the Isil enthusiast, Libya is a "strategic gateway", a launching pad for the disruption of "Crusader" shipping lines and a means of wreaking "pandemonium" in Europe's southern cities[913].

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[908] Kern, "I Will Make London a Beacon of Islam."
[909] Pizzi, "Cameron: London Can Be a World Capital for Islamic Finance." Alex Alexiev has argued that Sharia financing is a strategy of Islamisation. See Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 93-117.
[910] Winter, "Libya: The Strategic Gateway for the Islamic State."
[911] By March 2015 Italian officials had stated that ISIS was already working with the smugglers. See Hannah Roberts, "ISIS Could Become the Pirates of the Mediterranean."
[912] Toaldo, "Migrations Through and From Libya"; Toaldo, "Libya's Migrant-Smuggling Highway."
[913] Winter, "Islamic State's Ambitions in Libya are a Direct Threat to Europe"; Sherlock and Freeman, "Islamic State 'Planning to Use Libya as Gateway to Europe'"; Loveluck, "How Isil Spread to Libya – and Now has Europe in its Sights."

The Daily Mail reported in February 2015 that ISIS was also threating to send hundreds of boats carrying 500,000 migrants all at once as a "psychological weapon" of war against Europe if Western powers intervened in Libya. Italian Minister for the Interior Angelino Alfano said that "If the militias of the Caliphate advance faster than the decisions of the international community how can we put out the fire in Libya and stem the migration flows? We are at risk of an exodus without precedent"[914]. Certainly in 2015 and into 2016 we have seen a 'migrant crisis' of unprecedented proportions in Europe, with the majority of migrants being young Muslim males (see chapter 11.2). We have to therefore ask if such large-scale illegal immigration is indeed being used as a weapon of war against Europe. Is Islam in Europe today a third attempt to conquer Europe by Jihad (violent, non-violent, participatory), demographics, and the imposition, spread, and practice of Islamic (Shari'ah) law?

In September 2015 it was estimated by the UN that by the end of the year around 700,000 illegal migrants/asylum seekers would have crossed the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe and the same amount was projected for 2016[915]. This does not include the hundreds of thousands that reached Europe via land (through Turkey into Greece and Bulgaria or from Russia into Norway[916]). Europe's border agency, Frontex, declared in April 2016 that there were over 1.8 million illegal border crossings into the EU that were detected in 2015[917] (this number does not include those who were *not* detected). Out of all EU28 countries, Germany alone accepted between 1 and 1.5 million refugees/migrants itself.[918] German Federal Minister Gerd Müller predicted that Europe is set to receive between 8-10 million asylum seekers in the near future[919]. A more detailed discussion on the 'migrant crisis' is found in Part IV.

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[914] Hannah Roberts, "ISIS Threatens to Send 500,000 Migrants to Europe."
[915] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Refugee Emergency in Europe."
[916] Higgins, "Avoiding Risky Seas."
[917] European Parliament, "Schengen and the Management," 2; Frontex, *Risk Analysis for 2016*, 17.
[918] Porter, Tom. "Refugee Crisis."
[919] Pfeffer, "Entwicklungsminister Müller im Interview."

9. Muslim Immigration: EU and Five Country Profiles

Mass-immigration into Europe has been predominantly from Muslim majority countries in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia since the 1960s. Despite the end of labour-recruitment agreements in the 1970s, which coincided with the Arab oil embargos, the EAD, and the rise of Pan-Islamism in the Muslim world, mass-immigration continued into Europe. Today, in 27 of the largest cities in 11 member states of the European Union, Muslims make up between six and 32.4 percent of the population, as shown in table 20.

Table 20. Estimated Muslim Populations of European Cities, 2016

European City	Est. Muslim Population (%)
Amsterdam	14.0 - 24.0
Antwerp	16.9
Barcelona	17.5
Berlin	6.0 - 9.0
Birmingham	14.3 - 26.9
Blackburn	28.4
Bradford	15.0 - 32.4
Brussels	15.0 - 25.5
Cologne	12.0
Copenhagen	10.0
Frankfurt	11.8
Haskovo	20.0
Leicester	18.6
London	8.3 - 13.1
Luton	24.6
Malmo	20.0
Manchester	15.8
Marseille	20.0 - 25.0
Milan	7.0 - 10.0
Paris	10.0 - 15.0
Rotterdam	13.0 - 25.0
Roubaix	20.0
Slough	23.3
Stockholm	20.0
The Hague	14.2
Utrecht	13.2
Vienna	8.0 - 10.0

Source: Data from *Wikipedia*, s.v. "List of Cities in the European Union by Muslim Population", http://en. wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of _cities_ in_the_European_Union_by_Muslim_ population (retrieved March 2016).

There are differing estimations and projections about the size and growth of the Muslim population in Europe. In 2005 Robert S. Leiken, writing for *Foreign Affairs*, estimated that the Muslim population in Western Europe was between 15 and 20 million or between four and five percent of the total population[920]. The *Telegraph* newspaper reported that in 2008

> five per cent of the total population of the 27 countries was Muslim. But rising levels of immigration from Muslim countries and low birth rates among Europe's indigenous population mean that, by 2050, the figure will be 20 per cent according to forecasts. Other predictions indicate that by the middle of the century, Western Europe will already count more Muslims than non-Muslims[921].

According to an article titled "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020" by Houssain Kettani, a Professor with the Department of Computer Science and Information Systems Engineering, Fort Hays State University, there were nearly 49 million Muslims in Europe in 2009, making up around seven percent of the total population[922]. According to the Pew Research Center, Europe's Muslim population was 43 million people or six percent of the total population in 2010 with about 19 million in the European Union. They predicted that by 2030 the Muslim population would constitute eight percent of the European population. They provided estimates for the percentage increase that Muslim populations will have undergone by 2030 in several European countries. For example, by 2030 Ireland is expected to triple its population of Muslims, Finland and Norway are expected to more than double their populations of Muslims, and Italy is expected to double their population of Muslims. For Sweden the estimated Muslim population for 2030 was 993,000, for the UK it was 5,567,000, for Belgium it was 1,149,000, for France it was 6.9 million, and for Germany it was 5.5 million[923]. Table 21 shows the estimated percentage increase by 2030 of the Muslim population for the latter five EU countries and Europe as a whole.

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[920] Leiken, "Europe's Angry Muslims."
[921] Michaels, "Muslim Europe: The Demographic Time Bomb Transforming Our Continent."
[922] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020."
[923] Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*.

Table 21. Pew Estimated Increase in Muslim Population for Five EU Countries (%)

Country	Muslim Population (2010)	Population Prediction (2030)
Belgium	6%	10.2%
United Kingdom	4.6%	8.2%
France	7.5%	10.3%
Sweden	4.9%	9.9%
Germany	5%	7.1%
Europe	6%	8%

Source: Data from Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*.

A new study by the Pew Forum in 2015 predicted that the Muslim population of Europe will have increased to more than 71 million people or 10 percent of the total population by 2050[924]. Similarly, according to Filip Dewinter, in 2009 there were 55 million Muslims in Europe (including Russia) with 20 million of these in Western Europe. However, unlike the Pew Forum, he claimed in 2011 that the "Muslim population will grow by nearly one-third...to 73 million" by 2030 rather than by 2050[925]. The *National Intelligence Council* predicted that the Muslim population in Western Europe will "double by 2025"[926]. Historian Philip Jenkins estimates that by 2100 Muslims in Europe would be around 25 percent of the total population[927]. Numerous writers have claimed that Islam is the fastest growing religion in Europe[928].

[924] Pew Research Center, *The Future of World Religions.* On November 29, 2017, Pew released a new report titled "Europe's Growing Muslim Population," which projected that by 2050 the Muslim population of Europe with zero Muslim immigration will have increased to 7.4%, with medium immigration to 11.2%, and with high immigration to 14%. For Belgium, the UK, France, Sweden, and Germany with zero Muslim immigration, the Muslim population will have grown to 11.1%, 9.7%, 12.7%, 11.1%, and 8.7% respectively; with medium immigration 15.1%, 16.7%, 17.4%, 20.5%, and 10.8%; and with high immigration to 18.2%, 17.2%, 18%, 30.6%, and 19.7%. However, an article by Soeren Kern of the Gatestone Institute, titled "How Many Muslims in Europe? Pew's Projections Fall Short", argues that "Pew's baseline estimate of the number of Muslims currently in Europe — the estimate upon which its future projections are calculated — has been undercounted by at least five million Muslims, whose presence in Europe will significantly increase the future size of the continent's Muslim population." In addition, Muslim asylum seekers, illegal immigrants, and immigrants that have been naturalised were not included in Pew's calculations according to Kern. As such, the projections of the Muslim population in Europe by 2050 by Pew must be viewed as much too conservative.

[925] Dewinter, "The Colonisation of Europe: How Europe Will Become Eurabia."

[926] Leiken, "Europe's Angry Muslims."

[927] Philip Jenkins, "Demographics, Religion, and the Future of Europe," 533.

[928] See: Nachmani, *Europe and its Muslim Minorities*, 35; Cherribi, *In the House of War*, 33.

Since the onset of mass Muslim immigration and the Euro-Arab Dialogue the secular public sphere of Europe has become increasingly inundated by the foreign political theology and law of Islam. Islam in contemporary Europe is the re-insertion of an ultra-conservative patriarchal religion into European politics and public life after a long process of separating the traditionalist Christian religion from Western foundations conducive to individual rights and rule of law. But Islamism, with its literal reading of the Koran, its emphasis on collective religious identity, its insistence on the unity of public and private realms, and its anti-Westernism, is now pushing its way into mainstream Europe.

Islam is a unified system of belief that qualifies as a creed; it is a political religion[929]. It does not recognise the division of the public and private spheres, the separation of religion and state, and the equality of men and women. For Islam, Sharia, and not rule of law, is considered the only legitimate law. According to the Islamic Supreme Council of America "Islam is a complete package – a complete message and way of life" and Sharia law is

> the Islamic Law – the disciplines and principles that govern the behavior of a Muslim individual towards his or herself, family, neighbors, community, city, nation and the Muslim polity as a whole, the Ummah. Similarly Shariah governs the interactions between communities, groups and social and economic organizations. Shariah establishes the criteria by which all social actions are classified, categorized and administered within the overall governance of the state[930].

In comparison, the Clarion Project against extremism writes that Sharia is

> A legal framework to regulate public and private aspects of life based upon specific Islamic teachings. Sharia is a strict system which views non-Muslims as second-class citizens, sanctions inequality between men and women and prescribes cruel and unusual punishments for crimes[931].

Alexiev defines the Islamist interpretation of Sharia law in the following way:

> Sharia is sacred Islamic law as revealed by God, the essence of the Muslim faith, and its imposition is the solution to all problems of the Muslim community (ummah).

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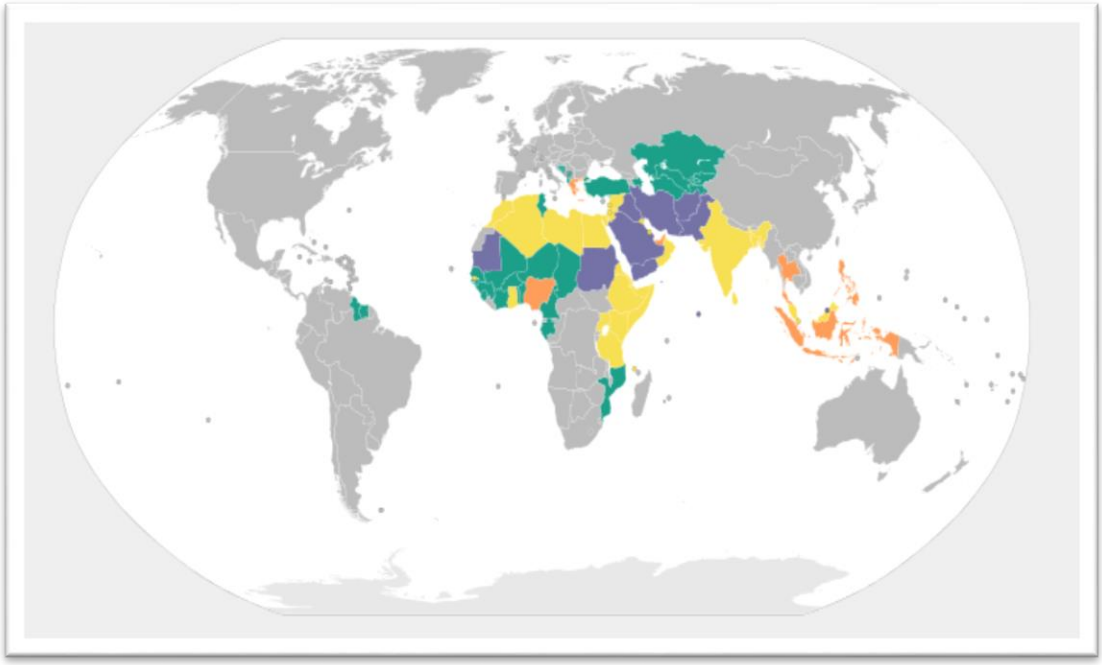
[929] According to Nasr writing for the Oxford Islamic Studies online, Islam is more than just a religious faith but is also "a source of identity and an important factor in social relations and politics. Islam has long been important to Muslim politics". See: Nasr, "European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Muslim States."
[930] Kabbani, "Understanding Islamic Law."
[931] The Clarion Project, "Sharia."

> Sharia is the constitution of the Islamic state that guarantees the unity of religion and state (din wa dawla). Belief in the sacrosanct nature of sharia and the imperative to impose it in all Muslim communities is the sine qua non of the radical Islamist ideology[932].

Sharia law is distinct from Western rule of law in two main ways according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. One, "it regulates an individual's relationship" with neighbours, the state, God, and with "one's own conscience". And two, Islamic law "precedes and controls society" i.e. "the Islamic concept of law [is] the expression of the divine will"[933]. Today Sharia Law is practiced in various degrees in 70 Muslim countries across the world, as outlined in map 2.



Map 2. Seventy Countries Under Some Form of Sharia Law
Source: Map from *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Application of Sharia Law by Country", https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Application_of_sharia_law_by_country (retrieved June 2015).

In 2003 the European Court of Human Rights ruled that "the institution of Sharia law and a theocratic regime" are not compatible with democracy and a sharia legal system is not compatible with the European Convention in regards to "the rules of criminal law and

[932] Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism,* 13.
[933] Noel James Coulson, "Shariah," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, http://www.britannica.com/topic/Shariah (accessed November 2015).

procedure, the place given to women in the legal order and its interference in all spheres of private and public life in accordance with religious precepts"[934]. Although Sharia Law was deemed incompatible with the fundamentals of the EU (democracy and Human Rights), numerous Sharia Law Courts (which offer a parallel legal (and political) system regarding family matters, such as divorce, marriage, child custody and support, and inheritance-related issues), Muslim Arbitration Tribunals, and Islamic Sharia Councils have been established in some secular member states of the European Union over the last decade and Sharia Law has come to be officially practiced in various degrees. For example, in 2008 it was reported that Islamic Law and Sharia judges in Sharia courts were already set up in the UK, particularly London, Birmingham, Bradford and Manchester and two more courts were planned for Glasgow and Edinburgh[935]. There were also dozens of unofficial Sharia Courts that were already operating in association with mosques, of which there were an estimated 22 in the West Midlands alone[936]. In late December 2015 it was estimated that there were at least 85 Islamic Courts operating in the UK[937].

Machteld Zee, a Dutch writer, researcher, and PhD candidate at the Department Encyclopedia of Law at the University of Leiden has said that these "Sharia councils uphold the theory and practice of the strong hold men have over women" and they "operate in the shadow of the law"[938]. Elham Manea, a Muslim professor and expert on human rights, concurs, saying that these Sharia Courts are run by extremists who support child marriage, gender inequality, wife beatings, marital rape, and dismemberment for certain crimes, and only serve to "increase 'segregation, inequality and discrimination' and can encourage 'political instability

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[934] Judgements on the merits delivered by the Grand Chamber, *Case of Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) and Others v. Turkey*, 9; European Court of Human Rights, *Annual Report 2003*, 5-6.
[935] Taher, "Revealed: UK's First Official Sharia Courts."
[936] Sunday Mercury, "Islamic Sharia Law Courts Operating in West Midlands."
[937] Adams, "Inside Britain's Sharia Courts."
[938] Maddox, David. "Bid to Ban Muslims from Replacing UK Law with Sharia Courts."

and home-grown terrorism'"[939]. Despite these and other warnings[940], Sharia Law is now becoming part of the UK legal system thanks to the British Law Society[941].

The Muslim population in Europe is growing and in conjunction with this growth there is an increasing impact on local politics. Omer Taspinar, a senior fellow at the Center on 21st Century Security and Intelligence and a professor at the National War College and an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies, writes in his 2003 essay 'Europe's Muslim Street':

> Islam may still be a faraway religion for millions of Americans. But for Europeans it is local politics. The 15 million Muslims of the European Union (EU)—up to three times as many as live in the United States—are becoming a more powerful political force than the fabled Arab street. Europe's Muslims hail from different countries and display diverse religious tendencies, but the common denominator that links them to the Muslim world is their sympathy for Palestine and Palestinians. And unlike most of their Arab brethren, growing numbers of Europe's Muslims can vote in elections that count[942].

What this means is that the aspiration for the imposition of Sharia law will also increase and become a more pressing issue for the European political landscape.

Today, as a result of a combination of government-mandated multicultural polices that have actively encouraged and funded immigrants to remain distinct peoples in European nations[943] and the influences of various Muslim leaders and public figures that insist Muslims remain separate and not integrate into the mainstream, some key geographical areas in Europe, particularly in suburbs around major cities and some cities themselves, have become separated from mainstream society in terms of ethno-religious and political characteristics and

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[939] Doughty, "Sharia Courts in the UK are Run by Extremists"; Millar, "Sharia in UK."
[940] Institute for the Study of Civil Society, "Sharia Courts Should Not Be Recognised Under the Arbitration Act"; MacEoin, *Sharia Law or 'One Law for All'?*; Hope, "Law Society Risks."
[941] *RT News*, "Sharia Law to be Adopted into UK Legal System for First Time."
[942] Taspinar, "Europe's Muslim Street." The support for Palestine in Europe is creating problems, particularly violent protests and riots, as well as arson and lototing etc. such as can be see from these two YouTube videos from 2014 in Paris: "Manif pro-palestinienne interdite: Très grave incidents à Barbès - 19/07/2014" and "Metro paris feu à Barbes Rochechoir paris manifestation pour la palestina."
[943] This is not the case for European nations like France who have promoted assimilation rather than multiculturalism and insisted on secularism at the public level. This goes to show that neither integration strategies of assimilation or multiculturalism have been successful at preventing the growth of parallel societies.

challenge existing social and political orders. Criminal gangs are rife; Islam is often the main religion; political and violent Islamism has a significant presence; youths are subject to radicalism; and national authorities have little control.[944]

In these often called Sharia-controlled areas[945] Muslims strongly assert their identity and people of other minority groups and from the indigenous population, particularly the native working-classes who are their neighbours, are not welcome or are threatened if they enter these places. According to a senior fellow at National Review Institute, and a contributing editor at *National Review*, Andrew C. McCarthy:

> no sensible person is saying that state authorities are *prohibited* from entering no-go zones as a *matter of law*. The point is that they are *severely discouraged* from entering as *a matter of fact* — and the degree of discouragement varies directly with the density of the Muslim population and its radical component. Ditto for non-Muslim lay people: It is not that they are *not permitted* to enter these enclaves; it is that they *avoid entering* because doing so is dangerous if they are flaunting Western modes of dress and conduct[946].

Muslim no-go zones in Europe are also places that radicalise youth[947] and harbour violent and non-violent Islamists who incite sedition and culture war and commit violent terrorist acts in their plot to conquer Europe[948]. Many non-Muslims have fled these areas, particularly native Europeans and Jews, in a process some have called 'White flight' and 'Jewish flight'.

Deputy Chairman of the Board of the National Equality Standard and a former chairman of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), Trevor Phillips, calls White

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[944] The Hungarian government has declared that there are more than 900 no-go zones in Europe where authorities have lost control. See here: *RT News*, "EU has 900 'No-Go' Areas Because of Migrants, Hungary Says"; Kormány Információ, "Több Mint 900 'No-Go' Zóna Európa Nagyvárosaiban."Also see: Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*; Bigo, Bonelli, Guittet, & Ragazzi, "Preventing and Countering Youth Radicalisation in the EU"; Moniquet, "The Radicalisation of Muslim Youth in Europe; Pizani-Williams, "The Internatioanl Context"; Precht, *Home Grown Terrorism*; Rabasa and Benard, *Eurojihad*; Teich, "Islamic Radicalization in Belgium".

[945] Stakelbeck, "Islamic Sharia Law Comes to Great Britain."

[946] McCarthy, "What Bobby Jindal Gets About Islam – and Most People Still Don't."

[947] There are various other avenues that radicalise Muslim youth. According to a 2007 Danish Ministry of Justice funded research report by Tomas Precht "most intelligence services" in Europe know that "prisons serve as a potential hotbed for radicalisation." Other radicalisation routes involve the internet, satellite, mosques, schools, universities, youth clubs, workplaces, and sporting activities. See: Precht, *Home Grown Terrorism*, 56-67.

[948] Cendrowicz, "Paris Attacks: Visiting Molenbeek."

flight in Britain a "majority retreat" where "white people [are] leaving minority-led areas and [are] not being replaced". Instead, according to the think tank *Demos*, they are being "replaced" by immigrants and ethnic minority population growth. This means "a spiral of white British demographic decline"[949]. Similarly, in France, thousands of Jews every year are leaving to take up residence in Israel and elsewhere, mostly as a reaction to the increase of Muslim anti-Semitism and Islamist terrorist attacks against Jews in France[950], a direct result of large-scale Muslim immigration into Europe[951]. This also corresponds with what is called "millionaire migration" by the global wealth intelligence and market research company, *New World Wealth*. This wealth consultant company reports that a "large outflow of millionaires from France" (10,000) in 2015 was due to "rising religious tensions" in the country and Israel, after Australia, the United States, and Canada, was the fourth country with the largest inflow (4,000) of millionaires in 2015. The same phenomenon is already occurring in other European nations affected by rising "religious tensions", such as Belgium, the UK, Sweden, and Germany[952].

Writing for the Jewish Policy Center in the fall of 2014, Dr. Mitchell Bard, an American foreign policy analyst, the Executive Director of the American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE), and the director of the Jewish Virtual Library, all across Europe Jews are fleeing to Israel and the USA (and other 'safe' countries) in correlation to the growth of the Muslim population in Europe and subsequent rise in anti-Semitism and terrorist activities. He cites former Jewish historian Robert Wistrich who declared that "Jewish communities have become the targets of militant Muslim rage in much of Western Europe" and that "any clear-sighted and sensible Jew who has a sense of history would understand that this is the time to get out". Bard also cites

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[949] Electronic Immigration Network, "Demos: Almost Half of Ethnic Minority Population Now Live in Majority Non-white Areas"; Kaufmann, "Half Full or Half Empty?"
[950] Maltz, "Record Number of French Jews Immigrated to Israel in 2015."
[951] Weinthal, "German Intel: Migrants will Bring Anti-Semitism."
[952] New World Wealth, "Millionaire Migration in 2015"; Epstein, "We're Leaving Britain – Jews Aren't Safe Here Anymore."

former Dutch defense minister, Frits Bolkestein, who said that "Jews have to realize...that there is no future for them" in European nations with large Muslim populations and "they best advise their children to leave for the United States or Israel"[953]. In October 2015 Frans Timmermans, first vice-president of the European Commission, stated that Jews were leaving Europe because "they no longer see, as Jews, a future for themselves here"[954]. For Europeans, unfortunately, Muslim anti-European rhetoric, radicalism, and terrorism is in their traditional homelands and as such they don't have the opportunity to leave and travel to a 'safe' homeland.

Let us now turn to some startling demographics and statistics regarding the Muslim populations of five European countries: Belgium, UK, France, Sweden, and Germany.

9.1 Belgium

Belgium has the second highest Muslim population per capita in the European Union (after France)[955] and Islam is the second largest faith group, after Roman Catholicism[956]. In 1950 it was estimated that around 8,500 Muslims lived in Belgium and by 2010 there were over 640,000, which is an increase of 7,429 percent in just 60 years[957]. In 2014/2015 the Muslim population of Belgium was estimated to be around seven[958] or eight percent[959] of the total population, which is an increase of at least 50 percent since 2005[960]. It is projected that by 2030 Muslims will make up 10.2 percent of the total population of Belgium[961]. Many Muslims reside in the Flemish region (over 300,000 or 5.1% of the local population), and in the second largest

[953] Bard, "Wake up Europe: Radical Islam is Coming for You."
[954] European Commission. "Opening Remarks of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans at the First Annual Colloquium on Fundamental Rights."
[955] Teich, "Islamic Radicalization in Belgium," 5.
[956] Seidle, "Belgium" in *Comparative Research and Analysis - Country Profiles*, 2.
[957] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," 157.
[958] Hertogen, "Moslims in België per gewest, provincie en gemeente."
[959] Kern, "The Islamization of Belgium and the Netherlands in 2013."
[960] Teich, "Islamic Radicalization in Belgium," 5.
[961] Pew Research Center, "Table: Muslim Population by Country: Muslim Population Growth by Country." However, new projections suggest Muslims may constitute up to and above 18.2% by 2050 – see footnote 924.

city, Antwerp, Muslims comprise between 7.5 and 17 percent of the population. In the capital region, Muslims constitue between 280,000 and 300,000 or between 23.6% and 26% of the metropolitan area[962] which has led some people to call Brussels "the Muslim capital of Europe"[963]. According to sociologist Felice Dassetto, Muslims will comprise the majority of the population of Brussels by 2030[964]. Table 22 below shows several areas in Belgium that had a Muslim population in 2010 of between 12.5 and 48.8 percent and their projected populations for 2030.

Table 22. Muslim Population in Belgium, 2010-2030

	2010		2030	
Brussels Region	**22%**	**235,991**	**29.7%**	**385,431**
Sint-Joost-Ten-Noode	48.8%	11,957	48%	13,693
Sint-Jans-Molenbeek	39.8%	34,466	50.2%	58,510
Schaarbeek	38.3%	45,510	49.4%	72,305
Brussels	29.5%	44,997	37.4%	71,105
Anderlecht	27%	27,547	36.9%	48,512
Sint Gillis	25.7%	11,828	32.3%	17,203
Koekelberg	25.6%	5,072	38.6%	10,745
Vorst	21.9%	10,871	31.1%	17,399
Elsene	14%	11,357	17.3%	16,830
Flemish Region	**4%**	**250,426**	**6.6%**	**455,775**
Antwerp	16.9%	80,967	27%	150,983
Mechelen	15.6%	12,599	25.3%	23,455
Lokeren	13.4%	5,218	19%	8535
Beringen	12.7%	5,407	16.2%	8,072
Gent	12.5%	30,093	20%	55,617
Wallonia Region	**4%**	**140,096**	**7.2%**	**275,299**
Farciennes	23.2%	2,524	33.5%	3,182
Liege	14.9%	28,725	27.3%	58,792
Verviers	13.2%	7,280	22.1%	13,582
Dison	13.1%	1,939	27.1%	4,698
Charleroi	12.9%	26,026	26.1%	54,016

Source: Data from Hertogen, "Brussel 2030."

In mid-2000 the fertility rate of the two largest Muslim groups in Belgium, Turkish and Moroccan, were double the national average: 3.57 and 3.03 versus 1.57 respectively[965]. In 2004

[962] *Euro-Islam*, "Islam in Belgium."
[963] Hurd, "Belgistan?"; Kern, "The Islamization of Belgium and the Netherlands in 2013."
[964] Kern, "Brussels: The New Capital of Eurabia."
[965] Bousetta and Bernes, "Muslims in the EU," 18.

over one-third of Muslims in Belgium were under the age of fifteen[966]. A high fertility rate coupled with high immigration, led to Mohamed[967] being the most popular baby boy name in Brussels in 2007[968]. In 2013, Mohammed was the most popular name for males aged between 0 and 64 years of age in Brussels, and it was the 7th most popular name for males 65 years old and older. According to the economic ministry of Belgium over the last 20 years the most popular names in Brussels have been Arab names[969]. Since 2008, Mohammed has been the most popular name for baby boys in Antwerp[970]. In March 2016 statistics revealed that more than half (52.4%) of pupils at elementary schools in Antwerp were Muslim and in Kiel, a southern district of the city, 83 percent of middle-schoolers were Muslim[971]. In Belgium as a whole, in 2013 Mohamed was the tenth most popular name for under 18 year olds, or 2.3 percent of the national population in that age range[972].

Compared to native Belgians, tertiary educational attainment, which is vital for success in the labour market, for working-age Turkish and Moroccan foreign-nationals in Belgium is low. In 2002-2003 only 10 percent of Moroccans and Turks had post-secondary education compared to 35 percent of native Belgians. Between 2005 and 2012 only 10.8 percent of Moroccans and 5.6 percent of Turks had tertiary education compared to 28.3 percent of native Belgians. In terms of school enrollment, 66 percent of native Belgians aged 15 to 25 years were enrolled compared to 58 percent of Moroccans and 31 percent of Turks[973]. In mid-2000 the employment rate for Moroccans and Turks was "three times lower" than the native Belgian population; the average employment rate for native Belgians was 61 percent, and for foreign-

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[966] Savage, "Europe and Islam: Crescent Waxing, Cultures Clashing," 28.
[967] It is popular among Muslims to name their first born son the name of the founder of Islam, Mohammed, which has various spellings.
[968] *Flanders Today,* "Lotte and Milan Top the Name Charts", 5.
[969] *Morocco World News*, "Lina, Aya, and Mohamed Among Most Popular Baby Names in Brussels."
[970] *Het Laatste Nieuws*, "Emma en Noah Populairste Voornamen in 2008."
[971] *Gazet van Antwerpen*, "Voor het eerst meer dan de helft moslims in Antwerpse scholen."
[972] Statistics Belgium, "Voornamen van de bevolking in 2013 per gewest en leeftijdsklasse."
[973] Bousetta and Bernes, "Muslims in the EU," 21; Gsir, Mandin, and Mescoli, *Corridor Report on Belgium*, 31.

born Morrocans and Turks it was 26 percent[974]. Several years later employment for Moroccans stood at 40.6 percent, for Turks 43.5 percent, and for native Belgians 63.8 percent. The unemployment rate for each of these groups was 27.2 percent, 18.7 percent, and 6.6 percent respectively[975].

As far back as the late 1990s prison statistics show Moroccans are overrepresented in Belgian prisons. There were 132,831 Moroccans in Belgium in 1998 constituting 1.3 percent of the total population, yet they made up 12.8 percent of the prison population and had a detention rate of 821 per 100,000 compared to the detention rate of native Belgians of 58 per 100,000, which is an index of overrepresentation of 14.2. Turks were also disproportionately represented; there were 73,818 Turks in Belgium in 1998 standing at 0.7 percent of the population, but they constituted 3.1 percent of the prison population and had a detention rate of 364 per 100,000, which is an index of overrepresentation of 6.3[976]. In several studies undertaken by Steven De Ridder and Kristel Beyens of the Criminology Department of Vrije Universiteit van Brussel (VUB), it has been shown that since 1995 the foreign prison population in Belgium has remained stable at about 40-42 percent, but since the 1980s it sharply increased in comparison to native Belgian incarceration levels. For example, in 1980 the prison index for both foreign national prisoners and native Belgian prisoners was 100, but by 2013 it was 460 for foreign nationals compared to 175 for native Belgians. In comparison to Western European, Eastern European, and 'Other' foreign prisoners, which had populations of under 1000 in Belgian prisons, Turks and North Africans (Maghreb) made up the largest number of the foreign national prison population (over 1250), a trend that has continued since 1993. The size of the Turkish and North African prison population in Belgian prisons continually increased between

[974] Bousetta and Bernes, "Muslims in the EU," 26.
[975] Gsir, Mandin, and Mescoli, *Corridor Report on Belgium*, 30.
[976] Bousetta and Bernes, "Muslims in the EU," 36.

1993 and 2013, from 1250 to 2500 persons, and since 2003 has increased from 40 to 44 percent of the total foreign national prison population[977]. Sieghild Lacoere, Ministry spokeswoman, has said that about 20-30 percent of all prisoners in Belgium are Muslim[978].

There is a serious problem with Islamic or Jihadist radicalism and recruitment in Belgian prisons (and prisons in the EU at large), which are seen as "a massive incubator for radicalisation" according to EU anti-terror chief Gilles de Kerchove[979]. Denis Bosquet, president of the Oversight Commission of Forest Prison in Belgium, stated that "All the prisons in Belgium have a problem with radicalization"[980]. For example, several of the perpetrators of the November 2015 Paris and March 2016 Brussels terrorist attacks had spent time in Belgium prisons[981]. There is also a phenomenon of known Muslim radicals embracing prison sentences in the context of anticipating radicalising others inside, such as Fouad Belkacem (Abu Imran), militant preacher and leader of the infamous Sharia4Belgium group who was sentenced to twelve years in prison in early 2015[982]. He said, "Everyone in prison is against the system. Infidels and Muslims alike. There is work to be done. It will be awesome"[983]. In March 2015 Belgium's Minister of Justice, Koen Geens, outlined plans for isolating prisoners who may radicalise others: "Those who are incorrigible and therefore could tempt others to become radical like them…we will isolate them"[984]. As such, Belkacem has been put under special security and is isolated from the rest of the prison population[985].

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[977] De Ridder and Beyens, "Challenges Regarding Foreign Nationals in the Belgian Prison Population," 5-7; De Ridder, Beyens, and Snacken, "Does Reintegration Need REHAB?"
[978] Mufson, "How Belgian Prison Became a Breeding Ground for Islamic Extremism."
[979] Ahmed, "Prison Radicalisation in Europe"; *Agence France Presse* (AFP), "Belgium to Isolate Prisoners Who May Radicalize Others"; Clapson, "Belgium to Counter Radicalisation of its Prisons"; Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism.*
[980] Gidda, "Belgian Prisons: Breeding Grounds for Islamist Extremists?"
[981] Mufson, "How Belgian Prison Became a Breeding Ground for Islamic Extremism"; Rubin, de Freytas-Tamura, and Breeden, "Brothers Among 3 Brussels Suicide Attackers; Another Assailant is Sought."
[982] He has since been arrested. See: *Catholic Online*, "Belgium Strikes Back."
[983] Taub, "Journey to Jihad."
[984] *Agence France Presse*, "Belgium to 'Isolate' Prisoners Who May Radicalize Others," (*Daily Star)*.
[985] Johansson, "Fouad Belkacem Isolated from other Inmates."

Outside of the prisons, radicalisation in mosques, neighbourhoods, and schools as well as through social media is an increasing problem in Belgium, as it is for the rest of Europe[986]. Belgium as a whole is now seen as a "major hotbed for radicalisation"[987]. According to Sarah Teich, writing for the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism in August 2015, at minimum 380 Belgian nationals were foreign-fighters in Syria, which means that Belgium has "the largest number of jihadists per capita at 33.9 fighters per one million residents"[988]. Already in 2013 the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation suggested that the number of Belgians fighting in Syria was "the highest rate per capita of any European country"[989]. According to Pieter Van Ostaeyen, an independent researcher, by October 2015 there were 516 Belgian foreign-fighters in Iraq or Syria[990]. The Royal Institute for International Relations asserts that the majority of Belgian nationals fighting in Syria are of Moroccan descent[991] and most are from Molenbeek[992].

In Belgium, there are fears about radicalism among staff at major airports and also fears of an impending nuclear terrorist attack. For example, upon hearing about the Paris terror attacks in November 2015 baggage handlers at Brussels airport apparently cheered the attacks, according to the president of the Police trade union, Vincent Gilles[993]. In 2012 two nuclear power plant employees left Belgium and joined ISIS in Syria, then in 2016, it was found that two

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[986] Pizani-Williams, "The International Context," 7-8.
[987] Teich, "Islamic Radicalization in Belgium," 1.
[988] Teich, "Islamic Radicalization in Belgium," 1.
[989] ICSR Insight, "Up to 11,000 Foreign Fighters in Syria."
[990] Graham, "What's the Matter with Belgium?".
[991] Coolsaet, "Facing the Fourth Foreign Fighter Wave," 9.
[992] Traynor, "Molenbeek: The Brussels Borough Becoming Known as Europe's Jihadi Central"; Martineau, "Les leçons de Molenbeek." Salah Abdeslam, who is a Belgian-born French national of Moroccan descent, was arrested in Molenbeek for his involvement with the November 2015 Paris terrorist attacks. According to Belgian interior minister, Jan Jambon, when Abdelslam was arrested Muslim residents of Molenbeek "threw stones and bottles at police and press" and that "This is the real problem. Terrorists we can pick up, remove from society. But they are just a boil. Underneath is a cancer that is much more difficult to treat. We can do it, but it won't be overnight". He also said that Muslims in Belgium danced in celebration after the Brussels terrorist attack. See: *Agence France Presse*, "Belgian Minister Says Many Muslims 'Danced' After Attacks."
[993] RTL, "Des policiers dénoncent"

of the Brussels attackers, Khalid and Ibrahim el-Bakraoui, had "secretly filmed the daily routine of Belgium's nuclear programme chief" and two days after the attack, a security guard who worked at the Tihange nuclear power plant in Belgium was found murdered with his badge stolen. Eleven workers at the nuclear plant had their site access revoked due to concern they had helped the Brussels attackers[994].

Muslim radicalisation in Belgium has been partly due to Islamist organizations like Sharia4Belgium, which the federal Belgian prosecutor described in 2013 as "a clear Salafist and jihadist organization which aims to overthrow the democratic institutions and replace it with an Islamic state" and was "part of a wider international jihadi movement"[995]. This group was operated by Belkacem under the guidance of Anjem Choudary[996]. In early spring 2013 the daily newspaper *De Standaard* reported that at least 70 former members and sympathisers of *Sharia4Belgium* were actively fighting in Syria. Most of them were young (17-25 years), lacked qualifications, and often had criminal records and were from just four regions: Antwerp, Brussels, Mechelen, and Vilvoorde"[997]. In other words, Sharia4Belgium were recruiting young uneducated criminals from Muslim communities. It was only in February 2015 that Sharia4Belgium was finally declared a "terrorist organization" and 45 members were arrested and handed jail time, including Abu Imram who is serving 12 years[998].

Claude Moniquet, Director General of the European Strategic Intelligence and Security Center, explained in 2005 that before the end of the 1990s there were no Islamist parties in Europe but this changed at the turn of the century. In Belgium in May 2003 the PCP or Party of

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[994] Fagge, Charlton, Greenhill, Duffin, and Ellicot, "Were Brussels Jihadis Trying to Make a Radioactive Bomb?"; Newton, "Two Belgian Nuclear Power Plant Workers have Joined ISIS"; Rubin and Schreuer, "Belgium Fears Nuclear Plants Are Vulnerable." European parliament has suggested that ISIS has smuggled elements of WMD into Europe. See Immenkamp, *ISIL/Da'esh and 'Non-Conventional' Weapons of Terror*.
[995] *De Morgen*, "Sharia4Belgium verdacht van terrorisme, Belkacem aangehouden."
[996] *Mail On Sunday Reporter*. "UK Hate Preacher Linked to Fanatics."
[997] Eeckhaut, "Sharia 4 Belgium-militanten naar Syrië."
[998] Bouchaud, "'Sharia4Belgium' Leader and Dozens of Other Militants Are Sentenced to Jail Time."

Citizenship and Prosperity, which advocated radical Islam, won 8000 votes in Brussels; more than four percent of the 200,000 Muslim population in Brussels gave their vote to them and most of the votes came from one municipality where 50,000 Muslims resided. In other words, 10 to 16 percent of Muslims in one area voted for PCP[999]. In that same year the European Court of Human Rights ruled that Sharia Law is incompatible with the European Convention on Human Rights. However, at the initiative of Sharia4Beligum a Sharia Law Court was established in September 2012 in Borgerhout, a district of Antwerp[1000]. Sharia law then became very apparent at the level of local politics.

Two Islamist politicians of the Belgian Islam Party, Lhoucine Ait Jeddig and Redouane Ahrouch, won seats in the municipal elections on October 14th 2012 in Brussels. They were elected for two heavily populated Muslim municipalities, Molenbeek-Saint-Jean and Anderlecht, which are high crime areas considered no-go zones where the Belgian government and the police have lost control[1001]. Jeddig and Ahrouch are Islamists who are public about their goals: the implementation of Sharia law in Belgium as a whole. Ahrouch stated that "We are elected Islamists" that "believe Islam is a universal religion" that is "compatible with the laws of the Belgian people" and the town council will be a platform "to express ourselves". Yet the "approach" of the Islam Party is to "sensitize people, make them understand the advantages to having Islamic people and Islamic laws. And then it will be completely natural to have Islamic laws and we will become an Islamic state", a future state that is achieved by "a long-term struggle that will take decades or a century, but the movement has been launched"[1002].

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[999] Moniquet, "The Radicalisation of Muslim Youth in Europe," 2.
[1000] Kern, "Islamic Sharia Law Court Opens in Belgium."
[1001] Three no-go zones around the capital, Brussels: in the municipalities of Molenbeek and Anderlecht in general, and the Anderlecht district of Kuregem in particular. See: Ponsaers, and Devroe. "On How a Failing Government Creates an Intrusive Police Force," 122-123; Bolzen, "Schrecken Sie nicht vor den No-go-Areas zurück!"; Friedland, "Belgian Government Admits It Has Lost Control of No-Go Zone"; Destexhe, "Molenbeek : des zones de non droit au coeur de la capitale européenne"; Carle, "How Europe's Capital Became a Jihadi Recruiting Center."
[1002] Ahrouch as cited by Kern, "Belgium Will Become an Islamic State."

This Belgian Islam Party is similar in nature to Sharia4Belgium in that it radicalizes Muslim youth, supports self-isolated parallel Muslim communities, and aims to achieve the total application of Sharia law in Belgium. Alain Destexhe, MP in the Reformist Movement, says that "The people of the Islam Party refuse to shake hands with women...They do not want to mix with others in public transport and other communal places. They advocate getting married and wearing a veil at 12 years old, based on Islamic law"[1003]. Philip Claeys, Belgian Euro MP, has said of the Islam Party that "demanding...the introduction of Sharia law and an Islamic State in Belgium" has been "always predicted" but Muslims should instead adhere to European values, rule of law, and separation of religion and politics. He also pointed out that Muslim immigrants are "people who cannot and will not adapt to our way of living" and if Islamist politicians are "candidates for elections" then "there is a big problem", a problem further exasperated by those who do not have Belgian nationality but who are "allowed to vote for local elections", which has been allowed since 2004[1004].

9.2 United Kingdom

In 1950 the Muslim population in the United Kingdom was about 100,000[1005]; by 2010 there were almost 2.5 million, many of Pakistani descent[1006]. This means that in just 60 years the Muslim population in the UK increased by about 2,400 percent. In the 2001 census most Pakistanis (92%) identified as Muslim and "accounted for less than half (43 per cent) of Great Britain's Muslims". The other largest Muslim populations in 2001 included "Bangladeshi (16 per cent), Indian (8 per cent), Black African (6 per cent), Other White (7 per cent), Other Asian (6

[1003] Kern, "The Islamization of Belgium and the Netherlands in 2013."
[1004] "Belgian Muslim State? Islamists Vow Campaign After Election Win," YouTube video (RT News). Beginning in 2006, Belgium also allowed voting rights of resident Third Country Nationals (or non-European Union foreigners) at the local municipal level. See: Groenendijk, *Local Voting Rights for Non-Nationals in Europe,* 7.
[1005] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," 157.
[1006] Office for National Statistics, "2011 Census, Key Statistics for Local Authorities in England and Wales,"

per cent) and White British (4 per cent)"[1007]. In January 2016 the Muslim population of Britain had reached over 3 million and over half were foreign-born[1008]. It has been estimated that by 2030 Muslims will make up 8.2 percent of the total population or 5,567,000 individuals[1009]. In 2007 *Open Society* reported that in England and Wales "Muslims are the largest minority faith group" and "have the youngest demographic profile as a faith group"; over 60 percent were under 30 years of age[1010]. Table 23 shows the top 10 local authorities in England with the highest percentage of Muslims.

Table 23. Muslim Population of Top Ten Local Authorities in England, 2011

Local Authority	Percent	Number
London Borough of Tower Hamlets	34.5	87,696
London Borough of Newham	32.0	98,456
Blackburn with Darwen	27.4	39,817
City of Bradford	24.7	129,041
Luton	24.6	49,991
London Borough of Redbridge	23.3	64,999
Slough	23.3	32,655
London Borough of Waltham Forest	21.9	56,541
Birmingham	21.8	234,411
Leicester	18.6	61,440

Source: Data from the Office for National Statistics, "Table KS209EW: Religion, local authorities in England and Wales."

Some people call Tower Hamlets the 'Islamic republic of Tower Hamlets' and describe the Muslims living there as the 'Tower Hamlets Taliban' because they intimidate the non-Muslim population with death threats, homophobic abuse, and physical attacks[1011]. Although constituting one third of the Tower Hamlet population, Muslims receive a disproportionate amount, almost two thirds, of government funds: "25 Muslim organisations have received a total of 378,000 from the 595,000 dished out" whereas only "12 Christian groups were handed 140,000 – with the rest of the grants distributed between a total of six Jewish, Sikh, Hindu and

[1007] Joy Dobbs, Green, and Zealey, *National Statistics,* 30.
[1008] Beckford, "Muslims in UK Top 3 million for First Time...with over 50% Born Outside Britain."
[1009] Pew Research Center, "Table: Muslim Population by Country: Muslim Population Growth by Country."
[1010] Hussain and Choudhury, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – United Kingdom,* 14.
[1011] Rawstorne, "Tower Hamlets Taliban."

Buddhist organisations"[1012]. The elected mayor of Tower Hamlets, Bangladeshi-born Lutfur Rahman, was a Labour candidate, but was rejected by the party due to "allegations about his links with an organisation known as the Islamic Forum of Europe (IFE)" [1013]. IFE, founded by Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin[1014], believes in jihad and Sharia law, wants non-Muslim countries, particularly the UK and European countries, to become Islamic republics, and dominates the Muslim Council of Britain, which promotes sectarian interests in East London rather than community interests[1015].

Between 2005 and 2010 the Muslim fertility rate in Britain was 3.0, which is much higher than the national average of 1.8[1016]. This high fertility rate, as well as high-rates of immigration, family reunification, and marriage migration led, in 2011, to 9.1 percent of all children under five years old in Britain being Muslim[1017]. Around half of Muslims in Britain are under the age of 25[1018]. Muhammad has become the most popular baby name in the capital of Britain, London[1019], which first occurred in 2012. This is partly why London is called *Londonistan*[1020]. In 2013 and 2014 the Office for National Statistics (ONS) reported that Oliver

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[1012] De Peyer, "Muslim Groups Get Biggest Share of Tower Hamlet's Council's Faith Building Grants."
[1013] Rawstorne, "Tower Hamlets Taliban."
[1014] Mueen-Uddin is wanted in Bangladesh for the abduction, torture and murder of 18 Bengali teachers, journalists, and doctors who were seeking independence for Bangladesh in 1971 during the Liberation war of Bangladesh. Mueen-Uddin fled to Britain gaining citizenship and founded the IFE, establishing himself as the leader of the Bangladeshi British Muslim establishment (which is based on Jamaat-el-Islami principles), and became the director of Muslim Spiritual Care Provision (Muslim Aid) in the National Health Service (NHS) as well as a chairman of the Multi-Faith Group for Healthcare Chaplaincy and chairman of the infamous East London Mosque. Bangladesh has now asked for his extradition, finding him guilty of war crimes on November 3rd, 2013 and has sentenced him to death. In 2010 he was accused by Labour minister, Jim Fitzpatrick, for infiltrating the Labour Party. See: *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chowdhury_Mueen-Uddin (accessed 2 November 2014); Douglas Murray, "What will History Make of Britain's Treatment of Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin?" *The Spectator* (blog), 8 November 2013, http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/douglas-murray/ 2013/11/ what-will-history-make-of-britains-treatment-of-chowdhury-mueen-uddin/.
[1015] Gilligan, "IFE: Not Harmless Democrats."
[1016] Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*.
[1017] Ami Sedghi, "Is it true there is a 'startling' rise in the birthrate of British Muslims?" *Guardian* (Datablog), January 10 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2014/jan/10/rise-british-muslim-birthrate-the-times-census.
[1018] Bingham, "Number of 'Muslim' children in Britain doubles in a decade."
[1019] Office for National Statistics, *Baby Names - England and Wales, 2012*, 7.
[1020] Gardner, "A Return to Londonistan?"; Hitchens, "Londonistan Calling." The term 'Londonistan' began to be used in the 1990s by French officials in reference to the presence of numerous Muslim radicals there, some of whom had committed terrorist attacks on French soil.

was the most popular baby name in England and Wales and Muhammad, Mohammed, and Mohammad were the 15th, 23rd, and 57th most popular baby names in 2013 and in 2014 they were the 14th, 27th, and 56th[1021]. This is misleading, however. In 2008, Max Hastings writing for *MailOnline* claimed that Mohammed was already "the third most popular choice for boy children" in England and that the ONS, rather than using all the various spellings of Mohammed, had catalogued them separately[1022]. Accounting for the various spellings (Muhammad, Mohammad, Muhammed, Mohamed, Mohamad, Muhamed, Mohammod, Mahamed, Muhamad, Mahammed and Mohammed), by 2009 Mohammed was the most popular name given for baby boys in England and Wales: "A total of 7,549 newborns were given 12 variations of the Islamic prophet Mohammed's name" and the second most popular name was Oliver, "given to 7,364 babies"[1023]. If only three of the spellings of Mohammed in the top 100 were accounted for, Mohammed was also the most popular baby name in England and Wales for 2013 and 2014, at 7435 and 7240 newborns respectively[1024].

In terms of educational qualifications, in 2003-2004 31 percent of Muslims of working age (16-64) in Great Britain had no qualifications, the highest percentage for any religious group[1025]. Of those aged between 16 and 30, less than 12 percent had a degree or equivalent, which was the lowest percentage for any religious group[1026]. By 2011 the situation had improved substantially but the percentage of these without qualifications was still considerably high: 26 percent of working age Muslims in England and Wales had no qualifications[1027]. Higher educational levels are vital for success in the labour market. In the 2001 census, out of all

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[1021] Office for National Statistics, *2013 Baby Names Statistics Boys* and *Baby Names Statistics Boys: 2014.*
[1022] Hastings, "Mohammed is Now the Third Most Popular Boy's Name in England."
[1023] Doyle, "Mohammed is Now the Most Popular Baby Name for Baby Boys Ahead of Jack and Harry."
[1024] To note, there are many other Arab names popular among male Muslims such as Yusuf, Omar, Ahmed, Ali, Hamza etc. To include these other names in popular baby names one could ascertain further the extent of Muslim population growth and birth rate in England and Wales compared to indigenous population growth and birth rate.
[1025] Office for National Statistics, "2001 Census: Religion in the UK, 2004 Edition," 12.
[1026] Office for National Statistics, "Focus on Religion: 2004 Data, 2004 edition."
[1027] Nomis, "Table LC5204EW - Highest Level of Qualification by Religion."

ethnic groups the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations had the highest percentages of unemployed, 57 percent and 62 percent respectively, and the highest percentages for those who have never worked or who have been long-term unemployed, 26.3 percent and 29.1 percent respectively. The next ethnic groups with high and long-term unemployment rates were classified as Other Asian (42% and 14.1%), Black African (45% and 13.4%), and Other Black (42% and 10%)[1028]. In 2005/06 Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnic groups continued to have high inactive employment rates compared to all other ethnic groups in the United Kingdom, standing at 43 percent and 45 percent respectively. Those classified as 'Other Asian' and 'Black African' had the next highest inactive employment rates, both standing at 25 percent[1029].

Steve Doughty, *Daily Mail* journalist, wrote an article that summarised a report[1030] by two academics, Professor Christian Dustmann and Dr. Tommaso Frattini, affiliated with the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration, University College London, which was a major study on the impact of non-European migration on taxpayers in the UK. Doughty writes that "Over a 16-year period, the bill to the taxpayer of providing them with welfare, health and education was 14 per cent higher than the money they put in the national purse" and that immigrants received "100 billion more in benefits and services than they paid back in taxes". In comparison, according to Dustmann and Frattini, between 1995 and 2011 "migrants from Europe – including those from Eastern Europe who came in large numbers after 2004 – have paid more in taxes than they received" i.e. "4 per cent more into the tax system than they took out" [1031]. In other words, non-European immigrants are a financial burden upon indigenous taxpayers.

[1028] Joy Dobbs, Green, and Zealey, *National Statistics: Focus On Ethnicity and Religion*, 41, 114-115, 136.
[1029] Sriskandarajah, Cooley, and Kornblatt, "Britain's Immigrants: An Economic Profile," 37.
[1030] Dustmann and Frattini, "The Fiscal Effects of Immigration in the UK."
[1031] Doughty, "How Migrants from Outside Europe Leave a £100 Billion Hole in the Public Purse."

In 2001, Muslims of working age "had the highest male unemployment rate in Great Britain", standing at 14 percent, which was "over three times the rate for Christian men (4 per cent)"[1032]. Muslims between 16 and 24 years of age "had the highest unemployment rates of all. They were twice as likely as Christians of the same age to be unemployed – 22 per cent compared with 11 per cent" and working age Muslims had "the highest overall levels of economic inactivity in 2003-2004 – 30 per cent compared with 16 per cent of Christians"[1033]. In the 2011 census, out of all ethnic groups (apart from Gypsy and Irish Traveller (40%)) the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations had the lowest percentage of their populations in employment, at 49 percent and 48 percent respectively. Again, apart from Gypsy and Irish Traveller (50%), out of all ethnic groups the Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations had the highest percentages of population that were economically inactive (not employed and/or not actively seeking employment or not available to work), at 42 percent and 41 percent respectively. The next ethnic groups with high inactive economic rates were classified as White and Black Caribbean (30%), Black Other (29%), and Black African (28%). Fifty-four percent of Pakistanis and forty-eight percent of Bangladeshis between 16 and 24 years of age were economically inactive in 2011[1034]. In 2011 Muslims of working age had the highest economic inactivity rate in England and Wales compared to all other religious groups, standing at 45 percent, and 9.3 percent of the Muslim population were unemployed, compared to 4.7 percent of the general population[1035].

Like Belgium, Muslims consistently make up a disproportionate percentage of the prison population compared to their share of the total population in England and Wales. In

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[1032] Office for National Statistics, "2001 Census: Religion in the UK, 2004 Edition," 12-13.
[1033] Ibid, 13.
[1034] Office for National Statistics, "Selected Ethnic Groups by Economic Activity and by Regions" and "Table BD0076 - Economic Activity by Ethnic Group by Sex by Age."
[1035] Office for National Statistics, "Full Story," 12; The Muslim Council of Britain, "British Muslims in Numbers," 58.

1994 Muslims constituted five percent of the prison population[1036] and in 1997 this number rose to 6.3 percent; by 2003 they made up 8.3 percent[1037]. In 2009, despite constituting less than 5 percent of the total regions' population, Muslims accounted for 11.9 percent of the prison population, or 9,952 persons. Compared to other religious groups, except Christians (who made up 59% of the total national population), Muslims accounted for the highest percentage of prisoners from a religious group[1038]. In 2012 a total of 11,248 Muslim prisoners made up 13.1 percent of the prison population[1039]. In some prisons, such as HMP Whitemoor in Cambridgeshire, Muslims now constitute the majority of the inmate population and have formed the "biggest power bloc", effectively displacing other prison gangs[1040].

Figures 8 and 9 and tables 24 and 25 breakdown the prison population by ethnicity, religion, and nationality (based on the top seventeen non-European foreign-born populations in 2011 shown in table 5) in England and Wales between 2004 and 2014. Prison percentages of Whites (all White categories) and of Christians have been left out as they are the majority ethnicity and religious group. Whites (includes all varieties of Whites not just White British) accounted for 51,281 prisoners in England and Wales in 2004 and in 2014 this number had increased to 62,491. The Christian prison population in England and Wales in 2005 was 41,154 and in 2014 it was 42,706.

[1036] Field, "Muslims in Prison," *British Religion in Numbers* (blog), 8 June 2010, http://www.brin.ac.uk/news/2010/muslims-in-prison/.
[1037] Berman, "Prison Population Statistics," 20.
[1038] Ibid, 20, 10.
[1039] Berman and Dar, "Prison Population Statistics," 1, 11.
[1040] Independent Monitoring Board (IMB), *HMP Whitemoor: Annual Report 2015*, 4-5

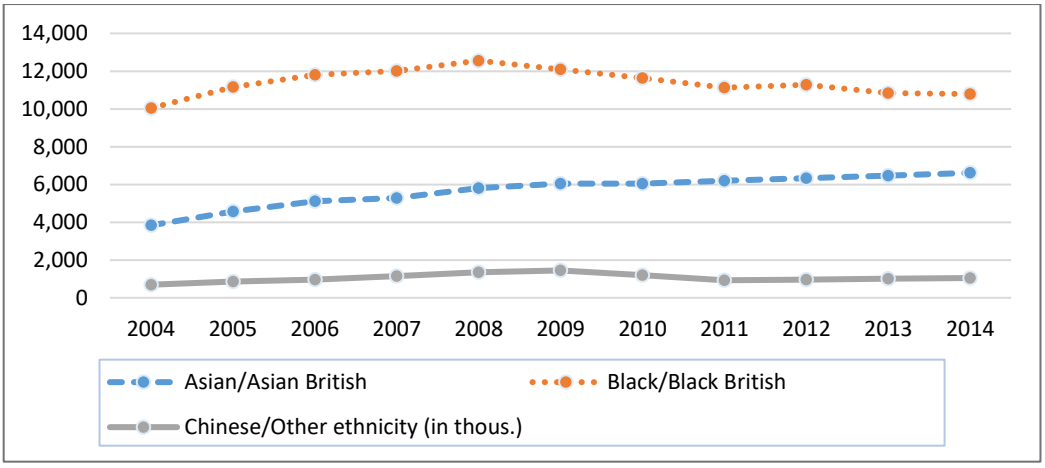

Figure 8. Prison Population by Ethnicity, 2004-2014 England and Wales
Source: Data adapted from Gov.uk, "Table A1.7 Prison Population by Ethnic Group, Nationality and Sex, 2002-2014, England and Wales."

Table 24. Prison Population of Top Seventeen Non-European Foreign-Born Nationalities, 2005-2014 England and Wales

Nationality	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
India	238	278	285	343	362	329	364	426	509	425
Pakistan	375	428	389	393	469	440	498	472	517	562
China	235	320	374	454	503	364	197	172	140	122
Bangladesh	147	183	160	173	189	216	228	239	254	257
Nigeria	759	945	1,028	1,002	787	727	614	594	534	507
Jamaica	1,742	1,547	1,372	1,176	1,088	942	837	900	759	718
Kenya	62	63	70	73	63	62	56	52	48	55
Philippines	11	16	15	21	30	24	19	22	17	16
Sri Lanka	134	163	154	160	182	139	144	141	121	160
Zimbabwe	129	146	205	208	234	189	167	166	179	178
Somalia	256	339	347	445	446	433	417	410	408	418
Ghana	181	206	207	233	187	141	118	139	146	144
Turkey	251	255	213	202	188	167	142	116	117	108
Iran	128	172	204	207	218	197	212	214	197	198
Iraq	222	276	257	283	282	234	183	202	163	167
Malaysia	30	41	27	40	34	39	30	24	23	16
Afghanistan	105	114	93	134	131	138	169	161	172	168

Source: Data adapted from Gov.uk, "Table 1.10 Prison population by nationality, 2002 to 2014, England and Wales."

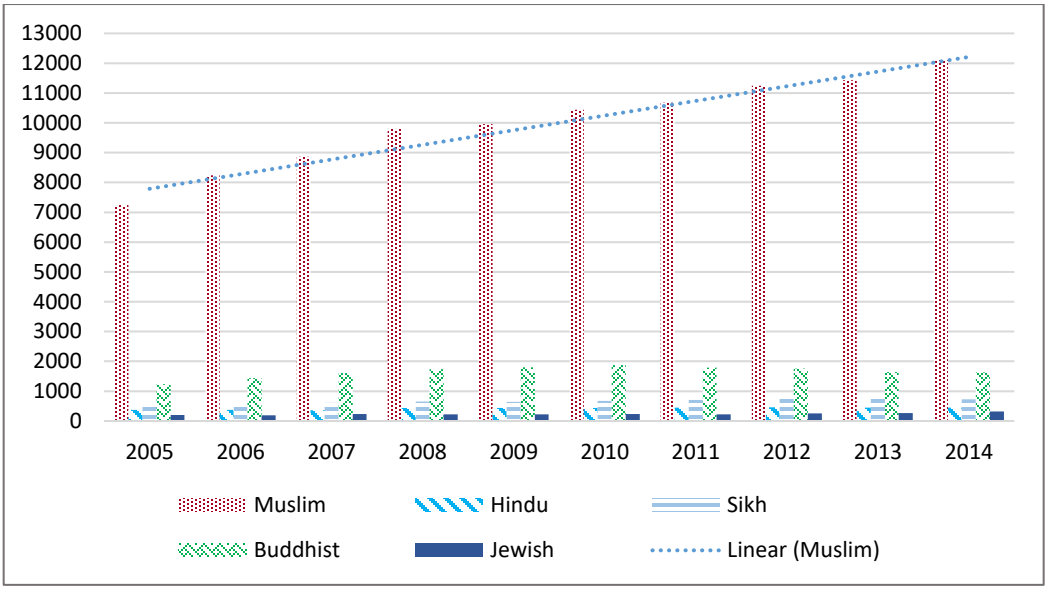

Figure 9. Prison Population by Religion, 2005-2014 England and Wales
Source: Data adapted from Gov.uk, "Table A1.8 Prison population by religion and sex, 2002 to 2014, England and Wales."

Table 25. Main Religious Populations and Percentage of National and Prison Population, 2011 England and Wales

Religion	**Religious Population**		**Prison Population**	
	(Number)	(Percent)	(Number)	(Percent)
Christian	33,243,175	59.3	42,511	0.13
Muslim	2,706,066	4.8	10,672	0.40
Hindu	816,633	1.5	452	0.06
Sikh	423,158	0.8	711	0.17
Jewish	263,346	0.5	228	0.09
Buddhist	247,743	0.4	1,793	[1041]0.72

Source: Data adapted from Gov.uk, "Table A1.8 Prison population by religion and sex, 2002 to 2014, England and Wales."

Like Belgium, Muslim radicalisation and recruitment in British prisons is a serious problem. The head of counter terrorism for the Metropolitan Police, Richard Walton, said in 2015 that "The issue of radicalisation in prisons is a concern. Everybody needs to think what more can be done"[1042] and in April 2016, the Shadow Justice Secretary, Lord Falconer, warned

[1041] The large number of Buddhists in prison may not reflect the Buddhist community at large (i.e. Asian) in England and Wales as, according to Religious Affairs Correspondent for *The Telegraph,* Martin Beckford, the "vast majority" of Buddhists in jail are White and "most...converted after their conviction...because its emphasis on meditation helps them cope with being locked up." See Beckford, "Buddhism is Fastest-Growing Religion in English Jails"
[1042] Henn, "Fears British Prisoners could be Radicalised and Turned into Jihadis while Behind Bars."

that British prisons are becoming "terrorist academies"[1043]. The national chairman of the Prison Officers' Association (POA), Colin Moses, has said that "People are being radicalised, forcibly radicalised by these [Muslim] gangs. We see it as a real danger, now and for the future of prisons" and "the gangs are becoming more and more prevalent by the week and they fight to take control of the drug trade and the dealing of mobile phones in prison"[1044]. The POA has reported that radical Jihadists actively seek incarceration to radicalise prisoners once inside[1045] and the Quilliam Foundation has stated that incarcerated Muslim extremists are the main sources of prison radicalisation[1046].

In 2014 Anthony Glees, head of the Centre for Security and Intelligence Studies at the University of Buckingham, warned of radical Imams preaching in UK prisons: "Our prisons have turned into a state-funded breeding ground for extremism. It is completely unacceptable that imams with extremist views are allowed to preach in prisons"[1047]. Addressing the issue, PM David Cameron said he was "prepared to consider major changes: from the imams we allow to preach in prison to changing the locations and methods for dealing with prisoners convicted of terrorism offences, if that is what is required"[1048]. However, British historian Roger Griffin said "If a unit could be created with counter-radicalization Imams and trained de-radicalizers, this could be a very innovative scheme, but, characteristically, this does not seem to be part of the government proposals"[1049]. As of 2016, de-radicalisation programs are voluntary[1050].

Muslim radicalism outside of the prisons, such as in mosques, Muslim neighbourhoods, schools, and online media, is also a major problem in the UK. According to the Investigative

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[1043] Henn, "Britain's TERROR ACADEMIES."
[1044] Porter, "Muslims 'Force UK Prison Inmates to Convert' With Bullying and Intimidation."
[1045] Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism*; Kotecha, "Warning over Islamic radicalisation in England's Prisons"; Batty, "Islamists Actively Seek Prison Sentences to Radicalise Other Convicts, say Officers."
[1046] Brandon, *Unlocking Al-Qaeda: Islamist Extremism in British Prisons*.
[1047] Thornhill, "Imams Working in British Prisons."
[1048] Cameron, David. "Prison reform: Prime Minister's Speech."
[1049] Beal, "British 'Alcatraz' for Islamist Terrorists Would Create Isis 'Command Centre', Warns Expert."
[1050] Kotecha, "More than 400 Children Under 10 Referred for 'Deradicalisation'."

Project on Terrorism, Europe Trust is a British-based Europe-wide organization that is funded by Kuwait and the UAE Makhtoum Foundation, and brings European Muslims "directly into the Muslim Brotherhood via complex financial, non-profit and religious networks that stretch from Spain to Ireland – and across the Atlantic to New York". It also "channels money from the Persian Gulf to groups sympathetic to the Brotherhood in Europe, primarily to build mosques"[1051]. Many imams in the UK and elsewhere in Europe get direction and funding from other theocratic Islamic countries, such as Saudi Arabia, which funds the construction of "giant mosques, such as the East London Mosque, which can accommodate 5000 worshippers"[1052]. Mosques can be understood as not just places of worship, but also centers that spread hard-line Islam throughout Europe. In the Islamic mythology and strategy of war and invasion, mosques (and especially minarets) built on foreign lands are seen as "a mark of conquest"[1053]. Turkish prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, quoted the poet Ziya Gölkalp during a speech in 1997, when he was Mayor of Istanbul: "Mosques are our barracks, domes our helmets, minarets our bayonets, believers our soldiers"[1054]. Some mosques in Britain have been mired in hate preaching, like by Abu Usamah who supported the total Islamic state and violent Jihad and was the leading preacher at the Green Lane Mosque in Birmingham[1055]. Other mosques have been storehouses for terrorist-related paraphernalia i.e. Finsbury Park Mosque in London[1056].

Besides mosques, several radical Muslim groups have called for Sharia to be implemented as law for all in the UK, such as Muslims Against Crusades (MAC)[1057], who initiated an Islamic Emirates Project in mid-2011 that sought to create Islamic statelets within

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[1051] Esman, "Kuwait Funding Muslim Brotherhood Growth in Western Mosques."
[1052] Jackson, "The Islamic Threat."
[1053] Ibid.
[1054] Erdoğan as cited by Kösebalaban, *Turkish Foreign Policy*, 141.
[1055] This mosque belongs to a British charity, the Markazi Jamiat Ahl-e-Hadith UK, Green Lane, Birmingham, which is the head of many mosques and Islamic schools in the UK.
[1056] *BBC News*, "Mosque Raid Findings Revealed"; Samuel, "Kalashnikov Bullets Found."
[1057] MAC was banned at the end of 2011. See: Travis, "Muslims Against Crusades to be Banned from Midnight."

the UK[1058]. These statelets are either areas and cities where Muslims are in the majority or are projected to be in the near future, most of which run up the backbone of England: Birmingham, Bradford, Derby, Dewsbury, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Luton, Manchester, Sheffield, Waltham Forest in northeast London, and Tower Hamlets in East London. There are also 'Sharia police' and 'Sharia patrols' who attempt to enforce Islamic law in what they call 'Muslim-only areas', such as the streets of London[1059], several of whom have been arrested, jailed, and handed Antisocial Behaviour Orders[1060]. The infamous hate preacher, Anjem Choudary, is associated with these patrols and describes 'Sharia zones' as areas where "the Muslim community will not tolerate drugs, alcohol, pornography, gambling, usury, free mixing between the sexes – the fruits if you like of Western civilisation" and where Islamists aim "really to put the seeds down for an Islamic Emirate in the long term"[1061]. Some of these areas are identified as Muslim enclaves or no-go zones, of which there were over 100 in 2011[1062]. For example, Muslims in Luton claim that this area is theirs and they are going to eventually take over Britain[1063]. In North Finchley in north London Tory MP Mike Freer had to be "hidden for his own safety" after MAC stated on their website that politicians were "no longer welcome in any Muslim area"[1064]. And in Leytonstone in east London Muslim extremist Abu Izzadeen yelled "How dare you come to a Muslim area" at the former Home Secretary John Reid[1065]. Islamists have also used British universities to recruit and radicalise new members. For example, the organization *Stop Islamophobia* was recruiting students from several London universities under the façade of

[1058] Kern, "Britain's 'Islamic Emirates Project'"; *CBN News*, "Muslim Extremists Seek Sharia Law in UK Towns."
[1059] Kern, "Muslim Gangs Enforce Sharia Law in London."
[1060] Jeory, "Judge BANS Muslim Patrol vigilantes from promoting SHARIA LAW in Britain."
[1061] Camber, "'No porn or prostitution': Islamic extremists set up Sharia law controlled zones in British cities."
[1062] Kern, "European 'No-Go' Zones: Fact or Fiction? Part 2: Britain."
[1063] "Britain First carries out Christian Patrol in Islamist hotspot Bury Park, Luton," YouTube video.
[1064] Daily Mail Reporter, "Tory MP 'hidden for his own safety'."
[1065] "EDL - English Defence League - How Dare You Come To A Muslim Area?" YouTube video (Sky News); *BBC News*, "Reid heckled during Muslim speech."

fighting anti-Muslim prejudice but this organization was actually a front for Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT). HT used the organization to spread anti-Western rhetoric[1066].

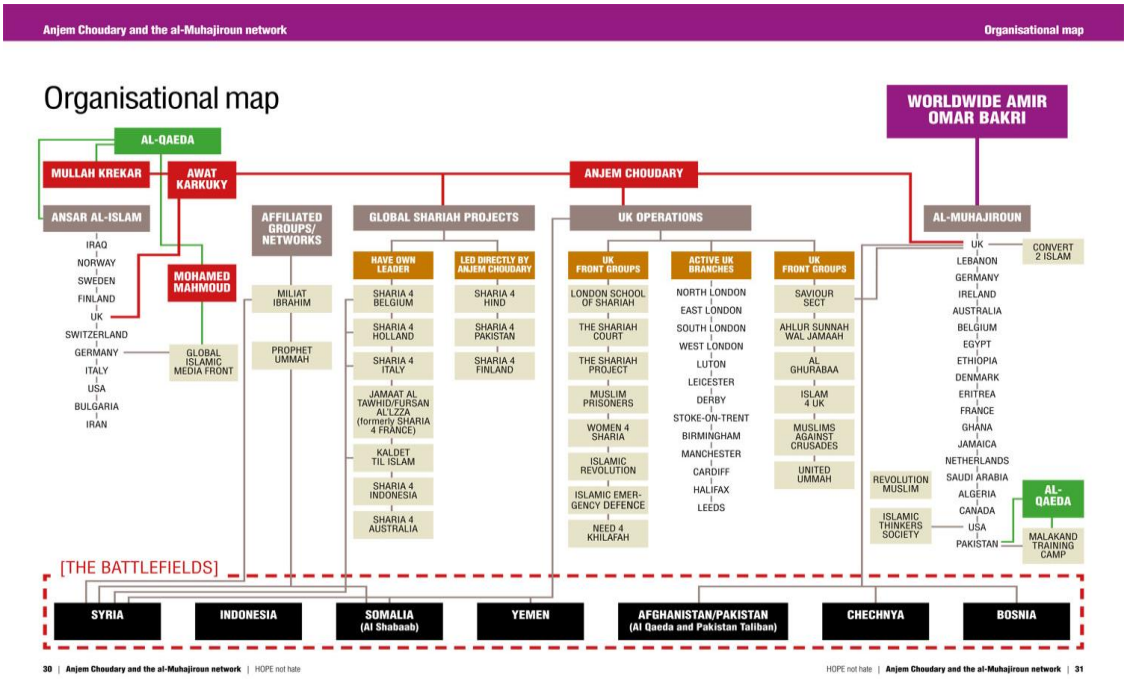
There is also the pressing issue of hundreds of British Muslims who have travelled to Syria and Iraq to fight alongside ISIS or Al-Nusra (Syrian Al Qaeda). According to foreign secretary Philip Hammond, since 2012 around 1400 Muslims with British citizenship have attempted to enter Syria. Around 600 of them were apprehended before reaching Syria and about fifty have died fighting[1067]. Met Commissioner, Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe, said that the vast majority of British Muslims fighting in Syria/Iraq are from London, and that around 250 had returned by 2014 and entered into terrorist networks[1068]. Many of them have criminal records, attended mainstream mosques in Britain, and were quite likely to have been radicalised online[1069]. In 2014 an MP for Perry Barr in Birmingham, Khalid Mahmood, estimated that between 2012 and 2014 "at least" 1,500 British Muslims had "been recruited by extremists fighting in Iraq and Syria"[1070]. Clarissa Ward, reporting for 60 Minutes on *CBS News*, suggested in 2014 that social media and young radicals are responsible for a great deal of Muslim radicalisation in Britain: "it's less about preachers radicalizing young men. And it's more young fighters radicalizing other young fighters from the battlefield using social media as their recruitment platform". However, Ward also suggested that Choudary, who is linked to various Islamist groups that have been listed as terrorist organizations, such as the al-Muhajiroun network, is mainly responsible for the flight of British Muslims as well as "hundreds of Muslims from across the West" to Syria and Iraq to fight[1071]. Ward's assertion is supported by a 2013 report by *Hope Not Hate* (HnH), which branded various groups associated with Choudary as the

[1066] Cf2R, "Growing Islamist Threat in France and Britain."
[1067] Wintour and Malik, "Hundreds of Britons caught trying to join jihadis, says foreign secretary."
[1068] Payne, "250 Jihadis Back in Britain, Met Chief Warns."
[1069] Crowcroft, "UK Isis jihadis: Who are the British fighters waging war in Iraq and Syria for Islamic State?"
[1070] Grant, and Sharkov, "'Twice as Many' British Muslims Fighting for ISIS Than in UK Armed Forces."
[1071] Ward, "Campaigning for ISIS in the West."

"gateway to terror[ism]"[1072] and provided a map (Map 3) that shows the links between Choudary and the networks of various Islamist organizations. HnH also state that

> While Choudary might not have been directly involved in terror plots, he helped shape the mindset of many of those behind them. He indoctrinated them and through his networks linked them up to terror groups and supporters across the world[1073].

In 2007 there were 4000 terrorist suspects and 200 jihadist networks in Britain[1074]. Such networks also span Europe and "represent the largest extreme Islamist network in Europe linked to domestic or overseas terrorism"[1075].



Map 3. Anjem Choudary and Islamist/Terrorist Networks
Source: Map from HnH, *Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun Network*, "AM Network Map."

9.3 France

The top three countries of non-European foreign-born populations in France are Muslim-majority countries from the Maghreb: Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. In 1950 there were an

[1072] HnH, *Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun Network*, "Executive Summary."
[1073] HnH, *Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun Network*, "The Gateway to Terror."
[1074] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 4.
[1075] HnH, *Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun Network*, "Executive Summary."

estimated 230,000 Muslims residing in France and by 2010 there were over 6.2 million, which means that in 60 years the Muslim population of France increased by 2,596 percent[1076]. Today, the estimated Muslim population of France rests between six and eight million or around 10 percent of the total population[1077] and it has been forecast that by 2030 the Muslim population will have reached 10.3 percent of the total population[1078]. Table 26 below shows the estimated Muslim population in five cities in the year 2000.

Table 26. Estimated Muslim Population in Five French Cities, 2000 (Percent and Number)

Paris	10-15%	1,700,000
Lille	5%	200,000
Marseilles	25%	200,000
Lyon	8-12%	150,000
Roubaix	50%	50,000

Source: Data adapted from "Table 1-3. French Cities with the Largest Muslim Populations" in Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam*, 22.

In 2005 the Maghreb population in four areas of the Paris region (Île-de-France) were as follows: Seine-Saint-Denis (22%), Val-de-Marne (13.2%), Val-D'Oise (13%), and Paris (12.1%). In Lyon the Maghreb population was 13% of the local population[1079]. By 2011 the Muslim population of Marseilles, which is France's third largest city, had increased to between 30 and 40 percent[1080] and has been voted as the most dangerous city in Europe[1081]. Despite the fact that information about race and religion is prohibited on the grounds of *laicite* (secularism), which essentially refuses to recognise these characteristics in political life, and despite the fact that Roubaix in the year 2000 was already 50 percent Muslim, it has been officially stated that demographers project Marseille will become the first Muslim-majority city in Western

[1076] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," 157.
[1077] Gourévitch, *La Croisade Islamiste*, 136; Laurence and Vaïsse, *Intégrer l'Islam,* 35.
[1078] Pew Research Center, "Table: Muslim Population by Country." However, as noted in footnote 924, new projections suggest that the Muslim population of France could be up to or above 18% by 2050.
[1079] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Islam in France," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_France.
[1080] Open Society Initiative for Europe. "Muslims in Marseille Feel Abandoned by their City."
[1081] Picard, "Marseille gangs out of control?"; Lichfield, "Marseille: Europe's most dangerous place to be young."

Europe[1082]. Currently, France has the largest population of Muslims in the European Union. The total fertility rate of Muslims in France is 2.8 compared to the 1.9 national average[1083]. In 2004 one-third of the Muslim population in France was under the age of twenty[1084] and, accouting for spelling variations, Mohammed was the most popular baby name in Seine-Saint-Denis in 2002 and 2008[1085] and in Marseilles in 2007 and 2009[1086].

In terms of education levels, in 2008/2009 just over 18 percent of second-generation working-age North Africans and almost 22 percent of second-generation working-age Turks in France had no qualifications compared to 11.57 percent of native French. Higher education, such as university degrees, is vital for success in the labour market but only 13.31 percent of North Africans and 11.31 percent of Turks had a university degree, compared to 19.16 percent of French natives[1087]. In regards to employment levels, in 1999 only 55 percent of Moroccans and Tunisians were employed, 25 percent were unemployed, and 20 percent were economically inactive; 50 percent of Turks were employed, 22 percent were unemployed, and 31 percent economically inactive; 54 percent of Algerians were employed, 30 percent were unemployed, and 16 percent were economically inactive[1088]. Five years later these rates remained largely the same: 58 percent of those from the Maghreb were employed, 26 percent were unemployed, and 5 percent were economically inactive[1089]. Between 2005 and 2007 the employment rate for foreign-born populations from majority Muslim countries again reflected similar rates as 1999: of the Maghrebi in France it was 50 percent and for Turks it was 49

[1082] *BBC: Heart and Soul*, "Marseille: France's Muslim City"; Cities of Migration, "From Hope to Fraternity."
[1083] Pew Research Center. *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*.
[1084] Savage, "Europe and Islam," 28.
[1085] National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), "Lea et Thomas en Tete des Berceaux Franciliens."
[1086] *LaProvence.com*, "Le palmarès des prénoms à Marseille pour 2007."
[1087] Langevin, Masclet, Moizeau, and Peterle, *Educational Attainment,* 17.
[1088] Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon, "The Persistence of Intergenerational Inequalities Linked to Immigration," 777.
[1089] Brinbaum and Guégnard, "Effets du lieu de résidence en ZUS sur les parcours," 5.

percent[1090]. Second generation immigrants in 2008/2009 showed much improvement in employment levels: North Africans stood at 77.1 percent and Turkish at 69.2 percent, but these levels were still comparable to the national rate, which stood at 90.3 percent[1091].

Similar to Belgium and UK, Muslims are over-represented in the prison population in France. According to Molly Moore of the *Washington Post*, in 2008 "[a]bout 60 to 70 percent of all inmates in [France's] prison system are Muslim, according to Muslim leaders, sociologists and researchers, though Muslims make up only about 12 percent of the country's population"[1092]. The same percentage of Muslims in the prison population was also estimated for 2015: 70 percent or 47,250 Muslim prisoners, but Muslims are considered to only make up 8 percent or 5,198,632 of the total population of France[1093]. The majority of serious crimes committed in France are by North Africans; they commit more serious crime (50 percent) than French natives (40 percent) and French natives are overwhelmingly the victims of serious crime, standing at 73 percent[1094].

There are serious issues with Muslim youth crime, mainly from the Banlieues (suburbs), such as the 'Muslim riots' and arson of 2005 that was sparked by the death of two Muslim boys and lasted for three weeks involving around 300 towns and resulted in 2,888 arrests, 3 deaths, the injury of 126 police and fire officers, and about 200 million Euros in damage[1095]. Two years later another immigrant youth riot erupted in several Paris suburbs that lasted for several days. This riot was sparked by another death of two Muslim boys but was more violent, with

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[1090] Algan, Dustmann, Glitz, and Manning, "The Economic Situation of First and Second-Generation Immigrants in France, Germany and the United Kingdom," F.10.
[1091] Langevin, Masclet, Moizeau, and Peterle, *Educational Attainment, Wages and Employment of Second-Generation Immigrants in France*, 7.
[1092] Molly Moore, "In France, Prisons Filled with Muslims."
[1093] Alexander, "What is going wrong in France's prisons?"; O'Malley, "France's Prison Population Estimated to be 70% Muslim."
[1094] Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam*, 42.
[1095] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "2005 French Riots," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_French_riots; De Vries, "Paris attacks prompt fears France's Muslim 'no-go' zones incubating jihad"; Amghar, "Ideological and Theological Foundations of Muslim Radicalism in France," 27.

perpetrators using “hunting shotguns”, firecrackers, Molotov cocktails and rocks on police officers (130 were injured, 6 seriously) and committing arson, looting, and the destruction of buildings, including a police station, a library, and two schools. A police officer and senior union official, Patrice Ribeiro said that it was “a real guerrilla war” and Bruno Beschizza of the Synergie Police Union stated that “We’re dealing with an urban guerilla tactic, with the use of conventional arms and hunting rifles”[1096]. Other Muslim-related riots occurred in 2013[1097], 2014[1098], 2015[1099], and 2016[1100]. There is also a tradition by mainly Muslim youth from the banlieus of torching hundreds of strangers’ cars during New Years Eve celebrations in France[1101] (and at other times of the year). There were 1067 cars torched in 2013/2014, 940 in 2014/2015, and 804 in 2015/2016. The numbers have reduced as more police are mobilised every year to deal with the “tradition”. It is also estimated that around 30,000 and 40,000 vehicles are set on fire every year or around 80 per day[1102].

Like the UK and Belgium, France’s prisons are now often thought of as ‘breeding grounds for Islamist extremism’. There is a serious problem of radicalisation, recruitment, and coerced conversion of ‘ordinary’ criminals, which is committed by Muslim prisoners, including militants and those who are in prison on terrorism-related charges[1103]. For example, the Algerian Mohamed Merah had spent time in jail for violent theft and then went on to kill four Jews and three soldiers in 2012 in the city of Toulouse[1104]. Amedy Coulibaly, the Senegalese

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[1096] Sciolino, “Paris suburb riots called 'a lot worse' than in 2005”; King, “Police say Paris rioters are armed as clashes escalate”; *Wikipedia*, s.v. “2007 Villiers-le-Bel riots,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Villiers-le-Bel_riots.
[1097] Chrisafis, “Paris riots sparked by police identity check on veiled Muslim woman.”
[1098] *Wikipedia,* s.v. “2014 Sarcelles riots,” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2014_Sarcelles_riots; “Muslim UpRising all over Paris, French run for their lives,” LiveLeak video.
[1099] “Muslim UpRising all over Paris, French run for their lives,” LiveLeak video.
[1100] *News Online from Australia and the World*, “Shocking video shows hundreds of migrants brawling.”
[1101] Horatius, “Incidents durant la nuit de la Saint Sylvestre.”
[1102] Kern, “The Islamization of France in 2015.”
[1103] Siegel, “Radical Islam”; Khosrokhavar, “The Mill of Muslim Radicalism”; Sage, “France struggles to fight radical Islam”; The Clarion Project, “Trend: Muslims Becoming Radicalized”; Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism*.
[1104] Sage, “France struggles to fight radical Islam in its jails.”

gunman with French citizenship who was behind the murder of a policewomen and four Jews at a Kosher grocery store in Paris in January 2015, had been imprisoned for robbery in 2005[1105]. He declared allegiance to ISIS[1106]. Coulibaly met Algerian Cherif Kouachi while in prison, who was part of the 19th arrondissement network[1107] and had been arrested on terror-related charges in 2008[1108]. Along with Kouachi's brother Said, who had travelled to Yemen to receive training from Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)[1109] Coulibaly and Cherif co-ordinated the January 2015 attacks that killed 17 people. The Kouachi brothers shot 12 people to death at *Charlie Hebdo* magazine in Paris[1110].

In response to these jihadist attacks and the November Paris attacks in 2015 that killed 130 people and wounded more than 360, various Muslim leaders said the attacks were deserved. For example, Muslim cleric Mizanur Rahman of Palmers Green, north London, defended the attacks in Paris, declaring that "Britain is the enemy of Islam", that the cartoonists at *Charlie Hebdo* were guilty of "insulting Islam" and therefore "they can't expect a different result", and ominously stated that "You know what happens when you insult Mohammed"[1111]. In contrast, as a response to the attacks, the Hollande government of France introduced several new anti-terror and de-radicalisation measures, including the provision of €425m towards increasing security personnel and equipment, the closing of several mosques, the dissolution of radical Muslim organizations, and the introduction of de-radicalisation wings in various prisons[1112]. Prime Minister Manuel Valls added to these measures, including a €736 million program to enhance anti-terrorism defenses, the training of "2,680 new anti-terrorist

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[1105] Ahmed, "Prison Radicalisation in Europe."
[1106] *Fox News*, "Video of Paris gunman raises questions of affiliations in attacks."
[1107] Samuel and Sawer, "Charlie Hebdo attack."
[1108] Herridge, "US officials scanning terror databases in search for Paris attack suspects."
[1109] *Fox News*. "Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula member claims group behind Paris terror attack."
[1110] Astier, "Paris attacks: Prisons provide fertile ground for Islamists."
[1111] Dorman and Cortbus, "Paris shootings."
[1112] De Bellaigue, "Are French prisons 'finishing schools' for terrorism?"; *The Local*, "France to isolate terrorists in special prison wings"; Scarborough, "France cracks down on Islamic radicalism after Paris attacks."

judges, security agents, police officers, electronic eavesdroppers and analysts over the next three years" and "an enhanced online presence based on a new government website called '*Stop Djihadisme*'[1113].

Outside of the prisons, radicalisation through social media, mosques, Muslim neighbourhoods, schools[1114], and workplaces is an increasing problem in France. In 2005 Eric Denece, founder of the French Center for Intelligence Research reported that "France's Islamic workforce is beginning to impose their beliefs at their places of work and is using their religion to justify theft, embezzlement, and the supply of inside information to criminal gangs"[1115]. Ten years later, a study by the Observatory of Religion in the Workplace (*Observatoire du fait religieux en entreprise, OFRE*) and the Randstad Institute found that 23 percent of managers in France were confronting religious problems at work on a regular basis[1116]. In December 2015, Philippe Martinez, the Secretary General of Air France's labour union, revealed that the organization had expelled almost 500 members who were suspected of being Islamic extremists[1117].

Denece had estimated in 2005 that there were around 500,000 Muslim citizens of France that identified with radical Islam[1118]. In the summer of 2015 Prime Minister Manuel Valls said there were between 10,000 and 15,000 Salafists in France[1119] and the Paris newspaper, *Le Figaro*, reported that 41 mosques in France were "now destabilized" by radicalism[1120]. In 2014

[1113] Pineau and Ponthus, "Manuel Valls mobilise hommes"; Kern, "The Islamization of France in 2015."
[1114] 'Trojan Horse' in education is present in France: Cornevin, "Le communautarisme musulman défie l'école."
[1115] Cf2R, "Growing Islamist Threat in France and Britain."
[1116] *Franceinfo*, "Les revendications religieuses au travail ont doublé en 2015."
[1117] *Franceinfo*, "La CGT a 'perdu 500 syndiqués' à Air France après avoir exclu les 'intégristes islamistes'."
[1118] Denécé, *Le Developpment de L'Islam Fondamentaliste en France*.
[1119] Turnbull and Keaton, "French police escort suspect in beheading to his home."
[1120] Scarborough, "France cracks down on Islamic radicalism after Paris attacks."

over 400 French nationals had gone to fight in Syria[1121] but by April 2015, according to Manuel Valls (PM), this number had increased to more than 1550[1122].

There are hundreds of areas in France considered Muslim 'no-go zones' that are beyond police control and where lawlessness, in terms of French secular-judicial law but not Sharia, reigns and where Salafi radicalism takes place. For example, in 2010 the French newspaper *Le Figaro* called downtown Perpignan a "veritable no-go zone" where "aggression, incivility, drug trafficking, rising communitarianism, racial tensions and tribal violence" results in non-Muslim flight from the area[1123]. In 2011 the newspaper *Le Parisien* referred to parts of Grigny in the southern suburbs of Paris as a "lawless zone" run by Muslim gangs[1124]. In 2012 Gilles Demailly, mayor of Amiens, stated that the Fafet-Brossolette district of the city is a no-go zone[1125] and *Le Figaro* stated that Les Izards district of Toulouse was a no-go zone ruled by Arab drug trafficking gangs[1126]. In 2013 a leading broadcaster in France, *Europe 1*, stated that Marseille was a no-go zone due to warring Muslim gangs in the city[1127] and the Ministry of the Interior said that it aimed to "reconquer" the roughly 180 square kilometers of Marseille from the control of Muslim gangs[1128]. In the same year a local police commander Mohammed Duhan in the township of Trappes in the western suburbs of Paris said that crime and radical Islam are two sides of the same coin: "Criminals are pursued by Islamic fundamentalists to impose an alternative society, breaking links with the French Republic"[1129]. In 2014 Fabrice Balanche, a French Islam scholar who teaches at the University of Lyon, stated that "mini Islamic states have been formed" in various areas, such as Roubaix and northern Marseille "where police will

[1121] Taylor, "Map: France's growing Muslim population."
[1122] Kagni, "Manuel Valls."
[1123] Stainville, "Insécurité."
[1124] *Le Parisien*, "Grigny: une cité sous le joug des petits caïds."
[1125] Combes and Fleurot, "Amiens-Nord, une 'zone de non-droit'?"
[1126] Agence France Presse, "Les Izards: 'zone de non-droit' (Cohen)."
[1127] *Europe 1*, "A vos yeux, Marseille est-elle devenue une zone de non-droit?"
[1128] Ministry of the Interior, "Clarification sur les ZSP à Marseille."
[1129] Bouclay and Lejeune, "Trappes, cité perdue de la République."

not step foot, where the authority of state is completely absent"[1130] and Franck Guiot, a French politician, stated that there are no-go zones in the southern suburbs of Paris, such as parts of Évry, where police are attacked[1131]. There are many more Muslim no-go areas dotted across France like the ones mentioned above[1132]. After the Islamist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* and the kosher supermarket in January 2015, PM Manuel Valls stated that there is "territorial, social and ethnic apartheid" in France[1133].

9.4 Sweden

In 1930 there were only 13 Muslims in Sweden[1134] and it is projected that by 2030 the Muslim population will have reached almost one million or about ten percent of the total population[1135]. In 1960 the Muslim population in Sweden was estimated to be 701 persons and by 2010 there were 499,965, which means the Muslim population increased by 71,222 percent in just 50 years[1136]. Some estimates of the number of Muslims in Sweden are much higher; one million or more, equaling about 10 percent of the total population already[1137]. The Muslim population is mainly made up of immigrants from Turkey, Iran, the Balkans, Pakistan, and Arab and African nations. In the year 2000, when there were around 350,000 Muslims in Sweden, the largest populations of Muslims were found in Sweden's three largest cities: approximately half or 175,000 lived in the capital, Stockholm, 10-15 percent or 35,000-50,000 lived in

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[1130] *Enquête&Débat*, "Des « mini Etats islamiques » en France."
[1131] Guiot, "Corbeil-Essonnes, une zone de non-droit parmi tant d'autres sous l'emprise de la racaille."
[1132] Kern, "European 'No-Go' Zones: Fact or Fiction? Part 1: France"; Stainville, "Dossier: L'enfer en France"; Villers, "« Les zones de non-droit » dans la République Française, mythe ou réalité?"; Scarborough, "France's ethnic apartheid"; "Native French under Attack in Muslim Areas," YouTube video (CBN News); Ministry of the Interior, "Dossier de presse conjoint du ministère de la Justice et du ministère de l'Intérieur."
[1133] *Le Monde*, "Manuel Valls évoque « un apartheid territorial, social, ethnique » en France."
[1134] Larsson, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Sweden*, 8.
[1135] Pew Research Center, "Table: Muslim Population by Country" and *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*. Also see footnote 924 on recent projections that the Muslim population of Sweden may be over 30% by 2050.
[1136] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," 158.
[1137] The Muslim Issue, "Sweden's welfare disaster."

Göteborg, and about 50,000 lived in Malmö[1138]. These proportions were similar in 2007, when there were around 400,000 Muslims in Sweden, and are estimated to be the same today, with a Muslim population over 500,000[1139].

The total fertility rate of Muslims in Sweden is 2.5 compared to the 1.8 national average[1140]. In Malmö, in 2007, the name Mohammed was in the top five baby names while being 71st nation-wide[1141], then in 2011 at the national level, Mohamed made 66th place in popularity[1142], and by 2015 it had made it to 43rd place[1143]. This is significant as within only 8 years the baby boy name Mohammed had jumped 28 places and, as such, if this trend continues, within 12-13 years or by 2027/2028 Mohammed could be the number one name given to newborn boys in Sweden.

According to the *European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia* in 2006 the majority of students who were "under achievers" in Sweden had a "foreign background"[1144]. In 2014, according to *Sweden Statistics*, the foreign-born population and the Swedish-born had similar percentages when it came to having achieved more than three years of post-secondary education: 23 percent of foreign-borns compared to 21 percent of Swedish-born. However, 19 percent of foreign-borns had only achieved primary and lower secondary education compared to 13 percent of Swedish-born and 36 percent of foreign-borns had only achieved upper secondary education compared to 51 percent of Swedish-born. The level of education of foreign-born Muslims in Sweden varies between different source countries. Table 27 breaks the level of educational attainment in 2015 for the four top non-EU foreign-born populations in

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[1138] Swedish Muslims in Cooperation Network, *Alternative Report*,.11.
[1139.] Larsson, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Sweden*, 10, 5.
[1140] Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*.
[1141] Fürstenberg, "Så Heter Malmös Bebisar."
[1142] Think Baby Names, "Top Baby Names for Boys in Sweden (2012)."
[1143] The Baby Name Wizard: The Name Experts, "Swedish Baby Names"; Statistics Sweden, "Boy's Names 2015."
[1144] European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), *Muslims in the European Union,* 53.

Sweden, those from Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Somalia (which are Muslim-majority countries) between 25 and 64 years of age in comparison to the national and foreign-born percentages. The percentage of Iranians who had achieved post-secondary education was higher than Swedish-born, Iraqis had similar levels to Swedish-born in regards to post-secondary education, and Turks and Somalians had very low levels of post-secondary education compared to Iraqis, Iranians, the Swedish-born and the foreign-born totals.

Table 27. Educational Attainment (25-64 years): Foreign-Born, Swedish-Born, and Four Top Non-European Foreign-Born Populations, 2015 (percent)

Nationality	Primary/Lower Secondary	Upper Secondary	Post-Secondary (less than 3 years)	Post-Secondary (more than 3 years)
Swedish-born	13%	51%	15%	21%
Foreign-born	19%	36%	14%	23%
Iran	10%	37%	17%	34%
Iraq	31%	29%	15%	22%
Turkey	41%	35%	8%	11%
Somalia	53%	27%	6%	5%

Source: Data adapted from Statistics Sweden, "Table: The population 2015 by level of education, country of birth and sex. Age 25-64."

Most often, when refugees and family reunification migrants first arrive in Sweden they lack the relevant skill sets (such as higher education and language ability) to successfully integrate into the labour market, which is a high-skilled, knowledge and service-driven economy. This is partly why 48 percent of working-age immigrants in Sweden do not work and 42 percent are long-term unemployed[1145]. In 2012 the unemployment rate for Swedish stood at 6.4 percent, total foreign-born stood at 16 percent, Africans stood at 28.2 percent, and Asians stood at 22.7 percent. Table 28 is a breakdown of Swedish, African, Asian (includes Turkish), and total foreign-born employment rates of 16-64 year olds between 2005 and 2012.

[1145] Wente, "Sweden's Ugly Immigration Problem."

Table 28. Swedish, African, Asian, and Total Foreign-Born Employment Rates, 2005-2012 (percent)

Origin	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Sweden	76%	77%	78%	78%	76%	76%	78%	78%
Foreign-born	62%	63%	64%	65%	63%	62%	63%	64%
Africa	54%	55%	58%	60%	55%	53%	52%	50%
Asia	50%	52%	56%	57%	54%	52%	54%	54%

Source: Data adapted from Alden and Hammarstedt, *Integration of Immigrants on the Swedish Labour Market,* 7.

Table 29 shows the employment rates between 1997 and 2011 of arrivals between 1993 and 1997 from Turkey, Iraq, and Iran. All three groups had higher employment levels than the total foreign-born by 2011.

Table 29. 1993-1997 Turkish, Iraqi, and Iranian Arrivals: Employment Rates, 1997-2011 (percent)

	1997	2002	2007	2011
Turkey	16%	46%	59%	77%
Iraq	6%	38%	51%	75%
Iran	8%	40%	58%	68%

Source: Adapted from Bevelander and Irastorza, "Catching Up," 8.

Although the employment levels of these three foreign-born populations in Sweden show marked improvement over the years there are still issues with unemployment among foreign-born populations in general. For example, in 2011 the foreign-born population of Sweden - 15.1 percent of the total population – used almost two-thirds of government financial assistance. This means that the cost of financially assisting the foreign-born population was ten times more than ethnic Swedes. The foreign-born population received on average (over 14 years, 1998-2011) over 900 million CDN$ per year whereas the Swedish-born (over 80 percent of the population) received less than 600 million CDN$ per year[1146].

[1146] Affes Statistik-blogg, "Ekonomiskt bistånd i hela Sverige 1998-2011."

Using statistics generated at *Affes Statistik-blogg*, which used data from the SCB (Statistics Sweden) report published by the National Board of Health and Statistics, table 30 is a breakdown of the proportion of welfare used in 2010 by the Swedish-born and foreign-born populations in the three largest cities of Sweden: Stockholm, Goteborg, and Malmo. Because these figures only use information about the foreign-born population and exclude Swedish-born with two foreign parents, the actual welfare used by those with a foreign background is likely much higher.

Table 30. Swedish-born and Foreign-born Welfare Use in Stockholm, Goteborg, and Malmo, 2010 (percent)

	Stockholm		**Goteborg**		**Malmo**	
	Swedish-born	Foreign-born	Swedish-born	Foreign-born	Swedish-born	Foreign-born
Population	77.9%	22.1%	77.6%	22.4%	69.8%	30.2%
Welfare Use	32.5%	67.5%	33.3%	66.7%	24.6%	75.4%

Source: Data adapted from Affes Statistik-blogg, "Ekonomiskt bistånd i 24 kommuner."

Table 30 shows that in 2010 over 22 percent of the population of Stockholm were foreign-born but made up over 67 percent of those receiving welfare, being over-represented by a factor of 7.3. In Goteborg, over 22 percent were foreign-born but received over 66 percent of welfare, which is an over-representation of 6.9. Over 30 percent of the population of Malmo were foreign born but made up over 75 percent of those receiving welfare, being over-represented by a factor of 7.1. For these three cities, the total foreign-born population amounted to 392,570 persons but the total cost of welfare for this group was over 2 billion (2,096,379,000) Swedish Kroner. In comparison, the total Swedish-born population of these three cities amounted to 1,267,217 but the total cost of welfare for this group was just over 930 million (933,137,000) Swedish Kroner. Although the foreign-born population only amounted to less than 30 percent of the total population of the three largest cities of Sweden they received almost 70 percent of the total amount of welfare issued in 2010. As the majority of the non-European foreign-born population are from Muslim-majority nations (as detailed

above) and as the majority of the Muslim population in Sweden reside in the three largest cities in Sweden, one can suppose that the majority of foreign-born receiving welfare are Muslim.

Over the last few years, numerous public figures in Sweden have stated that mass-immigration is threatening the welfare system. In 2010 Swedish Social Democrat Chairman Henrik Sass Larsen stated that:

> we do not want to sacrifice the welfare state in the name of humanism...the welfare state is....a society built on the principles of freedom, equality and solidarity. Mass immigration... will undermine the economic and social foundation of the welfare state[1147].

In 2013 Immigration Minister Tobias Billström said immigrants "are coming to households where the only income is support from the municipality. Is that reasonable?"[1148]. In 2015 economist Tino Sanandaji explained that open borders can't be combined with a welfare state:

> If you're offering generous welfare benefits to every citizen, and anyone can come and use these benefits, then a very large number of people will try to do that. And it's just mathematically impossible for a small country like Sweden to fund those benefits[1149].

Despite these warnings, Sweden continues to import large numbers of non-economic immigrants i.e. asylum seekers and those under family reunification laws.

Since 1975, when Sweden introduced mass-immigration, there has been a rapid rise in crime. Violent crime has risen 320 percent[1150] and reported rapes have risen almost 1,500 percent[1151]. First and second generation immigrants are over-represented in both these statistics[1152]. Annual reports from the Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics, known as SPACE (Statistiques Pénales Annuelles du Conseil de l'Europe) reveal that the foreign prison population (which only includes non-Swedish or dual citizens and not those with a migrant background i.e. those who are Swedish-born who have one or two foreign-born parents) has

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[1147] Larsen, "Vi vil gøre alt for at begrænse antallet af ikkevestlige flygtninge og indvandrere."
[1148] *The Local*, "Minister: immigrant 'volumes' too high."
[1149] Wente, "Sweden's Ugly Immigration Problem."
[1150] Carlqvist, "Multicultural Sweden explodes in violence."
[1151] Swedish National Council on Crime Prevention (Brå), "Våldtäkt och sexualbrott."
[1152] Carlqvist, "Muslimer kraftigt överrepresenterade i våldtäktsbrott."

hovered between 20 and 22 percent since at least 2004[1153]. In 2007 the Ministry of Justice of Sweden reported that 30 percent of prison inmates in Sweden were foreign-born[1154] although they made up less than 15 percent of the national population.

Like Belgium, the UK, and France, immigrants from Muslim-majority countries are over-represented in Sweden's crime statistics. The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) issued a report in December 2005 that revealed immigrants, particularly those from North Africa, East Africa, Other Africa, and Western Asia committed 25 percent of all crimes although they only constituted less than 5 percent of the total population[1155]. The report, *Crime Among Persons Born in Sweden and Other Countries* (2005), revealed that the foreign-born groups with the highest over-representation as criminal suspects were Other African (4.2%), North Africans (3.7%), Western Asians (3%), and East Africans (2.8%). The report also showed that between 1997 and 2001 the groups with the highest percentages for registered crimes were foreign-born residents from Western Asia (18.8%), North Africa (23.3%), East Africa (17.5%) and Other Africa (26.3%) whom had over-representation rates of 3.8, 4.7, 3.5, and 5.3 percent respectively[1156]. Eight of the 12 top source countries for non-European foreign-born migrants (2011) of these regions of the world are Muslim-majority nations and one has a significant Muslim population (Ethiopia: 35%) (see tables 13 and 18).

Sweden has the second highest number of reported rapes in the world: in 2010 there were 53.2 reported rapes per 100,000 people[1157] and in 2014 it rose to 69 cases per 100,000 people[1158]. A 1996 Crime Prevention Council in Sweden report revealed that foreign-born men were four times as likely to commit rape than native Swedish men and the overwhelming

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[1153] Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics, Annual Reports: SPACE I (2004-2014).
[1154] Lindström and Leijonram, "The Swedish Prison System."
[1155] *The Local*, "Immigrants Behind 25% of Swedish Crime."
[1156] Martens and Holmberg, "Brottslighet bland personer födda i Sverige och i utlandet," 62, 36-37, 61-63, 34-42.
[1157] Svärd, "Sverige i botten av våldtäktsstatistik."
[1158] Swedish National Council on Crime Prevention (Brå), "Slutlig brottsstatistik 2014."

majority of foreign-born rapists were from Muslim majority countries in North Africa: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. Men from these countries were 23 times more likely to commit rape than Swedish-born[1159]. In 2002, 85 percent of those sentenced to two or more years for rape by the Svea Court of Appeal in Stockholm, which is one of six appellate courts in the Swedish legal system, were foreign-born or second generation immigrants[1160]. The rate of sexual assaults by foreigners in Sweden has been increasing every year. The above mentioned *Crime Among Persons Born in Sweden and Other Countries* (2005) report by Brå revealed that from 1997 to 2001 foreign-born individuals were 5.5 times more likely to be charged with rape than Swedish-born individuals with two Swedish-born parents and that foreign born individuals from all regions, apart from East Asia, committed sexual assaults at rates up to 5.3 times greater than that of Swedish-born with two Swedish-born parents[1161]. Just recently eight sexual attacks against girls and women by 'foreign men' in just three weeks in Östersund, a town of 44,000, led police to warn women not to go out alone at night. County police commissioner, Stephen Jerand, said "The situation is tense. *We have never experienced anything like this before*. It is almost unreal"[1162].

Like Belgium, the UK, and France, Sweden has a problem with Muslim radicalism and is threatened by Islamist terrorism. Sweden is involved in a joint project with several European countries called Community Policing and Prevention of Radicalisation and Terrorism (COPPRA) that targets extremism and extremist groups that use violence to achieve political ends. It is funded by Belgium and the EU and has produced training manuals and packages to help with the understanding of radicalisation processes and the recognition of radicalisation. Sweden has

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[1159] Ahlberg, *Invandrares och Invandrares barns Brottslighet: En Statistisk Analys*, 41, 44, 99, 107.
[1160] Carlqvist and Hedegaard, "Sweden: Rape Capital of the West."
[1161] Swedish Nation Council on Crime Prevention (Brå), "Brottslighet bland personer födda i Sverige och i utlandet," 30-36, 40-42.
[1162] Andersson, "Two 10-year-old schoolgirls molested and a woman's trousers ripped off" (my emphasis).

also participated in the development of a similar training handbook designed to "identify and address" radicalisation in prisons[1163].

There is no specific radical Islamic group like Sharia4Belgium in Sweden that is officially known to recruit Muslims for jihad in Syria. However, radicalism is occurring through radical mosques, contact with Bakri and Choudary, and Islamist propaganda online and through other media[1164]. According to an August 2015 Swedish government report, *Prevent, Preempt, Protect: the Swedish Counter-Terrorism Strategy*, "The foremost terrorist threat in Sweden today comes from actors inspired by al-Qaeda or the ideologies of closely related organisations". This report identifies several channels of Muslim radicalisation, such as the internet, social media, penitentiaries, and Muslims in Sweden who have travelled to Muslim countries to fight and/or receive terrorist training who then return to Sweden[1165]. Between 250 and 300 Muslims from Sweden have travelled to Syria and Iraq to join ISIS, which is the second largest number of foreign-fighters per capita in the European Union, after Belgium[1166]. Most of these foreign-fighters come from the northeastern suburbs of Goteborg, such as Angered, Bergsjön, Backa, and Biskopsgården as well as from Malmo, all areas having high concentrations of Muslims[1167].

Like elsewhere in Europe with significant Muslim populations radicalisation in Muslim neighbourhoods in Sweden is a problem. There are many ethnic enclaves, which are referred to as "exclusion areas" or no-go zones, parts of Sweden characterised by immigration, low levels of employment, criminal gangs and high levels of crime, including gun, bomb, and hand grenade attacks, which were rare in Sweden up until a few years ago[1168]. The number of these

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[1163] Swedish Security Service, *Violence-promoting Islamist Extremism in Sweden*, 81-82.
[1164] Akerhaug, "The Nordic jihadists."
[1165] Government Offices of Sweden, *Prevent, Preempt, and Protect*, 4,7 and *Responsibility and Commitment.*
[1166] Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, "Foreign Fighters In Iraq & Syria."
[1167] Aaron Smith, "Sweden struggles to stop radicalization at home"; *The Local*, "Swedish city 'is largest recruiting ground for Isis'"; Wiman, "Ett skafferi fullt av kanonmat till IS"; Ranstorp, Gustafsson, and Hyllengren, "From the Welfare State to the Caliphate"; *The Local*. "Swedish city 'is largest recruiting ground for Isis'."
[1168] *RT News*, "Sweden's 3rd largest city hit by multiple blasts"; Lane, "INTERVIEW: Retired Swedish Police Chief Says Malmo Crime Skyrocketing Due To Uncontrolled Immigration, No Go Zones."

areas grow every year. In 1990 there were three exclusion areas, in 2004 there were 136[1169], and in 2006 there were 186[1170]. In Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, there are over 20 such no-go zones constituting around 75,000 people[1171]. Swedish authorities are persistently attacked by violent gangs of immigrants when they attempt to provide public aid such as police, fire fighting and ambulance services and have effectively lost control in these areas. Journalists are also being attacked[1172], businesses are leaving these areas and even bus services have had to be suspended due to the risk of violence in some places.

According to a recent police report, around 55 of these "exclusion areas" function as parallel communities and justice systems governed by Islamic Sharia law and criminal gangs[1173]. They are characterised by high unemployment, low education, high levels of crime, and Muslim radicalisation. Fire and ambulance services require police escorts to enter these areas due to the violence directed against them, ranging from physical assaults, theft, and muggings, to damage of service vehicles and equipment. The Ambulance Union has requested military-grade protection gear to enter these places, such as bullet proof vests and helmets[1174]. Police are also attacked by Muslim gangs, most often rocks are thrown, but sometimes fireworks, Molotov cocktails, guns, and bombs are used[1175]. Jacob Ekström, a police officer working in two enclaves Tensta and Rinkeby said that "The situation is slipping from our grasp" and that

> If we're in pursuit of a vehicle, it can evade us by driving to certain neighborhoods where a lone patrol car simply cannot follow, because we'll get pelted by rocks and even face riots. These are No-Go Zones. We simply can't go there[1176].

[1169] Hökerberg, "Utanförskapet växer i Sverige."
[1170] Schachtel, "European 'No-Go' Zones Remain Unassimilated Hotbeds of Radical Islam."
[1171] O'Brien and Stromme, "Swedish police being ATTACKED as they struggle in 'NO GO ZONES'."
[1172] "Migrants Attack 60 Minutes Crew In Sweden," YouTube video (60 Minutes).
[1173] National Police (Sweden), *En nationell översikt av k riminella nätverk med stor påverkan i lokalsamhället;* Gudmundson, "55 'no go'-zoner i Sverige"; "I am Swedish, but I live in 'Absurdistan'," YouTube video (ICLA).
[1174] Krey, "Kravallhjälm, skyddsväst och gasmask"; Neuding, "Det är definitivt ett nytt fenomen att vi är så utsatta."
[1175] O'Brien and Stromme, "Swedish police being ATTACKED as they struggle in 'NO GO ZONES'."
[1176] Höjer, "Därför ökar de kriminella gängens makt."

There have also been a multitude of violent riots and arson attacks in Sweden involving immigrants, mostly Muslims, that have cost millions of dollars in damage and resources[1177]. Just three examples of many: In 2013 hundreds of Muslim immigrants rampaged through parts of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmo for several days, torching cars and buses, setting fires to buildings – including a police station and schools, smashing windows, vandalising property, and hurling rocks and bottles at police, rescue and fire services[1178]. In 2015 violent racial unrest between immigrants erupted in Stockholm and Malmo involving bombs, guns, and hand grenade attacks between Turkish and Kurdish and other ethnic minority immigrants[1179]. For three months in early 2016 (March to May) ongoing immigrant youth unrest, riots, arson, stone-throwing, attacks on police and so on occurred in various 'problem' neighbourhoods[1180].

9.5 Germany

Partly due to the onset of the bilateral labour agreement in 1961 Turkish immigrants accounted for 2.1 million of the German population by the year 2000, a number that does not include naturalised Turkish immigrants[1181]. As discussed in chapter 3, Turks constitute the largest population of non-European Muslims in Germany today, followed by Muslims from Kazakhstan, Iran, Iraq, Morocco, and Afghanistan. In a 2008 study commissioned by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees it was estimated that the Muslim population of Germany was between 3.8 and 4.3 million or 4.6 and 5.2 percent of the population and 86 percent considered themselves rather or strongly religious[1182]. In his article "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-

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1177 *The Economist*, "A blazing surprise."
1178 Freeman, "Stockholm riots"; Gysin,"Sweden in flames."
1179 Lane, "Stockholm Grenade Attack"; *Sputnik News*, "Violence Erupts in Sweden."
1180 "Sweden: Cars set alight for second day in a row in Stockholm," YouTube video (RT News); *Wikipedia*, s.v. "2016 social unrest in Sweden," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_Sweden_riots (accessed July 2016).
1181 Mühe, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Germany*, 12.
1182 Haug, Müssig, and Stichs. *Muslim Life in Germany*, 11, 13.

2020", Kettani calculated that in 1950 there were 20,513 Muslims residing in Germany and by 2010 their numbers had climbed to 4,283,364[1183]. This means that in just a sixty-year period the Muslim population in Germany increased by 20,781 percent. Other estimates of the Muslim population in Germany are similar. It was estimated that in 2007 about "one third" of the 7.3 million foreign-born population in Germany, or just over 2.4 million were Muslims[1184]. By 2009 an estimate for both the foreign and naturalised Muslim population of Germany was 4.3 million or 5.4 percent of the total population and by 2010 the Pew Research center reported that Muslims constituted over 4.7 million or 5.8 percent of the total German population[1185]. In 2009 most Muslims in Germany lived in North Rhine-Westphalia (7.5%, 1,342,248 of the total population), which is the most populous state in Germany. The majority of the rest of the Muslim population in Germany resided in the old federal states, as shown in table 31[1186].

Table 31. Largest Muslim Populations by German State, 2009

	Number	Population (%)
North Rhine-Westphalia	1,342,248	7.5
Baden-Württemberg	673,151	6.3
Bavaria	535,277	4.3
Hessen	417,678	6.9
Berlin	279,804	8.2
Lower Saxony	251,418	3.2
Rheinland-Palatinate	162,205	4.0
Hamburg	141,930	8.0
Schleswig-Holstein	85,158	3.0
Bremen	64,882	9.8

Source: Data adapted from Felix Strüning[1187], "Muslims in Germany Increasingly Segregated."

In 2011 the Muslim population was estimated to rise to 5,545,000 or 7.1 percent of the population of Germany by 2030, but this figure is inaccurate on the low-end of the scale as the

[1183] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," 159
[1184] Mühe, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Germany*, 15, 5.
[1185] Pew Research Center, "Population by Religion" & "Germany"; *Deutsche Welle (DW)*, "Studie: Deutlich mehr Muslime in Deutschland."
[1186] Haug, Sonja, Stephanie Müssig, and Anja Stichs. *Muslim Life in Germany,* 102.
[1187] Strüning is a political scientist, journalist, author, and CEO of the Stresemann Foundation.

large-scale influx (over one million) of 'migrant crisis' refugees in 2015/2016 were majority Muslim and most have sought refugee status in Germany (see chapter 11.2)[1188]. Despite the fact that the unemployment level in Germany is over 10 percent and around 20 percent for youth Sigmar Gabriel, Germany's deputy chancellor, wants to bring in around 500,000 migrants per year over several years[1189]. This is astounding considering the overwhelming majority of the 2015 influx of 'refugee' migrants to Germany were young Muslim males, something that continues to characterise the ongoing 'migrant crisis' today (2016), who will compete for jobs with the natives[1190].

The total fertility rate of Muslims in Germany is 1.8, which is comparable to the national rate of 1.3[1191]. However, other reports, such as the multi-authored Congressional Research Report, suggest that the "Muslim birthrate is three times higher than for non-Muslims"[1192]. According to Soeren Kern, a senior fellow at the Gatestone Institute and senior analyst for European politics at the Madrid-based Strategic Studies Group, the population increase of Muslims in Germany is 1.6 percent or 77,000 per year, which is significant compared to the minus 0.18 population growth rate for Germany as a whole[1193]. In 2004 over nine percent of all children born in Germany were born to Muslim parents[1194] and one-third of the total Muslim population were under the age of 18[1195]. According to Kern, the high numbers of Muslims in Germany means that Germany has "the highest Muslim population in Western Europe"[1196]. Names analyst Knud Bielefeld examined the birth registrations of 183,396 babies

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[1188] Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*. Also see footnote 924, which suggests that the Muslim population of Germany could be around 20% or higher by 2050.
[1189] Munro, German Chancellor Says Migrants Should Fundamentally Transform Germany."
[1190] See Chapter 11.2.
[1191] Pew Research Center, *The Future of the Global Muslim Population*.
[1192] Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe,* 15.
[1193] Index Mundi, "Demographics: Population growth rate" & "Germany."
[1194] Bielefeld, "Der Vorname Mohammed in Deutschland."
[1195] Savage, "Europe and Islam," 28; Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe,* 15.
[1196] Kern, "Germany's Muslim Demographic Revolution."

in 2015, and found that Mohammed/ Muhammad was the 57th most popular baby name in Germany as a whole[1197]. This does not reflect the large young Muslim populations in Germany, as it did for the other countries profiled above. The majority of Muslim immigrants in Germany are of Turkish descent and in 2014 the five most popular baby boy names in Turkey were: Yusuf, Eymen, Mustafa, Ömer, and Berat[1198].

In terms of educational levels, 29.4 percent of Turks in Germany had no educational qualifications compared to 0.9 percent of the native German population between 1991 and 2004. Only 37.8 percent had general elementary education (compared to 7.9% for natives), 18.7 percent had general elementary education and a vocational qualification (compared to 43.8% for natives), and 0.9 percent had lower/higher tertiary education (compared to 18.7% of the native German population)[1199]. Higher education is vital for success in the labour market. According to a 2007 Open Society report, in 2004 Turkish nationals had "an unemployment rate of 23 per cent" compared to 11 percent for Germans, and Turkish nationals comprised "up to one third of all unemployed foreigners". In some federal states the "juvenile Muslim populations", which would include second and third generations, had an unemployment rate of almost 30 percent. In Berlin "foreign welfare recipients stood at 27.0 per cent" in 2004. In 2007 the Muslim population of Berlin, most of them Turks, stood at 200,000 or about 9 percent of the total population and concentrated in three districts: Kreuzberg, Wedding, and Northern Neukölln. In these three districts the population of welfare recipients made up more than 11 percent compared to the city average of 8.1 percent[1200].

As for prison statistics there are no official statistics available in Germany based on religious or ethnic background. However, according to a February 2000 report by the European

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[1197] *Beliebte Vornamen*, "Top 500: Vornamen-Hitliste 2015."
[1198] Turkish Statistics Institute, "Table: The Most Used Man Names and Sorting of First One Hundred Names."
[1199] Kristen and Granto, "The Educational Attainment of the Second Generation in Germany ," 27.
[1200] Mühe, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Germany*, 31, 64.

Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia there were 1,925 Muslim prisoners in Baden-Württemberg prison making up 22 percent of the total prison population[1201] and it was estimated that in 2004 Muslims comprised 11 percent of the prison population of the penitentiary in Freiburg, a city in Baden-Württemberg state[1202]. Annual reports from the Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics (SPACE: Statistiques Pénales Annuelles du Conseil de l'Europe), publish the number and percentage of foreign prisoners per year. Figure 10 shows the native and foreign prison populations in Germany between 2004 and 2014; 'foreign' means those with a foreign nationality and not those who have been naturalized.

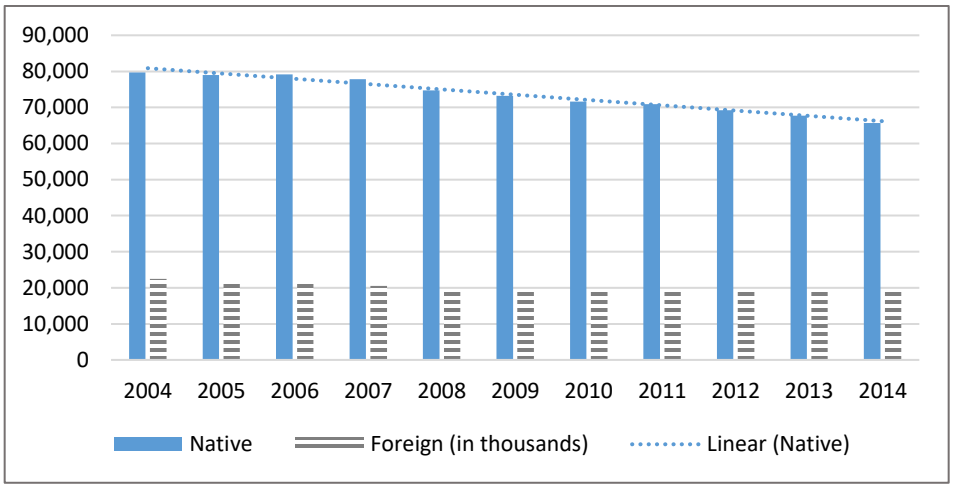

Figure 10. Native and Foreign Prison Populations, 2004-2014 Germany
Source: Data from Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics, Annual Reports: SPACE I (2004-2014).

Figure 10 shows a consistent decline in the number of native prisoners over the 11 year period from almost 80,000 in 2004 to less than 66,000 in 2014, and a decline in the number of foreign prisoners, from almost 22,500 in 2004 to almost 19,600 in 2014. Despite a decrease in actual numbers (-2,900), in terms of percentage, foreign prisoners shared a larger proportion of the prison population in 2014 (29.8%) than in 2004 (28.2%). If one-third of foreigners in Germany are Muslim, then a conservative estimate for the percentage of Muslims in German

[1201] Bemelmans and Freitas, *Situation of Islamic Communities in Five European Cities*, 46.
[1202] Mühe, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Germany*, 46-47.

prisons is around 10 percent of the total prison population. But as a significant number of Muslims in Germany have been naturalised (45%) and thus are included in the 'native' category then the percentage of incarcerated Muslims is likely much higher. In addition, if the categories 'native' and 'foreign' were disregarded, and if the Muslim prison population of other European countries were taken into account, which reveal a trend i.e. that Muslims are over-represented in prison populations, then the percentage for Muslims in German prisons will likely be similar. In a recent analysis of crimes committed in the German state of North Rhine Westphalia by the newspaper *De Welt*, it was revealed that although the Algerian population was only 5,210 in 2015, they were responsible for committing 13,231 crimes; and although the Moroccan population was 36,118, they were responsible for committing 14,733 crimes[1203]. A very conservative estimate of the Muslim prison population in Germany based on these factors may lie between 15 and 20 percent of the total prison population.

Like the other countries mentioned above, Muslim radicalisation in German prisons is a problem, but there is little official data on this phenomenon. However, it is known that prisoners (Muslim and non-Muslim) exposed to incarcerated Muslim extremists and radical imams are at risk of being radicalised. Officials of the Bavarian Office for the Protection of the Constitution, which monitors extremist activity, have witnessed Salafi Muslims attempting to convert other inmates and have identified jihadist handbooks that suggest the recruitment of fellow prisoners[1204]. There are also jihadist social media networks that actively focus on helping Muslim prisoners through letter-writing, direct interaction with prisoners, and donations, such as the *Ansarul Aseer*[1205], which maintains contact with Muslims once released[1206]. Efforts to de-radicalise prisons involve the use of counter-ideology moderate imams, yet such programs

[1203] Stoldt, "Jeder dritte Asylbewerber aus Nordafrika kriminell?"
[1204] Schnell, "From Prison to Jihad."
[1205] Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC), "Ansar al Aseer."
[1206] Von Hein, "Prisons: centers of radicalization."

have had a little success[1207]. Germany is also involved with joint de-radicalization projects with the European Union and individual member states. They produce booklets and handbooks that provide instructions for prison staff on the "indicators of radicalization"[1208]. In 2008 Germany, Austria, and France developed a "guide of best practices" to deal with prison radicalisation involving: the "training of prison staff in detecting signs of radicalism or radicalisation", the "placement of Islamist prisoners", which includes methods of "regrouping", "dispersing" and "isolation", "the monitoring of visits, communications and entertainment activities (readings, Internet) of inmates", and the attempt to fill a "religious gap", such as proving halal food[1209].

Like other European countries, Muslim radicalisation in Germany is a serious problem. Concerns about violent Salafists (Vidino calls them 'violent rejectionists') in Germany have been a focus of German intelligence since at least 2010. In 2013, Germany's domestic intelligence agency, the Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, BfV) claimed that "violent Salafists are increasingly seeking to launch terrorist attacks in Germany"[1210]. In 2014 the BfV said that extreme Salafism, which it called Germany's "most dynamic Islamic movement", was becoming increasing popular. It estimated that the number of Salafists had increased from 3,800 in 2011 to 5,500 in 2013 and would be around 7,000 by the end of 2014[1211]. Also in 2014 the Interior Minister of Germany, Thomas de Maiziere, warned that radical Islam is "a critical security threat to Germany"[1212]. By 2015, after several months of the 'migrant crisis', Hans-Georg Maassen, head of BfV said that the number of Salafis in Germany had increased, such that there were around 7,900 in September 2015 and

[1207] Knight, "Germany neglecting Islamist de-radicalization in prisons."
[1208] Neumann, *Prisons and Terrorism,* 31-32.
[1209] Bigo, Bonelli, Guittet, and Ragazzi, "Preventing and Countering Youth Radicalisation in the EU," 31-32.
[1210] Hellmuth, "Countering Islamist Radicalization in Germany."
[1211] Hudson and Siebold, "Germany warns security situation 'critical' due to radical Islam."
[1212] Ibid.

by December 2015 there were 8,350[1213]. At this time the BfV and the Federal Criminal Office (BKA) warned that as many as 43,000 Islamists were residing in Germany[1214].

Many Muslim organisations in Germany have been labelled Islamist by Verfassungsschutz, the German internal Intelligence Service, and have had funding blocked or withdrawn, which include INSSAN, Milli Görüs, and the Muslim Youth Germany organization (MJD). MJD promotes Muslim identity and has been accused of having ties with the Muslim Brotherhood and INSSAN and Milli Görüs are Islamist Muslim organizations in Germany that focus on identity politics and promote a collective and distinct Muslim identity[1215]. There are several prominent Muslims in Germany that are considered as leading Islamists and radicalisers, especially of youth. These include: Syrian-rooted Hassan Dabbagh**,** who is head Imam of the Al-Rahman-Mosque in Leipzig; Palestinian Abou-Nagie, a leading German Salafist; Pierre Vogel, a convert, who is considered one of the most influential Islamists in Germany; and Sven Lau, another convert, who, in 2014, set up 'Sharia Police' in Wuppertal[1216].

The 'Sharia police' in Germany, like the sharia patrols in London and elsewhere, claimed the Wuppertal city station and other nearby areas as a "Sharia Controlled Zone" where they gushed their radical Salafi-Islamism and ordered the locals to abide by the rules of sharia. They were first taken to court over their uniform (bright orange with the words 'Sharia Patrol') and public gathering in 2015 but their case was dismissed by a Wuppertal district court[1217]. They are now being tried in the Dusseldorf state court for wearing a uniform with a political message, however, and for their leader, Lau, who is suspected of supporting the foreign terror

[1213] RT News, "German spy chief warns of 1,000+ radical Islamists ready to attack."
[1214] Allmeling, Knipp, Ricking, and Walter, "An overview of Germany's Islamist scene."
[1215] Mühe, *Muslims in the EU: Cities Report – Germany*, 9, 50-51, 18.
[1216] Allmeling, Knipp, Ricking, and Walter, "An overview of Germany's Islamist scene."
[1217] Watkinson, "Germany"; RT News, "German court drops provocative 'Sharia police' uniform case."

group Jaish al-Muhajireen wal-Ansar (JAMWA) in Syria by way of the provision of funds and materials, and also recruiting fighters in Germany for this group[1218].

Between 2008 and 2012 there were "30,000 participationist Islamists", 4000 Salafists, and 1140 violent jihadists in Germany[1219]. In 2014 around 450 Muslims in Germany had joined Islamist militants in Syria and Iraq to fight for the Islamic state[1220] and eleven of them had died fighting jihad in Iraq and Syria, being part of the Lohberger Brigade from North Rhine Westphalia and the Wolfsburg Cell from Lower Saxony[1221]. In November 2015 there were an estimated 770 foreign fighters in ISIS from Germany and some of these have been former convicts[1222]; at least twenty of them were former German soldiers[1223]. In April 2016 a report by the German military counter intelligence service (MAD) revealed that at least 29 former German soldiers had left the country to join ISIS; 65 active soldiers were under investigation for being sympathetic to jihadism; and, that while there is no "systematic push by Islamist organizations to infiltrate the army", Islamism "represents a real danger that we have to take seriously" says Social Democratic Party (SPD) MP Hans-Peter Bartels who oversees the army[1224].

Radical Islamic representatives urge that Muslims not assimilate into European societies as it would be an offense to pure Islam, or a crime against Islam and declare it is imperative that they stick to their roots, deny democracy, and practice Sharia law. As an example, the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdogan in 2008 addressed 20,000 Turks in Cologne, Germany, saying that assimilation constitutes "a crime against humanity" and that Turkish people must stay Turkish and not adopt German identity[1225]. In this way, Turkish and

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[1218] Wyke, "Islamic extremists"; Brady, "'Sharia police'""
[1219] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 6.
[1220] Hudson and Siebold, "Germany warns security situation 'critical' due to radical Islam."
[1221] Allmeling, Knipp, Ricking, and Walter, "An overview of Germany's Islamist scene."
[1222] The Soufan Group (TSG), *Foreign Fighters,* 8.
[1223] *Der Spiegel*, "Islamist Influx Several Radicalized Ex-German Soldiers in Iraq."
[1224] *RT News*, "29 German soldiers have joined ISIS."
[1225] *Deutsch Welle* (DW), "German Chancellor Rejects Turkish View on Integration."

other Muslims in Germany and elsewhere in Europe who refuse to adopt Western values and law constitute a major factor in the social fragmentation of society.

There are at least ten major ghettos in Germany, characterised by large immigrant populations, high unemployment and welfare dependency, low education, and high crime[1226], and there are numerous no-go zones where radicalism is flourishing. In 2011 Germany's chief of police, Bernhard Witthaut declared that migrant No-Go areas in Germany are where "crimes are not reported. They are left to themselves. Only in the most terrible of cases do we in the police learn anything about it. Government authority is completely out of the picture."[1227] In 2013 Germany's Steinke Institute (SI) began mapping no-go areas in Bonn that have been described as "high danger potential"[1228]. CDU deputy Gregor Golland has criticised the political establishment in North Rhine Westphalia for allowing the conditions to develop that have enabled "criminal parallel societies" to flourish that "are seeking the upper hand, or those already solidifying"[1229]. A leaked police report in 2015 revealed that problem or criminal neighbourhoods are becoming increasingly lawless and police cannot guarantee public order "over the long term" in these areas. Already in 2009 the president of the German Police Union, Rainer Wendt, stated that "In Berlin or in the north of Duisburg there are neighborhoods where colleagues hardly dare to stop a car - because they know that they'll be surrounded by 40 or 50 men" and that these attacks are a "deliberate challenge to the authority of the state - attacks in which the perpetrators are expressing their contempt for our society"[1230]. Such contempt is quite common according to police commissioner Tania Kambouri, who stated in an interview with *Stuttgarter Zeitung* in 2015 that police are harassed and ganged-up upon by mainly young

[1226] *Bild*. "Ghetto-Report Deutschland."
[1227] Seher, "In Problemvierteln fürchtet sich sogar die Polizei."
[1228] Steinke Institute (SI), "No-Go-Areas in Bonn"; Franz, "Taten statt Phrasen."
[1229] Lane, "No-Go Zones."
[1230] Diehl, "Die Polizei, dein Feind und Gegner."

Muslim men who "do not identify themselves with the German state - even if they were born in Germany or have long lived here. Some openly say 'sh*t on Germany"[1231].

Such criminality and rejection of the German state law is linked with various immigrant clans, including Bosnians, Lebanese, Moroccans, and others. In October 2010 *Der Spiegel* published an article titled "Large Arab Families: The State Cowers in Fear of Criminal Clans", which highlighted the gravity of immigrant criminality in Germany: "immigrant mafia clans with thousands of members" are "taking advantage of legal loopholes, social welfare services and international contacts with dominant organized crime groups"[1232]. According to Dirk Jacob, the director of the State Criminal Police Office (LKA), the clans specialise in property crime and drug trafficking and are very costly and hard to dissolve[1233]. According to a recent report, these extended Arab migrant clans are now recruiting new migrants and exploiting the recent arrival of 'migrant crisis' refugees[1234]. There are also issues with the largest Muslim population in Germany, the Turks, some of whom have formed a biker gang and an 'Ottomans Germania' boxing club that spans several other countries, including Sweden, Austria, Switzerland, and Turkey. The club released a music video that claims it aims to conquer Germany:

> We're coming to take over the entire country. Men, fighting to the last drop of blood for their brothers on the battlefield. We stand in this fight – until the whole world knows our name. The Ottomans are Coming[1235].

Joachim Wagner, a German legal expert and author of *Judges without Law: Islamic Parallel Justice Endangers Our Constitutional State* (2011), claims that a parallel legal system of Sharia Courts are now operating in all of the big German cities and this is undermining the rule of law. Sharia courts undercut the secular legal system "because Muslim arbiters-cum-imams

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[1231] Hagen, "Die nehmen diesen Staat nicht ernst."
[1232] Diehl, "Arabische Großfamilien Staat kuscht vor kriminellen Clans."
[1233] Hale, "BOMBSHELL REPORT: Berlin 'Lost To Arab Clans' Now Recruiting 'Physically Strong Young Migrants'."
[1234] Behrendt, "Berlins Unterwelt ist verloren an die arabischen Clans."
[1235] Frigelj, "Wir kommen und übernehmen das ganze Land"; *Wikipedia, s.v. "*Osmanen Germania Boxclub," https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osmanen_Germania_Boxclub.

are settling criminal cases out of court without the involvement of German prosecutors or lawyers before law enforcement can bring the cases to a German court"[1236]. This is a problem as Sharia is not based on the same guiding principles and values as secular rule of law, including human rights and the equality of women, which has bearing on how inheritance, divorce, and other 'family matters' are settled. Under Sharia these matters are resolved in a way that is heavily biased towards males. Sharia courts also shun the involvement of the state justice system in cases involving criminal offenses and, according to Wagner, instead rely on a traditional system of "conflict resolution" involving "violence and threats." As such, it is usually "the stronger family" that wins the case. Thus the "dictate of power" rather than justice dominates sharia law[1237].

Not only are Sharia courts in Germany but sharia law is being used by German courts themselves[1238]. In 2010 Hilmar Krüger, a law professor at the University of Cologne declared that "We have long been practicing Islamic law", particularly family and inheritance aspects of sharia, which include marriage (including 'bride price' or dowry) and divorce laws. Mathias Rohe, a lawyer and Islam expert stated that "We apply Islamic law just as we do French law", which seems awkward, in that he places the secular constitutions and rule of law of Germany and France, which have long and often interwoven histories, on equal footing with the religious law of Islam. How can it be that the German legal code based on secularity and the enshrinement of human rights, can suddenly represent, after experiencing only 60 years of Muslim immigration, a legal system interwoven with a historically foreign source of religious law?[1239]

[1236] Kern, "Islamic Sharia Law Proliferates in Germany."
[1237] *Der Spiegel*, "Islamic Justice in Europe: 'It's Often a Dictate of Power'."
[1238] See: *Der Spiegel*, "German Justice Failures"; *Der Spiegel*, "Controversial Court Ruling."
[1239] *Der Spiegel*, "Crossing Borders with Shariah."

10. In Statistics: Muslim Fundamentalism and European Opposition

Various different crises have erupted in Europe over the last few decades from the yearly entry of high volumes of legal and illegal migrants from the non-European world, particularly from Muslim regions into Europe. These crises involve national identity, demographics, culture, security, terrorism, and territorial dispossession. Since at least the 1990s there have been various scholars talking of a "global migrant crisis" that posed demographic, security, and cultural problems for Western nations. One such person was Myron Weiner, a renowned American scholar on international migration and ethnic conflict, who published *The Global Migration Crisis: Challenges to States and Human Rights* (1995). In this work, Weiner wrote that in response to non-European immigration into the West, Westerners have increasing anxiety

> that they are now being invaded not by armies and tanks, but by migrants who speak other languages, worship other gods, belong to other cultures, and, they fear, will take their jobs, occupy their land, live off the welfare system, and threaten their way of life[1240].

These fears are not unfounded. As discussed in chapter 9 statistics show that non-European foreign-born residents, particularly from North African and other Muslim countries, are consistently over-represented in unemployment rates, low educational levels, welfare benefits, violent crime, and prison populations compared to national levels in Europe. There are also issues with ethnic enclaves and parallel societies that have become identified as hotbeds of Muslim radicalism and terrorism and various polls and surveys reveal there is significant support for radical Islamism as well as widespread Islamist fundamentalism in Europe.

10.1 Muslim Views on Integration and Sharia Law

Various polls and surveys have shown that a significant number of Muslims in Britain do not want to integrate into British society; they reject its law, values, and principles and would

[1240] Weiner, *The Global Migration Crisis,* 2.

rather live under a socio-political system based on Sharia. Public opinion researcher, ICM, conducted a poll of 500 Muslim adults in Britain for the *Guardian* newspaper in 2005. This poll revealed that 32 percent thought the amount the Muslim community had integrated into British society was just right and 18 percent thought they had integrated too much[1241]. In other words, 50 percent of those polled did not want to integrate into British society any further.

A year later another ICM poll for the *Sunday Telegraph* of 500 Muslims revealed that 40 percent wanted Sharia to be implemented in parts of Britain that were majority Muslim[1242]. Another survey in the same year by NOP Research that was broadcast by Britain's Channel 4-TV, revealed that 30 percent of British Muslims wanted to live under Islamic law rather than British law[1243]. In 2007 the British think tank Policy Exchange issued a report called "Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism". This report compiled data from a survey of 1003 Muslims and found that in the age group of 16-24 year olds "28%...would prefer to live under Sharia law", "74%...would prefer Muslim women to choose to wear the veil", "37%...preferred to send their children to Islamic state schools", and "36%...believe if a Muslim converts to another religion they should be punished by death"[1244]. In 2010 a survey of 600 Muslim students at thirty British universities revealed that 40 percent wanted Britain to live under Sharia law[1245].

A poll of 1000 Muslims in Britain conducted by ComRes for the BBC in 2015 revealed that 20 percent thought Islam is incompatible with Western society[1246]. In an ICM poll for Channel 4 of face-to-face interviews with 1081 British Muslims, released 11th April 2016, it was revealed that 24 percent would prefer there were areas of Britain under Sharia rather than

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[1241] Dodd, "Two-thirds of Muslims consider leaving UK."
[1242] Hennessy and Kite, "Poll reveals 40pc of Muslims want sharia law in UK."
[1243] Cosgrove-Mather, "Many British Muslims Put Islam First."
[1244] Mizra, Senthilkumaran and Ja'far, *Living Apart Together*, 5.
[1245] *Daily Mail Reporter*, "The latest WikiLeaks revelation."
[1246] *BBC*, "BBC Radio 4 Today Muslim Poll."

British law and 17 percent wanted to lead a separate Islamic life in Britain. Almost 30 percent agreed that "Britain is a country of bad moral behaviour" and the same amount wanted Islamic schools and laws in Britain. Almost 40 percent thought that wives should always obey their husbands, over 30 percent agreed that British Muslims should have the right to more than one wife, and 5 percent supported the stoning of female adulterers[1247].

In summary of the above statistics we can see that fully half of British Muslims in 2005 thought there was no need for more integration, a trend that is most likely the same today, maybe more, despite continued calls for more integration efforts by various Left-wing and Liberal organizations and political figures. We can also see that in the ten-year period between 2006 and 2016 between 30 and 40 percent of British Muslims wanted to live under Sharia law rather than British secular law and be instructed in Islamic education rather than British education. Extrapolating these percentages to the Muslim population of Britain as a whole, in 2006 between 640,000 and 850,000 Muslims in Britain wanted Sharia law to be implemented in Britain and by 2016 this amount has risen to between 900,000 and 1.2 million Muslims.

10.2 Islamic Fundamentalism and Terrorism

Immediately after the London bombing in July 2005, an ICM poll of 500 Muslim adults in Britain revealed five percent thought suicide attacks were justified and 37 percent thought more suicide attacks by Islamists will occur in Britain[1248]. A year later another ICM poll for the *Sunday Telegraph* of 500 Muslims revealed that 20 percent sympathised with the 2005 London suicide bombers[1249] and a 2006 survey by NOP Research revealed that around a quarter of British Muslims thought the London bombings were justified due to "British support for the U.S-led

[1247] Channel 4, "What Muslims Really Think."
[1248] Dodd, "Two-thirds of Muslims consider leaving UK."
[1249] Hennessy and Kite, "Poll reveals 40pc of Muslims want sharia law in UK."

war on terror"[1250]. In 2007 the Policy Exchange think tank reported that 13 percent of 16-24 year olds admired "organisations like Al-Qaeda that are prepared to fight the West"[1251] and another research study by Pew Research released in 2007 found that 15 percent of Muslims in Britain, 16 percent in France, and 7 percent in Germany thought suicide bombings were justified, with this percentage rising for 18-29 year olds to 35 percent in Britain, 42 percent in France, and 22 percent in Germany. For those over 30 years of age, support for suicide bombings was 17 percent in Britain, 31 percent in France, and 10 percent in Germany[1252].

In 2010 a survey of 600 Muslim students at 30 British universities revealed that 32 percent thought killing in the name of Islam was justified[1253]. A poll of 1000 Muslims in Britain conducted by ComRes for the *BBC* after the January 2015 *Charlie Hebdo* terrorist attack revealed that 27 percent had sympathy for the gunmen; 11 percent said the victims deserved the attacks[1254]. In a 2016 ICM poll for *Channel 4* of British Muslims, 24 percent supported the use of organised violence to protect religion, 9 percent were sympathetic with those who use violence in political protest, 6 percent agreed with the use of terror threats in political protest, 4 percent supported the use of terrorism in political protest, and 4 percent thought that suicide bombings were justified to fight injustice[1255].

A 2013 study in Belgium found that 10 percent of young Muslims in Belgium supported Islamist terrorism and one in ten supported hate preaching in mosques[1256]. A 2014 ICM poll for the Russian news agency *Rossiya Segodnya* of "European attitudes" on ISIS revealed that 16 percent of French citizens had a positive opinion of the group and this percentage increased to

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[1250] Cosgrove-Mather, "Many British Muslims Put Islam First."
[1251] Mizra, Senthilkumaran and Ja'far, *Living Apart Together*, 5.
[1252] Pew Research Center, *American Muslims*, 53-54.
[1253] *Daily Mail Reporter*, "The latest WikiLeaks revelation."
[1254] *BBC*, "BBC Radio 4 Today Muslim Poll."
[1255] Channel 4, "What Muslims Really Think."
[1256] *Het Laatste Nieuws*, "Zestien procent moslimjongens vindt terrorisme aanvaardbaar."

27 percent among 18-24 year olds. For British citizens, seven percent had a favourable response towards ISIS and this percentage increased to 11 percent among 35-44 year olds. For German citizens of all age groups between three and four percent had positive attitudes towards ISIS[1257]. A possible explanation as to why there are variations among support for ISIS in these three countries could be the composition of the Muslim populations i.e. there are more Turks in Germany than in France and Britain, more North African Muslims in France than Britain and Germany, and more Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Afghanis in Britain than in France and Germany. In an ICM poll of British adults in July 2015 it was revealed that support for ISIS was at 9 percent, which was two percent more than in 2014. This means that around 1.5 million Brits viewed ISIS favourably[1258]. In the 2016 ICM poll mentioned above, seven percent supported the ISIS objective of establishing a Caliphate, rising to 10 percent for 18-24 year olds and 11 percent for those over 65; however, only three percent supported their methods[1259].

In 2014 telephone interviews undertaken by the *Arab Centre for Research and Public Policy Studies* of 5,100 respondents in seven Arab countries and in Syrian refugee camps located in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, showed that 11 percent (561) of all respondents had a positive or somewhat positive view of ISIL and 13 percent (663) had a negative view "to some extent". Almost 40 percent (1,887) opposed military airstrikes in Syria against ISIL, 32 percent (1,632) opposed the destruction of ISIL, 45 percent (2,295) absolutely disagreed with the use of US-Western ground troops to defeat ISIL, and 36 percent absolutely disagreed with the use of Arab ground troops to defeat ISIL. In addition, 36 percent (1,836) opposed Arabs joining the international coalition against ISIL, 73 percent (3,723) thought US foreign policy in the Arab region was negative or negative to some extent, 69 percent (3,519) thought ISIL was "created

[1257] Grant, "16% of French Citizens Support ISIS, Poll Finds."
[1258] Sommerlad, "Muslim leader: 'ISIS-supporting Brits may be disenfranchised by Tory cuts'."
[1259] Channel 4, "What Muslims Really Think."

by foreign actors", and 33 percent (1,683) thought ISIL was not a direct threat to their countries. Out of the 900 Syrian refugees interviewed, 13 percent (117) had a positive or somewhat positive view of ISIL and 10 percent (90) had a negative view to "some extent", 31 percent (279) opposed the destruction of ISIL, 37 percent (333) opposed the airstrikes, and 73 percent (657) thought US foreign policy in the Arab region was negative[1260].

In terms of Muslim fundamentalism, the 2005 ICM poll for the *Guardian*, mentioned above, showed that 38 percent thought hate preachers should not be excluded or deported from the UK and four percent thought political and religious groups using violence to achieve political ends was justified[1261]. The 2006 NOP Research survey mentioned above revealed that 28 percent wanted the UK to become a fundamentalist Islamic state, and 68 percent wanted British people who "insult Islam" to be arrested and prosecuted. A full 62 percent thought freedom of speech should *not* be protected. In contrast, the 2015 poll of Muslims in Britain by ComRes mentioned above found that 45 percent thought hate preachers that advocate violence against the West represent "mainstream Islam"[1262]. The 2006 NOP survey revealed that 9 percent of the British Muslim population were "hardcore Islamists" and 29 percent were "staunch defenders of Islam", meaning they defended Islam "aggressively"[1263]. In 2006 the British Muslim population was estimated to be 2,142,000, which means that almost 200,000 British Muslims were "hardcore Islamists" and over 600,000 "aggressively" defended Islam[1264].

In 2011 the Pew Research Center published a survey they had conducted on the views of Muslims in seven Muslim nations, "Common Concerns about Islamic Extremism: Muslim-Western Tensions Persist". This survey revealed that a significant majority of Muslims have a

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[1260] Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, *The Military Campaign against the Islamic State.*
[1261] Dodd, "Two-thirds of Muslims consider leaving UK."
[1262] Holehouse, "Quarter of British Muslims"; *BBC*, "BBC Radio 4 Today Muslim Poll."
[1263] Cosgrove-Mather, "Many British Muslims Put Islam First."
[1264] Kettani, "Muslim Population in Europe: 1950-2020," 160.

negative view of Westerners: over 50 percent see Americans and Europeans as "selfish, violent, greedy, immoral, arrogant and fanatical"[1265]. Muslims also have a negative view of Christians and Jews: 82 percent of Muslims in Turkey and 66 percent of Muslims in Pakistan have negative views of Christians and "less than 10% have a positive opinion of Jews"[1266]. In 2013, the Berlin Social Science Center, WZB, released a report titled "Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey", which was a survey of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants in Germany, France, Netherlands, Austria, Belgium and Sweden[1267]. Dr. Ruud Koopmans, Professor of Sociology and Migration Research at the Humboldt University of Berlin, was project manager and co-author of the report. He wrote various articles based on the findings, such as "Fundamentalism and Out-group Hostility: Muslim Immigrants and Christian Natives in Western Europe", which was published in WZB Mitteilungen in December 2013 and "Fundamentalism and Out-group Hostility. Comparing Muslims and Christians in Western Europe", which was published in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* in July 2014. In these two articles he revealed that

> While about one in five natives can be considered as Islamophobic, the level of phobia against the West among Muslims - for which oddly enough there is no word; one might call it 'Occidentophobia' - is much higher still, with 54 percent believing that the West is out to destroy Islam[1268].

Further, the percentage of Muslims with "consistent fundamentalist attitudes" stood at 44 percent. Koopmans explains that although it is not universal among European Muslims, "religious fundamentalism is not marginal among Western European Muslims" either, for

> almost 60% agree that Muslims should return to the roots of Islam, 75% think there is only one possible interpretation of the Quran, which is binding for every Muslim and 65% say that religious rules [Sharia] are more important to them than the laws of the country in which they live[1269].

[1265] Pew Research Center, *Common Concerns about Islamic Extremism,* 4.
[1266] Ibid, 4, 21.
[1267] Ersanilli and Koopmans, *Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey (SCIICS)*.
[1268] Koopmans, "Fundamentalism and Out-group Hostility," 3.
[1269] Koopmans, "Religious Fundamentalism and Hostility against Out-groups," 43, 47.

Koopman suggests that such "religious fundamentalism is very likely to provide a nourishing environment for radicalization"[1270]. These figures are very troublesome. As the Muslim population of Western Europe is around 20 million people, according to these percentages almost nine million are religious fundamentalists, almost 11 million think the West wants to destroy Islam, and around 13 million think Sharia law is more important than the rule of law.

10.3 European Opposition to Islam and Immigration

Several polls, surveys, and government reports since the late 1980s have consistently shown a majority opposition by European publics to anti-European Muslim neighbourhoods and large scale population changes brought about by global mass-immigration into Europe, but with no efficient action taken by political elites. In fact, there has been an increase in immigration and stronger and more pervasive arguments for it. For example, in a 1989 Eurobarometer poll 56 percent of Britons thought that there were "too many immigrants in the UK" and by the early 1990s over 60 percent of Britons agreed with this statement[1271]. A 2004 in-depth study of anti-immigrant attitudes in Britain by Lauren McLaren, associate professor of Politics at the University of Nottingham, and Mark Johnson, a senior researcher at the National Centre for Social Research, reported that "In 1995, around two-thirds of the population thought that the number of immigrants should be reduced, but by 2003 this had jumped to three-quarters" of the population. In other words, as they state, "the conviction is overwhelmingly against immigration"[1272]. A survey in 2000 by the UK research group Ipsos MORI found that agreement with the statement that there were "too many immigrants" jumped from 55 percent in 1999 to

[1270] Koopmans, "Fundamentalism and Out-group Hostility," 5.
[1271] Saggar and Drean, "British Public Attitudes and Ethnic Minorities," 15-16.
[1272] McLaren and Johnson, "Understanding the Rising Tide of Anti-Immigrant Sentiment," 172.

66 percent in 2000 and the majority of respondents (63%) either strongly agreed or tended to agree that too much is done to help immigrants[1273].

According to Heaven Crawley, Coventry University Professor and Chair in International Migration of the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR), since the UK Labour party came to power in 1997 "race and immigration" had risen from "17th to 6th" place among the most important issues for almost 35 percent of the British public in 2005[1274]. A poll for Migration Watch UK in January 2003 titled "British Views on Immigration" found that 74 percent thought there were too many immigrants and 57 percent were "concerned that Britain is losing its own culture"[1275]. In 2009 the Migration Policy Institute reported that "between two-thirds and four-fifths of the public [were] indicating a preference for less immigration"[1276]. In a 2013 BBC survey called "Young People and Prejudice Survey" unemployment, the economy, and immigration were the top three issues for Britons. This survey showed that 53 percent viewed immigration from Eastern EU member countries and immigration from non-EU countries negatively. Only 42 percent thought that immigration was good for Britain and 57 percent wanted less immigration. Two-thirds thought that immigration "leads to increased tension between different groups" and 72 percent thought that race relations were a problem in the UK[1277].

In a 2013 poll of over 20,000 Britons conducted by Lord Ashcroft, an international businessman, author, philanthropist, and founder and Chairman of the Board of Crimestoppers, found that 60 percent thought immigration had produced more disadvantages than advantages. Over three-quarters (77%) thought that "a dramatic reduction in the number of

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[1273] Saggar and Drean, "British Public Attitudes and Ethnic Minorities," 16.
[1274] Crawley, "Evidence and Attitudes to Asylum and Immigration," 5-6.
[1275] Ipsos MORI, "British Views on Immigration."
[1276] Sommerville, Sriskandarajah and Latorre, *United Kingdom: A Reluctant Country of Immigration*.
[1277] *BBC*, *Young People and Prejudice Survey*, 127, 133, 343, 348, 359, 370

immigrants" would "help the economy" because it would reduce "the pressure on public services, cutting the benefits bill, and making it easier for British people to find jobs". The poll also revealed that 76 percent thought an "annual limit on migration from outside the EU" was a "good idea"[1278]. In a 2014 British Social Attitudes Survey, 77 percent of people wanted immigration reduced and 56 percent wanted it reduced 'a lot'[1279]. A year later, in March 2015, similar results were concluded from public opinion polls: 76 percent wanted immigration reduced and 52 percent said they wanted immigration reduced by 'a lot'[1280].

In 1990 statistics from France showed that over three-quarters (76%) "thought there were too many Arabs", over two-fifths (46%) thought there were "too many blacks", and two-fifths thought there were "too many Asians" in France. In 1994 statistics in Germany showed that almost half (47%) of Germans did not want "Arabs living in their neighbourhoods", almost two-fifths (39%) "did not want Poles" and over one third (36%) did not want Turks[1281]. In a 2003 survey called an *International Social Survey Program on Views on Desirable Trajectories for Immigration in Selected Western Nations* it was found that 66 percent of the population in France, 73 percent in Germany, 78 percent in Great Britain, and 57 percent in Sweden wanted to "reduce levels of immigration 'a little' + 'a lot'"[1282]. In 2003 a qualitative survey by the European Commission found that in terms of immigration in the UK, France, and Germany "there is an impression amongst the vast majority of people that things have 'gone too far'"[1283].

In 2011, a Global Views on Immigration poll by IPSOS found that "only 17.5% of Europeans say immigration has been positive", with "Belgians and Britons", who have "some of

[1278] Ashcroft, *Small Island*, 5, 45, 46; Ashcroft, *Public Opinion and the Politics of Immigration*.
[1279] Ford and Heath, "Immigration: A Nation Divided?" 79.
[1280] Migration Watch UK, Public Opinion and Voting: MW 361.
[1281] Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, 200
[1282] Hochschild and Mollenkopf, *The Complexities of Immigration,* 5.
[1283] European Commission 2003 survey as cited by Crawley, "Evidence and Attitudes to Asylum and Immigration," 8.

the least integrated Muslim populations in Europe", having the most negative views[1284]. This poll also revealed that over 56 percent of Europeans thought that there were "too many immigrants in our country" and around 53 percent thought that immigration had negatively impacted their country[1285]. Another ICM poll in 2011, called the Guardian Euro Poll, showed that the majority of respondents in Britain, France, Germany, Poland and Spain were opposed to immigration from outside the EU[1286]. In 2015 an International Organization for Migration report revealed that between 2012 and 2014 52 percent of Europeans wanted immigration to decrease and only eight percent wanted it to increase[1287]. In January 2013 a poll by Ipsos and the Jean-Jaures Foundation found that 70 percent of French thought there were too many foreigners living in France[1288].

In 2014 a European Commission report showed that unemployment (45%), the economic situation (24%), and immigration (18%) remained the top three most important and pressing issues for Europeans, with the latter becoming an increasingly important concern over the last few years. This report revealed that immigration from outside of the EU was viewed negatively by 57 percent of Europeans: "In 23 EU Member States, a majority of the population have a negative view of the 'immigration of people from outside the EU'"[1289]. Also in 2014, a Pew Research report revealed that the majority of people in Greece (86%), Italy (80%), France (57%), and the UK (55%) wanted fewer immigrants and Spain (47%), Germany (44%), and Poland (40%) were not far behind. All seven countries did not want an increase in immigration; only between 1% (Greece) and 14% (Germany) wanted more[1290]. A Gallup poll in 2015 revealed

[1284] Kern, "European Concerns Over Muslim Immigration Go Mainstream."
[1285] Ipsos, *Global Views on Immigration*.
[1286] *Guardian* (datablog), "Guardian/ICM Europe poll"; Glover, "Most Europeans see themselves as liberal."
[1287] Esipova, Ray, Pugliese, and Tsabutashvili, *How the World Views Migration, 8;* Esipova, Pugliese and Ray, "Europeans Most Negative Toward Immigration."
[1288] Gerard Courtois, "Les crispations alarmantes de la société française."
[1289] European Commission, "Public Opinion in the European Union, First Results," 13, 33.
[1290] Pew Research Center, *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections*, 26.

52 percent of Europeans wanted lower immigration levels[1291]. In a February 2015 Eurobarometer opinion poll it was revealed that 57 percent of Germans were against immigration from "third countries" or countries outside of the EU[1292]. A European Commission survey also from 2015 revealed that a significant number of Europeans thought migrants were negatively impacting their cities. A total of 83 cities were surveyed, which included cities in Turkey, and for 36 of them 50 percent or more of respondents thought foreigners were not well integrated, with the highest levels of discontent in European cities found in Athens (76%), Greater Athens (75%), Malmo (65%), Roma (64%) and Stockholm (56%)[1293].

A 2016 Institute for Opinion Research (IFOP) poll in France revealed that 60 percent oppose Muslim refugees coming into France[1294] and a YouGov poll in January 2016 revealed that 62 percent of Germans think there are too many asylum seekers in Germany[1295]. Despite German Chancellor Angela Merkel's insistence that there would be no cap on refugee intakes into Germany in 2016[1296], which dismisses the suggestion of an upper limit of 200,000 a year by the leader of Bavaria, Horst Seehofer, only 11 percent agreed with Merkel in a February poll by Infratest while 38 percent agreed with Seehofer[1297]. In a poll by IFOP it was found that one in three Germans opposed the acceptance of additional migrants into Germany in September 2015 and by March 2016 this number increased to almost one in two Germans (47%). This same poll showed that in both September 2015 and March 2016 64 percent of Italians and 63 percent of French opposed the acceptance of additional migrants. A main reason for opposition was the fear that accepting large numbers of migrants would draw more inflows into Europe;

[1291] Esipova, Pugliese and Ray, "Europeans Most Negative Toward Immigration."
[1292] Tost, "Poll: Majority of Germans reject immigration from outside the EU."
[1293] European Commission, *Quality of Life in European Cities, 2015*, 83
[1294] Ifop, *L'adhésion des Français à L'accueil des Migrants*, 5.
[1295] Dahlgreen, "German attitudes to immigration harden following Cologne attacks."
[1296] *Deutsch Welle*, "Merkel rejects limits on refugee intake at CSU meeting in Bavaria."
[1297] *Deutsch Welle,* "Merkel rejects Bavarian bid"; *The Local*, "Nine in ten Germans want limit on refugees."

over three quarters of French and Italians in March 2016 thought this, and 48 percent of French, 42 percent of Germans, and 60 percent of Italians thought that the same intense migrant flows into Europe would continue for three years or more. This poll also showed that over 40 percent of Germans thought irregular migrants were actually economic migrants rather than asylum seekers[1298]. In a June 2016 study by the University of Leipzig, it was found that 60 percent of Germans thought that most asylum seekers "are not really at risk of any persecution in their home country" and 33.8 percent thought that Germany had too many foreigners in a "dangerous" way[1299].

On October 3rd 2010 German President Christian Wulff declared that "Islam has become a part of Germany identity"[1300]. However, according to a poll by *Bild* newspaper, only 24 percent of Germans agreed with him[1301]. A month later the Christian Democratic Union (CDU, Merkel's party) passed a resolution that stressed that the cultural identity of Germany is based on the "Christian-Jewish tradition, ancient and Enlightenment philosophy and the nation's historical experience". It further stated that

> Our country benefits from immigrants who live and work here. But Germany does not benefit from a minority that refuses to integrate, does not want to learn our language, and denies participation and advancement to their children.…We expect that those who come here respect and recognize our cultural identity[1302].

Merkel also stated that "What applies here is the constitution, not sharia"[1303]. In addition to the statement "Islam belongs to Germany" not being supported by the majority of Germans and the emphasis of the CDU resolution on the Judaeo-Christian character of Germany, Interior Minister, Hans-Peter Friedrich in March 2011 stated that "To say that Islam belongs in Germany

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[1298] Fourquet, "Six Months After: Europeans Facing the Migrant Crisis." 3, 2, 9, 4.
[1299] Decker, Kiess, and Brähler, *Die enthemmte Mitte,* 49, 34.
[1300] Wulff, "Valuing Diversity – Fostering Cohesion," 6.
[1301] *Der Spiegel*, "The World from Berlin."
[1302] CDU, Parteitages der CDU Deutschlands, Beschluss des 23: Verantwortung Zukunft, 12.
[1303] Stephen Brown, "German Muslims must obey law, not sharia: Merkel."

is not a fact supported by history at any point"[1304]. And further polls showed consistent majority opposition to the statement: in 2014 a poll by Forsa for *Stern* magazine showed that only 44 percent of Germans agreed with Wulff's declaration[1305]; a year later another poll showed that only 37 percent agreed, and then a 2016 poll revealed that only 22 percent agreed and 60 percent thought that there is "no place for Islam in Germany"[1306]. In fact, a study by the University of Leipzig in June 2016 found that 40 percent of Germans think Muslims should be prohibited from immigrating to Germany and 50 percent felt like "a stranger in their own country" because there are too many Muslims, a view that increased nearly 18 percent since 2009[1307]. In other words, both the people and history do not support the claim that 'Islam belongs to Germany'.

Neither does Islam "belong" to Europe. Yet, at a "Call to Europe V: Islam in Europe" conference in June 2015, an Italian politician and socialist, Federica Mogherini, the current High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission in the Juncker Commission, declared that "Islam belongs in Europe. It holds a place in Europe's history, in our culture, in our food and – what matters most – in Europe's present and future". She further stated that the religion of Islam is not only part of Europe, but "political Islam should be part of the picture" as well[1308]. In other words, Islamism, which is political Islam i.e. non secular, blending politics and religion and rooted in sharia law and inextricably linked to Muslim fundamentalism and terrorism, "belongs" to secular Europe. But again, polls and surveys (let alone history) have consistently shown that significant numbers of Europeans do not agree.

[1304] *Der Spiegel*, "A Slap in the Face for Muslims."
[1305] Hallett, "Poll: Islam 'Does Not Belong in German Society'."
[1306] *RT News*, "Islam does not belong in Germany, 60% agree with AfD."
[1307] Decker, Kiess, and Brähler, *Die enthemmte Mitte,* 49, 50.
[1308] European Union External Action, "Federica Mogherini's remarks."

The European Values Survey in 2000 showed that Muslims are the societal group that Europeans least-wanted as a neighbour[1309]. In a 2002 survey in Germany 43 percent of respondents thought Islam was not a tolerant religion and almost a fifth thought that Islam should not be allowed to be practiced in Germany[1310]. A 2003 Ipsos poll found that 62 percent of French thought that the values of Islam are incompatible with the French Republic[1311]. Another 2003 study found that 56 percent of Italians thought that Muslims have "cruel and barbaric laws" and 47 percent viewed Muslims as "religious fundamentalists and fanatics"[1312]. In a 2008 survey by the Pew Research Center's *Global Attitudes Project* it was found that 38 percent in France, 50 percent in Germany, and 52 percent in Spain viewed Muslims negatively[1313]. In a 2009 Gallup poll, *The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations*, it was revealed that 35 percent of the French public thought that Muslims in France were not loyal to France, 45 percent of the German public thought the same about Muslims in Germany, and 49 percent of the British public thought the same about Muslims in Britain[1314].

A 2010 opinion survey of 5000 people from Germany, Denmark, France, the Netherlands and Portugal titled "Perception and Acceptance of Religious Diversity" conducted by the Sociology department of the University of Münster in partnership with the TNS Emnid political polling firm found that only 20 percent of Germans and 30 percent of French thought Islam was suitable for the Western world and more than 80 percent from all five countries agreed with the statement that "Muslims must adapt to our culture". The same survey revealed that only 34 percent of West Germans and 26 percent of East Germans had a positive view of Muslims, less than 10 percent of West Germans and five percent of East Germans said

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[1309] EVS, "European Values Study 1999."
[1310] Bures, *EU Counterterrorism Policy. A Paper Tiger?* 25.
[1311] Ibid, 25.
[1312] Ibid, 25.
[1313] Pew Research Center, *Unfavorable Views of Jews and Muslims on the Increase in Europe*, 1
[1314] Gallup, *The Gallup Coexist Index 2009,* 20.

Islam is a peaceful religion, and more than 40 percent of Germans thought the practice of Islam should be "vigorously restricted" [1315]. Another report from 2010 showed that 58.4 percent of Germans wanted Islam to be restricted in Germany[1316].

A 2010 Ifop poll for *Le Monde* found that only 22 percent of French and 24 percent of Germans think Islam enriches their countries. Over two-thirds (68%) of French and three-quarters (75%) of Germans thought Muslims were not well integrated with 61 percent and 67 percent of these percentages saying that Muslims refuse to integrate. And 66 percent of French and 72 percent of Germans described Islam as fanatical, submissive, and opposed to western values[1317]. A 2011 poll by *Le Monde* newspaper also revealed that "61% of the French blame" the poor integration of Muslims "on the 'refusal' by Muslims to integrate"[1318]. A 2011 "Global Views on Immigration" poll conducted by Ipsos revealed that

> scepticism about Muslim immigration is not limited to a 'right-wing' political fringe, as proponents of multiculturalism often assert. Mainstream voters across the entire political spectrum are now expressing concerns about the role of Islam in Europe.

Over 50 percent of respondents from 12 out of the 23 countries polled thought that immigration had a negative impact on their country, 7 (out of 9) were EU member states[1319].

In 2012 an IFOP poll on European perceptions of Islam in France, the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands, found an overall rejection of political Islam and general agreement that Muslims had essentially failed to integrate[1320]. In 2013 Baroness Warsi, Britain's most senior Muslim minister revealed only 24 percent of Britons thought Islam is compatible with the British way of life[1321] and in January 2013 a poll by Ipsos and the Jean-Jaures Foundation found that 74 percent of French thought Islam as "intolerant" and "incompatible" with the values of

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[1315] Pollack, *Wahrnehmung und Akzeptanz Religiöser Vielfalt*, 4.
[1316] Decker, Weißmann, Kiess, and Brähler, *Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2010*, 134.
[1317] Ifop, *Comparative survey France/Germany on Islam, 4-6, 8, 10*
[1318] Le Bars, "Islam et integration,"; Kern, "European Concerns Over Muslim Immigration Go Mainstream."
[1319] Kern, "European Concerns Over Muslim Immigration Go Mainstream"; Ipsos, *Global Views on Immigration*, 5.
[1320] Ifop, *Le regard des Européens sur l' I slam*.
[1321] Oliver Wright, "Baroness Warsi."

French society. In response, French historian Michel Winock stated that "the ingredients for populism are there and not just in the ranks of Marine Le Pen's Front National party"[1322].

An April 2013 study by the research agency Tilder and the Institut Montaigne for the French private broadcaster *LCP*, found that 73 percent of French view Islam negatively and only 36 percent considered Islamic practices to be compatible with French law[1323]. In a 2013 *BBC* survey, 60 percent of Britons thought Muslims had a negative image in the British public and 28 percent thought Britain would be better off without Muslims. Muslims were also given the lowest trust level (43%) compared to all other religious groups[1324]. In a "Global Attitudes Survey" by Pew Research in 2014, 27 percent of French, 33 percent of Germans, and 26 percent of Britons saw Muslims unfavourably[1325]. A 2016 poll by Ipsos in France found that 89 percent of respondents think that Muslims are poorly integrated because they refuse to integrate[1326].

In March 2016 the former PM of Britain, Tony Blair (Fabian) said that "many millions" of Muslims have a worldview that is "fundamentally incompatible with the modern world"[1327]. An April 2016 COMRES survey for the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in the UK found that 33 percent of respondents thought that Islam promotes violence in the UK and 56 percent did not think that Islam was compatible with British values[1328]. Also in April 2016 in an interview with the *Libération* newspaper, French Prime Minister Manual Valls admitted that "a majority of our fellow citizens doubt" that Islam is compatible with democracy, revealing that this view is not the perception of 'marginal extremists'[1329].

[1322] Gerard Courtois, "Les crispations alarmantes de la société française."
[1323] *Euro-Islam*, "Most French view Islam negatively."
[1324] *BBC*, *Young People and Prejudice Survey*, 97, 259, 201.
[1325] Wike, "In Europe, sentiment against immigrants, minorities runs high."
[1326] Teinturier and Mercier, *Perceptions et attentes de la population juive,* 17.
[1327] Broomfield, "Many millions of Muslims 'fundamentally incompatible with the modern world', says Tony Blair."
[1328] Ahmadi Muslims, "Perceptions of the Caliphate," 1, 10.
[1329] Joffrin, Biseau, Alemagna, and Bretton, "Manuel Valls."

Most revealing are European views on Islam as being dangerous and/or a threat to their country and identity. In 2003 a study showed that 36 percent of Italians thought that Islam was dangerous and ten years later a survey by the marketing research company SWG conducted for *The Festival for Politics* found that this view had risen to 50 percent[1330]. In a 2007 *Financial Times*/Harris Poll it was found that 38 percent of Brits thought the presence of Muslims in their country was a threat, which was followed by 30 percent of Italians, 28 percent of Germans, 23 percent of Spaniards, and 20 percent of French[1331]. A 2010 Ifop poll for *Le Monde* found that 42 percent of French and 40 percent of Germans thought Islam was a threat to their country[1332]. A 2011 poll by *Le Monde* found that "42% of French citizens considered the presence of a Muslim community in their country to be 'a threat' to their national identity" and another "40% of French voters believe that Muslim prayer in the streets of France resembles an occupation"[1333]. In an October 2012 Ifop poll for *Le Figaro* it was found that 60 percent of French thought Islam was too influential in France and 43 percent saw it as a threat to national identity[1334]. In 2013 Baroness Warsi revealed that only 23 percent of Britons thought Islam was not a threat to the West[1335]. A 2016 poll by IPSOS in France revealed 54 percent of respondents think that immigration is not a source of enrichment for France and 39 percent think the main source of insecurity is immigration[1336]. An April 2016 Ifop poll found that 52 percent of French think that Islam is too influential in France and 47 percent think that Islam is a threat to French identity[1337].

[1330] Mantengoli, "La Chiesa non deve condizionare lo Stato."
[1331] *Euro-Islam*, "Attitudes Toward Muslims Mixed in Europe and the U.S."
[1332] Ifop, *Comparative survey France/Germany on Islam*, 4.
[1333] Le Bars, "Islam et intégration"; Kern, "European Concerns Over Muslim Immigration Go Mainstream."
[1334] Guenois, "L'image de l'islam se dégrade fortement en France."
[1335] Oliver Wright, "Baroness Warsi."
[1336] Teinturier and Mercier, *Perceptions et attentes de la population juive,* 8.
[1337] Guenois, "L'image de l'islam se dégrade fortement en France." Most recently, results from a survey by Chatham House of over 10,000 Europeans from 10 European states released in February 2017, revealed that 55% of respondents agreed that "all further migration from many Muslim countries should be stopped". See Goodwin, Raines, and Cutts, "What Do Europeans Think About Muslim Immigration?"

Part IV

The 2015/2016 Migrant Crisis in Europe

11. Asylum, Migrant Demographics, and International Responses

The 2015/2016 European 'migration crisis' is not a new phenomenon. Already in 1993 there were problems in Spain with illegal immigrants arriving from Morocco, leading to the construction of a fencing network and in 2011 alone there were around 345,000 border refusals of illegal immigrants trying to enter Europe. In the first few years of 2010 there were problems with illegal migrants (20,000+) arriving on the Italian island of Lampedusa, issues with illegals (30,000) at the border of Poland, and problems with illegal migrants entering Greece and Bulgaria from Turkey, also leading to the erection of key border fences[1338]. In 2011, Citizen Protection Minister of Greece, Christos Papoutsis, declared that "Greek society has reached its limits in taking in illegal immigrants". He said this because the Greek border with Turkey had become "the most common entry point for illegal immigrants...from Afghanistan, Algeria, Iraq, Pakistan and Somalia" leading to the arrests of around 250 illegal immigrants every single day. Only when 200 Frontex agents arrived in November 2010 to help patrol the frontier border were arrests down to 140 a day[1339]. A few years later, in July 2014, the head of Germany's federal police stated that Germany was the "number one destination" for illegal immigrants entering Europe[1340].

Over the last few decades hundreds of thousands (into the millions) of mostly male migrants from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia have been using the Mediterranean Sea

[1338] Schain, "The Challenge of Illegal Immigration in Europe."
[1339] *Deutsche Welle*, "Greece plans border fence to keep out illegal immigrants."
[1340] Synon, "Germany Is Europe's Top Destination for Illegal Immigrants, says Berlin Top Cop."

and land crossings to illegally enter the European Union and other European nation-states. With on-going wars in the Middle East and North Africa, persistent political instability across the Muslim world, high unemployment and an exploding population in Africa, and an aggressive far-left agenda to 'open the borders' of Europe to 'the free movement' of non-European peoples, the number of 'irregular migrants' (both genuine refugees and illegal migrants) making their way to seek opportunities in 'rich', 'generous', and 'safe' Europe have increased dramatically over the last few years, reaching an undeniably visible and critical threshold in 2015/2016.

As can be seen in figure 11, between 2000 and 2011 hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants were detected arriving on the southern shores of Europe via various routes across the Mediterranean Sea.

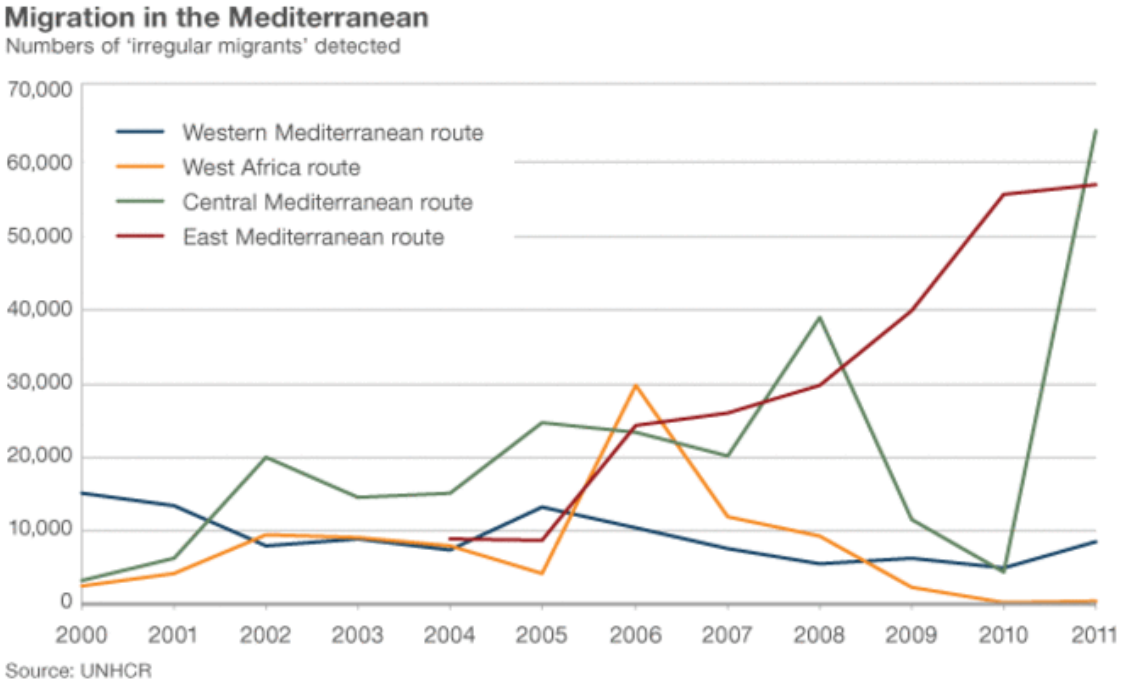

Figure 11. Irregular Migration to Europe, 2000 - 2011.
Source: From Gil, Barna, Hakala, Rey, and Claros, *Mediterranean Flows into Europe,* 7.

On top of this illegal entry into Europe, European countries have also been practicing high-levels of legal immigration from the same regions of the world, levels that have increased

steadily from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands every year since the 1960s and 1970s. At this time the populations of European countries were overwhelmingly ethnically European but by 2011 the total foreign-born populations from Asia and Africa in just five European countries – Sweden, Belgium, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom – amounted to around 14 million people. If we were to include second, third, and fourth generations, then between 20 and 30 percent of the national populations of these five European countries would be African or Asian in ethnicity, which is an incredible contrast to just over half a century ago.

Most legal and illegal migrants entering Europe come from Muslim countries in the Middle East and South Asia, such as Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Bangladesh, and Syria, and from Muslim countries in Africa, particularly from the Maghreb (Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) but also from Somalia, Sudan, Western Sahara, and Senegal. Mass-immigration from Muslim countries and the high fertility rate of Muslims in general has led to large and rapidly growing Muslim populations in Europe, and Islam is now the fastest growing religion in Europe[1341].

11.1 Asylum Law, the EU-Turkey Agreement, and the Migrant Crisis as Boon

According to the 1988 *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, the definition of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) is

> persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have *not crossed an internationally recognized State border*[1342].

In principle 15(c) of the 2004 *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, IDPs have "[t]he right to seek asylum in another country"[1343]. According to the European Commission, asylum is

[1341] Nachmani, *Europe and its Muslim Minorities*, 35; Cherribi, *In the House of War*, 33.
[1342] United Nations, *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (1998), 5 (my emphasis).
[1343] United Nations, *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (2004), 8.

> [a] form of protection given by a State on its territory, based on the principle of non-refoulement and internationally or nationally recognised refugee rights and which is granted to a person who is unable to seek protection in their country of citizenship and/or residence, in particular for fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion[1344].

An asylum seeker is a person who has applied for asylum (refugee status) but are not yet considered refugees[1345]. According to the 1951 *Refugee Convention* a refugee is a person who

> owing to well-founded fear of being *persecuted* for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it[1346].

Article 10(2) of Council Directive 2004/83/EC, explains that persecution involves targeting the "the racial, religious, national, social or political characteristic[s]" of a person and according to article 9(1a) this persecution must be "sufficiently serious...to constitute a severe violation of basic human rights"[1347]. A United Nations Commissioner for Refugees "Mid-Year Trend" report, declared in 2014 that there were 14.4 million refugees in the world and by mid-2015, as a result of the Syrian war, there were over 15.1 million. The three top refugee-producing countries were Syria (4.2 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million), and Somalia (1.1 million), others top countries include South Sudan, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Myanmar, Eritrea, and Iraq[1348].

An asylum seeker who has gained refugee status in a EU member state has been determined as a refugee by the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) procedure[1349]. This involves the member state recognising the asylum seeker as "a refugee"[1350] and being subject

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[1344] European Migration Network (EMN), *Asylum and Migration,* 31.
[1345] Ibid, 32.
[1346] Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights (ADH), "International Refugee Law," (my emphasis).
[1347] EUR-Lex, *Council Directive 2004/83/EC*, 16-17.
[1348] UNHCR, *Mid-Year Trends 2015*, 3, 6.
[1349] UNHCR, "Refugee Status Determination."
[1350] European Migration Network (EMN), *Asylum and Migration,* 232.

to various benefits, such as the protection and fundamental rights and freedoms according to the *Convention and Protocol Relating to Refugees*. Such rights and freedoms include "unity of family", "welfare services", "access to the courts, to primary education, to work, and the provision for documentation, including a refugee travel document in passport form"[1351]. Such rights are not afforded without the onus of the refugee to some obligations or duties given to the state in return, such as obedience to the "laws and regulations" and "measures" for public order in the state concerned[1352]. There are various reasons as to why a refugee will cease to be a refugee, such as when "the circumstances in connection with which he or she has been recognised as a refugee have ceased to exist"[1353]. Put simply, in the context of Syrians fleeing, say, from the persecution of ISIS in Syria, this would mean that (if and) when ISIS is defeated then they will no longer be considered refugees.

If an asylum seeker does not qualify for refugee status in the country in which they apply for asylum i.e. they do not have a well-grounded fear of persecution, they may be granted subsidiary protection instead, which is given to a 'person otherwise in need of protection'. According to Article 15 of *Council Directive 2004/83/EC* subsidiary protection is given to those people who are experiencing the threat of 'serious harm', which consists of (a) the "death penalty or execution" or (b) "torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of an applicant in the country of origin" or (c) "serious and individual threat to a civilian's life or person by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict" [1354]. Those who have been granted subsidiary protection due to (c) are sometimes called 'war refugees'. Like refugee status, a person will cease to have subsidiary protection for various reasons, such as "when the circumstances which led to the granting of

[1351] UNHCR, *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees,* 10-11, 3.
[1352] Ibid, 16.
[1353] EUR-Lex, Council Directive 2004/83/EC, Article 11(1e).
[1354] Ibid, Article 15.

subsidiary protection status have ceased to exist or have changed to such a degree that protection is no longer required"[1355]. In other words, Syrians fleeing the threat of serious harm from the armed conflict in Syria will no longer require subsidiary protection once the war ends.

According to the European Commission, which refers to international and EU law, a 'safe country of origin' is a country that has "a democratic system and generally and consistently" has no persecution, torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, and no threat of violence or armed conflict against its citizens[1356]. While citizens have the right to leave this country and seek asylum in another country, their application is likely to be rejected as their country of national origin is considered 'safe'. There are only 19 non-European countries that EU members have designated as 'safe countries of origin' (those with an asterisk are considered as safe for males only): Algeria, Bangladesh, Benin*, China, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia*, Ghana*, India, Kenya*, Liberia*, Malawi*, Mali, Mauritius*, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone*, Tanzania, and Turkey[1357]. However, these 'safe countries of origin' may be safe for their citizens but may not be safe for non-citizens who are seeking asylum.

Compared to a 'safe country of origin' a 'safe third country' is a country that is considered safe for asylum seekers of nationalities other than that of the country. All EU member states are considered as 'safe third countries'. According to the *Asylum Information Database*

> Today the safe third country concept has its main impact at land borders. Border police shall refuse entry if a foreigner, who has entered from a safe third country, requests asylum at the border. Furthermore, border police shall immediately initiate removal to a safe third country if an asylum seeker is apprehended at the border without the necessary documents[1358].

[1355] Ibid, Article 16(1).
[1356] European Commission, "An EU 'Safe Countries of Origin' List," 1.
[1357] Ibid, 2.
[1358] Informationsverbund Asyl und Migration, "The Safe Country Concepts: Germany."

Although human rights organisations are critical of the designation[1359], Turkey, since October 2015, is now also considered a 'safe third country'[1360].

11.1.1 EU Asylum Law: The Dublin Regulation

The Dublin Regulation, also known as Regulation No. 604/2013 or the Dublin III Regulation,

> provides the legal basis for establishing the criteria and mechanism for determining the member state responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the member states by a third country national or a stateless person. This mechanism is known as the *Dublin procedure*. The Dublin III Regulation applies to 32 countries [sometimes known as 'Dublin Countries'] which include the EU member states, Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein and Switzerland[1361].

The criteria for establishing which Member State is responsible for processing asylum applications is "in hierarchical order, from family considerations, to recent possession of visa or residence permit in a Member State, to whether the applicant has entered EU irregularly, or regularly"[1362]. This Dublin system also includes the EURODAC Regulation, a Europe-wide fingerprinting database for unauthorised entrants to the EU who apply for asylum[1363]. In regards to irregular migrants seeking asylum, in article 13.1 of the Dublin Regulation it states that the first 'Dublin country' a migrant enters is responsible for processing the application:

> Where it is established, on the basis of proof or circumstantial evidence as described in the two lists mentioned in Article 22(3) of this Regulation, including the data referred to in Regulation (EU) No 603/2013, that an applicant has irregularly crossed the border into a Member State by land, sea or air having come from a third country, the Member State thus entered shall be responsible for examining the application for international protection. That responsibility shall cease 12 months after the date on which the irregular border crossing took place"[1364].

The vast majority of irregular migrants in 2015/2016 have travelled hundreds if not thousands of miles and across various "safe third countries", particularly 'central transition'

[1359] Hume, "Migrant crisis"; Amnesty International, "Dutch plan for EU"; Frelick, "Is Turkey Safe for Refugees?"
[1360] EurActiv.com, "Commission has 'no time' for moral questions"; Stupp, Jacobsen, Valero, and Tempest, "Migrant returns start Sunday"; European Stability Initiative (ESI), "Turkey as a 'Safe Third Country' for Greece."
[1361] Citizens Information, "Dublin III Regulation" (emphasis in original).
[1362] European Commission, "Country Responsible for Asylum Application (Dublin)."
[1363] European Commission. "Identification of Applicants (EURODAC)."
[1364] EUR-Lex, *Regulation (EU) No 604/2013,* Article 13.1.

Turkey, and unlawfully entered 'gateway' EU member states such as Greece, Italy, and Bulgaria, all considered 'safe third countries'. This is not where their journey ends however. The majority of them have illegally transited through other EU member states, also 'safe third countries', in an effort to arrive at their choice country of destination where they apply for asylum, usually the wealthier welfare states of Northern and Western Europe, such as Sweden and Germany who have very generous refugee and asylum policies and which have seen the largest asylum applications out of all the EU28 members. These countries also have generous health benefits, free education and training courses, and relatively low unemployment. But an asylum seeker does not have the right to traverse freely throughout the Schengen area and apply for asylum in whichever European country he or she prefers. The first European 'Dublin' countries they enter, which are 'safe third countries', are where they should apply for asylum and are responsible for processing their applications. If an asylum seeker applies for asylum in another country other than the one in which they first arrived, they are no longer considered as a 'genuine' refugee and will likely be deported back to the first 'safe third country' they entered in Europe to be processed for asylum there. In other words, the Dublin Regulation is an effort to deter people who are entering Europe illegally from making "multiple asylum claims or 'forum shopping' within the European Union"– which strains resources, skews actual asylum numbers, and overburdens authorities[1365].

In sum, asylum seekers are not allowed to choose their preferred country of choice for legal protection and financial assistance. Such patterns of travel and behaviour are unlawful in several instances according to various laws stated above. This is why certain EU member states are rejecting their applications and deporting them. Back in January 2016 and again in March, the European Commission stated that

[1365] Immigration Law Practitioners' Association, "Dublin III Regulation," 1.

> Member States should refuse entry at the border to third country nationals who do not satisfy the entry conditions of the Schengen Borders Code and who have not submitted an application for asylum despite having had the opportunity to do so. It should be borne in mind that under EU law, asylum seekers have no right to choose the Member State granting them protection. These refusals should be applied at the external Schengen border and at the borders of Member States with temporary internal border controls[1366].

Hungary, for example, rejects asylum applications by migrants who have travelled through safe third countries and who have had "genuine opportunities of seeking and obtaining protection" there instead[1367].

Since the onset of the 2015/2016 'migrant crisis', the Dublin Agreement has been violated in various ways by certain European member states. Large numbers, even trains full of irregular migrants[1368] were 'waved through' border checks throughout Europe and at the external borders[1369]. This is a serious security matter as no identity checks were conducted. The Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, Dimitris Avramopoulos, stated in March 2016 that "all Member States need to apply the rules - the 'wave through' approach must end and Member States must grant access to asylum applicants, but refuse entry to those who merely wish to transit"[1370]. Yet some of these rules were waived for a few months in 2015. Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, suspended the Dublin Regulation for refugees in August 2015[1371], which led to various criticisms against her, including politicians from her own center-right party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its counterpart in Bavaria, the Christian Social Union (CSU). CSU said that "many migrants would see her decision as an invitation to apply for asylum in Germany"[1372], which did in fact happen. Over 1.2 million irregular migrants

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[1366] *Financial Times*, "European Commission supports plan"; European Commission, "Back to Schengen."
[1367] AIDA, "Hungary Adopts List of Safe Countries of Origin and Safe Third Countries."
[1368] Barker and Brunsden, "Migrant flows put EU's Schengen under pressure."
[1369] European Commission, "Leaders' Meeting on refugee flows along the Western Balkans Route."
[1370] European Commission, "Back to Schengen."
[1371] Dernbach, "Germany suspends Dublin agreement for Syrian refugees."
[1372] *Deutsch Welle* (DW), "Germany reinstates Dublin rules for Syrian refugees."

of various nationalities (i.e. not just Syrian) entered Germany in 2015 in the hope of seeking asylum there[1373].

By early November 2015 the suspension of the Dublin Regulation by Germany had led to chaos for various European countries. Hundreds of thousands of migrants from various regions of Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia crossed the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas and other routes (see chapter 11.2) and forcefully trekked their way across European 'safe third countries' to reach open-door Germany on the pretext of being "invited" by *Mutti Merkel*. In an effort to "return to orderly procedure"[1374], Germany's Ministry of the Interior on November 10th 2015 announced the reinstatement of the Dublin Regulation for all EU member countries, except for Greece, which was (and still is) bearing the brunt of the migrant flows into Europe[1375]. All asylum seekers that arrived in Germany and other European countries were to be deported back to the first EU country they had entered to apply for refugee status there.

11.1.2 The EU-Turkey Agreement and its Deficiencies

In contrast to the Hungarian idea of building a massive fence in an effort to control the migrant flows[1376] in September 2015 the European Stability Initiative (ESI), a think tank in Berlin, proposed an agreement between the EU and Turkey that aimed "to restore control of the EU's external border while simultaneously addressing the vast humanitarian crisis". This agreement involved the German commitment of "taking 500,000 Syrian refugees directly from Turkey in the coming twelve months", which was an "offer" that "must be matched by other European

[1373] See Part IV.
[1374] *TRT World*, "Germany reinstates Dublin regulation for Syrian refugees."
[1375] However, Greece was not an optional country for sending back asylum deportees because since 2011 the European Court of Human Rights has considered the treatment of refugees there as "degrading". Rankin, "EU unveils plans to reform asylum rules to help frontline members."
[1376] Gutteridge, "The Great Wall of Europe"; Cantekin and Goldet, "Hungary defends border fences."

nations" in terms of "burden-sharing...at EU level". It also involved Turkey taking back all refugees that reached Greece[1377].

On October 4th a version of this EU-Turkey agreement was released by the ESI and called 'The Merkel Plan'[1378]. Then, on the 28th January after a meeting in December with Merkel, Mark Rutte (Dutch Prime Minister), Stefan Loefven (Swedish Prime Minister), and Frans Timmermans (Dutch EU commissioner), the Dutch social-democrat leader Diederik Samsom declared to the newspaper *De Volkskrant*[1379] a plan, funded by the EU budget, for EU member-states to accept, from Turkey, "a couple hundred thousand refugees per year" on the basis that Turkey would accept "everyone who enters [the EU] via Greece". This 'Samsom Plan' did not involve forcing reluctant member-states to accept refugee quotas, but rather "a coalition of the willing" – ten member states who agreed to the plan. Those that did not join this coalition would contribute financially to the settlement of refugees[1380]. The outcome of both the Merkel and Samsom plans has been called the Merkel-Samsom plan by the ESI[1381].

Already in September 2015 Numan Kurtulmus, the Turkish deputy prime minister, stated that "If European nations committed to accepting any number of refugees currently trying to go west from Turkey...Ankara would provide planes to fly them to their new host country"[1382]. By the 18th March 2016 a conditional "deal" was reached between the EU Heads of State/Government and Turkey that was based on the Merkel-Samsom plan and addressed, in part, curbing the flow of irregular migrants from Turkey to the EU. A European Commission press release stated that

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[1377] European Stability Initiative (ESI), "Why people don't need to drown in the Aegean."
[1378] European Stability Initiative (ESI), "The Merkel Plan."
[1379] Peeperkorn, "Nederland wil vluchtelingen 'per kerende veerboot' terugsturen naar Turkije." In January 2016 Hungary and Slovenia suggested building a wall along Greece's northern border, effectively isolating Greece from the rest of Europe. See: *Agence France Presse*, "Hungary, Slovenia urge fencing off of Greece to keep migrants out."
[1380] Teffer, "Dutch want migrant swap deal"; Kingsley, "Rights groups criticise Europe refugee resettlement plan."
[1381] Knaus, "The Merkel-Samsom Plan – a short history."
[1382] Peker and Abdulrahim, "Refugees Seek New Land Routes to Europe Across Turkey."

> EU Heads of State or Government and Turkey agreed to end the irregular migration from Turkey to the EU and replace it instead with legal channels of resettlement of refugees to the European Union. The aim is to replace disorganised, chaotic, irregular and dangerous migratory flows by organised, safe and legal pathways to Europe for those entitled to international protection in line with EU and international law[1383].

This EU-Turkey agreement, which has been criticised for various human rights reasons[1384], involves Turkey accepting "the rapid return of all migrants not in need of international protection crossing from Turkey into Greece and to take back all irregular migrants intercepted in Turkish waters" and includes 'swapping' every migrant deportee from the EU to Turkey with one Syrian registered with refugee status that is temporarily accommodated in Turkey[1385].

The EU-Turkey deal also involves certain other conditions, such as Turkey "opening its labour market to Syrians under temporary protection" and "stepped up security efforts by the Turkish coast guard and police"[1386]. In addition, it was declared that the EU will allow Turkey's 77 million citizens to come to Europe without needing visas by the end of June 2016[1387] (a dialogue that began 16 December 2013[1388]) which will allow Turks, with biometric passports, short 90-day stays for business or pleasure in the Schengen area[1389]. There was also a promise of increased talks regarding Turkey becoming a member of the EU[1390]. EU funding and financial

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[1383] European Commission, "Implementing the EU-Turkey Statement."
[1384] Parliamentary Assembly, "The situation of refugees and migrants." Also see footnotes 1359 and 1360.
[1385] European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016"; *BBC News*, "Migrant crisis: EU-Turkey deal."
[1386] European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016."
[1387] *Schengen Visa Info*, "Turkey expecting Visa-free travel to the Schengen Area by June."
[1388] European Commission, "Roadmap for a Visa-free Regime with Turkey"; EUR-Lex, *Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council*. Turkey applied to become a member of the European Economic Community in April 1987 and has been an associate member since 1963. It has been a member of the Council of Europe since 1949. In April 2016 Turkish was set to become an official language of the European Union, without European peoples voting on it (MEPs did), in expectation of Turkey's accession to the EU as a member state. Critics have "warned that Turkey's large population, which grew from 50 million in 1985 to 77 million in 2015 and is projected to overtake Germany's by 2018, would give it more MEPs than the UK, making it the second biggest voting power under the EU's Qualified Majority Voting system". In other words, if it becomes an EU member state, Turkey would be the only Muslim-majority nation in the European Union and would have very influential power over the bloc. See: Giannangeli, "Fury as Turkish is made an 'official EU language' before ANY voters support membership"; Gotev, "MEPs call for Turkish becoming EU language"; European Parliament, *European Parliament resolution of 14 April 2016 on the 2015 report on Turkey (2015/2898(RSP))*.
[1389] European Commission, "Turkey's Progress on the Visa Liberalisation Roadmap."
[1390] However, a pew research poll in 2014 found that 66% person of Turks do not view the EU favourably. See: Poushter, "The Turkish people don't look favorably upon the U.S., or any other country, really."

aid is also part of the agreement, such that in March it was declared that under the Facility of Refugees the EU aimed to provide funding to Turkey for "projects for persons under temporary protection" especially "in the field of health, education, infrastructure, food and other living costs", totalling around 6 billion Euros (nearly 9 million CDN$) up until the end of 2018[1391]. On April 19th 2016 the European Commission issued two press releases that declared the EU would provide Greece with €83 million under the Emergency Assistance Instrument to "improve living conditions for refugees in Greece", which on May 12th stood at 54,542 people. It would also provide Turkey with €110 million under the EU-Turkey agreement for "the immediate needs of Syrian refugees in Turkey" and to "cover expenses for food, health care and accommodation of migrants who have been returned from Greece to Turkey", of which there were only 386 by May 4th (and only 125 'swap' settlements)[1392].

As a result of the EU-Turkey deal there has been a marked decrease in arrivals to Greece (3,462 arrived in April 2016 compared to 13,556 in April 2015)[1393], meaning that Turkey has finally made efforts to stop the asylum seeker flows into Europe. However, the EU-Turkey deal does not address the fact that Iraqis are fleeing ISIS as well as Syrians, but this is because a main reason for accepting Syrian 'refugees' is the supposed repressive regime of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad rather than ISIS[1394]. The EU-Turkey deal also does not address the continued arrival of irregular migrants from Africa and elsewhere to Greece. As such, between the onset of the EU-Turkey deal and May 10th 2016 Greece has seen 8,587 new arrivals to its

[1391] European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016."
[1392] European Commission, "EU provides €83 million to improve conditions for refugees in Greece"; European Commission, "Implementing the EU-Turkey Statement"; European Commission, "Facility for Refugees in Turkey."
[1393] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Daily Report: May 13 2016.
[1394] Meyssan, "How the European Union is Manipulating the Syrian Refugees."

shores (some are still coming from Turkey)[1395]. In fact, after deportations, relocations, and returns, Greece still had 1,425 new arrivals between April 12th and May 12th 2016[1396].

The EU-Turkey agreement also does not address the 'swap' of non-Syrian genuine refugees in Turkey, or the ongoing irregular migrant arrivals in Italy (the second largest sea route) and other European countries from Africa and the Middle East (which represent over 50% of all arrivals)[1397]. In any case, the Overseas Development Institute has stated that the EU-Turkey deal is "unlikely to work" as

> refugees and migrants do not make the decision to leave their home lightly, are willing to take significant risks and will not be deterred by the policies and restrictions of EU countries. Those excluded from the deal will continue to try different, more dangerous routes if the border between Turkey and Greece is shut to them[1398].

Wil van Gemert, the deputy director of Europol stated that "Migrants still want to go to the E.U., and there will be alternate routes looked for and offered by organized crime" but "they will operate more covertly, using difficult routes despite increased enforcement"[1399]. 'Irregular migrants' will still attempt to come to Europe and since the Aegean route and Balkan routes are now essentially 'closed' other routes will 'open' or be used, such as routes through Italy, Spain, Albania, France, Bulgaria, Finland, Romania, Hungary, Ukraine, and so on. More importantly, a Greek court in May 2016 ruled that Turkey is a "unsafe third country", which, in effect, renders the EU-Turkey deal meaningless[1400]. Irregular arrivals from Turkey to Greece will now not be deported back to Turkey, which was a central aspect of the agreement between Ankara and Brussels. In addition, Turkey refuses to acknowledge the Armenian Genocide (1915-1923) despite EU pressure to do so. Erdogan has accused the EU of employing "propaganda

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[1395] See: UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Daily Report: May 10 2016.
[1396] Ibid, April 12 2016, May 12 2016. According to Daily Report: May 6 2016, "1,694 third-country nationals were deported or returned to their countries of origin from Greece in April" and "6,247 third-country nationals have been returned to their country of origin since the beginning of the year".
[1397] See chapter 11.2.
[1398] Dearden, "Refugee crisis."
[1399] Alderman, "Smugglers Prey on Migrants Desperate to Find Back Doors to Europe."
[1400] Nielsen, "Greek court halts Syrian deportations to 'unsafe' Turkey."

machines, Armenians, or terror groups" to destroy Turkey's international image and blackmail it and he threatened that "Either we find solutions to our problems in a fair way, or Turkey will stop being a barrier in front of the problems of Europe. We will leave you to your own worries" i.e. Turkey will exit the EU-Turkey deal, leave Europe to deal with the migrant crisis, and turn a blind eye to the hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants traversing from and through Turkey into Europe[1401].

Since the Balkan route 'closure' (Greece border with Macedonia; Slovenian and Croatian borders; increased border control in Albania and Bulgaria; and Hungary reinforcing its border with Serbia)[1402] thousands are still illegally entering Serbia, Bulgaria, and Hungary and elsewhere in Europe[1403]. And smugglers have been offering routes to Italy from Turkey (costing between 3500 and 5000 Euros) and from Greece and Albania to Italy; there have also been increased flows from Libya to Italy[1404]. The EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) launched a naval operation in June 2015, Operation Sophia, in response to the 'migrant crisis' and to collect intel on and prevent smuggling rings from Libya to Italy. Since it began and up until mid-April 2016 they have rescued 13,000 people and arrested 68 traffickers and smugglers[1405]. But this operation is considered a 'failure' according to a UK House of Lords report and critics claim that it essentially "acts as a magnet to migrants and aids people traffickers"[1406]. In large part the failure is due to the changing tactics of smugglers, the low-level status of those being arrested, and a lack of cooperation from the Libyan government.

[1401] *RT News,* "Erdogan says Turkey may abandon Europe amid crisis."
[1402] Kingsley, "Balkan countries shut borders"; Alderman, "Smugglers Prey on Migrants."
[1403] See the Custodela blog (https://custodela.club/) for various information about illegal border crossings in Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, and elsewhere. Also see: *Hungary Today*, "Even with Fence, Hundreds of Migrants Attempt to Cross the Border Every Day"; Fenwick, "THOUSANDS of migrants entering Europe 'after border fences FAIL to keep them out'."
[1404] Dearden, "Refugee crisis."
[1405] Mesco and Pop, "Tensions Mount Between Austria and Italy as Migrant Numbers Rise."
[1406] Parliament (UK), "EU Operation Sophia"; House of Lords EU Committee, *Operation Sophia,* 3.

While the flows to Greece from Turkey have greatly subsided, in the first quarter of 2016 compared to 2015 Italy experienced an 80 percent increase in arrivals[1407]. In total, between January 1st 2016 and the end of March Italy documented around 8,600 more irregular migrants than in the same period in 2015[1408]. In just five days (April 11th-15th) there were more than 6000 new arrivals documented in Italy while there were less than 200 to Greece[1409] and the week of the 23rd May Italy rescued 13,000 migrants at sea[1410]. Not only is Italy saving and receiving irregular migrants by boat but, since February 2016, is flying in bona fide Syrian refugees from Lebanon and elsewhere in what is termed a 'humanitarian air corridor' that allays refugees of opting to make the dangerous and illegal journey to Europe by boat[1411]. This 'air corridor' also sees Syrians transported from Turkey to various European nations, which began in early April 2016 as part of the EU-Turkey deal[1412].

In an effort to enforce the Dublin agreement and with the closure of the Balkan route Austria is now restricting access to Western and Northern Europe from Italy by monitoring the Brenner border crossing with Italy (Alpine route), which represents another blow to Schengen. In early April 2016 Austria's Defence Minister, Hans Peter Doskozil, stated that Vienna was ready to deploy troops at Brenner Pass for border checks and by mid-April an 820 foot checkpoint was being constructed[1413]. This restriction of the free flow of people across the border essentially "traps" the migrants in Italy like in Greece, which is a serious political concern for Italy. As a response to these developments, Italy wants to broker a deal with African nations (as most irregular migrants to Italy come from African nations) that would be

[1407] Politi, "Italy pleads for Greek-style push to return its migrants."
[1408] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Italy.
[1409] Mesco and Pop, "Tensions Mount Between Austria and Italy as Migrant Numbers Rise."
[1410] *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, "668 more saved at sea; 13,000 rescued in week."
[1411] Euronews, "Italy flies in Syrian refugees via air 'humanitarian corridor'."
[1412] *De Welt*, "Zwei Linienmaschinen mit syrischen Flüchtlingen gelandet."
[1413] Mesco and Pop, "Tensions Mount"; ANSA, "Vienna says hundreds of troops ready for Brenner Pass."

similar to the EU-Turkey agreement, and would involve providing economic aid to African countries in return for them stepping up the prevention of irregular migrant flows to Italy and accepting deportees. Italy's interior minister, Angelino Alfano, stated that "If returns don't work, the whole Juncker migration agenda will fail"[1414]. In 2015 there were "readmission" deals with North African countries but there were and still are problems with other African countries who resist the 'readmission' of nationals who have irregularly crossed into Europe[1415].

11.1.3 Reform of the Dublin System

Due to both Italy and Greece (and Germany) having received large volumes of irregular migrants in 2015/2016 compared to all other EU member states and thus having to shoulder the burden of so many new arrivals, and the refusal of several Central European member states to accept 'migrant quotas'[1416], there are plans to reform the Dublin system. In April 2016 Frans Timmermans, first vice-president of the European Commission, stated there were two options of reform. The first involved "scrapping the Dublin system: the EU would have a mandatory redistribution system for asylum seekers based on a country's wealth and ability to absorb newcomers" and the second, called "Dublin plus" would "preserve the existing rules, but would include a 'corrective fairness mechanism' so refugees could be redistributed around the bloc in times of crisis to take the pressure off frontline arrival states"[1417]. Either option will have to be "approved" by member states. So either option is about the redistribution of asylum seekers among all member states rather than stopping the flow of irregular migrants[1418].

[1414] Politi, "Italy pleads for Greek-style push to return its migrants."
[1415] Ibid.
[1416] Notably Poland, Slovakia, Romania, and Hungary. Read more about the distribution of 'irregular migrants' or the 'relocation scheme' among European Union member nations here: Robert et al., "Many EU countries say "no" to immigration quotas"; Di Bartolomeo, "EU Migration Crisis Actions with a Focus on the EU-Turkey Agreement."
[1417] Rankin, "EU unveils plans"; European Commission, "Remarks by First Vice-President Timmermans."
[1418] See chapters 11.2 and 12.

The redistribution of refugees from Turkey among EU nations began in April 2016 with around 1100 aimed to be settled per month[1419]. Relocations from Italy and Greece had already begun in October and November 2015 under a EU relocation plan to resettle 160,000 from these two gateway countries[1420]. In May 2016 the EC issued an official proposal to reform the Dublin system, which aims "to ensure a sustainable sharing of responsibility across the EU and guarantee timely processing of applications" and "a solidarity contribution of €250,000" per asylum seeker from member states who refuse to participate in the relocation program[1421]. Yet despite such reform and relocation efforts, and despite other attempts to curb the flow of irregular migrants and people smugglers, the reality is that Brussels Eurocrats and many EU member state officials want the vast majority of migrants anyway to 'solve' economic and demographic issues, but they would prefer they arrive in a more legal fashion.

11.1.4 Migrant Crisis as an Economic and Demographic Boon

According to the logic of European elites, migrants are seen as necessary for labour shortages that can't be filled by local workers or by local birth-rates. For example, EU Migration Commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos has stated that to offset ageism Europe will need 70 million migrants in the next twenty years[1422] and Pierre Moscovici, European commissioner for economic and financial affairs, stated "Our countries need migration"[1423]. Despite very high unemployment, the Deputy Migration Minister of Greece, Yannis Mouzalas, stated that 'refugees' will help solve the demographic problem in Greece[1424]. Swedish Finance Minister Magdalena Andersson stated that Europe was demographically challenged and asylum seekers

[1419] International Organization for Migration, "IOM Begins Resettlement to Europe Under 1-to-1 EU-Turkey Deal"; *Bild*, "Deutschland nimmt monatlich 100 Syrien-Flüchtlinge auf."
[1420] Spindler, "2015: The Year of Europe's Refugee Crisis."
[1421] European Commission, "Towards a sustainable and fair Common European Asylum System."
[1422] *Salzburger Nachrichten*, "EU-Kommissar: Brauchen über 70 Mio. Migranten in 20 Jahren."
[1423] Ellyatt, "Migrants could help solve Europe's aging problem."
[1424] Chrysopoulus, "Migration Deputy: Refugees Will Help Greece's Demographic Problem."

could "lead to higher growth for Europe as a whole" and Lithuanian Finance Minister Rimantas Šadžius stated that "We can make use of this [migrant crisis] situation for enhancing our economic capacity"[1425]. This economic use of asylum seekers and the migrant crisis was also echoed by many other EU elites, such as Angela Merkel who stated in her 2015/2016 New Years Eve address that "countries have always benefited from successful immigration, both economically and socially" and urged her citizens to see asylum seekers as "an opportunity for tomorrow"[1426]. Germany's Interior Minister, Thomas de Maiziere, stated that "We need people. We need young people. We need immigrants"[1427]. So, lucky for them, the mass of irregular migrants that have and continue to arrive in Europe are overwhelmingly young people[1428].

Often referring to the employment level as being relatively low at 6.4 percent (2015) and the need for 140,000 engineers, programmers, and technicians as well as skilled workers in other fields that can't be filled by Germans themselves, various German elites, including business elites, make the argument that to "close the gap in the lack of professional and skilled labor on the market" Germany needs hundreds of thousands of migrants[1429]. But unemployment figures reveal that over 2 million people in Germany are actively looking for work[1430] – surely a large well to draw from to train and hire to fill the labour shortage! And, according to a Eurostat report, rising from around 18 percent in 2003, in 2013 "nearly one quarter (23.7%) of the EU-28's economically active population aged 15 to 24 was unemployed", which is another large youth well to draw from, from within the EU[1431].

[1425] Ellyatt, "Migrants could help solve Europe's aging problem."
[1426] AFP, "Merkel urges Germans to see refugee arrivals as 'an opportunity' in new year address."
[1427] Chu, "For Germany, refugees are a demographic blessing as well as a burden."
[1428] See chapter 11.
[1429] *RT News*, "Germany is 'exploiting' refugee suffering to recruit 'slaves' via mass immigration – Marine Le Pen."
[1430] Ferreira, "Germany Unemployment Rate: 1949-2016."
[1431] Eurostat, *Euro-Mediterranean Statistics*, 49.

Nevertheless, back in September 2015 Germany expected to receive 800,000 refugees, which was four times the amount that arrived in 2014, and Ulrich Grillo, the head of the powerful BDI industry federation, said that *"*If we can integrate them quickly into the jobs market, we'll be helping the refugees, but also helping ourselves as well". Grillo also said that many of the refugees are young and have "really good qualifications"[1432]. But this is just not the case. The vast majority of those arriving in Europe are indeed young men but most do not have much education, do not speak German, and are without qualifications (even if they do have qualifications they are often not to European standards). According to an October 2015 report by Germany's Federal Employment Agency, 81 percent of refugees had no formal qualifications, 8 percent had an academic education, and 11 percent had professional education[1433]. In early December 2015 Munich University professor Ludger Wößmann said that 65 percent of Syrians who are 18 years or older do not even have "basic skills" and that

> We have to prepare ourselves for the fact that the majority of young refugees will fail a three-year full time training course with a high proportion of theoretic content. According to the Chamber of Commerce of Munich and Upper Bavaria, 70 per cent of trainees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq who started lessons more than two years ago have already dropped out[1434].

In March 2016 Dieter Lenzen, the President of the University of Hamburg and Chairman of the German Education Action Council, estimated that 65 percent of working-age Syrians have only basic "reading comprehension" skills and no qualifications[1435]. In a May 2016 report for the Federal Service for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) it was revealed that less than two percent of asylum seekers in Germany spoke German, only 10 percent were highly qualified, and only 18 percent had a university degree. The bulk (81%) of adults had high school level education or less: 20 percent high school, 32 percent middle school, 22 percent primary school, and 7

[1432] *RT News*, "Germany is 'exploiting' refugee suffering"; Middleton, "French far right leader."
[1433] Bundesagentur für Arbeit, *Flüchtlinge in Deutschland – Verantwortung Ergreifen, Chancen Erkennen,* 3.
[1434] Wiarda, "Zwei Drittel können kaum lesen und schreiben"; Lane, "Future Doctors And Engineers?"
[1435] Lane, "Migrant Crisis."

percent had no education at all. Most of those who were employed (74.8% of men and 32.7% of women) before migrating to Europe were in the manual labour and service industries[1436].

The same is true for Austria, where the *Kronen Zeitung* newspaper, the largest circulation newspaper, revealed statistics at the end of March 2016 that showed only 100 of the 111,026 asylum seekers since July 2015 had enrolled in higher education and only 13 were acting as "shadow" physicians in hospitals, without being allowed to "diagnose or treat the patient"[1437]. Also in March 2016 the Union of Greek Regions and Kapa Research conducted a survey on male and female refugees 15 years and older in the Attica region in Greece and found that 83 percent were Sunni Muslims, almost 74 percent were male, over 72 percent were under 35 years of age, over 61 percent had no or limited education (nine years), and only six percent had finished a university degree. Less than two-thirds said they were economically active when they migrated from their home country to Europe, and the majority were employed in manual, industrial, or service/trade industries[1438]. According to figures from Sweden's employment agency, Arbetsförmedlingen, and migration authority, Migrationsverket, in May 2016 less than 500 of the asylum seekers who arrived in Sweden in 2015 (163,000) had found a job while waiting for their application to be approved[1439].

Despite these facts, the views of Grillo are shared by many political and academic elites and leading international organizations who view the migration crisis as a boon to solve Europe's economic and demographic problems. For example, various studies have attempted to argue that irregular migrants are a "benefit not a burden"[1440] and the IMF have claimed in at least two reports since January 2016 that it is necessary for migrants to quickly enter the labour

[1436] Rich, *Sozialstruktur, Qualifikations - Niveau und Berufstätigkeit*, 1-2, 7-9.
[1437] Schmitt, "Von 111.026 Flüchtlingen studieren nur 100."
[1438] Kapa Research, *Survey of Refugees in Greece*.
[1439] *The Local*, "Fewer than 500 of 163,000 asylum seekers found jobs."
[1440] Matsangou, "Refugees are an economic benefit, not burden, to Europe."

force to boost economic growth. In a January report the IMF states that "the sooner the refugees gain employment, the more they will help the public finances by paying income tax and social security contributions. Their successful labor market integration will also counter some of the adverse fiscal effects of population aging". And in a May report IMF states that "the projected decline in the labor force due to aging after 2020 calls for measures to boost labor supply in the medium term"[1441]. According to a European Commission report on the 7th June 2016 titled "An Economic Take on the Refugee Crisis", "[i]f well integrated, refugees can contribute to greater flexibility in the labour market, help address demographic challenges, and improve fiscal sustainability". They estimate that "EU GDP could increase by an additional 0.2% by 2017" as a direct result of the migrant crisis, but stress that "the estimated small and positive impact on growth may only materialise if appropriate integration policies are put in place" [1442]. However, even if refugees are integrated quickly into the labour market, for each person it will still cost around €450,000 according to economist Bernd Raffelhüschen[1443].

In December 2015 just 16 percent of the German population thought that an economic revitalisation will occur from the asylum seeker influx of 2015[1444]. A January 2016 report by the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) called "The Truth about the Refugee Job Wonder" found that in contrast to the average German employment rate of 67.3 percent, over a five-year period Afghan and Iraqi employment rates dropped from 37.6 percent to 24.5 percent and from 34 percent to 25.3 percent respectively, and the employment rate of Syrians dropped from 32 percent to 9 percent in November 2015[1445]. According to a January 2016 IMF report, it

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[1441] Aiyar et al.,*The Refugee Surge in Europe*, 5; IMF, "Germany: Staff Concluding Statement."
[1442] European Commission, *An Economic Take on the Refugee Crisis,* 4. It will be Big Business that will profit from the growth, not the masses of average Europeans. The GDP of the EU in 2014 amounted to €14.3 trillion. This means that the EU could generate almost 29 billion Euros in profit in one year from the 'migrant crisis'.
[1443] *Focus,* "Jeder Flüchtling kostet Deutschland 450.000 Euro."
[1444] *Breitbart London*, "Only 16 Per Cent Of Germans Believe The 'Economic Benefits' Argument For Mass Migration."
[1445] Exner, "Die Wahrheit über das Flüchtlings-Jobwunder."

takes “up to two years for the refugees to become eligible to work” but they have “lower participation rates” and a “higher unemployment rate” than natives[1446]. Various scholarly studies, reports, and papers have come to the conclusion that it takes many years and even beyond first and second generations for the employment rate of immigrants to reach the level of the domestic population, and often incomes do not converge completely[1447]. There is also ample evidence that previous integration efforts have failed, such as foreign-born unemployment, welfare, and crime rates across European nations, which are higher than national populations and is especially true for Muslims from the MENA region compared to all other religious and ethnic minority groups (see chapter 9).

These facts raise questions regarding the ability of new arrivals, most of which come from Muslim majority nations, to integrate well into European society and thus also calls into question the ideal that immigrants will boost the economy. It is well-established that in terms of employment, a rapid and large influx of people into the labour market depresses wages (cheaper labour and thus more corporate profits), increases competition for jobs especially in low-skilled and jobs traditionally taken by students and the working poor, and also increases unemployment levels, which in turn increases the cost of welfare benefits[1448]. The already crumbling welfare system will be under more strain from people who have never contributed to it and migrants that do find work will mostly find it in unskilled cheap labour positions that drive wages lower[1449] and increase unemployment for the native population[1450].

In any case, granting refugee status or subsidiary protection to asylum seekers is meant to be a temporary measure for victims of persecution or armed conflict until situations in the

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[1446] Aiyar et al., *The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges*, 13.
[1447] See: Alcobendas and Rodriguez-Planas, “Immigrants’ Assimilation Process”; Cortes, “Are Refugees Different.”
[1448] See chapters 9 and 15.2.
[1449] There are already detailed plans to fast-track asylum seekers into the labour force by suspending the minimum wage. See: Wiarda, “Zwei Drittel”; Barbière, “IMF recommends paying refugees”; “Immigration – Making Work Pay.”
[1450] Aiyar et al., *The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges*, 14.

countries of origin are settled and safe to return to and does not involve granting these statuses to economic migrants[1451]. Yet international and EU elites, ministers, public officials, institutions, NGOs, and powerful businesses are implying that refugees and illegal economic migrants are to be used to boost the economic and demographic situation of European nations in the long term, i.e. in terms of granting permanent residency and citizenship for millions, which runs counter to the legal rules of asylum.

The embrace of the 'migration crisis' as a boon by European elites is a combination of a geedy desire for an unlimited supply of cheap labour and a pretext for a proposed UN project called 'Replacement Migration'. This project aims to replace the European populations with non-European peoples and falls into the laps of internationalist social engineers that seek to transform Europe into a cosmopolitan open society structured according to the dictates of global capitalism and socialist political interests. This project is not in the interests or longevity of the European peoples as distinct peoples in-themselves. In fact, it is akin to slow genocide, a process already well underway according to some European intellectuals and politicians. An in-depth discussion of the 'Replacement Migration' and cosmopolitan open society project is the focus of the last chapter, but what follows provides a general example.

Various demographic projections for the ethnic European populations of European nations, including the United States, Australia, and Canada, reveal that Whites will be a

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[1451] Even Merkel has said this herself: *The Local*, "'Most refugees will return home': Merkel." Merkel suggests that "refugees" are only temporary residents and will go home once ISIS is defeated and the war has ended, but will they? Is this merely an effort to temporarily placate the resistance of German citizens? A poll by IFOP in September 2015 found that between 81 and 92 percent of people in France, Germany, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Great Britain want migrants to return home after a few months or years. In March 2016, 88 percent in France, 83 percent in Italy, and 81 percent in Germany felt the same way. See: Fourquet, *"Les Européens face à la crise des migrants";* Fourquet, "Six Months After: Europeans Facing the Migrant Crisis." Other than the narrative of ushering 'refugees' quickly into the work force for much needed 'economic revitalisation' and to solve ageism and the welfare state, which implies a permanent residency, many 'refugees' want to stay because they want a new life in Europe and will probably resist being told to go home. Some have already applied for family members to join them. How will this play out? In any case, when will the war end? Towns, villages and cities are being razed, so what will they go back to? What about those not fleeing the war in Syria? The Afghans, Iraqis, and people from Africa?

minority in their own homelands by mid-21st century because of low birth rates and high immigration[1452]. Citing a study by the University of Münster that shows that in many west German cities between 55 and 70 percent of children under the age of six are now foreigners, the Deputy Federal Chairwoman of Alternative for Germany (AfD), Christina Baum, said that mass-immigration into Germany is "a creeping genocide of the German people."[1453] The Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orban, has described the settling of distinct ethnic peoples in Europe as a purposeful act by globalists, who aim "to reshape the religious and cultural landscape of Europe, and to reengineer its ethnic foundations – thereby eliminating the last barrier to internationalism: the nation-states"[1454]. Nothing is being done by leading mainstream elites to protect European ethnic peoples from becoming political and demographic minorities in their own homelands and all that this position entails; in fact they celebrate and encourage it and pillory and slander those who oppose them. If this was being done to non-European peoples in their own homelands there would be an uproar to call it out for what it actually is: dispossession, marginalisation, colonization, and even a form of genocide.

Orban thinks that trying to solve the demographic and economic problems of Europe with just one method, immigration, which is then made into a common and mandatory EU policy, denies other solutions also exist. He thinks that a 'demographic race' with the rest of the world is not necessary or the right direction to take, and that there are other methods that could be tried to solve the issue, such as emphasis on and incentives for families to have more children. He wants Hungary, and other European countries, to have the option to choose various solutions for itself[1455]. In an interview in May 2016 he states:

[1452] See Part III and chapter 15.

[1453] "'Mass Immigration is creeping Genocide of the German people' - AfD Deputy Chairwoman Christina Baum," YouTube video; "'Population Replacement of the German People is a Reality' - AfD Deputy Chairwoman Christina Baum," YouTube video.

[1454] "Orban's historic speech puts Hungary on war footing," YouTube video.

[1455] "Hungarian President Viktor Orban: Islam is constitutionally illegal," YouTube video.

> we must ask ourselves whether Europe wants to take part in a demographic race. Why should our population grow at the same rate as other countries in the world? I do not at all believe that Europe would not be liveable, viable and sustainable with its current level of population – or even with a slightly lower population. So there is no point in entering a race which we will never win. We need not take part in a demographic race. It is undoubtedly true that a country's viability and performance are related to the age structure of that country's population, the physical strength and intellectual qualifications of its people, and the composition of the various age-groups. And it would be better if we had more young people, because as society ages, the younger, stronger, working-age cohort in society which is better equipped to understand and adapt to the future declines within the Hungarian population as well. It would be better if this cohort were larger. We can only achieve this through effective family policy[1456].

Whatever the reasons given by EU and European elites to justify large scale migration from the world into Europe, it is quite clear that mass-immigration will not end in the foreseeable future. The Christian Social Union in the German state of Bavaria, the sister party to Merkel's CDU party in Germany, stated in 2010 that Germany was not an "immigrant country"[1457] but just five years later, in the midst of the 2015 'migrant crisis' Merkel declared that Germany is a "country of immigration"[1458]. EU bureaucrats are declaring the same for all of Europe. In an attempt to sway opinion on the 'migrant crisis', in an October 2015 speech Timmermans declared that Europe necessarily will be and must be a diverse mixture of peoples (from mass-immigration) because diversity is the fate of humanity. He stated that

> diversity is humanity's destiny. There is not going to be, even in the remotest places of this planet, a nation that will not see diversity in its future. That's where humanity is heading.

He went on to say that "Europe will be diverse, like all other parts of the world will be diverse"[1459]. In other words, immigration is destiny. But such statements about a hidden mechanism of history and claims of knowing the future are theological and metaphysical, divorced from history and physical reality, and based on subjective ideology and political goals.

[1456] Website of the Hungarian Government. "Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Rádió programme '180 Minutes'."
[1457] *The Economist*, "The integration debate in Germany"; *Der Spiegel,* "Penalties for Forced Marriage."
[1458] *Deutsche Welle,* "Merkel: Germany is becoming a 'country of immigration'."
[1459] European Commission, "Opening remarks of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans at the First Annual Colloquium on Fundamental Rights"; "Europe will be diverse, or war! - Frans Timmermans," YouTube video.

History has been one of human effort to control the present and the future rather than having destiny determine its outcome and the uncontrolled influx of masses of peoples from one geographical region to another has usually involved conflict and war. In an April 2016 speech Timmermans further states that "Migration will be one of the main challenges the European Union will have to face together in the long term" for *inevitable* reasons of "Globalisation, climate change, war and instability" and because people are "in search of refuge, of a better life, or to join their families", forces that essentially mean "that people will keep coming to Europe" whether Europeans themselves want it or not[1460].

In his October 2015 speech Timmermans mentioned two main consequences of diversity in Europe, anti-Semitism (and anti-Zionism) and Islamophobia. He said,

> we will take stock of the main challenges faced by the Jewish and Muslim Communities in Europe today. And together, we will explore solutions, from the fight against hate crime and hate speech to the role of civil society, education and local authorities to policies promoting non-discrimination and inclusion.

But Timmermans says nothing about Europeans and the consequences of diversity for them, particularly of the same dimension, what is known as Europhobia or anti-Europeanism[1461], or even Islamism in Europe, which not only insults or offends with words, and not only intends to conquer Europe through demographics and infiltration, but has actually *killed* hundreds of Europeans and critically injured thousands since the 1980s in terrorist acts, a situation that has intensified since 2010[1462].

11.2 Migrant Nationalities, Numbers, and Routes

Mainstream media have implied that the overwhelming majority of irregular migrant arrivals in Europe in 2015/2016 are Syrian refugees, but this is misleading. Irregular migrants have come

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[1460] European Commission. "Remarks by First Vice-President Timmermans"
[1461] European Commission, "Opening remarks of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans"
[1462] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Terrorism in Europe," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism_in_the_European_Union (accessed June 2016). These numbers do not include attacks upon Europeans overseas, such as in Tunisia.

from all over the world, particularly the MENA region, South Asia, Africa, and non-EU countries in Europe. Between January and June 2015 only 34 percent of all documented irregular migrants were Syrian; 12 percent were from Afghanistan, 12 percent were from Eritrea, 5 percent were from Somalia, and 5 percent were from Nigeria[1463]. In terms of asylum applicants in the same time frame, the top 15 nationalities were: Syrian, Kosovan, Afghan, Albanian, Iraqi, Serbian, Pakistani, Eritrean, Nigerian, Ukrainian, Somalian, Russian, Macedonian, Gambian, and Bangladeshi[1464].

Between January 2015 and January 2016 there were 1,099,101 irregular migrants that were documented arriving in Greece, Italy, and Spain via the Mediterranean Sea according to the United Nations Human Rights Council. Table 32 breaks down the main nationalities for this time period.

Table 32. Documented Nationalities of Irregular Migrants in Greece, Italy, and Spain, January 2015 - January 2016

Nationality	Numbers	Percentage
Syrian	524,597	47.7
Afghanistan	228,329	20.8
Other	*111,186*	*10.1*
Iraq	100,738	9.2
Eritrea	40,236	3.7
Pakistan	27,333	2.5
Iran	26,035	2.4
Nigeria	23,212	2.1
Somalia	17,035	1.6

Source: Data adapted from UNCHR, "European Refugees & Migrants Emergency Response. Nationality of Arrivals to Greece, Italy, and Spain, January 2015 – January 2016."

Between January 1st and May 17th 2016, the top ten countries of asylum seekers arriving by sea have been from Syria (41%), Afghanistan (21%), Iraq (13%), Pakistan (3%), Iran (2%), Nigeria (2%), Gambia (2%), Somalia (1%) Cote d'Ivoire (1%), and Guinea (1%)[1465]. For Greece in this

[1463] UNHCR, *The Sea Route to Europe: The Mediterranean Passage in the Age of Refugees*, 12.
[1464] Sabbati, "Recent migration flows to the EU," 2.
[1465] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Regional Overview, May 17 2016.

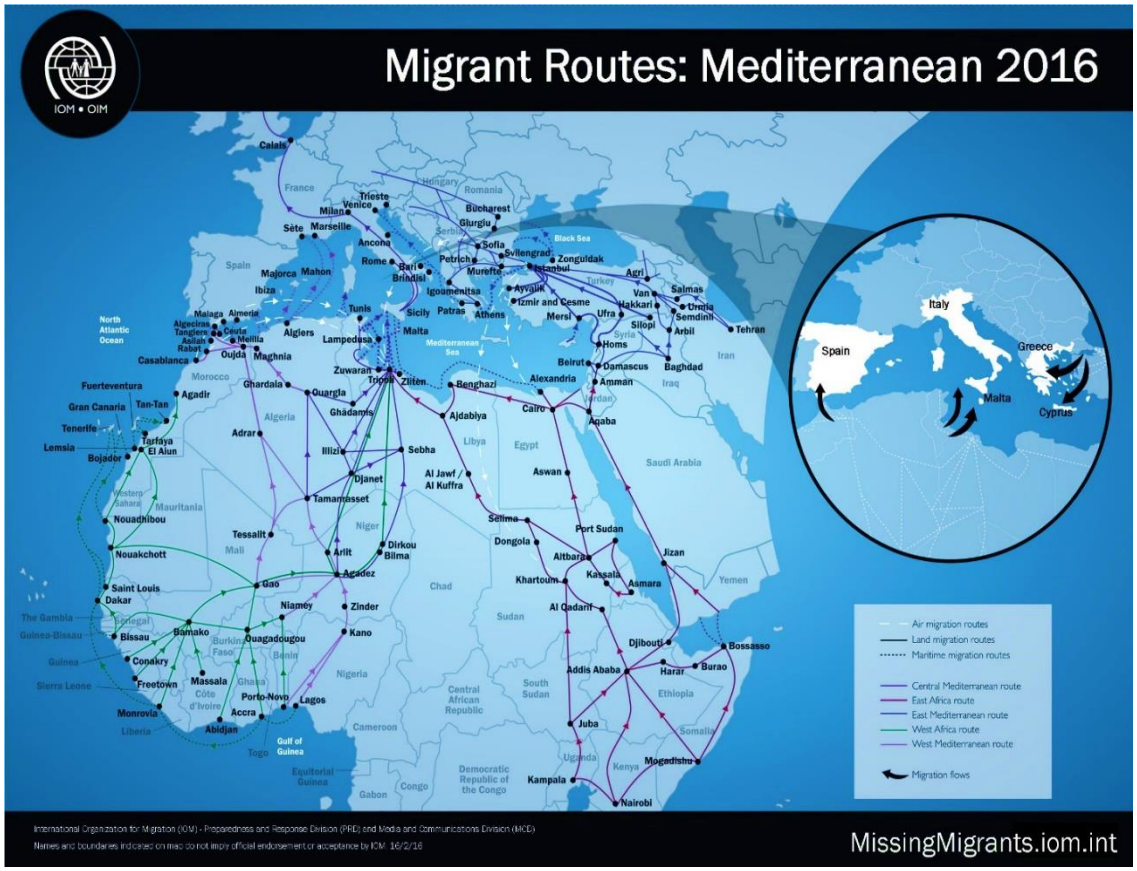
time period 155,837 irregular migrants were documented. The top nationalities were Syrians, (49%), Afghans (25%), Iraqis (15%), Pakistanis (4%), and Iranians (3%)[1466]. Italy documented 32,286 irregular migrants in this time period, 22 percent of which were from refugee-sending countries. The top source countries were Nigeria (15%), Gambia (10%), Somalia (9%), Cote d'Ivoire (8%), Eritrea (8%), and Guinea (8%)[1467].

One of the main routes to Europe is via the Mediterranean Sea. A large number of refugees and migrants are crossing this Sea by boat from the North coasts of Africa and into Greece, Italy, France, and Spain and from these countries are making their way into the rest of Europe and towards economically strong and generous European welfare states. Others, including those from the Middle East, South Asia, and also from Africa, are arriving in Turkey and heading to Europe either via the Aegean Sea (Eastern Mediterranean) and landing in Greece and Italy (and islands) or via the Black Sea[1468] and landing in Romania, Ukraine, and Bulgaria and then making their way to their 'choice destination' countries, such as Austria, Sweden, and Germany. Still others are crossing into Europe by land: through Turkey into Bulgaria and Greece, through Turkey into Russia and then into Norway (Artic route)[1469], or from Turkey into Bulgaria and then Macedonia and Serbia (the Balkan route) to get to Hungary and then on to the rest of the more prosperous EU member nations. People are also travelling by air. Maps 4, 5, and 6 below show the main migrant transit routes to Europe that have been used in 2015/2016.

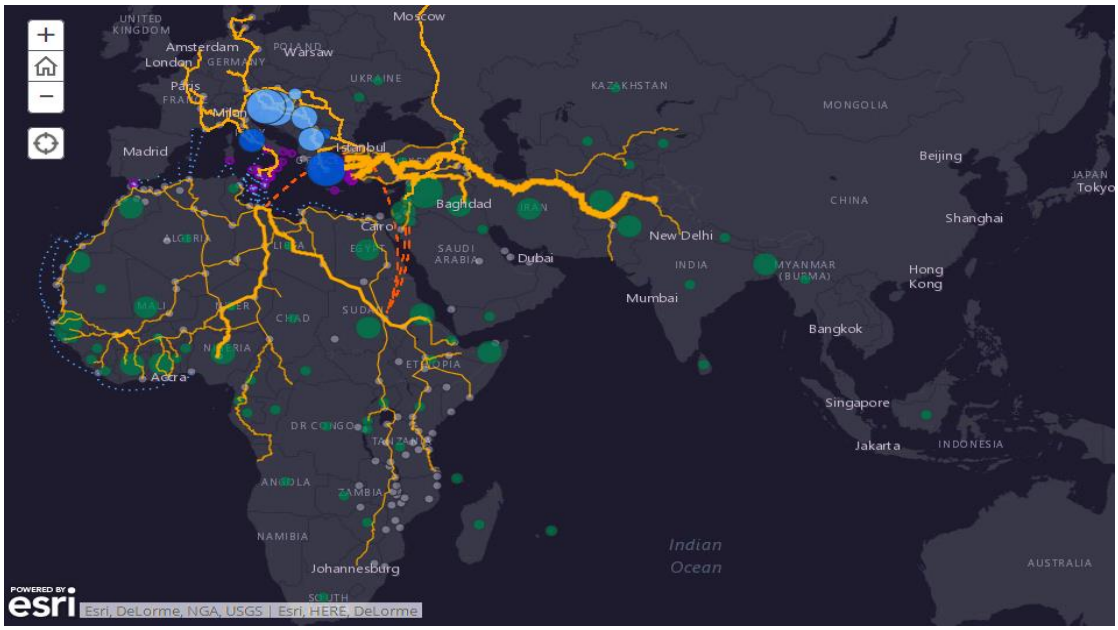
[1466] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Greece, May 17 2016.
[1467] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Italy, May 17 2016.
[1468] McHugh and Tomkiw, "EU Refugee Crisis"; Stachnio, "ISIS is Already in Eastern Europe."
[1469] Pancevski, "Europe migrant crisis."



Map 4. Main Migrant Routes to Europe, 2015
Source: From Tasch and Nudelman, "This Map Shows the Routes of Europe's Refugee Nightmare – and How its Getting Worse."



Map 5. Main Source Countries and Migrant Routes to Europe, 2016
Source: From Missing Migrants Project, "Migrant Routes: Mediterranean."



Map 6. Main Source Countries and Transit Routes to Europe, 2015/2016.
Source: Screenshot of Map from International Organization for Migration, "Migration Flows – Europe."

Irregular migrants are travelling from *70* countries from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, many of which are considered 'safe countries' and through several 'safe third countries' to arrive in Italy and Greece. Turkey, which is considered both a 'safe country' and a 'safe third country', is a major transit country for people heading to Europe from the Middle East and South Asia, as well as some from Africa.

In 2015, 42 out of the 70 source countries had between one (e.g. from Mauritius and from Zimbabwe) and 401 (e.g. from Benin and Yemen) irregular migrants documented arriving in Italy and Greece, and totalled 4,766 people. Out of these 42 countries, 15 are Muslim-majority countries (more than 50%), two have significant Muslim populations (30%-50%), 13 have Muslim populations between 10% and 30%, and 12 have small Muslim populations (less than 10%). Out of the 28 countries left, three had between 500 and 1000 irregular migrants documented in Italy and Greece: Burkina Faso (502), Libya (968), and Tunisia (998), totalling 2,518 people. All three countries have Muslim majority populations. The 25 countries remaining were the top source countries of irregular migrants (over 1,000) that were documented arriving by boat in only two countries, Greece and Italy, (and not Spain or France or land routes from Turkey into Bulgaria etc.) between January and December 2015, and totaled 993,430 persons. Eighteen of these countries have Muslim-majority populations, four have significant Muslim populations (30%-50%), two have Muslim populations between 10 and 30 percent, and one has a small Muslim minority population (less than 10%). Eight of these countries are considered 'safe countries'[1470]. Table 33 shows the top 25 source countries for irregular migrants arriving in Greece and Italy in 2015 as well as their numbers. It also shows which countries are Muslim-majority nations.

[1470] International Organization for Migration, "Migration Flows – Europe.

Table 33. Country of Origin, Numbers, and Muslim Constitution

Country of Origin	Numbers	MM
Syria	483,350	MM
Afghanistan	205,975	MM
Iraq	87,985	MM
Eritrea	40,057	48%
Pakistan	25,242	MM
Nigeria*	22,923	50%
Iran	22,395	MM
Somalia	16,859	MM
Morocco	12,015	MM
Sudan	9,300	MM
Gambia*	8,639	MM
Bangladesh*	8,638	MM
Palestine	7,788	MM
Western Sahara	6,236	MM
Mali*	6,183	MM
Senegal*	6,124	MM
Ghana*	4,712	18%
Cote d'Ivoire	4,003	40%
Egypt	3,151	MM
Ethiopia*	2,702	34%
Guinea	2,665	MM
Lebanon	1,895	MM
Algeria*	1,696	MM
Cameroon	1,526	21%
Congo	1,371	2%

Source: International Organization for Migration, "Migration Flows - Europe."
Note: MM means Muslim Majority; * means safe country.

According to all of the above figures on the number of irregular migrants that were documented entering Europe through Greece and Italy between January and December 2015, the total number was 1,000,774. This is shy some 800,000[1471] others who entered Europe through other routes, such as by Mediterranean Sea to Spain and France, by Black Sea to Romania, Bulgaria, and Ukraine, and by land through Turkey into Bulgaria and from Turkey into Russia and then into Finland and Norway. The figures above also show that over half, or 36 countries out of the 70 source countries of irregular migrants, have Muslim majority populations, six have significant Muslim populations (30%-50%), 15 have Muslim populations between 10 and 30 perecent, and 13 have small minority Muslim populations (less than 10%).

[1471] According to Frontex there were 1.8 million irregular migrants that were documented in 2015. See: Malmersjo and Remáč, "Schengen and the Management of the EU's External Borders," 2; Frontex, *Risk Analysis for 2016*, 17.

Out of the top 25 countries of irregular migrants documented in Italy and Greece in 2015, which totalled 993,430 people, 916,136 arrived from Muslim-majority nations. All three countries with between 500 and 1000 irregular migrants entering Italy and Greece in 2015, which totalled 2,518 people, are Muslim-majority nations. And out of the 42 countries with less than 500 irregular migrants documented in Italy and Greece in 2015, which totalled 4,766 people, 2,339 came from Muslim majority nations. In sum, 920,993 of 1,000,774, or 92 percent of all irregular migrants that were documented arriving in Italy and Greece in 2015 were from Muslim majority nations.

Initially, the UN estimated that around 700,000 migrants and refugees had arrived by boat to the southern shores of Europe via the Mediterranean in 2015 and the same was predicted for 2016. However, a later UN report stated that a staggering 1,015,078 migrants and refugees had been *documented* arriving in Europe by boat in 2015[1472]. Numbers for the land routes are less, but amount to tens of thousands more and are increasing as land routes become more popular due to the dangerous nature of sea crossings. A European Parliament internal policy report provides the total number of documented land and sea "irregular border crossings" to the EU between January and November 2015 as 1.5 million, but the amount is likely much higher as it does not include figures for December or undocumented arrivals[1473]. According to Frontex there were over 1.8 million illegal border crossings into the EU that were detected in 2015[1474] i.e. this number does not include those who were not detected. If the above International Organization for Migration figures, which reveal that over 90 percent of arrivals to Italy and Greece are from Muslim majority countries, also hold true for the total

[1472] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Regional Overview.
[1473] Bonewit, *Reception of Female Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the EU: Case Study Germany*, 8.
[1474] Malmersjo and Remáč, "Schengen," 2; Frontex, *Risk Analysis for 2016*, 17.

amount (1.8 million) of irregular migrants that arrived in Europe in 2015, then around 1,620,000 people that were detected came from Muslim-majority nations.

As shown in figure 12, between January 1st and March 31st 2016 there were 170,537 documented arrivals to Europe via the Mediterranean Sea, which is more than 7 times more than the amount that arrived in the same timeframe in 2015. Many more are expected to make the journey during the warmer months and calmer seas, starting in spring[1475].

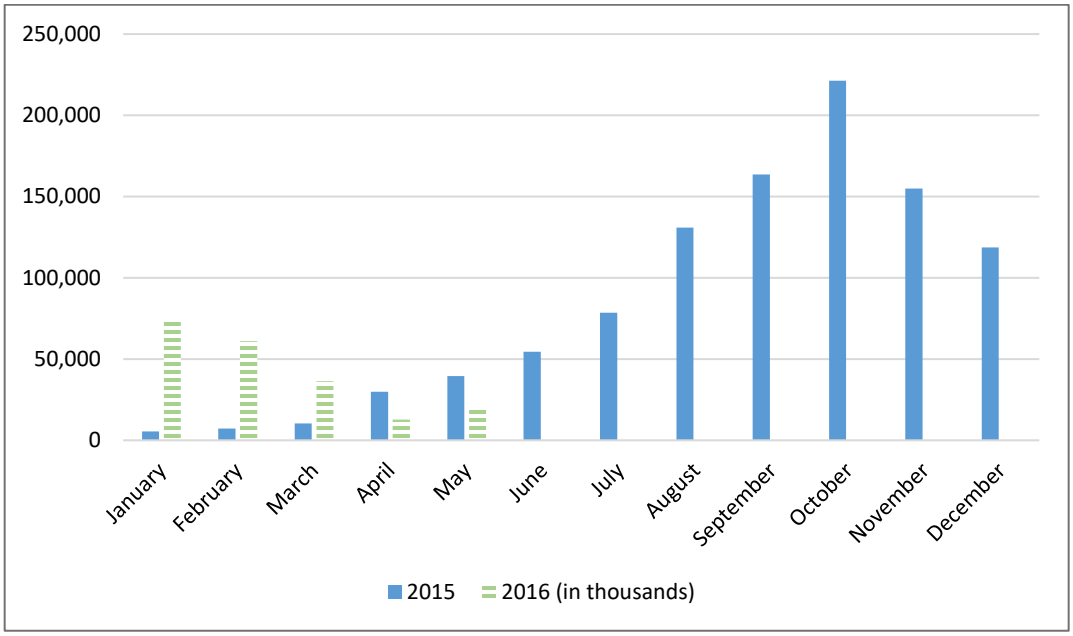


Figure 12. Mediterranean Sea Arrivals to Greece, Italy, and Spain, January 1st 2015 to May 31st 2016. ***Source***: Data from UNCHR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, "Comparison of Monthly Mediterrean Sea Arrivals."

Reports suggest that around 3-4 million more migrants and asylum seekers are estimated to arrive in Europe by the end of 2016[1476]. There are numerous predictions that the migration crisis is only going to intensify and that there is no end in sight due to ongoing sectarian conflicts, Western foreign policies, and wars in North Africa, the Middle-East and

[1475] *BBC News*, "UN's new refugee agency head says Europe could do more."
[1476] Witte, "European Union predicts 3 million more migrants by end of next year"; *Novinite*, "Bulgarian Red Cross." In fact, there were more asylum applications (1,093,729) between January and October 2016 than in the same time period in 2015 in Europe (1,071,971). See: European Asylum Support Office (EASO), "Latest Asylum Trends - October 2016."

South Asia that are destabilising the regions and producing more displaced peoples and refugees, and ongoing conflicts, poverty, rapid population growth, and unemployment in Africa. In Germany, CSU Minister Gerd Müller suggested that 8-10 million more are expected to arrive in Europe over the next few years. He said that

> The biggest refugee movements are ahead: Africa's population will double in the coming decades. A country like Egypt will increase to 100 million people, Nigeria 400 million. In our digital age with the Internet and mobile phones, all know about our prosperity and our way of life[1477].

Klaus Schwab, executive chairman of the World Economic Forum, suggests that the 2015 "migrant crisis" was just a "precursor" to something much bigger. In the context of oil and water crises in Africa he said, "imagine 1 billion inhabitants [from Africa], imagine they all move north"[1478]. A joint report by Europol and Interpol in May 2016 declared that they expect "the number of migrants trying to reach the EU" to increase overall in the future[1479].

Terms such as "unprecedented" and "an exodus" to describe the sheer size of the uncontrolled migration into Europe were being used in May 2015 by Ricardo Baretzky, the President of the European Centre for Information Policy and Security (ECIPS) in an interview with Red Ice Insight in May 2015, which was months before the "migration crisis" reached a fever pitch in mid-summer 2015. Baretzky stated that

> the amount of illegal immigrants in Europe is huge numbers. Most of these numbers today is [sic] not realistically published...when we see migration in these numbers... they are unprecedented. We haven't witnessed this type of global migration because it is no longer immigration but is a form of migration....this is actually a point of no return and therefore it can only be compared in a form and type of exodus[1480].

Exodus, meaning the mass departure of people from the same place at the same time, usually refers to the Biblical story of both male and female Israelites (particularly in the form of families) leaving Egypt under the leadership of Moses to find the Promised Land. In regards to

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[1477] *RT News*, "Biggest refugee inflow still ahead."
[1478] Weisenthal, "Davos Boss Warns Refugee Crisis Could Be Precursor to Something Much Bigger."
[1479] *Migrant Smuggling Networks: Joint Europol-INTERPOL Report,* 11.
[1480] "Insight - Migrant Crisis: ISIS & The Security Threat to Europe," YouTube video (Red Ice Insight).

the European 'migrant crisis' exodus, hundreds of thousands of people are simultaneously leaving various homelands in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia and heading to Europe. They are not of one ethnic people, but they are overwhelmingly young single men from Muslim-majority countries. In this case, this would mean that the current 'migrant crisis' takes the overall form of an 'exodus' of young Muslim males to Europe.

11.2.1 Problems with Documentation

Although Syrians have been documented as constituting a significant amount, but not majority, of irregular migrants into Europe over the 2015/2016 period, there is a serious problem with proper and accurate identification of irregular migrants, which calls into question just how many are actually Syrians and actual refugees. Many migrants throw away passports and other forms of identification so that they cannot be identified[1481] or they simply do not have any identity documents. According to the German Federal Police between January and April 2016 around 80 percent of asylum seekers had no documents, which is a huge amount[1482]. Having no identification makes it hard to process asylum requests or deport groundless asylum seekers. There is also a problem with migrants using fake Syrian identity documents. In September 2015 Bavarian police seized 10,000 fake Syrian passports[1483] and in March 2016 the president of Macedonia, Gjorge Ivanov, said that his country had confiscated over 9000 fake Syrian passports[1484]. Up to a third (around 160,000) of all asylum seekers to Germany at the end of September 2015 claimed to be Syrian but were not[1485]. Frontex, the EU border agency, stated in autumn 2015 that fake Syrian passports and identification papers were being used by mostly

[1481] Reid, "Just how old do you think these migrant 'children' are?"
[1482] *Junge Freiheit*, "Asylbewerber begehen 770 Straftaten – am Tag."
[1483] Seibert, "Der Handel mit syrischen Pässen blüht."
[1484] Diekmann, Ronzheimer, and Biskup, "Macedonian president settles a score here."
[1485] Faiola and Mekhennet, "Nearly a third of migrants in Germany claiming to be Syrians aren't from Syria."

Arabic speaking economic migrants[1486] and it was a problem that was increasing[1487]. No doubt this is due to migrants thinking their chances of receiving asylum in Europe is greatly increased with Syrian identification[1488]. What is important is that documenting irregular migrants who arrived in Europe in 2015/2016 who claimed to be Syrian but were not and have not been identified as bogus, confounds the actual number of genuine Syrian refugees that arrived.

Criminal organizations make a huge profit from fake passports and other documentation. In late December 2015 Jörg Radek, the Deputy chairman of the Trade Union of the German Police, said that due to the Syrian war tens of thousands of Syrian passports had fallen into the hands of criminals[1489]. According to the newspaper *Focus*, "large numbers of fake certificates are among the documents submitted for authentication" and "blank documents, software, equipment, and stamps have come into the possession of criminal organizations as a result of the war in Syria", which had led to a thriving passport trade[1490]. ISIS appropriated blank government identity documents in Syria (and Iraq?) and have sold them for profit to those who seek 'asylum' in Europe[1491]. According to the head of the EU frontier police, Fabrice Leggeri, the country where the illegal passport trade is booming the most is Turkey[1492].

The procurement of fake passports and other forms of identification is also occuring in Europe, particularly in Greece, which has recently been a main 'gateway' country for unlawful and irregular migrants. Foreign migrants who are *already in* Europe illegally and who want to freely traverse across the EU are purchasing fake ID documents from Pakistani and Middle

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[1486] People from the Maghreb are also using fake Syrian passports. See: Fagge, "Germany is 'overwhelmed'."
[1487] *Ekathemerini*, "Trafficking surges in fake Syrian passports, Frontex chief warns."
[1488] Mukherjee, "Non-Syrian refugees scrapping national identities, using fake passports."
[1489] Bewarder, "Haben nur zehn Prozent der Flüchtlinge kontrolliert."
[1490] *Focus*, "Schreiben beweist: Syrer kaufen gefälschte Dokumente zur Einreise nach Deutschland."
[1491] ISIS also makes money through human smuggling and other avenues. According to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, ISIS is "the world's wealthiest terrorist organisation". It has "amassed $400-$500 million from oil and oil products in 2015, while gaining around $1 billion from banks in ISIS-controlled territories and another $1 billion from taxes on trucks travelling to those regions". See: Sarkar, "34 militant groups"; *Migrant Smuggling Networks: Joint Europol-INTERPOL Report.*
[1492] *Europe1*, "Migrants: Frontex signale un trafic de faux passeports syriens."

Eastern immigrant gangs and forgery rings who have legal residency status in Europe[1493]. A joint report in May 2016 by Interpol and Europol stated that

> it is anticipated that the abuse of legal systems for the purpose of status regularization will increase. Irregular migrants who have already entered the EU may seek to obtain counterfeit breeder documents (such as fake birth certificates or false work permits) in order to acquire residency in the destination country[1494].

Using fake passports and identification, Syrian or otherwise, is of course a huge security risk for the EU and makes it difficult for authorities on several levels. Genuine documents with forged or false information makes it difficult to make a distinction between fake and genuine refugees or others in need of protection (subsidiary status). According to a report by the *Daily Mail*, "we cannot prove which ones are genuine and which are false"[1495]. Migrants using fake identities or having no identity documents at all means they cannot be properly identified; they can falsely claim they are Syrian or fleeing a war-torn country or seeking asylum from persecution or are younger than they really are (special treatment for minors). But they may not be who they say they are. This increases potential security threats in the form of criminals, ISIS militants, and other radical Islamists, who are known to have used fake Syrian documentation and refugee routes to enter Europe to commit crime and terrorist acts[1496]. It also makes it difficult for authorities to distinguish between genuine refugees, those qualified for subsidiary protection, and illegal economic migrants. According to EU and international asylum law wanting to have a better economic standard of living or to start a new life is not sufficient grounds for asylum.

The European 'migration crisis' is one of both asylum seekers and illegal economic migrants entering Europe. According to EU Commissioner Frans Timmermans 60 percent or more of asylum seekers surging into Europe in 2015 were not genuine asylum seekers but

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[1493] "Migrants Buying Fake Documents in Europe," Live Leak video (n.tv); Papadopoulos, "Forged identity papers big business for traffickers in Greece."
[1494] *Migrant Smuggling Networks: Joint Europol-INTERPOL Report*, 12.
[1495] Fagge, "Germany is 'overwhelmed' with false asylum seekers'."
[1496] Drury, "The Syrian passports to terror."

illegal economic immigrants, mostly from Northern Africa, regions that are not undergoing war or where significant populations are persecuted, and thus these individuals "have no reason whatsoever to ask for refugee status"[1497]. This means that of the roughly 1.2 million that were documented arriving in Europe in 2015 around 700,000 are illegal migrants and only 500,000 are genuine refugees. Or, if the Frontex amount of detected irregular migrants (1.8 million) is used, then nearly 1.1 million are not genuine refugees. Baretzky stated that

> the term refugee, which we are known to understand and have been used over the last 54 years, is no longer relevant in this case. What is a refugee...and how do we define what is a refugee? Is the militant considered a refugee? Is a militant on the other side of the line also considered underprivileged? Or is he still in fact considered a militant?[1498]

In March 2016 Greek Deputy Defense Minister, Dimitris Vitsas, explained that only 10 percent of arrivals in Greece by sea are actually refugees: "one in ten of those coming to Greece from Turkey are actually fleeing war and persecution" [1499]. If applicable to all sea arrivals to Greece, this means that only 15,070 of the total arrivals in 2016 so far (January-March), which amounts to 150,070[1500] are actually refugees; the rest – 135,633 – are illegal migrants. During a press conference in early March 2016 Donald Tusk, the President of the European Council, made a verbal effort to stop the massive flows of illegal migrants by appealing to "all potential illegal economic migrants, wherever you are from" to "not come to Europe"[1501].

11.2.2 Problems with Registration and Vanishing Asylum Seekers

The majority of 'irregular migrants' that arrived in Europe in 2015 were taken in by Germany; over 1.1 million[1502]. Such enormous numbers entering Germany with rapidity have

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[1497] *DutchNews.nl*, "60% of refugees are economic migrants: Dutch EU commissioner."
[1498] "Insight - Migrant Crisis: ISIS & The Security Threat to Europe," YouTube video (Red Ice Insight)
[1499] *Österreich*, "90 Prozent der Flüchtlinge sind Wirtschafts-Migranten."
[1500] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Greece, March 31st 2016.
[1501] "Greece: 'Do not come to Europe,' EU's Tusk tells economic migrants." YouTube video (RT).
[1502] Donahue and Delfs, "Germany Saw 1.1 Million Migrants in 2015 as Debate Intensifies."

overwhelmed German resources, border controls, and cities[1503]. There are problems with identification and registration of incomers entering Germany, which are grave security concerns. In late December 2015 Jörg Radek, Deputy chairman of the German Police Union, said that only "10 percent of the refugees" have been positively identified or fingerprinted. In a letter he wrote to Merkel he stated that the border police are, "in hundreds of thousands cases," unable to know who "enters the country, under what name and for what reason. This subverts the ability to enforce internal security" [1504]. In January 2016 on *The Debate*, a program on France's international news channel, *France 24*, German journalist, economist and commentator, Roland Tichy, said that in Germany

> we have at least 300,000 to 400,000 people whose identification is not done. So, we have a large number of really illegal people...the situation is out of control, Germany did not control its borders in a proper way and now it loses control in its cities[1505].

Also in January, the head of the German police union, Rainer Wendt, said that

> We can only check a fraction of the incoming refugees at the border. Of the on average 2,000 people who currently enter Germany every day, only about 800 are fingerprinted....All others are simply *waved through* and placed directly in the initial reception centers.

This means that 1,200 asylum seekers per day, or 8,400 a week, 33,600 per month, or 403,200 per year enter Germany without being registered and fingerprinted at the border. In addition, these unregistered 'irregular migrants' are not counted in refugee numbers according to Wendt: "the tens of thousands who are unregistered are not counted, and also all those who only succeed in crossing the border at the second or third attempt. This is a huge mess"[1506]. It was estimated that in October 2015 there were 290,000 unregistered migrants that had entered Germany[1507]. If there were around 400,000 undocumented irregular migrants that

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[1503] "Migrant Crisis – 'Germany losing control of its cities'," YouTube video (France24).
[1504] Bewarder, "Haben nur zehn Prozent der Flüchtlinge kontrolliert."
[1505] Picard, "Unwelcome in Denmark: The end of Europe's open borders? (part 2)" (around 20 minute mark).
[1506] Georgi, "Viele, die wir abweisen, kommen ein paar Stunden später ins Land" (my emphasis).
[1507] Kern, "Germany: Migrant Crime Wave, Police Capitulate."

entered Germany in all of 2015, then this would mean that 1.5 million 'irregular migrants' entered Germany in 2015, not 1.1 million. It also increases the absolute numbers of irregular migrants that were documented entering Europe in 2015, which officially stands at 1.8 million according to Frontex.

There are also problems with migrants vanishing once they have crossed into Germany and other countries, and disappearing from asylum centers. In late October 2015 German authorities declared that around 700 of 4000 asylum seekers who had been living at asylum centers in Lower Saxony had disappeared in one week. In a refugee center in Lingen, Lower Saxony, over half (121) of those who had arrived (212) were unaccounted for, with around 60 of them being unregistered. *The Local*, a newspaper that covered this story, said

> Local authorities believe the missing refugees travel on to stay with relatives in Germany or abroad. But, because many of the refugees have not even been registered by local authorities yet, nothing is known about who they are or where they could have gone.

They also reported that the Federal Minister of Labour in Germany estimated that about 300,000 asylum seekers who entered Germany in 2015 leave to travel to other countries[1508].

In early November 2015 North Rhine Westphalia state Interior Minister Ralf Jäger said that "thousands of refugees are vanishing before they can be registered in that state alone" and that "Asylum seekers are fleeing from trains and buses or are leaving allocated accommodation because they move in with relatives and friends in other states or go on to Sweden and Belgium"[1509]. A report in *Der Western* newspaper stated that

> The instances of refugees disappearing without a trace pile up: A train from Munich which had 800 refugees from Eritrea, the Balkans, India, and Bangladesh had less than half that number on board when it arrived at Dortmund. Refugees disappear overnight at lodgings because they do not want to stay in their allocated cities. They vanish with complete anonymity with friends or relatives, because the authorities cannot force them to stay in the residences[1510].

[1508] *The Local*, "Hundreds of Refugees Disappear in Germany."
[1509] Zink and Jedicke, "Flüchtlingszüge leeren sich auf ihrer Fahrt durch Deutschland."
[1510] Goebels, "Tausende Flüchtlinge tauchen noch vor der Registrierung unter."

Focus newspaper also reported large numbers of vanishing 'refugees' in Germany from allocated housing in Brandenburg, the city of Bremen, Lower Saxony, and Bavaria. Authorities had no idea where they had gone. In Brandenburg "several hundred" were vanishing each week; in Bremen around 130 had vanished before being registered; in Lower Saxony around 700 'refugees' had disappeared within the first two weeks of October 2015, and in the same time frame 580 unregistered asylum seekers had vanished from just one camp in Bavaria[1511].

In January 2016 the German government estimated that about 600,000 asylum seekers were unaccounted for, then in late February a spokesperson for the German Minister of the Interior said about 13 percent of the 1.1 million documented asylum seekers in Germany, or 143,000, had not arrived at their allocated housing. The spokesperson went on to say that they "may have travelled on to other countries" or "returned to their home countries, and some may appear to have disappeared because they registered more than once in different districts to increase their chances of being sent to their preferred destination"[1512]. In April 2016 a leaked interim report to the *Bild* newspaper from the Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Criminal Office (BKA), estimated that as many as 500,000 irregular migrants had not been registered in Germany[1513]. Also in April it was reported that nearly 6000 refugee 'minors' (children and teenagers) had gone missing in Germany in 2015. There were 555 under the age of 14 and 5280 between the ages of 14 and 18 that had gone missing[1514].

Not being registered, fingerprinted, identified and entered into the ID data system and simply going 'missing' may mean that many asylum seekers may have "groundless asylum" claims and thus disappear[1515]. They may also have "slipped into illegality"[1516] and gone

[1511] Zink and Jedicke, "Flüchtlingszüge leeren sich auf ihrer Fahrt durch Deutschland."
[1512] Deacon, "German Has LOST 600,000 Absconding Migrants Who Could Be In Other EU Countries By Now."
[1513] *Bild*, "Bis zu 500 000 Migranten unregistriert in Deutschland."
[1514] Conradis, "Nearly 6,000 refugee minors missing in Germany in 2015: report."
[1515] Stromme, "Norway gets tough."
[1516] Deacon, "German Government Admits They Have Lost 130,000 Migrants."

underground, raising fears and "concerns over terrorism and organised crime" - that some of those that were "unaccounted for could include Islamic extremists or organised criminals who entered the country posing as refugees"[1517]. These problems of identification, registering, 'waving through', fake documentation, and vanishing migrants are serious security issues and are not isolated to Germany either; all European member states who have received large numbers of 'asylum seekers' in 2015/2016 are experiencing the same problems. For example, out of the 153,000 irregular migrants that arrived in Italy in 2015, 47 percent "did not even attempt to claim asylum" and instead disappeared, probably heading to richer European countries or heading underground[1518]. According to Norway's Immigration Minister Sylvi Listhaug, 90 percent of the 537 asylum seekers who had their applications fast-tracked in Norway in 2015 had disappeared. Norway has decided to arrest and jail bogus asylum seekers as a response: "We see that groundless asylum seekers are disappearing while police are processing the applications. This will stop them from running away and possibly ending up in a criminal environment"[1519]. In 2015 more than 14,000 illegal migrants with deportation orders had simply disappeared in Sweden, with the head of the national border police Patrik Engström saying "We simply don't know where they are"[1520]. In May 2016 it was reported migrants were disappearing in Europe in such large numbers that the European Commission is willing to spend millions on facial recognition technology to complement and expand the already in place Eurodac fingerprinting database of irregular migrants and asylum seekers[1521].

On several occasions the Hungarian Prime Minister, Victor Orban, has spoken of the security risks of uncontrolled and unchecked migrants into Europe, saying that "accepting a

[1517] Huggler, "Germany admits 130,000 asylum seekers 'lost' raising fears over crime and terrorism."
[1518] Reid, "The tragic but brutal truth."
[1519] Stromme, "Norway gets tough."
[1520] *The Local*, "14,000 illegal immigrants disappear without trace."
[1521] Mowat, "EU to start logging migrants' FACES as one in ten DISAPPEAR after reaching shores."

flood of migrants makes a safe and secure life impossible"[1522] and "we must not let anybody into our lives in an uncontrolled manner, because it would get us into trouble"[1523]. In April 2016 he devised a ten-point plan to solve the migration crisis and protect the Schengen system, what he called the 'Schengen 2.0 Action Plan'. This plan is an alternative to the European Commission's proposal of reforming the asylum system to manage the migrant crisis[1524]. The first point of this plan is about EU borders: if a member state cannot fulfill its Schengen duties then the European Border Agency should intervene, but if an agreement cannot be reached then the membership shall be suspended (aimed at Italy and Greece who have not protected their borders from mass-migration of irregular migrants and have thus let-in hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants into the EU). The second point is about the protection of the EU's external borders with biometric identification measures, which is aimed at Italy, Greece, and others who have failed to do proper checks on those entering the EU. The third point is about reinstating and upholding the Dublin regulation and the punishment of any EU Member State which violates the Dublin regulation, which is in relation to Germany, who suspended the Dublin agreement for a period of a few months, which created mayhem for many EU member nations. The fourth point is about the creation of "closed and guarded hotspots" outside of the EU where asylum applications will be processed (rather than within the EU). The fifth point is about the readmission/deportation of 'asylum seekers' and involves the agreement of deportation being concluded in the countries of origin and transit and that must be enforced in cooperation with them, which directly relates to those sending countries that refuse to take back their nationals. The sixth point is about illegal immigrants who should "be sent to safe countries of origin or transit back" to their country of origin. The seventh point is about EU's

[1522] Website of the Hungarian Government. "Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Rádió programme '180 Minutes'."
[1523] "Hungarian Leader Orban on the migrant crisis in January radio interview," Live Leak video.
[1524] See chapter 11.

foreign, security, visa, and "development" policies, which must be linked to EU migration policy objectives, and the cooperation of third countries on "asylum seeker" returns must be conditional with the granting of aid. The eighth point is about resources being made available for western Balkan nations and other entry hotspots or gateways into Europe to deal with border security. The ninth point is about the creation of "a common European list of safe third countries" and when applications are being considered the number of safe countries the asylum seeker has crossed must also be considered. The final point is about all "demographic and labor market challenges and responses" being reserved for "sovereign national decisions" and any plan to 'distribute refugees' through mandatory quotas must be abolished[1525].

Orban submitted this Schengen 2.0 plan at an April 15th 2016 meeting of centrist democratic parties in Lisbon, Portugal[1526] and he aims to tour European capitals presenting his plan and also circulate it among Visegrad countries and certain EU prime ministers[1527]. Even though the European Commission proposed reform of the Dublin system has to be agreed to by member states, in May 2016 the EC announced that the EU aimed to suspend the membership of Visegrad nations (and any other EU nation) in the Schengen zone, withhold billions of Euros in funding from them, and fine them €250,000 per 'refugee' per year for refusing the mandatory quotas, a move, some accused, as amounting to "blackmail"[1528].

11.3 Most Asylum Seekers are Young Muslim Males: Three Possible Reasons

For at least the last several years the overwhelming majority of asylum seekers wanting refuge in EU countries have been males, as shown in table 34.

[1525] Website of the Hungarian Government, "Tízpontos akcióterv a migrációs válság kezelésére."
[1526] *Hungary Today*, "PM Orbán Presents 'Schengen 2.0' Plan To Protect Europe's Borders."
[1527] Gotev, "Orbán will tour EU capitals with 'Schengen 2.0' plan."
[1528] Winneker, "Price for rejecting refugees: €250,000 per head."

Table 34. Male and Female Asylum Applicants EU-28, 2008-2015

	Sex	EU-28
2008	M	160,415
	F	64,635
2009	M	178,230
	F	85,455
2010	M	169,770
	F	89,480
2011	M	211,885
	F	97,050
2012	M	220,280
	F	114,930
2013	M	288,370
	F	142,635
2014	M	440,700
	F	186,085
2015	M	953,470
	F	366,785

Source: Eurostat, "Asylum and first time asylum applicants by citizenship, age and sex Annual aggregated data (rounded)."

Between January 2014 and January 2016 males accounted for 71.5 percent of all asylum applicants to the EU and the number of male applicants between 18 and 34 years were nearly four times the amount of female applicants of the same age[1529]. Over one quarter of asylum applicants in 2015 were minors (17 years and under), over half of these were unaccompanied and over 90 percent were male[1530]. Eurostat reported that over half (51%) of unaccompanied asylum seeking minors in 2015 were from Afghanistan and only 16 percent were from Syria. Over half (57%) were aged between 16 and 17 years of age, almost one third (29%) were between the ages of 14 and 15, together accounting for 86 percent of all asylum applications by unaccompanied minors[1531]. In 2016, between January and early October, 54 percent of all irregular arrivals by sea were male, 28 percent were minors (the majority of whom were unaccompanied and male), and 18 percent were women[1532]. By early October 2016 in Greece,

[1529] Shreeves, *Gender Aspects of Migration and Asylum in the EU: An Overview*, 5.
[1530] "IOM and UNICEF Data Brief," 3; Eurostat, "Asylum applicants considered to be unaccompanied minors by citizenship, age and sex Annual data (rounded)."
[1531] Eurostat, "Asylum Applicants Considered to be Unaccompanied Minors."
[1532] UNHCR, Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Regional Overview, October 7 2016.

41 percent of sea arrivals since January 1st 2016 were men, 21 percent were women, and 37 percent were minors[1533]. By early October 2016 in Italy 70 percent of sea arrivals since January 1st 2016 were men, 14 percent were women, and 16 percent were minors[1534].

A problem with the irregular migrant wave being constituted mostly by young males is gender equality. According to Valerie Hudson, Professor of Political Science at the Bush School of Government and Public Service, such a phenomenon is altering the sex-ratios of European countries. In regards to Sweden, she states that

> My calculations show that there are now approximately 125 boys aged 16-17 for every 100 girls aged 16-17 in Sweden. That is highly abnormal. It is significantly more abnormal than China, whose sex ratio for this age group – due to the problems of the one-child policy – is only 117 boys for every 100 girls aged 16-17.

She continued by saying that

> societies with highly masculinized sex ratios, that is, with far more men than women in the young adult age group, are unstable. They have higher rates of violent crime, property crime, crimes against women. Women's freedom to move about in an unconstrained manner is curtailed and there is also a very high demand for prostitution and trafficked women to fill that need, that demand. And so I think someone should be asking whether the alteration in the sex ratio for Europe is not a tragic loss for the women of Europe, for ideals of gender equality in Europe and so forth[1535].

In addition, most irregular migrants are from Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East and North Africa, countries that have horrendous track records in the treatment of females[1536].

So why are most asylum seekers young males travelling alone? Baretzky aptly asks

> When we look at the present situation, particularly the recent issues and developments in Italy, we can see very clearly that the majority is [sic] men.... and the question is how is that possible? Wouldn't it be that men migrate with their families and their children when they are in a point of need?[1537]

There are several possibilities for this phenomenon, the following are three potential reasons.

[1533] Ibid, Greece, October 7 2016.
[1534] Ibid, Italy, October 7 2016.
[1535] *RT News,* "'Male-dominant migrant wave threatens Europe's gender equality'."
[1536] Betts, "The Elephant in the Room."
[1537] "Insight - Migrant Crisis: ISIS & The Security Threat to Europe," YouTube video (Red Ice Insight).

11.3.1 Dangerous Journey

The first possible reason is that the journey to Europe is far too dangerous for females to make, especially sea voyages, so young males undertake the journey as "scouts", then apply for asylum and use family reunification laws to bring over their families[1538]. The Common European Asylum Directive (Directives 2004/83/EC[1539] and 2011/95/EU[1540]), EU Primary Law (Articles 7, 9, and 33 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union[1541]), International Human Rights Law (Articles 12 and 16 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[1542], Articles 17, 23, and 24 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights[1543], Articles 10, 16, and 22 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child[1544] and Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights[1545]), and the Family Reunification Directive (FRD, Council Directive 2003/86/EC[1546]), state that third country nationals (TCNs, includes refugees) have the "right to a family life", which is possible through family reunification. According to the FRD, family life is worthy of protection, establishment, and preservation and

> Family reunification is a necessary way of making family life possible. It helps to create sociocultural stability facilitating the integration of third country nationals in the Member State, which also serves to promote economic and social cohesion[1547].

Family reunification law allows for parents, the spouse, minor unmarried children, and dependent unmarried adult children (with health issues) to join the TCN in his/her host country. For non-refugee migrants who seek family reunification as sponsors a period of two years legal residency is required before the submission of the application and they may be

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[1538] Reid, "The tragic but brutal truth."
[1539] EUR-Lex, *Council Directive 2004/83/EC.*
[1540] EUR-Lex, *Directive 2011/95/EU.*
[1541] EUR-Lex, *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.*
[1542] United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
[1543] United Nations, *Treaty Series*.
[1544] OHCHR, *Convention on the Rights of the Child*.
[1545] European Court of Human Rights, *European Convention on Human Rights.*
[1546] EUR-Lex, Council Directive 2003/86/EC.
[1547] Ibid, 12.

required to provide evidence of self-sufficiency, such as healthy and safe accommodation, 'sickness insurance', and "stable and regular resources which are sufficient to maintain himself or herself and the members of his/her family, without recourse to the social assistance system"[1548]. In comparison, for refugees, including unaccompanied children, there is no time frame for family reunification application. The fulfillment of the above resources and housing criteria is also not necessary if the application is submitted within three months of being granted refugee status.

In February 2016 Horst Seehofer, CSU minister of Bavaria, made a *very conservative* estimate of the net total number of refugees expected in Germany that include those that come under family reunification policies. He used a factor of 0.5, which means for every two refugees one single family member will be brought to Germany. He estimated that 3 million refugees will enter Germany per year. However, he mentioned that "experts told us you might as well use a factor of 2, 3, and 4"[1549]. This is simply because the majority of asylum seekers that have entered Europe in 2015/2016 are Muslims who tend to have high fertility rates and large families and will apply to bring more than one family member to Germany[1550]. What this means then, is that between 3 and 9 million refugees may enter Germany per year. Seehofer concludes by rhetorically asking

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[1548] Ibid, 16.

[1549] "Minister Calculates: 'Germany a Different Country'; 3-9 Million Migrants with Family reuinification [sic]," YouTube video; "German official does the math on immigration," Live Leak video (phoenix).

[1550] For example, in Islam a man can have up to four wives (polygamy) and, while illegal in Europe, various loopholes and human rights claims allow Muslims to continue this practice in various European countries. This means that the reproduction rate of Muslims are higher than Europeans (and higher still as Muslim women have more children on average than native Europeans). In Denmark, for instance, a Syrian refugee has his first wife already with him but he has won the right to bring his two other wives and their 20 children to join him. In total his family is 24 people. He does not work because he claims he is sick and he currently receives around 21,000 Euros per year, which will climb to around 28,000 Euros once the rest of his family joins him. See: Ingvorsen, "Ekspert"; Kamil, "Al Hasan vil have sine 20 børn og tre koner til Danmark." Another example is in Germany, where in 2012 it was estimated that 30 percent of Arabs in Berlin had two wives. See: Wagner, "In the Name of Allah"; Fahrenholz, "Wie deutsche Gerichte."

> What this means for security, for integration, for the ability to finance all of this. For the operability of our administration!...This is a different country. And the population does not want Germany or Bavaria to become another country[1551].

Although the first reason seems logical in terms of the journey being too dangerous for women and children, the increase of minors (from 20 to 35%) and women (from 10 to 20%) taking the sea journey to Greece in 2016 presents difficulties to this argument. Nevertheless, the majority of those who arrive continue to be male and large amounts are applying for asylum and family reunification. However, although it is quite likely that a majority of males do undertake the journey to Europe to seek asylum and then apply for family reunification, there are various laws being enacted in various EU Member states, particularly those that have received the most refugees, such as Sweden and Germany, that aim to restrict family reunification and hope to deter further asylum seekers. This is due to the unsustainability of providing for such sheer numbers of refugees and their families. For example, in November 2015 Germany's Interior Minister, Thomas de Maiziere called for restricted family reunification rights as it was "no longer viable" to guarantee them with "livelihoods". He said that "No one knows how many people in Syria and its bordering states are waiting for their family reunification applications to be approved" and that "We cannot double or triple our already high refugee numbers through family reunification"[1552]. So far, asylum seekers in Germany who have had their application rejected but have not been deported due to humanitarian reasons and have been granted residency permits i.e. have subsidiary protection, may not sponsor family members for two years[1553].

In Sweden, Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven argued that family reunification "is one of the driving factors behind spiralling migration". He said, in terms of overstretched social

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[1551] "Minister Calculates: 'Germany a Different Country'; 3-9 Million Migrants with Family reuinification [sic]," YouTube video.
[1552] *Agence France Presse*, "Germany can't cope with refugee family reunification demands: minister."
[1553] The Federal Government, "Swifter procedures, fewer families to follow asylum-seekers."

resources, that “The current situation is unsustainable, so we must drastically reduce the number of asylum seekers coming to Sweden”[1554]. As a result, renewable temporary residency permits are now granted to refugees (except quota refugees) and those under subsidiary protection; the former for three years and the latter for one year. Refugees with temporary permits will only be granted the right to be reunited with immediate family members, such as spouses who must be over 21 years of age. Those under subsidiary protection do not have the right to family reunification. In addition, refugees with temporary permits must provide evidence they are capable of financially supporting sponsored family members if they submit their application after three months of being granted asylum[1555].

11.3.2 Economic Opportunities

The second possible reason as to why the majority of asylum seekers are males is perceived economic opportunities in Europe. In late 2015, Inam Ghani, the Director of Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency, stated

> In the past, it was relatively easy in Europe to obtain not just asylum, but also accommodation and monetary assistance. I believe, illegal immigrants should not be given any benefits or the right to apply for political asylum. They should be immediately deported[1556].

Over 60 percent of the irregular migrants in 2015 were illegal economic migrants who sought to take advantage of the perceived job prospects and/or financial benefits in Europe. Various conditions in their home countries may contribute to this: unemployment, low wages, famine, lack of economic infrastructure and development, drying up oil fields, corruption of public officials and elites, and rapid population growth[1557]. Such conditions have often led to illegal

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[1554] Milne, “Sweden Cracks Down on Immigration”; Brenner, “A Family Reunification Dilemma for the EU.”
[1555] Romson, “Government proposes measures to create respite for Swedish refugee reception.”
[1556] Saleem, “Pakistan says it won't take back migrants with ‘criminal record’.”
[1557] See: The Fund for Peace, *Fragile States Index 2016*; *UN News Centre*, “UN projects world population to reach 8.5 billion by 2030”; Hague, “The migrant crisis is a mere gust of the hurricane that will soon engulf Europe.”

economic migrants being called “climate refugees”, “oil refugees”, and “economic refugees” fleeing famine, high unemployment, and poverty[1558]. Such terms are not accurate in accordance with legal definitions of refugees, however. In any case, some illegal economic migrants will apply for asylum and while they wait will receive government benefits.

The Asylum Seeker Benefits Act in Germany provides the asylum seeker (and those awaiting deportation) with the “basic benefits for food, housing, heating, clothing, healthcare and personal hygiene...household durables and consumables.” It also provides “pocket money” for “personal daily requirements” and “benefits in case of sickness, pregnancy and birth” as well as “individual benefits which depend on the individual case”[1559]. In Sweden economic assistance comes in the form of the provision of housing and a daily allowance, which can be from around 11 CDN$ per day or around 320 CDN$ per month for a single asylum seeking adult in their own accommodation with self-catering and around 4 CDN$ per day or around 110 CDN$ per month for single asylum seeking adults in reception centers with meals. There is also a one-time allowance for winter clothing and/or provisions for new births. For minors in own accommodation with self-catering they can receive between 172 and 235 CDN$ per month and in reception centers with meals they receive around 2 CDN$ per day or around 53 CDN$ per month.[1560]

If (and when) an asylum seeker application is rejected the applicant may know of the difficulties of being deported due to various human rights constraints, reluctant countries of origin to receive deportees, or lack of verifiable identification. They may thus choose to stay, sometimes going underground. Some may have relatives, friends, or acquaintances already established in various European countries that will provide them with a place to stay and may,

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[1558] H. Moore, “The Mediterranean migrant crisis”; Baker, “How Climate Change”; Meyer, “The Coming Wave”
[1559] Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, “The Responsible Reception Facility.”
[1560] Abraha, *A Handbook for Asylum Seekers in Sweden*, 23-24.

through various networks, find black market work. According to a study sponsored by the European Commission, in 2008 there were between 1.9 and 3.8 million "irregular foreign residents" in the EU 27[1561] and there are likely many more since this time. The OECD explains that undocumented foreign labourers often find work in several fields, such as "agriculture, building and civil engineering, small-scale industry, tourism, hotels and catering, and services to households and to businesses, including computer services"[1562]. Hiring illegal immigrants is also beneficial to employers, who circumvent costs of legal labour, such as saving on taxes and paying below legal minimum wage[1563]. Other work by illegal economic migrants may be criminal in nature, such as drug or people trafficking[1564]. Some illegal migrants may also hope to eventually gain residency permits, amnesty, or even naturalisation/citizenship after a given period of time, such as has happened in Spain, France, Italy, and elsewhere in Europe over the last decade or so[1565].

11.3.3 Muslim Invasion

The third possible reason may be a Muslim invasion in the form of 1) an Islamist military invasion and 2) a non-violent Muslim conquest through demographics. According to the *Oxford Dictionary* an invasion is "An incursion by a large number of people or things into a place or sphere of activity"[1566] and according to the *Gage Canadian Dictionary* to invade is to "enter with force or as an enemy" involving "interference; encroachment; infringement"[1567]. In terms of the first form of invasion, we already know that some ISIS militants have posed as refugees

[1561] ELIAMEP, *Undocumented Migration*, *12.*
[1562] Garson, "Where do Illegal Immigrants Work?"
[1563] Boswell and Straubhaar, "The illegal Employment of Foreigners in Europe."
[1564] European observatory of CSR & Diversity, *The Illegal Work of Migrants in the European Union*, 3.
[1565] See: *Workpermit.com*: "Italy Offers Citizenship" and "France to Grant Residency." Also see: Whitehead, "Illegal immigrants granted permanent residence by staying hidden."
[1566] *Oxford Living Dictionaries*, s.v. "invasion," https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/invasion (accessed June 2015).
[1567] *Gage Canadian Dictionary* (1983), s.v. "invade" and "invasion," 613.

and used the refugee route to stealthily enter Europe to commit terrorist acts[1568]. These are 'foreign fighters' or violent Islamist rejectionists. ISIS has claimed that it has sent thousands of such fighters to Europe under the cover of being 'refugees'. Since Europe received around 1.8 million irregular migrants in 2015, mostly young male Muslims between the ages of 18 and 34, what some have called 'military age'[1569], and since around 11-13 percent of Muslims think of ISIS positively (see chapter 10), this would mean that between 198,000 and 234,000 new arrivals in Europe may be sympathetic to ISIS. There may be other Islamist militant groups, such as al-Qaeda, who have also sent militants disguised as refugees to establish and expand their networks in Europe.

Other than these obvious forms of military invasion there are less obvious but still apparent forms involving the use of force by 'refugees' to enter Europe. These include the use of various tools to cut through border fences; attacks on border authorities with rocks and other weapons by mobs of young physically fit men; violent riots, fights, threats, and protests involving various weapons (including arson and guns) along closed borders and in refugee centers in demand to enter further into Europe; the large-scale disappearance of asylum seekers and the lack of or use of fake identity documents; the occupation of train tracks and other transportation routes; the use of women and children as strategic emotional weapons; the use of what are termed 'battering-rams' and other objects by hundreds of violent young males to forcefully and illegally enter Europe; and what some have termed sex jihad (mass rape and sexual assault as a weapon of war) against European women and girls by recent migrants and asylum seekers[1570]. The use of such force is peculiar, as they are unwilling to use such might and fight in their own countries for their own freedoms.

[1568] See chapters 9 and 12.

[1569] Newman, "Hungarian PM: Mass Migration"; Igler, "Migrant Problems Still Threaten Europe."

[1570] *BBC News*, "Migrants break down Macedonia fence"; "Hundreds of Migrants use Battering Ram to tear down Macedonian Border Fence, shout 'Allahu Akbar'," YouTube video; "Greece: Idomeni refugees block railway track in

Various European leaders have called the 'migrant crisis' various forms of an invasion. Viktor Orbán gave a speech at the European People's Party (EPP) Congress in Madrid on October 22nd 2015 stating that

> We cannot avoid speaking about the quality of our democracies. Does it comply with the freedom of information and speech that medias usually show women and children while seventy percent of the migrants are *young men and they look like an army*?[1571]

He was referring to the bias of the controlled media in the news that continuously show pictures of women and children although the majority that arrived in 2015 (and still in 2016) are physically fit young Muslim men[1572].

In December 2015 the president of the Czech Republic Milos Zeman stated that he was "profoundly convinced we are facing an organized invasion and not a spontaneous movement of refugees". He questioned why so many irregular migrants were young men who were not fighting ISIS: *"*A large majority of the illegal migrants are young men in good health, and single. I wonder why these men are not taking up arms to fight for the freedom of their countries against Islamic State"[1573]. In January 2016 Zeman stated that the Muslim Brotherhood is an umbrella group of all Islamist terrorist groups and that the migrant crisis is an "invasion" that is "being organised by the Muslim Brotherhood", which is using various "financial resources from a whole range of states"[1574]. He, and others, think that Turkey is directly involved in the invasion and is an ally of ISIS[1575]. In December 2015 Zeman said "I think Turkey is indeed a member of NATO, but sometimes behaves as if it's more an ally of Islamic State. It removes oil from Syria which finances Islamic State". Zeman also dismissed the EU's financial aid to Turkey

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open borders protest." YouTube video (RT); Deacon, "'Worst Ever' Riots Erupt"; Deacon, "Migrants Place Babies On Train Tracks"; *RT News*, "Refugees use train carriage to smash"; *Hungary Today*, "Even with Fence"; Reynolds, "Chilling message from menacing migrants"; also see chapter 13.

[1571] Website of the Hungarian Government, "Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress."

[1572] Kassam, "BBC Pictures Show 53% Migrant Kids, Just 36% Men – Hugely Out Of Step With Official Stats."

[1573] *RT News*, "Refugee influx 'organized invasion' of young men, who 'should fight ISIS' - Czech president."

[1574] "Czech Republic president explains Muslim Brotherhood cause of migration," Live Leak video.

[1575] For example, Russia demonstrates that Turkey is receiving ISIS oil and helping them: *RT News,* "'Commercial scale' oil smuggling into Turkey becomes priority target of anti-ISIS strikes."

for the Syrian refugees there, calling it "tribute money" and that "The Roman Empire, before it collapsed, also paid tribute money to barbarians for them not to pilfer its territory"[1576]. In January 2016 King Abdullah of Jordan said to the American Congress that Europe's migrant crisis and disguised terrorists among them was not an accident: "The fact that terrorists are going to Europe is part of Turkish policy and Turkey keeps on getting a slap on the hand, but they are let off the hook". He also thought it was a fact that ISIS was exporting oil to Turkey and his foreign minister, Nasser Judeh, said that "Turkey unleashed the refugees onto Europe"[1577]. A Syrian man himself ominously asserts that

> Don't take this personally, but you Europeans are really dumb....These terrorists came into our house, they took our women...to rape them. And you let them all come to Europe...they are all ISIS and al Nusra....For this mistake you will pay and if you don't pay, your children will pay. Everyone you let into your countries, they are our trash! You will regret this. There will be explosions in France, Germany, Italy....They will stay until they have cut the head off every last one of you[1578].

Many Syrian women in refugee camps in Syria consider Syrian males who have left to Europe as shameful. One women says, "if they go, who will free us? Who will protect us? We are their honour." Another woman states that "It is wrong to leave your country" and "your family". And another says that "it is forbidden to leave the country, they leave it when it is in a bad need! They have to defend it. They have to stand by its people, and not to leave it"[1579].

Whether or not the 'migrant crisis' is an organised invasion by the Muslim Brotherhood or by ISIS et al. and whether or not Turkey is aiding ISIS and sending terrorists to Europe, is beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the official estimated number of ISIS fighters who arrived in Europe as refugees is a mere fraction of the over 1.8 million irregular migrants who arrived in 2015, and the number of other violent Islamist group members would likely also be

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[1576] *RT News,* "'Turkey acts like ISIS ally"; Chulov, "Is Vladimir Putin right to label Turkey 'accomplices of terrorists'?"
[1577] Hearst, "Jordan's king accuses Turkey of sending terrorists to Europe."
[1578] I am uncertain of the nature, origin, or date of the video, but it is found here: "Syrian warns Europe about the migration invasion," YouTube video (PACk TV).
[1579] "How Do Syrian Women Feel about the Men Leaving for Europe as Refugees?" YouTube Video (OGN).

small. Although around 200,000 of the arrivals in 2015 may be sympathetic to ISIS, which is a serious problem in itself, it does not necessarily mean they are Islamist militants invading Europe. So the first form of invasion, although it has some truth to it, does not adequately explain the overwhelming arrival of young Muslim men in 2015/2016.

In terms of the second form of invasion, demographic conquest, it is well established that there are non-violent Islamists who do not want to integrate in Europe but want to non-violently conquer it by expanding the Muslim population and further fracture and undermine European societies through Islamization and the war tactic known as Trojan Horse. As detailed in chapters 8 and 9, many Muslim leaders have called for Muslims in Europe to remain separate from mainstream society and establish parallel Muslim communities (including President of Turkey, Recep Erdogan), reject Western values, and infiltrate all power structures of society with the ultimate aim of changing them in accord with Islamism. Hundreds to thousands of Muslim enclaves or no-go zones exist throughout all Western European nations made up of Muslim immigrants (first, second, and third generations) that function according to their own legal code and value system, reject European values, aspire to establish Sharia Law, and are hot-beds of radicalisation and recruitment to militant Islamism. These communities are characterised by high crime and low education and employment levels and are continuously expanded through high fertility rates and replenished from ongoing Muslim chain migration. We also know from various statistics that Muslims in Europe are disproportionately represented in prison statistics and unemployment rates. We also know from various polls and surveys that a significant portion of Muslims in Europe view the Western world unfavourably, support or have sympathy for radical and violent Islamists, and want to establish Sharia law and the Islamic way of life in European nations[1580]. We can say that a significant portion of the

[1580] See chapter 8.

Muslim population already in Europe are a mixture of what Vidino calls violent rejectionists, non-violent rejectionists, and participationists.

The population of Muslims in Europe continues to increase every year and in various European cities they are either already a majority or are set to constitute the majority of the population in the next few decades. It is no mere coincidence (in the game of war) that various Muslim leaders over the last few decades have called for or predicted the demographic conquest or colonisation of Europe, from Boumedienne in 1974 to Khadaffi in 2006 and Belkacem in 2010, and that the vast majority of irregular migrants arriving in Europe in 2015/2016 are young males from Muslim majority countries[1581]. Further, it is well established that even though there are disparate Muslim groups and sectarian Muslim conflicts, which are often violent and bloody, there is a common Muslim identity in terms of the 'ummah' or global community of Muslims that is characterised by a common opposition to Israeli-Western forces, such as the issue of Palestine and Western support for Israel, neoliberal global hegemony, and neoconservative foreign policy and occupation in Muslim countries. As many of the countries where the majority of irregular Muslim migrants have originated from have been and/or are embroiled in conflicts with American-led 'Western' anti-terror forces one can assume that a large percentage of the young Muslim men arriving in Europe share such negative perceptions of the West.

What is peculiar is that these young Muslim men are physically able but refuse to join their national or local militaries to protect their homeland, resources, people, and families from Islamists (and/or dictatorships) and instead 'flee' through several countries (many of them 'safe countries') and trek thousands of dangerous miles to reach Europe while leaving their most vulnerable (women, children, and the elderly) behind. Many of the countries these irregular

[1581] See chapters 8.4 and 11.2.

Muslim migrants are originating from are not even undergoing war or conditions of persecution. Conflict in these countries, where it does exist, is isolated to specific regions of the country, not the whole country, and often comes in the form of terrorist attacks similar in nature to those committed in Paris and Brussels. Although these countries are often not considered safe for Westerners they are for the most part safe for its residents in general. All of the top source countries of irregular Muslim migrants to the European Union, including Syria (large areas in Syria are not under ISIS control), are considered somewhat safe[1582]: Iraq[1583], Iran[1584], Afghanistan[1585], Somalia[1586], Pakistan (hosts the second largest refugee population in the world)[1587], Morocco (a major tourist destination)[1588], and Sudan[1589]. There is no valid reason for tens to hundreds of thousands of young men from these countries to make the long journey to Europe. Even if these countries were considered unsafe, then it is very unusual for the vast majority of those fleeing to be men in circumstances requiring 'protection', where families would usually travel together, particularly in extended-family settings in Muslim countries, and especially since women and children are more vulnerable than men during such dangerous conditions of conflict.

It may be the fact that the majority of Muslims arriving in Europe do not have the *intention* of demographically conquering Europe, but one can assume that such sheer numbers definitely plays directly into the desires and aims of Islamists. If trends continue, then a significant portion of these Muslims, if granted residency permits, will settle in Muslim enclaves, not integrate, have low employment and education levels, possibly commit crime,

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[1582] International Organization for Migration (IOM), *Reintegration and Emigration Programme for Asylum-Seekers*.
[1583] Al-Khatteeb, "Southern Iraq is a safe place"; MIGRI, "Humanitarian protection no longer granted."
[1584] Gov.uk, "Foreign Travel Advice: Iran."
[1585] McClenaghan, "Refugee crisis."
[1586] The HALO Trust, "Somalia & Somaliland."
[1587] Aqa, "500 Afghan Refugees Return Home From Pakistan Daily: UNHCR."
[1588] Brady, "Germany votes to classify Maghreb states 'safe countries of origin'."
[1589] Gov.uk. "Foreign Travel Advice: Sudan."

and contribute to the fracturing of society. They will likely bring family members over through family reunification laws, practice marriage migration, and have several children, thereby contributing to the demographic expansion of the Muslim population in Europe. Some will join Islamist groups, whether non-violent or violent, and contribute to the infiltration of all levels of European society and the spread of Islamisation and Sharia Law[1590].

11.4 Migrant Crisis and Muslim Countries

Turkey has a population of 75 million and is a close American ally; it has been a lead player in overthrowing the Syrian regime of President Bashar al-Assad[1591] and hosts the American military who have conducted a proxy war against Syria since 2011. Turkey has provided shelter, funding and arms to Syrian opposition fighters, such as the Syrian Free Army, against the Syrian Assad government and ISIS[1592] while also having an enthusiastic open-door policy for refugees fleeing the war in Syria[1593]. It is the largest recipient of Syrian refugees in the world - it officially houses and provides aid to 2.5 million Syrian refugees and about 500,000 other war refugees mainly from Pakistan, Iraq, and Afghanistan and more are arriving daily. It has spent billions of US dollars housing these refugees and also receives international aid to do so, such as 455 million US from the UN and 3 billion Euros ($3.4 bn US) as a "first" payment from Europe over a two-year period (which is part of the EU-Turkey deal)[1594].

Although there is a considerable amount of European pressure on Turkey to close its borders it is consistently viewed as a "first step and transition country" or a "major transit point" for migrants/refugees from across the MENA region who are heading to Europe[1595]. This

[1590] See chapters 9, 10, and 12.
[1591] Coughlin, "Be wary of playing Turkey's great game."
[1592] Weiss, "Syrian rebels say Turkey is arming and training them"; START, "Free Syrian Army."
[1593] Koca, "Deconstructing Turkey's 'Open Door' Policy"; Ahmadoun, "Turkey's Policy toward Syrian Refugees."
[1594] Traynor and Smith, "EU border controls"; Shirbon and MacLellan, "Billions pledged for Syria."
[1595] *EUbusiness*, "Eyeing EU"; *BBC News*, "Migrant crisis: EU approves"; Aiyar et al., *The Refugee Surge in Europe,* 7.

means that Turkey is like a way-station, merely a country that is traversed and used by illegal migrants on their route to Europe. Although Turkey houses the largest amount of Syrian refugees many of them want to leave, and European elites have actively encouraged them, saying "come on in". The main reason why refugees in Turkey do not want to stay is because refugees are not given access to the labour market (work permits), social benefits, education, or permanent citizenship, unlike European countries, where how to fast-track refugees into the labour market is high on the European Council agenda[1596]. In addition, conditions in camps are poor and many refugees are not provided shelter; there are around 3 million Syrians and non-Syrians who are not housed or officially counted in Turkey[1597]. Many of them have been heading to Europe illegally, either by land or by sea (eastern Aegean) into Greece, Italy, or Bulgaria, often with Turkish officials turning a blind eye, and in some cases, actively encouraging them to do so[1598].

Since November 2015, the Turkish president Erdogan, has, in his own words, at "every opportunity" threatened to flood Europe with the migrants and asylum seekers in Turkey that are seeking to enter Europe. In effect, he has been using the refugees and migrants as a political weapon in order to blackmail the EU[1599]. Having already prepared buses to re-route migrants and refugees to Europe he has said that if Europe does not provide more financial aid (another 3 billion) to Turkey then he will "open the gates [to Bulgaria and Greece] and wish them a safe journey". Even when Turkey did not fulfill the 72 criteria[1600] required for visa-liberalisation (part of the EU-Turkey deal), such as changing Turkish counterterrorism laws,

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[1596] See: Konle-Seidl and Bolits, "Labour Market Integration of Refugees"; Commission of the European Communities, "Action Plan on the Integration"; European Commission, "Questions and Answers: An improved EU Blue Card."
[1597] Amnesty International, "EU's reckless refugee returns to Turkey illegal."
[1598] Arango, "Turkey Moves to Clamp Down on Border"; O'Brien, "Slap in the face for EU."
[1599] Kambas, Coskun, and Baczynska, "Turkey's Erdogan threatened to flood Europe with migrants"; Mansfield, "TURKEY MIGRANT 'BLACKMAIL'"; Karnitschnig, "Europe to Turkey"; Martin, "German politicians say Merkel."
[1600] European Commission, "Turkey's Progress on the Visa Liberalisation Roadmap."

which meant that such liberalisation would be stalled, Turkey once again threatened Europe with a flood of irregular migrants. Burhan Kuzu, Turkish MP for Erdogan's party, who was former Chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs, warned on his Twitter account that "If the EU makes the wrong decision, we will release the refugees"[1601].

Erdogan has also pressed EU member states to accept more refugees and migrants from Turkey and the MENA region, calling the EU "shameful" as it had not taken in more. However, over the last few decades, European counties have received millions of legal and illegal immigrants a year, including from Turkey, whereas between 1950 and 2010 Turkey experienced negative net migration, which means more people left Turkey than entered![1602] The EU, in particular Sweden, France, and Germany, have also received many more asylum applicants and from a greater variety of nationalities than Turkey for many years already; since at least 1998 the EU has received between 200,000 and 1.1 million asylum applications per year. There were over 300,000 asylum applicants in the EU in 2011 and over 400,000 in 2012. In 2014 there were over 600,000 applicants and in 2015 there were 1.3 million[1603]. Between 2008 and 2014 over 750,000 asylum seekers were granted protection in the EU[1604]. In 2015 there were more refugees in Europe than were in the MENA region and just over 250,000 less than in Asia and the Pacific[1605]. Since the start of the Syrian crisis, the EU has provided around 8 billion Euros in donations; between 2011 and 2013 it had provided around 2 billion, making it

[1601] *N-tv*, "Türkei droht, wieder Flüchtlinge zu schicken." The "wrong decision" is the EU not allowing Turkey visa-liberalisation. The EC negotiates continuously extended deadlines for visa-free travel based on assurances that the criteria will be fulfilled at some point i.e. June, October, and now the end of 2016. See: European Commission, "Questions & Answers: Third Report on Progress by Turkey" and *Euractiv.com* with *Reuters*, "Turkey will accept."
[1602] The World Bank, "Net Migration: Turkey 1962-2012"; Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub, "Net Number of Migrants by Country, 1950-2015 (by Five-Year Intervals)."
[1603] Eurostat, "Asylum in the EU"; Eurostat, "Asylum Statistics."
[1604] Eurostat, "Asylum Decisions in the EU."
[1605] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, *Mid-Year Trends 2015*, 6.

the "largest donor," and between 2013 and May 2016 it had provided over 3 billion more, with an extra 3 billion pledged in February 2016[1606].

Erdogan also supports the Muslim Brotherhood and the Palestinian Sunni-Islamic fundamentalist organization, Hamas[1607], and has called Kurds "atheist infidels" who are trying "to destroy Islamic values."[1608] In a May 2015 speech celebrating the 562nd anniversary of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, he showed his support for the re-creation of the Islamic Caliphate of the Ottoman Empire through "conquest". He stated that the "conquest", among other things, such as the conquest of Jerusalem, was of Spain and the Balkans up into Austria: "The conquest is *Al-Andalus* [Muslim Spain]. It is to build the most beautiful architecture, literature and culture of the world such as in Córdoba and Granada" and

> The conquest is to open the doors of Anatolia up to Vienna [where the previous Ottoman Empire was stopped in 1683] for this blessed nation. The conquest is Osman Ghazi [the first Ottoman Sultan]. It is to make the sycamore [the Ottoman Empire] meet with the ground that would cover three continents and seven climates through the enlightenment inspired by Sheikh Edebali who said, 'Make the human live so that the state can live'[1609].

And European leaders want to give visa-free travel to Turkey and possibly let it become a member of the EU.

What about other Muslim countries taking in their Muslim brethren as refugees and economic migrants? There are fifty Muslim-majority countries in the world[1610]. The vast majority (90+%) of refugees and migrants coming to Europe are from Muslim-majority nations, yet most of the wealthy and stable Muslim countries are not accepting or settling them or plan to do so. Some of the wealthiest Muslim countries include Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, but none of them are settling Syrians or other Muslim refugees[1611].

[1606] European Commission, *European Neighbourhood and Partnership*, 18; European Commission, "Syria Crisis," 1.
[1607] Karaveli, "The Obama-Erdogan Partnership over Syria" 89; Mauro, "Turkish PM Erdogan Top Backer of Hamas."
[1608] "Erdoğan: 'Infidels are damaging our values'," YouTube video (TRT Canli).
[1609] Turkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaskanligi, "İstanbul'un Yüreğinde"; Bulut, "Turkey? In the EU?"
[1610] The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, *Mapping the Global Muslim Population,* 8.
[1611] Amnesty International, "Syria's Refugee Crisis in Numbers."

Roughly 95 percent of the 4 million Syrian refugees are in only five Muslim host countries: Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt and many have been leaving these countries and heading to Europe. Jordan, for example, has a population of 6.5 million and has been confronted with around 1 million refugees primarily from Syria, but also from Iraq, Somalia, and Sudan. It has built refugee camps for about 20 percent and provides basic education and healthcare in host communities. It altered its refugee UNCHR budget from USD 62.8 million in 2010 to a revised 2015 budget of USD 404.4 million[1612].

Lebanon, with a population of around 4 million has around 2 million refugees, particularly Syrians, Iraqis, and Sudanese, and provides many of them with "cash grants, shelter and access to health and education". Its refugee UNCHR budget was altered from USD 13.7 million in 2011 to a revised budget of USD 556.8 million for 2015[1613]. According to the International Bar Association, "Both Lebanon and Jordan are facing an unprecedented socioeconomic and political crisis" as refugees compete "with their hosts for jobs and resources", public services are straining, and outbreaks of "sectarian conflicts between pro- and anti-Syrian forces continue to escalate". Unemployment among Jordanians has risen from 14.5 percent to 22.1 percent between 2011 and 2014, which is roughly about 379 thousand, and it has been estimated by the World Bank that "by the end of 2015, 170,000 Lebanese will fall into poverty and unemployment will double to around 20 per cent"[1614]. Likewise, the *Globe and Mail* reports that in Lebanon and Jordan "the devastating long-term effects [of the refugee crisis] are alike in deteriorating public services, including education, health and infrastructure; rising social tensions; and bleak economic outlooks"[1615]. Paolo Verme, author of a 2014 WB-UNHCR study, writes that the inflow of refugees

[1612] UNHCR, Global Appeal 2015 Update: Jordan.
[1613] UNHCR, Global Appeal 2015 Update: Lebanon.
[1614] Lowe, "Syrian refugees must not be classed as illegal immigrants, say lawyers."
[1615] Kullab, "4 Million More."

> has challenged the already delicate societal and inter-communal balance in Lebanon […]; overcrowding, saturation of basic services and competition for jobs are among the root causes for social tensions between host and refugee communities[1616].

In other words, refugee influxes in Jordan and Lebanon (and Turkey) are producing serious financial and social problems for these countries.

Jordan and Lebanon do not practice large-scale, permanent, and ethnically diverse mass-immigration. Like Turkey, in the 20th century Lebanon had a character of continual *emigration* and suffered from demographic loss. It is only relatively recently, beginning in the early 2000s, that it has experienced positive migration; the net migration rate in 2002 was 550,110, in 2007 it was 183,370, and in 2012 it was 500,000[1617]. However, economic immigration into Lebanon is in the most part annual or seasonal; migrants are given temporary work permits rather than being granted permanent residency. Migrants also do not have equal access to public services, liberal professions, or estate ownership[1618]. Jordan has experienced inconsistent amounts of inflow and outflow migration since the 1950s. For example in 1992 it had a net migration flow of 400,000, but in 2002 it was negative 184,000. Its net migration rate for 2007 was 450,110 and in 2012 it was 400,000[1619]. Like Lebanon, immigration is considered as a temporary affair in response to needs of the national economy and integration is rejected at the local level. In addition, preference in the job market is given to nationals over foreigners, liberal professions and government jobs are reserved for nationals only, and migrants have no access to health and education services[1620].

[1616] Verme, "How Poor Are Refugees?" 5.
[1617] Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub, "Net Number of Migrants by Country, 1950-2015 (by Five-Year Intervals)"; The World Bank, "Net Migration: Lebanon 1962-2012."
[1618] MPC Team, *MPC Migration Profile: Lebanon*, 1, 4.
[1619] The World Bank, "Net Migration: Jordan 1962-2012"; Migration Policy Institute (MPI) Data Hub, "Net Number of Migrants by Country, 1950-2015 (by Five-Year Intervals)."
[1620] MPC Team, *MPC Migration Profile: Jordan*, 5-9.

12. Criminal Aspects and Costs of the Migrant Crisis

The European migration crisis is being utilised and fuelled by criminal elements the world over. Not only are illegal migrants exploiting the refugee flows into Europe, whereby some pretend to be fleeing war, use fake passports, and throw away identification, there are also criminals and opportunists who are using the migrant crisis to benefit financially from it and/or enter Europe. There are two main criminals who are doing this: smugglers and ISIS/radical Muslims. Smugglers, mostly made up of Moroccan, Spaniard, Albanian and Syrian nationals[1621], are demanding between $400 and $1500 or more from migrants and asylum seekers who are seeking to enter Europe illegally[1622]. There are also reports that legal migrants in the UK are smuggling illegals across the Channel to Britain[1623]. In fact, there is a human smuggling network made up of mega-gangs that stretches across the Middle East, Africa, Europe and the UK that exploits refugee and migrant flows; about 9 out of 10 illegal immigrants entering Europe use smugglers to do so[1624]. In 2015 alone this huge human smuggling network generated more than 5.7 billion Euros trafficking illegals into Europe[1625] and it is projected to rake in more than 10 billion Euros in 2016[1626]. In the last few years, human smuggling has quickly become one of the largest crimes facing Europe.

According to Europol, human traffickers are also exploiting the migration crisis to steal children for sex slavery and labour[1627] and, according to officials, such as Bavarian Interior Minister Joachim Herrmann, there are also many unaccompanied migrant minors that are purposefully avoiding registration, prompting concerns that they will not integrate and may be

[1621] Frontex, "Frontex publishes Risk Analysis for 2016."
[1622] Bacchi, "Mediterranean migrant crisis."
[1623] Samuel, "Britons deeply involved in cross-Channel migrant smuggling, says Dunkirk prosecutor."
[1624] Corder, "EU police agency"; *Migrant Smuggling Networks: Joint Europol-INTERPOL Report.*
[1625] Corcoran, "Migrant smuggling networks made £4.6BILLION last year."
[1626] Sutherland, *Remarks at the United Nations*.
[1627] *RT News*, "10,000 kids missing in EU"; Burger, "A Crisis Within the European Migrant Crisis?"

"criminally exploited", turn to a life of crime, and become "attackers of tomorrow"[1628]. Illegal entry into Europe is also fuelled as far-away as Thailand, where in February 2016 a crime ring led by an Iranian was busted for producing, selling and shipping thousands of fake passports to Middle Easterners seeking illegal entry into Europe[1629].

The European migration crisis is one of uncontrolled migration in contrast to controlled and legal immigration that involves invitees, proper security screening, background checks, and sustainable numbers. Due to the uncontrolled and extremely large volumes of migrants arriving in Europe coupled with poor external EU border controls (and absent internal border controls), proper screening and documentation of arrivals is nearly impossible, which means that European security is endangered. In February 2015, ISIS threatened to use the surge of migrants and refugees heading to Europe across the Mediterranean Sea. They stated they would flood Europe with hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees at the same time in an effort to destabilise Europe[1630]. In response, Italian Minister for the Interior Angelino Alfano said that "We are at risk of an exodus without precedent", which seems to have materialised[1631].

In May 2015, Baretzky said that

> ISIS has taken radicalisation to a whole new level of risk. And migration is an uncontrolled process that opens the ability of ISIS to infiltrate the EU and this poses a major security risk of terrorism and more. So, we can't ignore the fact that many of these possible migrants might not be migrants[1632].

In September 2015, Elias Bou Saab, Lebanon's education minister warned David Cameron, then Prime Minister of Britain, that as many as one in 50 Syrian refugees to Europe (two percent of Syrian refugees) could be a jihadist or ISIS radical or fighter and that ISIS was conducting an

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[1628] Zeronian, "Bavarian Interior Minister Warns"; Parfitt, "MIGRANT WARNING."
[1629] *Agence France Presse*, "Thai cops bust gang sending fake passports to migrants to Europe."
[1630] Sherlock and Freeman, "Islamic State 'Planning to Use Libya as Gateway to Europe'."
[1631] Hannah Roberts, "ISIS Threatens to Send 500,000 Migrants to Europe as a 'Psychological Weapon'."
[1632] "Insight - Migrant Crisis: ISIS & The Security Threat to Europe," YouTube video (Red Ice Insight).

operation whereby "they bring some people, the smugglers. They organise groups and send them out", these 'people' being militants disguised as refugees[1633]. In fact, ISIS has taken over some of the main smuggling routes to Europe, particularly on the Libyan coast[1634], in order to profit and to send fighters to Europe disguised as refugees. In early December 2015 a Czech MEP, Petr Mach, declared to the European Parliament that there were camps in Syria "where Europeans [Muslims with European citizenship] were being trained to fight, not alongside the Islamic State, but so that they would return and wage war in Europe"[1635]. An IFOP poll revealed that in September 2015 almost two-thirds of Germans, over two-thirds of French, and over three quarters of Italians thought terrorists were using the 'migrant crisis' to enter Europe and this belief rose to eight out of ten for all three countries by March 2016[1636].

In distinction to a January 26th 2016 report by Europol, which is the EU's law enforcement agency that denied "terrorist travellers systematically use the flow of refugees to enter Europe unnoticed"[1637], in early February 2016 Hans-Georg Maassen, head of the German domestic intelligence agency, reported that ISIS is indeed using the 'refugee' routes, that scores had made it to Germany already and were living there as "refugees"[1638]. In addition, he admitted that some ISIS members had posed as Syrian refugees and that some were responsible for the terrorist attack in Paris (November 2015) that killed 130 people and wounded hundreds more[1639]. On March 1st 2016 U.S. Air Force Gen. Philip Breedlove stated that mass-migration is "masking the movement of criminals, terrorists and foreign fighters" into Europe and ISIS was spreading "like a cancer, taking advantage of paths of least resistance

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[1633] Sims, "1 in 50 Syrian refugees in Europe could be an Isis jihadist, minister warns David Cameron."
[1634] Walt, "ISIS Makes a Fortune From Smuggling Migrants Says Report."
[1635] "Czech MEP spanks Euro Parl. for its suicidal refugee policies and its hypocricy on labeling products," Live Leak video.
[1636] Fourquet, "Six Months After: Europeans Facing the Migrant Crisis," 7.
[1637] Europol Public Information, "Changes in the modus Operandi of Islamic State terrorist attacks," 3.
[1638] *Deutsche Welle* (DW), "Police arrest 'IS' suspects"; Frohlich, "Haftbefehl gegen 19-jährigen Syrer."
[1639] Copley, "German spy agency says ISIS sending fighters disguised as refugees."

and threatening European nations, and our own, with terrorist attacks"[1640]. European and Iraqi intelligence officials also revealed in March 2016 that ISIS has already trained and sent 400 fighters to Europe, some of which were associated with the Paris terror attacks[1641]. In April 2016, Frontex released its annual risk assessment report, which stated that "irregular migrant flows could be used by terrorists to enter the EU" and that

> Two of the terrorists involved in the [Paris] attacks had previously irregularly entered through Leros and had been registered by the Greek authorities. They presented fraudulent Syrian documents to speed up their registration process[1642].

There have been numerous reports of thousands of 'jihadists' already in Europe[1643], reports of radical Islamic networks all across Europe[1644] (including "rejectionists" who call for violence, those who do not, and those who 'participate'[1645]), and reports of thousands of Muslims being arrested on terrorism-related charges[1646]. In fact, Muslim terrorism in Europe was first initiated by Muslim refugees and asylum seekers. According to Angel Rabasa and Cheryl Benard, who wrote *Eurojihad: Patterns of Islamist Radicalisation and Terrorism in Europe* (2014),

> The first generation of Islamist extremists in Europe consisted of asylum seekers and refugees. These were individuals who had been politically active before they arrived in Europe and brought their experience and, in some cases, their battles and political agendas with them. Some of the leading ideologues of radical Islamism in Europe fall into this category. In some cases, recent refugees turned against the host country and its culture because that country's government supported the regime they opposed or took a foreign policy stance that was inimical to their broader political values or because they became exposed to a more global agenda while in the West[1647].

[1640] C-Span, "NATO Operations."
[1641] Such as Abdelhamid Abaaoud, a Muslim and Belgian citizen who fought for ISIS and returned and carried out the Brussels attack in 2016. Abaaoud is also linked to the Paris attacks in November 2015. Hinnant and Dodds, "Isis has 'at least 440 fighters'"; Breeden, de Freytas-Tamura, and Bennhold, "Call to Arms"; Graham, "What's the Matter."
[1642] Frontex, *Risk Analysis for 2016*, 7.
[1643] Aaron Brown, "'Just wait…'"; also see other sources mentioned in this work.
[1644] See: *Recruitment and Mobilisation*; Chris Tomlinson, "Police Shocked."
[1645] Veerman, "The rise of political Islam in Europe." According to Vidino participationists are "such organizations [that] have made a conscious decision to avoid unnecessary confrontation and have instead opted for a clever and flexible policy of engagement with the European establishment". See chapter 8.
[1646] Home Office, "Operation of police powers under the Terrorism Act 2000, quarterly update to September 2015."
[1647] Rabasa and Benard, *Eurojihad: Patterns of Islamist Radicalisation and Terrorism in Europe*, 41.

Dozens of Islamic terrorist threats, including lone-wolf attacks, on European soil have been thwarted since the end of 2015, such as the Paris knife attack in January 2016 where a lone Muslim man attempted to storm a police station and stab officers. The perpetrator was a "serial asylum seeker" from Tunisia who had lived illegally in France for five years and had been living in Recklinghausen, a town in western Germany, since 2013; nine migrants from the town were also arrested in relation to the attack[1648]. In addition, in refugee centers recent arrivals are increasingly vulnerable to Islamic radicalisation[1649] and Europol and news media reports that Islamists are "recruiting refugees" and youth[1650], plotting Paris-style terrorist attacks across Europe, and have set up 'terror training' bases in the EU and the Balkans[1651]. The latest ISIS terrorist attack in Brussels, the capital of Europe, on 22 March 2016 killed 35 and injured 300 at Brussels airport and a metro station. In relation to the attack, dozens of arrests have been made in Germany, France, and Belgium, particularly in the Molenbeek district, one of many Muslim no-go zones that exist across Europe. It is now known that the attacks and the attackers in Belgium were linked to the November 2015 attacks in Paris[1652] and at least three of them had posed as refugees[1653].

Germany took in the majority of irregular migrants in 2015 and the flow of migrants into Europe does not seem to be stopping but rather increasing. Polls and surveys reveal that almost half of Germans now fear refugees; 7/10 fear the migrant crisis will lead to more

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[1648] DPA, "Nine migrants arrested in German town"; *RT News*, "Paris knife attack."
[1649] Chris Tomlinson, "Govt Study Reveals Austrian Migrant Camp"; Paton, "Refugee crisis."
[1650] Nelsen, "Brussels attacks."
[1651] Culbertson, "ISIS recruiting refugees"; Europol Public Information, "Changes in the modus Operandi"; Stachnio, "ISIS is Already"; Deacon, "There Is An ISIS Enclave"; *N-tv*. "Belgische Polizei nimmt IS-Anwerber fest."
[1652] Graham, Rothwell, Lawler, and Millward, "Sources say Ibrahim El Bakraoui"; Phipps, "Brussels bombings"; *BBC News*, "Brussels attacks"; *The Local*, "Brussels bombers had direct links to Paris attackers."
[1653] *Ekathimerini*, "Three Brussels bombers passed through Greece."

crime[1654], 60 percent think that Germany cannot cope with the influx, 9/10 do not want any more refugees coming to Germany, and there are also fears of an impending civil war[1655].

12.1 Migrant Crime

Although a majority of refugees/foreign migrants never commit crime, crime by irregular migrants is becoming an increasing problem across the EU. The chairman of the Federal German Police, Andre Schulz, estimated that at least 10 percent of migrants are criminals, meaning that of the 1.1 million that arrived in Germany in 2015 110,000 were delinquents[1656]. A German report by the Federal Criminal Police Office revealed that 208,344 crimes were committed by asylum seekers, refugees, and illegal immigrants in 2015 in Germany, a 79 percent increase from the year before[1657]. But the report is only about solved crimes in 13 of the 16 states in Germany and excludes important data from various states and large cities, so the number of crimes is likely to have been much more, with an estimate of over 400,000 by Soeren Kern, a Distinguished Senior Fellow of the Gatestone Institute[1658]. The most common crimes were theft, crimes against property, counterfeiting offenses, and "acts of brutality," including "assault, robbery, extortion and acts against personal freedom (coercion)" and Syrian migrants committed the largest proportion of crimes[1659].

German police reports from 2014 show that 40 percent of migrants from the Maghreb countries of Tunisia, Libya, Morocco and Algeria committed crimes within 12 months of their arrival in Germany[1660]. In fact, according to various German politicians and ministers, it was already known in 2014

[1654] Chris Tomlinson, "Leaked Police Document: More Migrants Means More Crime."
[1655] Allan Hall, "Merkel's nightmare: Almost half of Germans NOW FEAR refugees after Cologne attacks."
[1656] Goebels, "Tausende Flüchtlinge tauchen noch vor der Registrierung unter."
[1657] *Sputnik News*, "Germany's Most Wanted"; Allan Hall, "Germany's migrant crisis."
[1658] Kern, "Germany: Migrant Crime Skyrockets."
[1659] *Sputnik News*, "Germany's Most Wanted: New Data Reveals 2015 Migrant Crime Wave."
[1660] *The Local*, "Huge gulf in crime rates among migrant groups"; Diehl, "Straftäter aus Nordafrika."

> that there was a problem group among refugees: Northern Africans who stole massively, drank, harassed women, and perpetrated violence. But this knowledge was treated very discreetly from all sides.

In addition, Duesseldorf police officers in 2014 identified more than 2,000 suspects of North African origin in connection with organized thefts and the groping of women[1661].

According to a report by one of the police forces in the German Federation, Bundeskriminalamtes (BKA), in the first three months of 2016 asylum seekers committed 70,000 crimes, involving offenses of theft, wealth, and counterfeiting, bodily injury, assault, and robbery[1662]. And according to a May 2016 report in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) newspaper, hundreds of "unaccompanied minor refugee" criminals that have been arrested in Germany are so violent – destroying prison property and assaulting guards – that they have been moved from youth offender prisons to adult institutions with stricter controls[1663].

In France, thousands of illegal migrants attempting to reach the United Kingdom have formed the 'Jungle' camp in Calais. A British immigration judge, Justice McCloskey, stated that the majority of people in this camp are not refugees but illegal "migrant nationals of a number of countries outside the European Union" and are "not entitled to recognition" as refugees[1664]. This camp in France is made up of 22 nationalities and has increased in size to the point that it had, before being demolished in 2016, its own schools, theatre, nightclub, shops and restaurants[1665]. Migrants from this camp and others ambush freight trains and ferries that are heading to Britain and some are stealing small boats to cross the Channel. They also attack and threaten truck drivers with hammers, guns, and knives, attempt to hijack trucks, cut open truck roofing and force open back doors to get inside, cling to the roof tops of trucks, attempt to

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[1661] Stoldt, "Ende der Schweigekultur um kriminelle Nordafrikaner"; *Bild*, "Geheimer Polizei-Bericht."
[1662] *Junge Freiheit*, "Asylbewerber begehen 770 Straftaten – am Tag."
[1663] Peikert, "Zu aggressiv fürs Jugendgefängnis."
[1664] *Agence France Presse (AFP)*, "British Judge Rules Many Calais Migrant Campers"
[1665] Gallagher, "Need a bigger emergency brake"; Walker, Weaver, & Pujol-Mazzini, "Calais 'Jungle' camp refugees."

illegally walk the length of the Channel Tunnel, and light fires and spread obstructions and debris on roads, all in an attempt to get to Britain and all very destructive, dangerous and sometimes fatal endeavours[1666]. Migrants in Calais have also attacked private cars and school buses, such as a British school coach that was carrying 35 children on their way home from a ski trip in Italy[1667]. There are suggestions by some that many of those that reside in this Calais 'Jungle' camp are ISIS sympathisers or ISIS members and that the migrants have no cultural enrichment to offer France, other than to "wreck, destroy, steal, and rape". Calais resident Simone Héricourt gave an account of the situation in Calais in February 2016, saying that the migrants

> enter the homes of people, while people are at the dinner table, because they want to eat. They take what they want; sometimes they beat up the inhabitants. They steal what they want and smash what they can't get. And when you defend yourself, the police get on your back[1668].

In Sweden, which received the greatest amount of migrants relative to its population in 2015 including almost 40,000 unaccompanied migrant youth, a police report revealed more than 5000 incidents of crime were committed by migrants within a period of three months (between October 2015 and the beginning of January 2016), including 2 bomb threats, 4 rapes, 600 assaults, 450 fights, 194 violent threats, 58 fires, and 9 robberies[1669]. National Police Commissioner Dan Eliasson recently demanded an extra 4100 police officers and civilian employees for the police and a budget increase of between $285 million and $444 million because the "migrant situation means a significantly higher workload for the police"[1670]. In fact,

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[1666] See: "Adam - Eurotunnel Insider Speaks Out on Waves of Migrants," YouTube video (Red Ice Radio); Sykes, "Calais truckers fear death"; *BBC News*, "French government promises"; Deacon, "'Guerrilla Warfare'"; *The Local*, "Calais migrants use tiny boats to cross Channel."
[1667] Gutteridge, "New migrant shock."
[1668] "Resident of Calais speaks. This is the death of civilization," YouTube video.
[1669] *The Local*, "Swedish police file 5,000 migrant incidents."
[1670] Karlsson, "Eliasson efterlyser fler poliser i Sverige."

Swedish police are reporting that they can't cope with the surge in levels of migrant crime as they are not prepared and do not have the resources[1671].

12.1.1 Migrant on Migrant Crime

Crime between migrants in and outside asylum centers across Europe is also an increasing issue. The head of Germany's second-largest police union, Rainer Wendt, has said that the European migrant crisis is "the greatest challenge in postwar history". In August 2015 alone, and in one German state – North Rhine-Westphalia – police responded to 926 emergency calls to refugee centers. One month later, a massive brawl erupted at a refugee center near the city of Kassal in the state of Hesse, resulting in 60 people injured. Two weeks later another brawl erupted at this same refugee center between 350 Pakistanis and Albanians, resulting in 14 people injured, including police officers[1672]. In November 2015 a Sierra Leone man was violently stabbed by a Somalian man at a Bavairan refugee center[1673] and in February 2016 a 20-year-old Senegalese asylum seeker was murdered by a 38-year-old Somalian in a Munich center[1674].

There have also been several riots and murders in Swedish asylum centers. In January 2016, 19 youth in a Swedish refugee center for unaccompanied children in Lindås rioted, attacked staff with weapons and caused massive damage to their housing and just one month later in a refugee center in the town of Ljusne, 15 Afghans were involved in a violent brawl that left one man dead and three injured[1675]. In March 2016 a 19-year-old asylum seeker in Storå was murdered by three other asylum seekers[1676]. In Belgium, a 100-strong riot erupted in a migrant centre between Afghans, Iraqis, and Syrians, where the former two had been bullying a

[1671] Ernst, "Swedish Cops Drowning in Muslim Migrant Crime Wave."
[1672] Bartsch et al., "Close Quarters Asylum Shelters in Germany Struggle with Violence."
[1673] Hallett, "Migrant-On-Migrant Violence: 18-Year-Old Stabbed At Asylum Centre."
[1674] Chris Tomlinson, "Migrant-On-Migrant Crime."
[1675] *The Local*, "Swedish asylum staff attacked"; *RT News*. "Murder probe launched."
[1676] *The Local*, "Three held for murder at Swedish asylum centre."

young secular Syrian girl and demanded she wear a headscarf and the latter protected her. Several people were injured and 11 people were arrested[1677]. In May 2015, over 200 migrants in the Calais 'Jungle' camp in France, erupted into a massive riot that left 14 people injured[1678]. In April 2016 a violent brawl between hundreds of migrants using metal poles and planks of wood occurred at a migrant camp near the Stalingrad metro station in Paris. Violence was also used upon police, parked cars, and pedestrians. At least four men were taken to hospital with serious injuries[1679]. This camp had been evacuated twice before, but migrants returned with make-shift beds; in May it was evacuated again[1680]. In late May and early June 2016 hundreds of migrants engaged in violent brawls in Calais, leaving one dead, 40 hospitalised, 12 with gunshot wounds, one with severe burns, and five volunteers injured (one critically)[1681]. In Vienna in March 2016 up to 50 Afghan youth attacked a small group of Chechens with iron bars; there were two attempted murders and five serious injuries[1682].

Religion and ethnicity is at the heart of some of these violent altercations between migrants and asylum seekers across Europe[1683]. Christians asylum seekers, including Muslim converts to Christianity, and those of minority faiths have been assaulted on their way to Europe and in refugee centers across Europe by Muslim asylum seekers, migrants, and even staff, ranging from sexual assault and persecution to death. In early 2015, 12 Christian Nigerians were murdered by Nigerian Muslims on their way, by boat, to Italy simply because they did not pray to Allah[1684] and in August 2015 a riot broke out in a German refugee camp in Suhl in the state of Thuringia because a man tore pages from a Koran, which resulted in 17

[1677] Zeronian, "100 Riot In Migrant Reception Centre."
[1678] Mulholland, "French police break up riot in migrant camp in Calais."
[1679] Scott, "Ferocious battle at Paris migrant camp."
[1680] *RT News*, "Huge migrant camp evacuated from under Stalingrad metro station in Paris."
[1681] Dagbert, "Calais"; *Sud Ouest*, "Affrontements entre migrants dans la jungle de Calais: 40 blessés."
[1682] *Kurier*, "Messersteche-rei beim Handelskai: Fünf Verletzte."
[1683] Chris Tomlinson, "REPORT: Christians, Gays, Women Fleeing Asylum Centres."
[1684] Akbar, "Muslim migrants"; *RT News*, "Christian Refugees"; Bazán, "The harassment of Christian refugees."

people getting hurt[1685]. Already in 2014 there were reports that "spillover effects" of the conflicts in Syria and Iraq were occurring in Germany and that "rival Muslim groups" were "deliberately exploiting the ethnic and religious tensions in the Middle East to stir up trouble on the streets of Europe"[1686]. In early October 2014, a peaceful demonstration by Kurds protesting the Islamic State attacks on the Syrian-Kurdish town of Kobani erupted into a violent brawl between 400 Kurds and 400 pro-ISIS supporters in Hamburg, Germany. It resulted in 14 people injured, the confiscation of hundreds of weapons, and 22 arrests[1687]. Violent clashes between pro-Kurdish and pro-Turkish supporters again broke out in various cities across Germany in April 2016, which led to 5 activists and 17 police officers getting hurt[1688]. Turks and Kurds have also clashed in France. David Rachline, National Front Senator and mayor of Frejus in southeastern France, posted a video on his Facebook page about the "[c]lashes between Turks and Kurds in the centre of Bordeaux," commenting that "mass uncontrolled immigration...leads to chaos and clashes between communities"[1689].

There are problems of rape and sexual assault against female refugees by male refugees. According to German social work organizations, women's rights groups, and the UN, due to the fact that the overwhelming amount of asylum seekers are males, a culture of rape and sexual abuse is growing in refugee centers across Europe. Numerous women, especially single mothers and single women, and young girls housed in refugee shelters are being raped, sexually assaulted and even forced into prostitution and trafficked by male asylum seekers, and many are too afraid to report the abuse. For example, over an eleventh month period in 2015 over 1000 reported brutality and attacks against personal liberty had been filed in refugee

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[1685] Burrows and Akbar, "Riot breaks out at overcrowded refugee camp in Germany."
[1686] Kern, "Germany: Holy War Erupts in Hamburg."
[1687] Schwartz and Hudson, "Kurds, radical Islamists clash in Germany, 14 injured."
[1688] *RT News*, "Hundreds pro-Erdogan & pro-Kurdish demonstrators clash across Germany."
[1689] David Rachline's Facebook page, accessed March 2016, https://www.facebook.com/rachlinedavid/videos/vb.167344481105/10153199262586106/?type=2&theater.

centers in Saxony (Germany) alone, including six cases of sexual abuse of children. A twelve-year-old girl in an underage migrant centre in Dusseldorf was sexually abused by two migrants who claimed they were 15 and 17 years old[1690]. There are hundreds of reports on child sexual abuse, sexual assault, sexual exploitation, rape, and gang rape of female refugees by other refugees on their journey to Europe and again in asylum centers in Europe[1691]. Although there are incidents where male refugee staff and guards have committed sexual assault and rape of women refugees their numbers are small in comparison. Sexual violence by male refugees against female refugee in refugee centers has been an ongoing problem that is found across the world, as a 2006 report by the Refugee Council's Vulnerable Women's Project (VWP) has shown[1692]. There are also problems with child-marriages among asylum seekers[1693]. And there are problems with rape and sexual assault of young migrant men and boys. For example, four Syrian migrants in a Norwegian asylum center raped a fellow male Syrian (19 yrs old) and filmed the incident[1694] and two migrant men posing as teenagers repeatedly raped a 10-year-old boy in a youth migrant center in Västerås, Sweden and also filmed the rapes[1695].

12.1.2 Crimes Against Europeans

There is also a growing problem with male refugees and migrants making death threats, physically attacking, murdering, sexually assaulting, raping, and gang-raping European natives and citizens, particularly girls and women and including staff of refugee centers. There are thousands of reports and there have been many arrests[1696]. For example, in the summer of

[1690] Malm, "Two migrants placed in a German children's home."
[1691] For example: Amnesty International, "Female refugees face physical assault"; Maier, "Women Don't Feel Safe"; Bonewit, *Reception of Female Refugees*; Sarovic, "Sexuelle Gewalt in Flüchtlingsheimen."
[1692] Refugee Council, *Refugee and Asylum Seeking Women Affected by Rape or Sexual Violence*.
[1693] *The Local*, "Denmark separates underage spouses"; Issig, "Kinderehen nach Scharia-Recht."
[1694] Stromme, "Horror as 'group of migrants film themselves raping male teenager at asylum centre'."
[1695] Lane, "Young Boy Repeatedly Raped After He Was Billeted With Migrant Men."
[1696] For example: Lübbert, "Ich halte es dort nicht mehr aus"; Madsen, "Piger fra Thisted oplever flere krænkelser i mødet med asylansøgere"; Kern, "Germany: Migrant Rape Crisis Worsens"; Krautkramer, "Es macht mich wütend"; XY-Einzelfall Facebook page, accessed March 2016, https://www.facebook.com/XY-Einzelfall-1289544721071903.

2015 a gang of teenage Muslim asylum-seekers from North Africa violently beat and gang-raped a 23-yr-old woman in Sweden[1697]; also in the summer of 2015 a 20-year-old recent migrant from Somalia brutally raped an 88-year-old woman in Germany and was sentenced to four years in prison[1698]. In the summer of 2015 an Afghan asylum seeker in Finland raped a 17 year old Finnish girl and then murdered her by setting her on fire[1699]. In July 2015 a 36-year-old Eritrean refugee in Sweden who had been staying with a Swedish family while waiting for his application to be processed stabbed their 7 year old daughter to death[1700]. Between August 1st and August 23rd 2015 there were 11 reported rapes or attempted rapes in Germany by North Africans or Middle Easterners – the victims were between seven and 42 years old[1701]. In September 2015 an 18-year-old male from the Ivory Coast brutally murdered a husband and wife in Italy[1702]. In the fall of 2015 a 30 year old woman activist of the No Borders group was raped by a Senegalese asylum seeker in Ventimiglia, Italy[1703]. In October 2015 two asylum seekers in a Bavarian refugee center sexually assaulted a female cleaner repeatedly over the course of several days[1704]. In October 2015 five Syrian refugees gang-raped an 18 year old girl in a care home in Britain[1705]. In November 2015 another Afghan asylum seeker in Finland raped a 14 year old girl[1706]. In just one day alone in January 2016 in Germany there were six rapes or attempted rapes by migrants – the victims were between eight and 55 years old[1707]. In January 2016 in Molndal, Sweden 22-year-old Alexandra Mezher, an employee at a refugee centre for unaccompanied youth (14-17 yr. olds), was stabbed to death by a recent migrant from Somalia

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[1697] Lane, "Teenage Muslim Migrants Let Off With Wrist Slap For Violent Gang Rape."
[1698] *Westfalen-Blatt*, "88-Jährige vergewaltigt: vier Jahre Haft."
[1699] Lane, "Afghan Migrant Brutally Raped And Burnt To Death Young European Because She Wanted To Break Up."
[1700] *Avpixlat*, "Asylsökare dömd för knivmord på sjuårig flicka."
[1701] Kern, "Germany: Migrants' Rape Epidemic."
[1702] Lara Martino, "Coniugi uccisi a Palagonia firmato il nulla osta per i funerali."
[1703] *Redazione Online*, "Attivista stuprata da un migrante «Gli altri mi chiesero di tacere»."
[1704] *Sputnik News*, "Sex Assaults by Refugees Drive Women Staff From German Asylum Center."
[1705] Greenwood, "Case against 'Syrian refugees' accused of gang raping teenage girl."
[1706] Ohberg, "A Rape in Kempele."
[1707] Kern, "Germany's Migrant Crisis: January 2016."

who posed as a 15-year-old but is an adult[1708]. Also in January 2016 a 22 year old Afghani asylum seeker violently raped an 18 year old Austrian woman in a park[1709]. In February 2016 a 16 year old Afghan refugee raped a female caterer at the asylum center he was staying at in Belgium[1710] and also in February 2016, a high school math teacher from Celle, a city near Hanover, Germany, who was originally from Iran, was brutally murdered by an Afghan asylum seeker who he had let stay at his home[1711]. These incidents are but a very small example of uncountable, brutal, and ongoing migrant crimes in Europe.

Sexual attacks and harassment by male migrants in public places such as swimming pools, bars, nightclubs, and public events like festivals and celebrations have become a major concern for Europeans, with many now banning male migrants from entering. A police presence in some public swimming pools is now necessary because of widespread complaints about the obscene behaviour of recent migrants – public masturbation, defecation in pools, sexual harassment and rape of women, and the sexual abuse and rape of children, both boys and girls[1712]. Bars and clubs are also banning male asylum seekers and recent migrants due to complaints about them sexually harassing women[1713]. In November 2015, a charity in Germany called Refugees Welcome, organized a Rhine River cruise as a welcoming party for 100-150 male refugees. It resulted in the mass-groping of young women student volunteers and guests[1714]. In August 2015, at Europe's largest youth festival in Stockholm, Sweden, called *"We are Sthlm"* there was a mass sexual assault and theft of young Swedish females by boys and men mainly from Afghanistan and Syria - around 100 of them were removed from the festival

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[1708] Lane, "REVEALED: Migrant Murderer 'Child' LIED About Being 15-Year-Old, Is Adult Somalian."
[1709] Vincent Wood, "Teen girl 'rushed to hospital after she was raped by Afghan migrant on park bench'."
[1710] Joshi, "Belgium: Afghan migrant, 16, 'rapes worker at asylum centre'."
[1711] Godau and Wedler, "Lehrer erschlagen!"
[1712] *The Local*, "Town bans male refugees from pools"; Lane, "Police Sentry Posted To Swedish Swimming Baths"; Melanie Hall, "Iraqi migrant admits raping boy"; Vinther, "Svømmehal bortviser asylansøgere"; Langner and Mehlhorn, "Im Schwimmbad"; *Independent*, "Male asylum seekers banned from German swimming pool."
[1713] For example: *The Local*, "Danish clubs use language rules to keep refugees out."
[1714] Gutteridge, "MIGRANT SEX ATTACK 'COVER-UP'."

by police[1715]. In response, Roger Ticoalu, director of events at Stockholm City Council, said "It was a modus operandi that we had *never seen before*: large groups of young men who surround girls and molest them"[1716]. Gunnar Norgren, a police officer in Kalmar, Sweden, had an identical assessment when asked about teenage sex-attack victims in his city. He stated that "We have not really had this phenomenon before. Had it been a single report, someone being groped on the dance floor, then yes, they've happened, naturally. But…this is something new"[1717]. Sweden has rapidly become the second rape capital of the world, after Lesotho in Southern Africa[1718] and rape and sexual assaults by migrants across Sweden are on the rise[1719].

12.1.3 Mass Sexual Assaults

By far the worst incidence of public mass-physical and sexual assault and robbery by migrant men occurred in Germany this past New Years Eve (2015/2016). In a planned and coordinated attack, around two thousand young male migrants and refugees between 15 and 35 years of age of North African and Arab descent[1720], 70 percent of whom had been in Germany for less than a year[1721], physically and sexually assaulted and robbed over 1900 Germans, mostly young girls and women, in 12 of the 16 German states, but especially in the German city of Cologne[1722]. In Cologne over 1000 young African and Arab migrants[1723] gathered outside the central train station - a main transit point for the fireworks display. Young German women and girls (and their partners) were forced to walk through a corridor of these men for at least 200 metres. These men were aggressive, angry and intoxicated; they sexually assaulted and robbed

[1715] Arpi, "It's not only Germany that covers up mass sex attacks by migrant men."
[1716] Crouch, "Swedish police accused of covering up sex attacks by refugees at music festival" (my emphasis).
[1717] Dahlkvist, "Flera kvinnor ofredade under nyårsnatten."
[1718] Carlqvist and Hedegaard, "Sweden: Rape Capital of the West."
[1719] O'Brien and Stromme, "MAPPED."
[1720] *BBC News*, "Cologne sex attacks"; Jordans, "New Year assaults spark fresh migration debate in Germany."
[1721] Lane, "Cologne Six Months On."
[1722] Edmunds, "Full Extent"; *Deutsch Welle* (DW), "Report: Cologne-like"; Huggler, "Suspects in Cologne"; Mascolo and von der Heide, "1200 Frauen wurden Opfer von Silvester-Gewalt."
[1723] Rothwell, "Cologne sex attacks."

the German girls and women and physically assaulted the men[1724]. The women and girls were groped, some had their clothes ripped off, including their underwear, others had fingers inserted into private parts[1725]. They were called 'sluts' and 'bitches' and their personal belongings were stolen. One girl said she was groped over 100 times[1726]. Large groups of young North African and Arab men also encircled young German women and girls in the Cathedral Square by the train station and in the surrounding area. They would not let the women and girls go, pulled their hair, pinched them, ripped their clothes, groped them, and robbed them – some were raped, some were gang raped, and some were violently beaten[1727]. These men also threw glass bottles and fireworks into groups of revelling Germans. At least one girl was permanently disfigured[1728]. Riot police and local police were called but were outnumbered and attacked too. Ambulances were also attacked when trying to deal with the incident. The Cologne train station was shut down for several hours. This is the first time that a public square in a European city was "lost to criminality" and police could do little to control it.[1729]

On the same night, a club in the city of Bielefeld, Germany, was attacked by an organized mob of about 500 North African and Arab males[1730]. The nightclub bouncers phoned the police when the mob became aggressive and started throwing fireworks, but before the police could arrive, they had forced their way in and groped female visitors. In just one state in Germany – North Rhine-Westphalia, which includes the city of Cologne – and in regards to just one night – New Years Eve, there were 945 complaints to police ranging from sexual assault, robbery, and gang-rape: 434 were allegations of sexual assault, 126 of "rape by a group" and 47

[1724] Huggler, "Cologne assault."
[1725] Sommer, "Frauen am Hauptbahnhof belästigt"; Lane, "Cologne Police Reveal 'Cover Up'."
[1726] Lane, "REVEALED."
[1727] Winchester, "TRUE horror"; Lane, "Justice Minister."
[1728] "Victims speak out after nightmare New Year in Cologne," Live Leak video (euronews).
[1729] Spiegel, "Chaos and Violence"; Chris Tomlinson, "WATCH: New Footage From Cologne"; Blanchard, "Cologne sex attacks"; Lane, "Cologne Mayor"; Gutteridge, "Cologne police IGNORED."
[1730] *Welt N24*, "Hunderte sollen Bielefelder Disco attackiert haben."

of “sexual assault by a group”, and in Germany as a whole police reports stated that the perpetrators were not of European origin[1731]. This mass-assault was not isolated to Germany as North African and Arabic speaking males attacked females across Europe, albeit on a smaller scale, in Sweden[1732], Switzerland[1733], Austria, Finland[1734], Denmark, and France[1735].

Wolfgang Albers, Cologne police chief, said that the New Years Eve mass-sexual assault and robbery was “a completely new dimension of crime”[1736]. Likewise, Arnold Plickert, the head of the police trade union in North Rhine Westphalia, said the incidents were “organised” and “of a new quality”[1737]. German justice minister Heiko Maas said that “Nobody can tell me that this was not coordinated or prepared”[1738]. These foreign men also showed no inhibitions towards police. The chairman of the Bremen Police Union in Germany, Jochen Kopelke, said that migrants were attacking city police with increasing frequency and said that “The tone has become extremely aggressive”[1739]. Yet migrant crime has been well known in Germany for years. In 2009 Rainer Wendt, former President of the German Police Union, explained that in Berlin there are migrant no-go zone neighborhoods where police dare not stop their car “because they know that they'll be surrounded by 40 or 50 men” and these attacks are a “deliberate challenge to the authority of the state - attacks in which the perpetrators are expressing their contempt for our society”[1740]. In Hamburg, a 2014 police report stated that:

> The behavior of these highly delinquent youths towards police officers can be characterized as aggressive, disrespectful and condescending....When they are arrested, they resist and assault [police officers]. The youths have no respect for state institutions[1741].

[1731] Winchester, “TRUE horror of Cologne attacks finally REVEALED.”
[1732] Deacon, “Multiple New Year’s Eve Sex Attacks In Sweden.”
[1733] Vincent Wood, “Did 1,000-strong sex gang ALSO strike in Zurich?”
[1734] *RT News*, “Helsinki police: Asylum seekers harassed women on NYE, mass assault possibly planned.”
[1735] *News Corp Australia*, “New Year’s Eve sex assaults”; Ernst, “The Big List of Muslim sex attacks gets bigger.”
[1736] *BBC News*, “Germany shocked by Cologne New Year gang assaults on women.”
[1737] Connolly, “Cologne inquiry into 'coordinated' New Year's Eve sex attacks.”
[1738] Graham-Harrison, “German minister suggests New Year's Eve assaults were coordinated.”
[1739] Redaktion, “Polizei: Innensenator fordert Abschiebung von Gewalttätern.”
[1740] Diehl, “NRW-Polizei warnt vor rechtsfreien Räumen”; Diehl, “Die Polizei, dein Feind und Gegner.”
[1741] *Welt N24*, “Polizei kapituliert vor kriminellen Flüchtlingskindern.”

In Berlin, a recent police report revealed that Arab clans reigned the city's criminal underworld and were now recruiting from refugee camps[1742]. Large gangs made up of peoples from the Maghreb region of Africa are also involved in drug-dealing, theft, and sexual and physical assault[1743]. Similar situations of migrant gangs and migrant disrespect and violence towards police and the culture and society at large are occurring in all European nations.

After the mass-sexual assault of young girls and women in Germany on New Years Eve, there were several sexual assaults by irregular migrants during the annual Rose Carnival festival, which marks the beginning of Lent in Germany. Despite the fact that there were increased lights, video surveillance, and a beefed up police presence in response to the New Years Eve sex assaults, and although there had been a nation-wide campaign warning women to act and dress differently and instructing them how to deal with the dangers of sexual assault, there were 66 records of sexual assaults during the festival period, an increase of 267 percent from the previous year[1744]. And there were at least two brutal rapes[1745].

12.2 Costs

The impact of the migration crisis in Europe is extremely expensive. Some of the most pressing costs involve: extra police and emergency resources and manpower to deal with human smugglers, rising migrant crime, and new types of crime; the prosecution and incarceration of migrant criminals; border control; the provision of tents, blankets, food, water, and medical attention to migrants/refugees as they travel from one center to another; waste management involving trash and human waste; the screening, finger-printing, and processing of applicants;

[1742] Rossberg, "So beherrschen Berliner Araber-Clans"; Hale, "BOMBSHELL REPORT"; Behrendt, "Berlins Unterwelt"
[1743] Chris Tomlinson, "North African Migrants Turning Berlin's Notorious 'Kotti' Area Into No-Go Zone."
[1744] Lane, "Crime EXPLOSION"; *Express*, "Karneval 2016 Alle Zahlen."
[1745] *Bild*, "Vergewaltigung in Weiberfastnacht? Das sagt die Polizei"; *Focus*, "Polizei verhaftet Zuwanderer aus AfrikaMann vergewaltigt 24-jährige Frau beim Straßenkarneval."

the construction and provision of housing; the provision of financial benefits, clothing, food, health and dental care, places of worship, travel costs, phones, pocket money, and various courses (including language, integration and behavioural courses) for potential asylum seekers that may or may not be granted asylum; the provision of these things for those who have been granted asylum; financial aid to hardest hit European countries, such as Greece; the EU-Turkey deal and provision of financial aid to refugees in other non-EU countries as well loans and grants for other projects and investments; legal air and boat travel for refugees from refugee centers to Europe; naval rescue operations; de-radicalisation, integration, and counter-terrorism programs; terrorism; deportation, and so on.

12.2.1 Border Control and Security

In April 2015 the EU "tripled its funding" to around 120 million Euros for Operation Triton rescues in the Mediterranean Sea around Italy for 2015/2016[1746]. Operation Triton works in tandem with Poseidon Sea, which patrols the Mediterranean Sea around Greece and had a budget of €18 million in 2015. It was projected in May 2015 that Frontex, which oversees these two operations, would be provided with an additional €45 million for 2016 to further strengthen these two task forces[1747]. In 2015 the budget for Frontex increased from just under €98 million in 2014 to over €143 million. In 2016 the budget was increased to over €254 million[1748]. The Internal Security Fund (ISF) was set up for the 2014-20 period to promote the implementation of the Internal Security Strategy, the management of the EU's external borders and law enforcement cooperation and was allocated a total of €3.8 billion[1749]. The Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) was set up for the period 2014-2020 to "promote the

[1746] *BBC News*, "Mediterranean migrants crisis"; Sridharan, "EU to triple funding for 'Operation Triton'."
[1747] Frontex, "Frontex expands its Joint Operation Triton."
[1748] *Frontex Programme of Work 2015*, 25; Frontex, "Budget 2016," 1.
[1749] European Commission, "Internal Security Fund - Police."

efficient management of migration flows and the implementation, strengthening and development of a common Union approach to asylum and immigration". It was allocated €3.1 billion in funds[1750]. In August 2015 the European Commission approved 23 programs under the AMIF and the Internal Security Fund (ISF) involving 2.4 billion euros of aid over six years for countries such as Greece and Italy and other EU member states that have received large volumes of irregular migrants[1751].

In early November 2015 the leader of the Freedom Party of Austria, Heinz Christian Strache said that financing border controls where illegal migrants try to enter Europe was "cheaper than illegal mass immigration"[1752]. In March 2016 the Munich-based Institute for Economic Research (Ifo) estimated that it would cost Europe €5 billion a year to control EU external borders used by illegal immigrants. In contrast the French think-tank *France Strategie* estimated that it would cost €100 billion a year to control internal borders of the EU (reintroduction of border controls and identity checks) and the German research institute Prognos estimated that it could cost up to €1.4 trillion by 2025. Prognos estimated that over a ten-year period the reintroduction of internal border controls could cost the EU up to €470 billion in "lost economic output". For Germany alone it was estimated to cost €235 billion to control its borders by 2025 and €20 billion a year for the reception and initial care of refugees, but this latter figure excluded other societal costs, such as migrant crime[1753].

Despite the costs and the elite and media backlash against proponents of border controls, in March 2016 an IFOP poll found that 60 percent of Italians, 72 percent of French, and 66 percent of Germans wanted the reestablishment of internal border controls (the end of

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[1750] European Commission, "Asylum, Migration, Integration."
[1751] Saeedy, "European Union approves 2.4 billion"; European Commission, "Managing migration."
[1752] Lane, "Austria Becoming A 'Banana Republic', 'Border Fences Cheaper Than Mass Migration'."
[1753] Lane, "Respected Think-Tank"; Greive, "Massenzuwanderung"; Eckert, "So teuer"; Barber, "EU border controls would cost bloc €470bn"; *Agence France Presse (AFP)*, "Closing borders would cost EU 470 bn euros."

free movement in the Schengen) in response to the 'migrant crisis' and the increased risk of Islamist terrorism[1754]. In an effort to control illegal migration various European countries (members and non-members of the EU) who are the hardest hit and along the EU-Turkey border, have re-introduced border controls and erected border fences between European countries[1755]. For example, Hungary erected a fence along its 175 km border with Serbia at a cost of almost €71 million[1756] and in February 2016 the EU provided 10 million to Macedonia to "improve its border and migration management systems in the context of the refugee crisis"[1757]. Bulgaria has constructed a 100km fence along its border with Turkey and hopes to finish the remainder of the 166km fence by July 2016 at a total cost of around 51.1 million. It is also ready to erect a 480km fence along its border with Greece, which is projected to cost almost €256 million according to former defence minister Angel Naydenov[1758]. In early March 2016 Bulgaria sent 400 armed soldiers and police to guard its border with Greece and was ready to send 500 more if necessary to prevent further flows of irregular migrants into their country[1759]. In 2012 Greece erected a 12.5km fence at the Evros River along its land border with Turkey and also "deployed 1,800 additional police officers and opened new internment camps for migrants". The fence cost almost €3 million and Frontex also spent around €37 million for Operation Poseidon to secure the Greek-Turkish sea and land borders in 2011-2012. However, both of these sea and land border measures did not stop hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants from Turkey entering Greece and the Greek islands in 2015/2016. As such, in January 2016 the Greek Foreign Minister Nikos Kotzias said Frontex "should deploy about 100 boats in

[1754] Fourquet, "Six Months After: Europeans Facing the Migrant Crisis," 11.
[1755] Ibid, 12.
[1756] Koranyi, "Orban mobilizes Hungary's troops." Hungary has been planning to construct a fence along its border with Romania, which would join up with the Hungarian-Serbian border fence and the Hungarian-Croatian border fence. See: Lázár, "Cabinet Chief"; Ruiz, "Hungary built fence."
[1757] European Commission, "EU approves additional €10 million to help the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia."
[1758] Burrows, "Return of the Iron Curtain"; *Novinite*, "Ex-Defence Minister."
[1759] *Alfahir*, "Bevándorlás: Bulgária több száz fegyverest állít a görög határra."

the narrow stretch of water separating Greece from Turkey", which would act as a sea border patrol. Then, in March 2016, despite the costly EU-Turkey deal, Greece stated that it was seeking a "major enhancement" of international assistance in order to effectively patrol its sea border with Turkey[1760].

12.2.2 European Aid: Emergency, Humanitarian, and International

Since 2011, when the Syrian war began, the EC has provided €455 million in aid to Turkey for humanitarian and long-term assistance and since mid-2014 the EC has provided Libya with "more than €8 million in humanitarian aid" for "protection, health care, cash support, psycho-social assistance, as well as non-food and hygiene items" for IDPs and others in need of protection[1761]. At the EU emergency summit on the migrant crisis in September 2015 it was decided that Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey would be provided with "greater injections of EU assistance", which includes a "substantial increase" to the EU's Regional Trust Fund[1762]. In November 2015 the European Commission implemented the EU's Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, starting with 1.8 billion euros ($2.1 billion) "for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa", particularly the "Sahel region and Lake Chad area; the Horn of Africa and the North of Africa" as well as neighbouring countries[1763]. The EC has also increased its humanitarian aid and civil protection resources for refugees and IDPs, particular in and around Syria, funds that are given to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR), the World Food Programme (WFP), the Red Cross family, international NGOs and other organisations, and amount to at least 1 billion euros. And in early February 2016, the EU and its Member States pledged a further €3 billion to assist the Syrian people inside Syria as well as

[1760] Leivada, "Why Greece Shut"; *Agence France Presse (AFP)*, "Protesters march"; *AP*, "The Latest: Greece."
[1761] European Commission, "Refugee Crisis in Europe."
[1762] Dahlburg, "What EU leaders agreed to at summit on the migrant crisis."
[1763] European Commission, "President Juncker launches the EU Emergency Trust Fund"; Rumney, "EU to spend."

refugees and the communities hosting them in the neighbouring countries[1764]. In March 2016, according to the EU-Turkey deal, 6 billion Euros (nearly 9 million CDN$) were allocated by the EU for the provision of health, education, infrastructure, food, etc. to "persons under temporary protection" in Turkey until the end of 2018[1765].

In 2015, the EC had provided over €22.5 million in humanitarian aid to the Western Balkans, notably Serbia and Macedonia, which has consisted of "food, water, hygiene, non-food items, health, [and] basic protection". Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, and Greece have also received material assistance in the form of "winterised tents, beds and blankets" from the EU Civil Protection Mechanism[1766]. In September 2015, the European Commission proposed to increase EU resources to deal with the refugee crisis to €9.2 billion. It has since been implemented and includes

> funding for the FRONTEX budgets, support to member countries for migration and border management under the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, transfers related to the relocation and resettlement schemes, and support to countries outside the EU (for example, through the EU Regional Trust Fund in response to the Syrian crisis and additional funding for Turkey)[1767].

In March 2016 the EC proposed a new Emergency Assistance instrument to fast-track crisis response and support for the most impacted EU member states and estimated that €700 million will be needed by the end of 2018 for the provision of food, shelter, medicine and other basic necessities[1768].

In February 2016 a study by the Bank of Greece suggested that Greece will have to spend 600 million Euros in 2016 to handle the huge volumes of migrants[1769] but this study was based on the idea that Greece was a "transit country", which it is not since the closure of the

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[1764] Dahlburg, "What EU leaders agreed to"; European Commission, "Refugee Crisis in Europe."
[1765] European Council, "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016."
[1766] European Commission, "Refugee Crisis in Europe."
[1767] Aiyar et al., *The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges*, 13.
[1768] European Commission, "Commission proposes new Emergency Assistance instrument."
[1769] Stamouli, "Migrant Crisis May Cost Greece $680 Million This Year."

Balkan routes. In that same month Greece Migration Minister Yiannis Mouzalas stated that due to the closure of the borders "the number of people trapped in our country...will be between 50,000 and 70,000...in the coming month"[1770]. Therefore, due to the need to "host" the irregular migrants, the costs for the migrant crisis for Greece in 2016 will be much higher[1771]. In early March the EU announced plans to provide Greece with 700 million Euros in emergency aid for a period of three years to help provide basic necessities to the migrants[1772] and on April 19th the European Commission issued press releases that declared in order to "improve living conditions for refugees in Greece" the EU would provide Greece with €83 million under the Emergency Assistance Instrument[1773].

12.2.3 Economic Impact on the EU Budget and Member States

In May 2016, German development minister Gerd Müller suggested that the EU should use 10 percent of its funds to help with the migrant crisis: "We need to respond to this with new instruments and my proposal regarding the refugee crisis is that 10% of the EU budget be shifted in order to respond to this crisis"[1774]. The EU budget for 2016 is 155 billion Euros and more than 4 billion is for addressing the migrant crisis in the EU and source countries. This means that in 2015/2016 the EU provided around 10 billion in funding for the migrant crisis[1775]. Müller wants the EU to provide an additional 11.5 billion in funding.

An IMF report published at the beginning of this year (2016) that addressed the economic impact of the 'migrant crisis' on the EU provided tentative proposals for the budgetary expenses of the costs of asylum seekers for EU member countries by % of their GDP.

[1770] Behrakis and Maltezou, "Up to 70,000 migrants may be trapped in Greece next month: migration minister."
[1771] Poluchronlou, "Migrant Crisis Will Cost Greece More than Original Estimate of 600 Million Euros."
[1772] McKirdy and Hume, "Migrant crisis: EU proposes $760 million emergency aid for Greece."
[1773] European Commission, "EU provides"; European Commission, "Questions and answers: First projects."
[1774] Kingsley, "Divert 10% of EU funds to deal with refugee crisis, says Germany."
[1775] European Commission. "EU annual budget life-cycle" and "EU budget deal strengthens response."

For example, for Germany it was estimated that for 2016, asylum budgets would increase to around €9 billion or 0.35 of GDP, up from almost €1.8 billion in 2014 and for Sweden asylum budgets would have to increase to over €53 million or 1.0 of GDP, up from just over €15 million in 2014[1776]. According to an EC report in June 2016

> the direct additional fiscal implications for the Member States most concerned is expected to fall in the range of 0.1-0.6% of GDP, on a cumulative basis over 2015-2016. It must be recognised, though, that those estimates may prove to be at the low end, depending on how the situation evolves[1777].

Another June 2016 report by the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) suggested that "the financial burden, including the direct cost of supporting the newcomers on arrival would be as much as £20billion [more than €25 billion], or 0.2 per cent of the EU's total economic output in 2016"[1778]. However, estimated costs for individual European nations far exceed this amount. For instance, in early January 2016 it was suggested by Hans-Werner Sinn, one of the best-known economists in Germany, that it could cost Germany taxpayers up to 450 billion euros to provide for the one million migrants that arrived in Germany in 2015[1779]. In February 2016 the Cologne Institute for Economic Research estimated that "shelter, welfare and integration will cost Germany €22 billion this year and €27.6 billion next year", or 50 billion by the end of 2017[1780].

According to a Federal Ministry of Finance (BMF) statement in May 2016, to cover the costs of "housing, integration, German language courses and social welfare benefits, and dealing with the underlying causes of the refugee influx" Germany will spend almost €94 billion by 2020[1781]. Language courses will cost €200,000 for two and a half years for just twenty-five

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[1776] Aiyar et al., *The Refugee Surge in Europe: Economic Challenges*, 12.
[1777] European Commission, *An Economic Take on the Refugee Crisis*, 3.
[1778] Little, "Migrant crisis will cost £20bn."
[1779] Jahberg, "Die Integration der Flüchtlinge wird teuer."
[1780] *Telegraph*, "Migrant crisis to cost Germany €50 billion by 2017."
[1781] *RT News*, "Germany to spend €93.6bn on refugees until 2020 – report."

people according to President of the University of Hamburg, Dieter Lenzen[1782]. This means that because the majority of asylum seekers do not speak German (98%)[1783], it will cost over 8 billion Euros over 2.5 years for language classes. In terms of housing and job creation, in February 2016 German Housing Minister Barbara Hendricks requested 1.3 billion Euros "to help integration and house migrants" in 2016 and Andrea Nahles, the head of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, requested around 500,000 Euros to create jobs for those granted asylum[1784]. In terms of covering basic needs and housing, the German Federal Government has provided individuals shelter at reception centers, free meals, €143 per month in cash for "basic needs", which rose to a maximum of €216 per month after 3 months, and up to €92 euros per child, depending on age. After a year and 3 months or when granted asylum, a basic income of €400 per month as well as accommodation and heating costs are provided[1785].

On top of the huge financial costs of the foreign-born population in terms of welfare and crime as detailed in chapter 9, asylum seekers are also burdening Sweden's financial resources. For several decades Sweden used to accept less than 30,000 refugees a year. In 2014 Sweden received just over 81,000 asylum applications, the majority of whom were from the Middle East and North Africa[1786]. In 2015 almost 163,000 people sought asylum in Sweden, which is over double from the year before, over 8 times the amount at the turn of the century, and the highest rate per capita in the EU[1787]. In contrast to a previous forecast of €1.6 billion annually, in April 2016 Sweden's Finance Minister Magdalena Andersson announced that the costs associated with the migrant crisis will amount to €6.1 billion per year until 2020, or over

[1782] Lane, "Migrant Crisis."
[1783] See chapter 11.
[1784] *Deutsche Welle (DW)*, "German housing minister asks for 1.3 billion for refugees."
[1785] *Euronews*, "Which European countries offer the most social benefits to migrants?"
[1786] Swedish Migration Agency, "Applications for asylum received, 2014."
[1787] Swedish Migration Agency, "Applications for asylum received, 2015."

€30 billion for five years[1788]. Economist and business professor Jan Tullberg who teaches at Stockholm University estimated how much just one year's worth of those granted refugee status (and their families) in 2015 will cost Sweden over their lifetime: around €65 billion or €322,315 per migrant[1789]. Processing costs alone, which also includes housing, food, and pocket money provided for 414 days but often extended to 8 years or more (the average time it takes for a new arrival to enter the workforce is about 8 years but can be more than a generation) amounted to almost €26 billion. The costs of unaccompanied migrant minors amounted to around €5.9 million, which is a very conservative estimate[1790]. Then there are the costs of deportation. In January 2016 the Swedish government announced it would expel between 60,000 and 80,000 migrants who arrived in 2015 and had their asylum applications rejected[1791]. On top of welfare and housing costs for the asylum seekers waiting for their applications to be accepted, once rejected it will cost just over €32,000 to deport one person according to Tullberg[1792]. This means, for Sweden, that for the 60,000 rejected asylum applications in 2015 it will cost over €1.9 billion to deport them.

According to the non-profit *Migrant Report* it normally costs around €1 billion a year to deport migrants from Europe[1793]. Since over 60 percent of irregular migrants that arrived in Europe in 2015/2016 are illegal economic migrants with bogus asylum claims, and since some asylum seekers have committed grievous crimes, many European countries are planning to

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[1788] Jacobsen, "Sweden sees costs of migration crisis almost quadruple."
[1789] Lane, "REPORT: 2015 Migrant Crisis Will Cost Sweden KR583,000,000,000 – 14x The Country's Defence Budget."
[1790] Prior to 2015 Sweden accepted around 500-1000 unaccompanied migrant minors per year. In 2015 Sweden accepted more than 35,000 unaccompanied migrant youth, most of whom were teenagers and came from Afghanistan. Unaccompanied minors require special housing (24/7 care) and cost around €215 per day up until they are 21 years old. This means that to take care of the 35,000 unaccompanied asylum seeking migrant youth that arrived in 2015 it costs Sweden more than €7.5 million per day or more than €2.7 billion a year. However, an overwhelming number of 'youths' are actually "frauds". See: Swedish Migration Agency, "Applications for asylum received, 2015"; Syrén, "Flyktingbarnen"; Crouch, "Gothenburg's refugee youths"; Tuttle, "When Does Puberty Hit"
[1791] Crouch, "Sweden sends sharp signal with plan to expel up to 80,000 asylum seekers."
[1792] Lane, "REPORT: 2015 Migrant Crisis Will Cost Sweden KR583,000,000,000 – 14x The Country's Defence Budget."
[1793] Østerbø, "The Cost of Fortress Europe."

deport hundreds of thousands[1794]. Deporting around 700,000 people (60 percent of the oft cited 1.1+ million figure by the media) or 1,080,000 (60% of 1.8 million cited by Frontex) and not including those facing deportation due to criminality once arrived, will cost the EU between €22.4 billion and €34.5 billion. However, a large portion of deportees do not leave the country. This is for three main reasons: many asylum seekers have no documentation or identification and thus it is difficult to deport them to their home country as it cannot be verified by officials[1795]; many rejected asylum seekers go into hiding or underground to avoid deportation and may wait for a set period before reapplying for asylum; many countries of origin of asylum seekers refuse to accept the repatriation of deportees.

In 2015, 200,000 asylum seeker applications in Germany were rejected but only 21,000 left the country. Up to 70 percent of all irregular migrant arrivals in Germany in 2015 had no documentation (in most cases thrown away but sometimes lost or never acquired in the first place)[1796]. Pakistan, which is one of the top-ten countries of origin of irregular migrants in the EU in 2015/2016 (based on documentation), refuses to take back deportees "until", according to Pakistan's Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan who suspended readmission agreements on November 6th 2015, "proper verification is done and that countries share all the information with Pakistani authorities concerned"[1797]. And in late 2015, Inam Ghani, the Director of Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency, stated that Pakistan "will not accept [deported] migrants with dual nationalities who have criminal records"[1798]. At least 17 countries in North and West Africa, such as Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, and in South Asia, which are not undergoing civil war and are 'safe' countries, are likewise refusing to accept back the

[1794] Solomon, "Europe is planning to deport hundreds of thousands of Muslims."
[1795] Over 95 percent of asylum seekers whose nationality is unverifiable or who have no documentation are given refugee status in Germany. See: Leubecher, "Nur jeder zweite abgelehnte Asylbewerber reist aus."
[1796] *The Local*, "Germany blasts countries that won't take back migrants."
[1797] *Dawn*, "Pakistan suspends readmission agreements with western countries."
[1798] Saleem, "Pakistan says it won't take back migrants with 'criminal record'."

deportees[1799]. For example, in July 2015 around 5,500 Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians in Germany were to be deported as their asylum requests had been rejected but by January 2016 only 53 had been sent home[1800]. In January 2016, Tunisia and Algeria demanded that the identity of the migrant deportees had to be "ensured" before they were sent back and Libyan president Fayez al-Sarraj stated clearly in June 2016 that "Libya will not accept immigrants who are sent back"[1801]. Already in November 2015 European leaders offered African countries nearly €2 billion "in return for agreeing to the deportation of unwanted migrants from Europe". However, African leaders refused the forced repatriation of their nationals, preferring their voluntary return and demanded more money from Europe instead. They also attempted to use the meeting to layout their priorities and agenda, such as the opening of more legal channels for African immigration into Europe[1802].

Then there is the issue of migrants avoiding deportation by going underground or going somewhere else in Europe to claim asylum again but under a different name. As detailed in chapter 11.2, an enormous number of asylum seekers vanish from reception centers throughout Europe, either to stay with friends or travel to another country or because their claims for asylum are groundless and thus they try to avoid deportation. For example, in Sweden a spokesman for the immigration agency Migrationsverket, says it is "powerless to enforce deportation orders" because would-be-deportees go underground. In 2014 Sweden was going to expel more than 20,000 people but only 41 percent left voluntarily, a small

[1799] *The Local*, "Germany blasts countries that won't take back migrants."
[1800] *N-tv*, "Abgeschobene Flüchtlinge aus der EU: Maghreb-Staaten verweigern Aufnahme."
[1801] Hackensberger, "Libyens Premier: 'Bei uns können die Migranten nicht bleiben'"; *The Local*, "'Algeria and Morocco must take back deportees': Berlin."
[1802] Traynor, "Europe's €1.8bn fund to tackle migration crisis not enough, say Africans."

number were forcibly deported, and the rest disappeared, and in 2015 over 14,000 would-be-deportees vanished without a trace[1803].

Similarly, in Germany deportation is a charade. On top of the hundreds of thousands of migrants who have entered Germany without registering and have vanished[1804] there are reports that between 20 and 30 percent of asylum seekers from 2015 had simply disappeared[1805]. According to German police chief superintendent Rüdiger Seidenspinner, even criminally convicted asylum seekers and migrants "never fear being deported" because they "are protected by Europe's strict rules on deportation and asylum" [1806], such as the principle of *non-refoulement*[1807], the length of prison term required for deportation (3 years in Germany)[1808], unverifiable nationality due to no identity documents, or their countries refuse to take them back. As much as 50 percent of those who have had their asylum requests rejected refuse to leave the country according to a government statement in the *De Welt* newspaper[1809].

There are additional financial costs to the migrant crisis, such as the cost of lawyers, translators, and taxi rides (to various appointments, such as the migration board), the costs of the rapid entry of tens of thousands of new arrivals into the education system (who often do not speak the national language), the costs associated with criminals and smuggling rings (police resources, prosecution, and other legal fees, as well as the cost of incarceration), the costs of housing shortages (the construction of housing and development of other infrastructure (sewage works) for the long term), costs of social programs (integration

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[1803] *The Local*, "More illegal immigrants on the run in Sweden"; *The Local*, "14,000 illegal immigrants disappear without trace."
[1804] *Zeit Online*, "UN: Weise: 290 000 Flüchtlinge nicht registriert."
[1805] Strauß, "Bis zu 30 Prozent der Flüchtlinge verlassen Lager in Ostdeutschland in den ersten Tagen wieder."
[1806] Lane, "Police Boss."
[1807] UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *UNHCR Note on the Principle of Non-Refoulement*.
[1808] Bundesministerium der Justiz und fur Verbraucherschutz, *Gesetz über den Aufenthalt, die Erwerbstätigkeit und die Integration von Ausländern im Bundesgebiet (Aufenthaltsgesetz - AufenthG)*.
[1809] Leubecher, "Nur jeder zweite abgelehnte Asylbewerber reist aus."

programs, language courses, behavioural courses and so on), increased security costs associated with an increase in terrorism, increased public health expenditures and hospital security, and so on. In Germany for instance, migrants are being housed in renovated homes, gymnasiums, military bases and old schools in both urban and rural areas, but space is rapidly running out. There have also been several cases where German citizens are being evicted to make room for refugees/migrants[1810].

12.2.4 Small Towns, Tourism, Health, Security, and Safety

There are increasing costs for local businesses and towns who have been numerically overwhelmed leading to security and safety concerns, large surges in theft and other crimes, large-scale clean-ups of garbage and human waste, and other problems, such as declining tourism for the Greek islands. The constant arrival of large volumes of irregular migrants have negatively affected tourism for Kos and Lesbos for example, which have been some of the hardest hit islands bearing the brunt of Mediterranean Sea crossers. Tourism for these islands is a major source of revenue especially in the summer months, and locals fear that their islands will become permanent places of transition for migrants crossing the Mediterranean on their way to the European mainland[1811].

Small towns and villages have been some of the hardest hit areas, being overwhelmed with the staggering numbers. Here are a few examples: Langenlonsheim is a small village in Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany with 4,000 inhabitants and it was informed it would be receiving 3000 refugees[1812]. A small city Lohfelden, Germany (near Kassel) were informed only the night before that 400 refugees would be arriving (October 15, 2015) in their city and residents were

[1810] Ernst, "Germans Evicted"; Huggler, "German woman threatened"; Müller, "Stadt in NRW."
[1811] Trian, "Thousands of arriving refugees"; Paphitis and Bennett, "Refugees overwhelm Greek holiday island."
[1812] "3000 Flüchtlinge in Langenlonsheim aufnehmen," YouTube video (moma).

told by their mayor that if didn't like it they were free to leave[1813]. A small village called Grillenburg in Germany, which has only 114 people, were told they would be receiving 80 refugees[1814]. Sumte, a German village of 102, received 750 asylum seekers who were housed in 23 empty office buildings[1815]. A small town in Bavaria called Freilassing, which has a population of 15,000, saw the same amount of people every few days go through on their way to the rest of Germany, and experienced serious problems with theft and burglary[1816].

Other small European cities and towns are also overwhelmed and experiencing large surges in crime. A local Chamber of Commerce president Peter Erdman from the small Dutch town of Ter Apel, which has 9000 residents, said that shoplifting and thefts by "asylum seekers" was a problem as there had been over 1000 incidents between January and August 2015. As a result, store personnel were frightened, there was a general air of insecurity in the town, and people were "afraid to go out on the streets at night"[1817]. A small town in Slovenia of 176 residents, mostly farmers, was completely overwhelmed by 70,000 irregular migrants who streamed through the town, which resulted in the complete devastation of some of the farmers' fields and the dumping of loads of trash, including burnt plastic bottles and diapers[1818]. In Brezice, a town in Slovenia of 24,000, up to 12,000 migrants arrived daily. On the outskirts there is a main refugee camp along the Slovenia/Croatia border, where some migrants refused and discarded food and water. There was an incident when some, mostly men, set fires to blankets and tents that were provided for them – even taking selfies – in order to put pressure

[1813] "Erstaufnahme Asyl RP Lübke Kassel Lohfelden 14.10.2015," YouTube video.
[1814] Troianovski, "Refugee Surge in Germany Puts Pressure on Small Towns."
[1815] Higgins, "German Village of 102 Braces for 750 Asylum Seekers."
[1816] Heinrich, "Refugee crisis in Bavarian border town."
[1817] *Dagblad Noorden*, "Botsing over azc Ter Apel"; *NOS*, "Winkeliers Ter Apel halen gelijk met extra blauw."
[1818] Sullivan, "What's It Like to Have Refugees Stream Into Your Town?"

on authorities so they could move onto their preferred destination i.e. wealthy countries such as Germany, Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Norway[1819].

There have also been serious problems with waste, health, and sanitation issues. Plastic bottles, abandoned shoes, clothes, nappies, sheets and other garbage have turned villages, towns, and farmer's fields into dumping grounds. There are also problems of fires and their spread and pollution from the burning of plastic bottles and pieces of dried wood, which are often left smouldering after people move on. Migrants also defecate in farmers' fields and elsewhere as there are no public toilets on rural migrant routes; where there are public toilets available migrants often do not use them properly and defecate and urinate on the floor, in bushes, and elsewhere in public spaces. Such public expulsion of bodily waste in public creates sanitation issues and hygiene concerns and the clean-up is an extra cost. These issues, along with the close proximity of asylum seekers in refugee centers and the grouping of migrants around train and other travel stations, have brought an increased risk of foodborne and vector-borne diseases to Europe, including diseases that Europe has not seen in decades[1820], or are not at an epidemic or endemic level, such as AIDS, Ebola, scabies, diphtheria, tuberculosis, malaria, hepatitis A, B, and C, lice-born relapsing fever, cholera, typhus, Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) and so on[1821]. The EC, in May 2015, mobilized an additional €60 million in emergency funding, which included funding for migrant healthcare, and in October €173 million had been allocated in emergency funding for Member States most affected, and also covered monies for healthcare, including voluntary examinations and screening, vaccinations and medicines, establishment of health history and so on[1822].

[1819] Zeronian, "'This Is Like War'"; Cohadzic, "'Let us go!'"
[1820] Kade, "Kliniken klagen über Belastung durch Flüchtlinge."
[1821] See: Scholz, *The Public Health Dimension*; Burrows, "Parts of Rome"; Hallett, "Diphtheria"; Kern, "Germany: Migration Crisis Becomes Public Health Crisis."
[1822] Scholz, *The Public Health Dimension of the European Migrant Crisis,* 6.

There are also a variety of serious security and safety problems associated with the 'migrant crisis'. Smuggling gangs are gaining huge profits and rapidly expanding in Europe for example, and this is putting pressure on law enforcement (human resources and economic costs). There is also an increased threat of terrorism due to ISIS and other Muslim radicals and militants exploiting the "crisis", which has increased security costs and ruined several long-standing annual celebrations and traditions. For example, on New Years Eve there were ISIS terror threats to all major European cities, which effectively limited and even cancelled various celebrations, such as the fireworks in Brussels[1823] and in France, bars and bistros have been banned from showing the European Championships on large-screen TVs due to fears of a terrorist attack[1824].

There is also the threat against the safety of women, girls, and children, particularly near schools, on public transport, near asylum centers, and in and around bus and train stations. And there is the threat of civil war. The Head of the Swiss armed forces, Lieutenant-General André Blattmann, has stated that Europe is on the brink of civil war because

> The threat of terror is rising, hybrid wars are being fought around the globe; the economic outlook is gloomy and the resulting migration flows of displaced persons and refugees have assumed unforeseen dimensions[1825].

In fact, according to parallel studies from the Spectra Institute in Linz for Austria and the IMAS Institute for Germany, one-third of Austrians and one-quarter of Germans agree with the statement "If mass immigration continues like this, there will soon be civil war-like conditions" in their countries[1826]. In North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany 600 police and military forces from around Europe attended training in April 2016 in preparation for civil unrest or war in Europe and the creation of the united troops of the European Gendarmerie Force. According to

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[1823] Bartunek and Blenkinsop, "Brussels New Year fireworks canceled over attack fears."
[1824] Christys, "Bars BANNED from showing Euro 2016 matches amid fears of terror attacks against fans."
[1825] *The Local*, "Swiss army chief warns of terrorism and unrest."
[1826] *Die Presse*, "Migration: Jeder Dritte befürchtet bürgerkriegsähnliche Zustände."

Andrej Huko, the European affairs spokesman for the German Government, this is the "militarisation of the police" and is "extremely worrying and contrary in Germany to the principle of separation of police and military"[1827]. Former NATO secretary general Javier Solana, who was foreign policy chief of the EU, has suggested that the 28 members of the EU need to "join forces on defence and security matters to form a united force against jihadism and radicalisation"[1828]. Nevertheless, rather than relying on NATO, plans for the creation of an EU army (the denationalisation of armed forces and the creation of a common army) have been expressed by many EU elites, such as Jean-Claude Juncker, EU Commission President, who said that "With its own army, Europe could react more credibly to the threat to peace in a member state or in a neighbouring state" and it would be a useful deterrent towards Russia and other security threats, such as terrorism and civil unrest[1829].

[1827] Vincent Wood, "EU military police carry out 'extremely WORRYING' civil unrest crisis training."
[1828] Batchelor, "Ex-Brussels chief pushes for EU Army and tells leaders to work FASTER to create one."
[1829] *Euractiv.com* with *Reuters*, "Juncker: NATO is not enough"; Flora, "UK, Central Europe."

13. A Critique of Elite Reactions to Migrant Sex Crimes and Terrorism

At first German police claimed that the New Years Eve celebrations went without a hitch. An official police report dated January 1, 2016, and timed at 08:57 a.m. stated that the New Years Eve "situation was relaxed, because the police were well placed at critical locations and showed their presence"[1830]. Only after alternative social media platforms exposed the mass of migrant violence against Germans based on eyewitness and victim accounts did the police finally admit there had been a serious problem[1831]. In an official statement on January 5th, they stated that "After the massive attacks on New Year's Eve at the Cologne main station forecourt, the number of criminal charges has now increased to 90. The police had already set up an investigation team for these offenses in Cologne on Saturday (January 2nd)". Police reports then revealed that most of the sex assaults and robberies were committed by refugees and recent migrants from Muslim-majority countries. German interior minister Ralf Jaeger stated on 11th January that "Based on testimony from witnesses, the report from the Cologne police and descriptions by the federal police, it looks as if people with a migration background were almost exclusively responsible for the criminal acts"[1832]. However, disregarding the police reports and contradicting Jaeger, European Commission leaders insisted that there was "no link" between the 'migrant crisis' and the New Year Sex attacks across Germany. Minutes from a EC cabinet meeting on January 13th reveal that President Jean-Claude Juncker and First Vice-President Frans Timmermans insisted that the mass-sexual assaults in Germany "were a matter of public order and were not related to the refugee crisis"[1833]. Such a response was expected.

[1830] *Presse Portal*. "POL-K: 160101-1-K/LEV Ausgelassene Stimmung - Feiern weitgehend friedlich."
[1831] Troianovski, "Germany Says 22 Asylum Seekers Are Among Those Sought for New Year's Eve Assaults."
[1832] Osborne, "Cologne sex assaults."
[1833] Willgress, "EU leaders insist there is 'NO LINK'"; Holehouse, "EU leaders: 'No link'."

An anonymous EU security source told *Breitbart London* that "I suspect nobody will admit Brussels policy [open borders immigration and migrant quotas] is inherently linked to what happened in Cologne – they will not welcome such a link". Raheem Kassam, editor-in-chief of *Breitbart London*, clarified by saying

> news that the EU is unable or unwilling to deal with such a serious problem and global news story serves to underline points made by Eurosceptics that the organisation is not interested in the people of Europe, but rather, the political expansionism, the career political classes, and the bureaucrats: the European elite[1834].

The international mainstream media, including *Huffington Post*, the *Independent*, and the *Metro*, were clearly in denial, suggesting that only three refugees (two Syrians and one Iraqi) out of those arrested were in connection with the mass-sexual assaults in Germany, with the majority of the rest being merely migrants from the Maghreb, many of which were already known to police. However, Cologne's prosecutor, Ulrich Bremer has claimed that this is "total nonsense" and "the overwhelming majority of persons fall into the general category of refugees" i.e. those from the Maghreb were recent 'irregular migrants' or in other words, asylum seekers of 2015[1835]. Already on January 8th it was reported by German authorities that 18 of those who had been arrested in connection to the New Years Eve attacks in Cologne were recent asylum seekers[1836].

13.1 Migrant Sex Crimes: Non-Disclosure, Blaming Victims, and Sexual Jihad

It took the mainstream media in Germany several days to report the extent and the ethnic nature of the attacks and all its politically inconvenient details because they had been ordered not to report on migrant and asylum seeker crimes or disclose the nationality of perpetrators,

[1834] Kassam, "EXCLUSIVE – EU Source Tells Breitbart London: 'Brussels Won't Admit Migrant Policy Caused Cologne'."
[1835] Kassam and Deacon, "Left Media Migrant Rape Cover-Up."
[1836] Smale, "18 Asylum Seekers Are Tied to Attacks on Women in Germany."

earning them the title of 'lying-press' by the public[1837]. Former head of the National public service broadcaster *Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* (ZDF) in Bonn, Dr. Wolfgang Herles, said on January 29th 2016 that "Today, one is not allowed to say anything negative about the refugees", particularly the media, because "we are completely taken in by the agenda laid down by the political class". He went on to say that "This is government journalism and that leads to a situation in which people no longer trust us. This is a scandal"[1838]. Former Interior Minister of Germany, Hans-Peter Friedrich, echoed this view by saying public funded German media was a "cartel of silence" exercising censorship to protect migrants from accusations of wrongdoing[1839].

[1837] Schmoll, "Polizei fühlt sich bei Migranten-Kriminalität gegängelt"; *Bild*, "Ist die Polizei wirklich so machtlos?"; Karnitschnig, "Cologne puts Germany's 'lying press' on defensive"; *Sputnik News*, "German Police Under Orders to Keep Refugee Crimes Off the Radar"; Lane, "Cologne Police Reveal 'Cover Up' Of New Year's Eve Rape Attacks Ordered By Government."

[1838] Lane, "Top German Journalist Admits Live On Air National News Agenda Set By Government."

[1839] Sexton, "It Took the Cologne Assaults to Break Through the German Media's Political Correctness on Immigration"; *The Local*, "New Year sexual assaults in Frankfurt, police say." Another trend is to trivialize European fears over migrant crimes, such as an April 2016 article written by Heather Horn for the *Atlantic* magazine titled "Where Does Fear of Refugees Come From?" This article reports that 358 rumours of migrant crimes since 2013 focus on robbery and sexual assault and claims that fear of refugees (rumours and opinion polls) does not fit with actual data on migrant and refugee crimes. Using data from a report by Germany's Federal Criminal Police Agency (BKA) as mentioned above, it states that refugee numbers increased 440% in 2015 from the year before but refugee crime had "*only* increased by 79 percent" in the same time period and "stagnated" in the latter half of 2015 when most migrants arrived in Germany. First of all, an increase in refugee crime by 79% is in fact a significant increase and calculations of this percentage do not include the NYE sex assaults, or the migrant crimes from three large states that have the largest populations of immigrants, including NRW which is the most populous German state and where the Cologne incident took place, and also does not include unsolved criminal cases, as mentioned elsewhere in this work or crimes committed by regular non-European migrants. Second, police resources were over-stretched in the second-half of 2015 in relation to the sheer numbers of irregular migrants entering Germany and the criteria for arrest was narrowed due to this, thus the stagnation of documented refugee crime. Third, one-third of refugee crime is robbery, which confirms the first concern over refugee crime. In terms of refugee committed sexual assault, the article trivializes it, saying it amounts to "*only* 1 percent of refugee-related crimes," but this is a staggering amount equalling 1,688 cases, including over 450 rapes. In 2014 47,000 sexual offenses in Germany were documented, as such, as an estimate, in 2015 sexual offenses committed by refugees roughly equalled 3.6% of all sexual offenses committed in Germany while they only represented around 1.3% (1.1 million) of the total population. In other words, refugees committed a disproportionate amount of sexual assaults in Germany in relation to the size of their population (and if the New Year's Eve assaults were included, this over-representation would be even higher). As such, concerns over this type of migrant crime fit with the data. This article does not address the various police, crime, and prison statistics that have consistently shown over the years that immigrants, particularly Muslims from Africa and the Middle East (the majority of regular and irregular non-European migrants in Europe), are over-represented as criminals, particularly in rape, in at least five European countries, which have been profiled in this dissertation. It seems that the author of the piece, Heather Horn, is trying to side-step the real problem i.e. the generation of real fear created by actual migrant behaviours and crimes, both between themselves and towards Europeans, by attempting to allay this fear by associating it with a few rumours and hoaxes.

Such black-outs, censorship, lying, non-disclosure, and so on by the mainstream media, politicians, and the police is part of an ongoing trend throughout Europe. For instance, the mass-groping and robbery at Sweden's music festival in August 2015 and at the Welcoming Party for male refugees in Bonn in November 2015 were not disclosed to the public for some time. These two incidents only came to public attention due to the controversy of the "lying press" re its cover-up of the Cologne incident[1840]. But by far the worst incident in recent history was the reluctance of British elites to deal with the phenomena of 'Asian' (predominantly Pakistani and Bangladeshi men) sex-grooming gangs in the UK.

According to *Sikh24*, a news portal for the British Sikh community, "grooming refers to racially motivated sexual exploitation"[1841]. According to the Child Exploitation and Online Protection Center (CEOP), in England and Wales in 2012, data from 31 police forces revealed that 52 groups were known to be 'type one' sexual offenders, or 'grooming gangs' that target the young and vulnerable. Out of these groups, 50 percent were all Asian, 29 percent were either mixed race, Black, or Arab, and 21 percent were all White, while 97 percent of the victims were White. Of 306 known offenders, 83 percent were either Asian (75%), Black (5%), or Arab (3%). In other words, a disproportionate number of grooming gangs were Asian and a disproportionate number of victims were White[1842]. These findings are consistent with other reports that have come out over the last few years that reveal that since the late 1980s criminal gangs of mainly Muslim men of South Asian (Pakistani and Bangladeshi) and African descent have targeted millions of vulnerable non-Muslim school-aged white girls (and some boys) all across the United Kingdom for sexual abuse, gang rape, sex slavery, forced

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[1840] Tyler Durden, "Massive Coverup Exposed In Sweden As Media, Cops Hid Migrant Sex Attacks," *Zero Hedge* (blog), January 12 2016. http://www.zerohedge.com/news/2016-01-11/massive-coverup-exposed-sweden-media-cops-hid-migrant-sex-attacks.
[1841] *Sikh24,* "Underage Sexual Grooming: Five Arrested in UK."
[1842] Child Exploitation and Online Protection Centre, 19-20.

prostitution, and sex trafficking, with victims as young as 11 years old[1843]. Young girls are targeted and groomed by younger members of the gang with money, drugs, alcohol, and gifts. After the girls have come to trust and to consider their groomer a 'boyfriend' they are then passed around, raped, gang raped, forced into prostitution, drugged, beaten, tortured, threatened, blackmailed, and sometimes killed.

According to the report *Easy Meat: Multiculturalism, Islam, and Child Sex Slavery* by English author Peter McLoughlin,

> One of the defining features of this crime is the ethnic/cultural homogeneity of the gang members [Muslim], and the refusal of other members of their community to speak out about them or to condemn their behaviour. The gangs are often made up of brothers and members of their extended family, who take part in the grooming and/or rape of the schoolgirls.

What is more, is that

> We are informed that this kind of phenomenon does not occur in other cases where adults are grooming children for sex. In those cases, the adults are either unrelated or are working alone (for fear of exposure or criticism from their friends or relatives). The grooming gang phenomenon thus shows *distinctive new characteristics*[1844].

Police, social workers, and council members have, for over two decades, ignored and even covered up this child sexual exploitation and abuse. Since many shocking reports have finally come out it has been revealed that several police officers and at least one politician were complicit in the crimes[1845], and scores of police officers and officials have been fired, arrested, or have resigned while dozens of grooming gangs have been unearthed all across the country[1846]. Such criminal and predatory foreign gangs preying on young girls is not isolated to the UK, it has been happening since the late 20th century across Europe. In Sweden, the

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[1843] See for example: Jütte et al., *How Safe Are Our Children?*; Norfolk, "Police files"; McLoughlin, *Easy Meat*; House of Commons: Home Affairs Committee, *Child Sexual Exploitation*; Alexis Jay, *Independent Inquiry*.
[1844] McLoughlin, *"Easy Meat,"* 22 (my emphasis).
[1845] Norfolk, "Police conspired to protect Rotherham child sex abusers."
[1846] Luke, "Northumbria Police"; Martin Evans, "Rotherham child sex abuse: 300 new 'suspects'."

Netherlands, Norway, Germany etc. the gangs are called various names by the mainstream media and research organizations such as “sex gangs”, “grooming gangs” and “lover boys”[1847].

There are four main reasons why the police, media, and elites deliberately cover-up and black-out migrant criminal activity: 1) political correctness i.e. not wanting to be accused of racism; 2) not wanting to alarm or create panic among the general public during large-scale immigration from Muslim-majority nations, especially during the ‘migrant crisis’; 3) wanting to prevent a monolithic portrayal of (genuine) refugees and (non-criminal) migrants as criminals[1848]; and 4) not wanting public airing of such information as it might clarify existing anti-immigration and anti-Muslim sentiments, particularly among the growing right-wing movements and parties across Europe.

The British police, social workers, and council members ignored and covered-up the racial nature of the grooming gangs because they feared reporting on it would be considered racist as the majority of perpetrators were of “Asian” descent[1849]. The mass-molestation at the Bonn Welcome Party was not documented by the media or reported to the police because organizers of the event did not want to “make a fuss” or be honest about the occurrence and thus expose the risks involved by bringing in masses of young males from countries with different cultural values and views regarding the treatment of women[1850]. The mass sexual assaults and other migrant crimes in Sweden were deliberately hidden from the public because such information, according to Stockholm police chief Peter Agren, “plays into the hands of the Sweden Democrats”. Ivar Arpi, a Swedish columnist, said that

[1847] See for example: Tiggeloven, “Child Prostitution in the Netherlands”; Reid, “A feminist revolution.”
[1848] Schmoll, “Polizei fühlt sich bei Migranten-Kriminalität gegängelt.”
[1849] Bunyan, “Rochdale grooming trial”; “Reality of Sexual Grooming Gangs in the UK (Interview with Andrew Norfolk by SAS),” YouTube video (S.A.S).
[1850] Gutteridge, “MIGRANT SEX ATTACK ‘COVER-UP’.”

> Immigration cannot be discussed frankly in Sweden. If you mention anything negative about refugees...you're accused of playing into the hands of the reviled far-Right. As a result even those with legitimate concerns are silenced or labelled xenophobic[1851].

In September 2015 an internal letter, written by Stockholm police press officers Wolf Gyllander and Carina Skagerlind, stated that "basic information such as ethnicity, nationality, skin colour and height should not be given" to the public about criminals because the Swedish police "want to avoid pointing out ethnic groups as criminal" and do not want to come across as "racist"[1852]. The German police did not disclose the ethnic nature of the mass-sexual assault as they were bound by political correctness, feared accusations of racism, and wanted to prevent the public from seeing a connection between the assaults and recently arrived asylum-seekers[1853]. The deliberate cover-up of such large-scale and serious crimes committed by male migrants, immigrants, and asylum seekers mostly from patriarchal Muslim countries is an attempt to hide the seriousness and scale of the problems at the expense of public security and safety, particularly for the most vulnerable members of society.

13.1.1 Creating Behavioural Changes

Other than covering-up these crimes, a series of leading elites and organisations in Germany responded to the mass-sexual assaults on German girls and women by blaming the victims. The council official responsible for refugee integration in the Cologne region implied that the victims of assault at the Bonn Welcome Party were to blame by saying she thought that the violated girls had "learned" something from their sexual assault experience[1854]. In response to the mass-sexual assaults in Germany on New Year's Eve, a leading Salafist imam in Cologne,

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[1851] Reid, "How Europe's most liberal nation gagged its own people on migration attacks."
[1852] Henderson, "Swedish police banned from describing criminals anymore in case they sound racist"; Pirttisalo, "Får interna direktiv: Ange inte signalement."
[1853] Readhead, "German police officer"; *The Local*, "Cover-up claim over NYE mass sexual assaults"; Geppert, "Germany's Secret Islamic Horror."
[1854] Gutteridge, "MIGRANT SEX ATTACK 'COVER-UP'."

Sami Abu-Yusuf, said that "the events...were the girls own fault, because they were half naked and wearing perfume. It is not surprising the men wanted to attack them. [Dressing like that] is like adding fuel to the fire"[1855]. This echoed a statement made by a leading Muslim cleric in 2006 in Australia, Egyptian-born Sheik Taj Aldin al-Hilali, who compared women without headscarves to "uncovered meat". He said that

> If you take out uncovered meat and place it outside ... without cover, and the cats come to eat it...whose fault is it, the cats' or the uncovered meat's? The uncovered meat is the problem. If she was in her room, in her home, in her hijab, no problem would have occurred[1856].

The group *Muslim Stern* in Germany suggested that banning alcohol would prevent future migrant attacks against German women and also chastised the victims for their provocative ways of dressing, blaming them for "inciting" sexual assault and rape by African men: "You cannot expect to chuck a naked antelope in front of a lion and not expect it to react"[1857].

It seems that Cologne mayor Henriette Reker, who was adamant that there was no link between refugees and the mass sexual assaults[1858], agreed with these Muslim views by saying the victims should have been more responsible, and requested they dress and act differently. She said women shouldn't provoke "them" and should keep them at "arms length"[1859]. She also said that "we will publish online guidelines that these young women can read through to prepare themselves" for future attacks[1860]. She has come under harsh criticism for her remarks. However, she is not alone in her view that females are at fault for "provoking" the 'lions' and 'cats' and becoming their prey. Back in 2001 when two out of three rapes in Oslo were being committed by immigrants of Muslim background, Unni Wikan, a professor of social

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[1855] Lane, "Cologne Imam: Girls Were Raped Because They Were Half Naked And Wore Perfume."
[1856] Tran, "Australian Muslim leader compares uncovered women to exposed meat."
[1857] Boyle, "Germans must ban ALCOHOL."
[1858] Klages, Ciesinger, and Jansen, "Henriette Reker: Gewalttaten haben nichts mit Flüchtlingen zu tun."
[1859] Eddy, "Cologne Mayor's 'Arm's Length' Advice on Sexual Attacks Stirs Outcry."
[1860] Lane, "Cologne Mayor."

anthropology at the University of Oslo said that “Norwegian women must take their share of responsibility for these rapes” because they dress provocatively and thus must “realize that we live in a Multicultural society and adapt themselves to it”[1861]. More recently, in the town of Bad Schlema in Germany, the mayor was asked a question by a grandfather of a school girl who had been sexually assaulted by a “refugee” about what will happen during the warmer summer months when girls have less clothing on. The mayor essentially said that the girls should not “provoke them” and should not “walk in these areas” by the refugee centers[1862]. This led to an outcry by the public at the meeting, with some saying “You can’t even walk in your city anymore!” In May 2016 a Swedish police report blamed the rise of migrant sex attacks, the majority of which were on girls under 15 years of age, on “Nordic alcohol culture, but also of non-traditional gender roles” (such as the way females dress) and not on migrant behaviour itself, other than to say that they might not be able to “handle the alcohol”, they simply feel “horny”, and have “ignorance of the consequences for the girls”[1863]. On top of blaming European culture and women’s behavior for migrant sexual assaults, new guidelines on behaviour and dress for women and girls, and special sexual education classes, booklets, and visual aids for migrants have proliferated throughout Germany and Europe since 2015, which implies the gravity of the situation[1864].

So, European females, which includes school-age children, are being warned they should not wear certain clothing that may invite rape or sexual assault and should not behave in such ways that ‘provoke’ sexual assault. Women and children are also warned not go out unaccompanied in certain areas, especially at night and near refugee centers. These unsafe

[1861] Mark S. Berger, “Mener norske jenter frister til sex.”
[1862] “Migrants sexually harass German School Girls - Mayor dismisses Grandfather: ‘Don't provoke them’,” YouTube video.
[1863] Perring and Stromme, “It's not their fault, it's yours! Swedish GIRLS blamed for rise in migrant sex attacks.”
[1864] Waters, “Europe’s Rape Epidemic: Western Women Will Be Sacrificed At The Altar Of Mass Migration.”

areas and unsafe times of day as well as dress codes are essentially restricting the free movement and safety of females and children in European nations. In Sweden, for example, eight sexual assaults against girls and women by 'foreign men' occurred in just three weeks in Östersund, a town of 44,000, and led police to warn women not to go out alone at night. County police commissioner, Stephen Jerand, said

> We wanted to warn the public and urge women not to walk home on the streets in the central part of the town after dark, because it is not safe...The situation is tense. *We have never experienced anything like this before*. It is almost unreal. Eight attacks and just three this last weekend. This is a quiet part of Sweden where we barely have had any attacks on women and now this[1865].

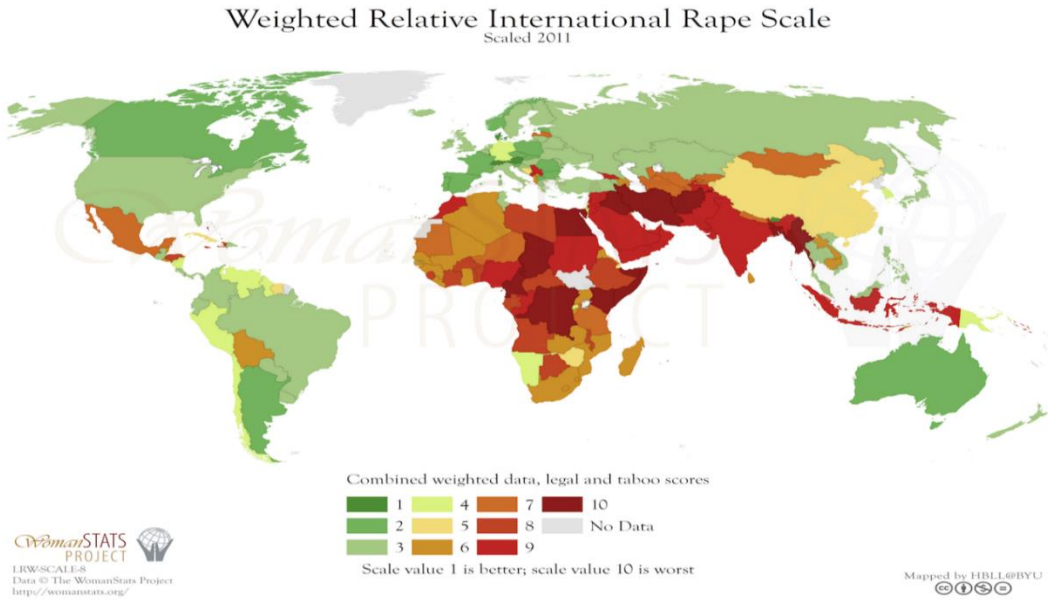
In Finland, Ilkka Koskimaki, the city's deputy police chief said "There hasn't been this kind of harassment on previous New Year's Eves or other occasions for that matter. This is a completely new phenomenon in Helsinki"[1866]. This is a significant change in the cultural atmosphere of liberal-democratic Europe where police are dealing with criminal phenomenon they have 'never seen before', tell women to stay in doors after dark, and suggest dressing and behaving differently so not to invite rape upon themselves. This is not just happening in Germany and Sweden and Finland, but all European nations where no-go zones and no-go times are being created for women, school children, and even men, who are being warned to stay away from certain areas because of various forms of threats, harassment, violence, and abuse committed against them by migrants and refugees.

13.1.2 Importation: Muslim Misogyny and Sexual Terrorism

Barbara Steffens, a minister for emancipation in Germany, said that the New Years Eve mass sex assaults were just the "tip of a very unpleasant iceberg"[1867]. The reality is that dressing and

[1865] Andersson, "Two 10-year-old schoolgirls molested and a woman's trousers ripped off" (my emphasis); "Swedish cops quit protecting women," YouTube video.
[1866] Ernst, "The Big List of Muslim sex attacks gets bigger."
[1867] Connolly, "Cologne inquiry into 'coordinated' New Year's Eve sex attacks."

behaving differently for German and European women and girls is quickly becoming an established norm because of the arrival of large numbers of young foreign men from conservative and patriarchal Muslim countries that have a high prevalence of rape and view women as inferior, unequal, and 'fair game'. Such behaviours have been imported into Europe from Muslim countries that impose a strict code of female modesty (and contradicts the idea that wearing 'appropriate' clothing and not 'provoking' men will solve the sexual assault of European girls by Muslim men). Due to the fact that Muslim immigration into Europe is now dominated by family reunification and marriage migration, many of whom come from traditional rural origins, Europe has experienced the importation of a foreign "village mentality" involving an "honor culture and modesty standards", particular "attitudes toward women", and anti-Western and anti-liberal sentiments[1868]. Map 7 shows the prevalence of rape across the world. When paired with where most immigrants, refugees, and illegals are coming from, which are Muslim-majority nations, one can see the extent of the problem.



Map 7. Prevalence of Rape Across the World.
Source: Map from WomanStats Project.

[1868] Ben-David, "Europe's Shifting Immigration Dynamic."

Alice Schwarzer, a leading second-wave German feminist, claimed the Cologne attacks were organised by Islamists:

> The Islamists have not only stirred up misogyny among young Muslim men towards women over recent years and decades, but I am also convinced the sexual violence of New Year's Eve was provoked (by them). There were a few hundred willing followers[1869].

Likewise, Franco-Egyptian activist and author Serenade Chafik thinks that it was "sexual terrorism" or "an imported form of gendered terror played out as a 'game' of war". Chafik makes the claim that

> By using rape as an arm of war, these militias - because this indeed consists of pre-meditated acts committed by groups, some of them armed with notes containing a lexicon of sexual vocabulary - want to terrify women but also to humiliate men. The sexual violence these women were victims of not only in Germany but also in Austria, Switzerland and Finland recalls this use of rape as a weapon of war, and reminds me personally of the rapes committed in Tahrir Square in Egypt, against women protesters [in 2012 to 2014].

Chafik also said that the attackers "are manipulating a Middle Eastern concept of *honor "a l'Oriental,"* in which the honor of a family, a tribe or even a nation 'is found between women's legs!'" so the "act of raping women, according to the aggressors will thus destroy the honor of these nations and humiliate not only women but Western countries"[1870]. And according to terrorism analyst and author Brigitte Gabriel "these refugees are coming from societies that have no respect for women" and "What we are seeing in Europe is the importation of a culture that is completely opposed to everything we stand for and believe in"[1871]. Some critics have gone so far as to call the mass-sexual assaults on European girls and women, including the Muslim grooming gangs, "sex jihad" or "rape jihad"[1872].

[1869] Symons, "Cologne attacks: 'This is sexual terrorism directed towards women'."
[1870] Ibid. One just has to remember the violent gang rape of CBS reporter Lara Logan in Tahrir Square in Egypt, 2011 or the violent gang rape of a Dutch journalist by 5 perpetrators, again in Tahrir Square in 2013. See: Moisse, "CBS Reporter Lara Logan"; Levy, "Five men rape journalist, 22, in Tahrir Square: reports."
[1871] Ernst, "The Big List of Muslim sex attacks gets bigger."
[1872] Michael White, "Cologne attacks"; *Sputnik News*, "Right-Wing German Gangs"; McCarthy, "When Worlds Collide"; "PVV: Geert Wilders MP - The Sexual Jihad On Europe," Youtube video.

The phenomenon of mass-sexual assault of women by men in public, which is a completely new dimension of crime unknown to Europe, has been known in the Middle East and South Asia since at least the 1970s, and is named variously, such as *taharrush gamea*[1873] and eve-teasing[1874]. As Europe receives a majority of its immigrants from theocratic Muslim-majority nations in the Middle East and Africa, countries that have notorious records regarding the treatment of females, and because the majority of irregular migrants have been men, Europe is also importing social practices, types of crime, and masculinity norms that legitimise violence against women, and which have resulted in a surge of sexual violence against females in Europe. This means that there are serious risks associated with the recent large-scale male-dominated Muslim migrant wave into Europe. Yet, years of research have already shown that around 50 percent of all rapes in Europe are committed by foreign-born immigrants, while making up a minority of national populations. Migrants from the Middle East and North Africa are grossly overrepresented in these rape statistics. The Crime Prevention Council in Sweden (Brå) reported that the overwhelming majority of foreign-born rapists are from Muslim majority countries in North Africa: Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. Men from these countries are 23 times more likely to commit rape than Swedish-born[1875]. According to police statistics, in Oslo, the capital of Norway, two out of three charged for rape are non-western immigrants[1876] and "100 percent of assault rapes between strangers were committed by immigrant, non-Western males"[1877]. In Denmark immigrants from Muslim countries (Iraq, Iran,

[1873] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Mass sexual assault in Egypt," accessed May 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mass_sexual_assault_in_Egypt.
[1874] Wikipedia, s.v. "Eve teasing," accessed May 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eve_teasing; Aljenfawi, "Migrants must adopt Europe standards of civilized conduct."
[1875] Ahlberg, *Invandrares och Invandrares barns Brottslighet: En Statistisk Analys*, 41, 44, 99, 107
[1876] Mark S. Berger, "Mener norske jenter frister til sex."
[1877] Hurd, "Culture Crisis: Norway Tackles Muslim Immigration."

Turkey, Somalia, Lebanon, and Afghanistan) are three times more likely than native Danes to commit rape[1878]. Similar statistics can be found throughout Europe[1879].

13.2 Paris and Brussels Terrorist Attacks

The terror attacks in Paris (November 2015) and Brussels (March 2016) were acts of war against Europe by ISIS and are not going to end soon. Rainer Wendt, chief of the German police trade union, said "We have to bear in mind a long period of terror," and that they were "an alarm signal for the entire Europe"[1880]. Nicolas Stockhammer, Austria's security advisor, said that Europe should prepare for at least a 20-year "long-winded, brutal fight" against terrorism in which *prevention efforts* will be essential[1881]. In other words, Europe is in for a long fight against ISIS in Europe, not just in Syria and Iraq. However, unlike ISIS strong-holds in Syria and Iraq, which are being bombed by international coalition airstrikes[1882], European elites cannot bomb problem Muslim areas like Molenbeek, which is but one of the many "incubators" and "hide-outs" of the enemy in Europe. François Heisbourg, president of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, says that "You can bomb Raqqa [ISIS stronghold in Syria], and you may consider that to be war, but you're not going to bomb Molenbeek or Schaerbeek or St.-Denis, unless you're ready for civil war" in Europe, which is what "Daesh clearly wants"[1883].

[1878] Fogt, "Hveranden voldtægtsdømt er udlænding."
[1879] See: Directorate of Information, "Arrests of Foreign Nationals by Nationality and Specified Arrest Areas"; Harper and Leapmann, "Foreigners 'commit fifth of crime in London'"; Zeronian, "Women's Rights Groups Attack Study."
[1880] *RT News*, "Europe faces 'long period of terror' – German police official."
[1881] *Nachrichten.at*, "Experte erkennt klare Anschlagsgefahr in Österreich."
[1882] Various countries either support or are members of the US-led coalition against ISIS and the Assad regime in Syria and supports various rebel groups. There are other anti-ISIS forces such as the Saudi-led coalition in Yemen that is also fighting against various rebel groups, such as the Houthi rebels, as well as countries that are anti-ISIS and other Islamist groups but pro-Assad (e.g. Russia, Algeria, Iran). See: McHugh and Sender, "Who Is Fighting ISIS?"; Wanderman, "CIA fighting the Pentagon in Syria."
[1883] Erlanger, "A Quandary for Europe." Civil war-like conditions happen nearly every year in France where immigrants use guerilla warfare tactics and weapons against police and destroy, through arson and looting etc., schools, police stations, shops, cars, and so on. This also happens in Sweden and other European nations. See chapter 9. In France there are around 100 Salafist enclaves like Molenbeek in Belgium according to Minister for Cities in France, Patrick Kanner. See: *Le Parisien*, "Patrick Kanner." According to Pieter Van Ostaeyen, a Middle East historian, Daesh also wants a clash of civilizations. CBC suggests that the reason they want this 'clash' is for "Revenge

Like the Paris attacks, the Belgium atrocities were simultaneous terrorist acts designed to cause fear, maximum fatalities, maximum economic and socio-political costs to the country,[1884] and generate more media attention, all of which satisfy numerous goals of the Islamists. According to a 2013 article by Kathleen Deloughery, Assistant Professor of Public Administration and Policy at the University at Albany published in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, a journal of the Terrorism Research Initiative and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies

> if coordinated attacks do generate more fatalities, then simultaneous attacks in developed countries are more likely to garner media attention than single attacks. This increased news coverage can have the effect of bringing the motives of the terrorist organisation to the forefront, thus satisfying one of their main goals. In fact, the coordinated attacks on September 11th had a permanent effect of increasing the number of news stories on terrorism[1885].

Another benefit of media attention for Muslim terrorists is the spreading of fear. According to Natasha Underhill, an expert on terrorism in the Middle East at Nottingham Trent University, "The promotion of fear is one of the strongest assets that Islamic State possesses and it is sadly doing an excellent job in spreading this message across Europe"[1886]. Gilles Kepel, a French political scientist, sociologist, and specialist on the Islamic and contemporary Arab world, concurs. He says "part of the Islamic State's intention is to mobilize fears of the 'enemy within', create further rejection of European Muslim citizens and radicalize them at home, to create a kind of civil war between European Muslims and the 'crusader states'"[1887]. Hence, European elites, in order to prevent civil war in Europe, think that what Stockhammer suggested – "prevention efforts" – are what will eradicate Muslim terrorism in Europe.

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for what ISIS claims the West has done to Iraq and Syria. And the more ground ISIS loses there, the more the group lusts for bloodshed in Europe." See: Arsenault and Gagnon, "Why ISIS wants a 'clash of civilizations'."

[1884] Bajpai, "The Paris Attacks and the World Economy"; Newton-Small, "The Cost of the Paris Attacks"; Mowat, "Brussels attacks estimated to cost its economy €4 billion."

[1885] Deloughery, "Simultaneous Attacks by Terrorist Organizations."

[1886] Dearden, "Isis claims responsibility for Brussels attacks."

[1887] Erlanger, "A Quandary for Europe."

13.2.1 Prevention Efforts: History and Current Thoughts

The 'preventitive' approach holds that Muslim radicalism in Europe is the product of European behaviour and the failure of multicultural policies. It is thought that both Islamophobia and European multicultural policies of ethnic separatism have led to the creation of disenfranchised Muslim enclaves or no-go zones in Europe that foster Islamic radicalism, particularly among youth, and harbour terrorists. According to Peter R. Neumann, director of the International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence at King's College London, the creation of radical Muslim enclaves in Europe is the fault of "local authorities and even mainstream Muslim groups" who have "abandoned them"[1888]. As a result, Muslim youth don't know how to "fit into society" and, as a response, become angry and turn to crime and radicalisation. According to a research study by Stanford university, titled *Belonging Nowhere: Marginalisation and Radicalisation Risks Among Muslim Immigrants* (2015) being "culturally homeless" and subject to Islamophobia contribute to Muslim radicalisation[1889]. Engy Abdelkader, professor of international terrorism and human rights at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, provides a succinct summary of the report:

> Essentially, Muslim immigrants and minorities who feel "culturally homeless"—an inability to relate to the home or new culture they are in—may be attracted to a group that offers a strong sense of belonging. Islamophobia, including xenophobic political rhetoric (that excludes refugees), exacerbates cultural homelessness because it erodes a sense of purpose while feeding the extremist narrative that our societies are anti-Islam and anti-Muslim[1890].

In order to prevent radicalism from occurring experts think that more money needs to be spent on social programs that are geared towards the deep integration of immigrants into all levels of mainstream society and directed towards the provision of various avenues for immigrant youth to develop a healthy sense of inclusion and worth. And more efforts should be

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[1888] Ibid.
[1889] Lyons-Padilla et al., "Belonging Nowhere," 2-3.
[1890] Abdelkader, "Fear Breeds Extremists."

made to stamp out Islamophobia. The Stanford report insists that "more effective homeland security policies focusing on prevention, more resources, and more accepting neighbors for Muslim communities in Western nations" are needed[1891]. Abdelkader thinks that "policymakers should help Muslims integrate by allowing them to preserve their faith identity while also adopting the cultural identity of their country"[1892]. Gudrun Biffl, an expert on migration and de-radicalization from the Donau-Universität Krems, thinks that the only way to counteract terrorism are policies of "real integration" and that the "migrants are not the problem, but they are part of the solution. With them and their support, we will be able to spot the tendencies toward radicalization and deal with it"[1893]. Foreign policy analyst Rula Jebreal, thinks that only those with an intimate understanding of Islam and Islamic radicalism, such as imams and other experts, can help combat radicalism within Muslim communities in Europe. Commenting during a March 23rd 2016 CNN *Tonight* show, she said that in order to integrate Muslims:

> you need to understand the culture, you need to understand the language, and you need to understand what is appealing, what is the message that ISIS is actually selling in these prison cells and what they are selling online" as well as "in schools, mosques, and prisons[1894].

Director of international security studies at the Royal United Services Institute, Raffaello Pantucci, thinks that a "more bellicose [response] on the Islamic State abroad" i.e. more bombing campaigns and ground troops, and a program of "emphasizing longer-term *social work* in isolated and *disenfranchised* communities" in Europe will defuse Muslim radicalism and terrorism[1895].

Concerns about radical and extremist Muslims in Europe have been around since at least the late 1980s. According to Lorenzo Vidino

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[1891] Lyons-Padilla et al., "Belonging Nowhere," 10.
[1892] Abdelkader, "Fear Breeds Extremists."
[1893] Stangel, "Expertin: Integration als Prävention für Terror."
[1894] "CNN Guest: 'White People Like Yourself' Can't Understand Islamic Culture," YouTube video (CNN).
[1895] Erlanger, "A Quandary for Europe," (my emphasis).

> In 1989 the Muslim world's rage against Salman Rushdie had been sparked by protests and a book burning organized by Muslim organizations in the British city of Bradford. In 1995 militants linked to the Algerian Armed Islamic Group – many of whom had grown up in France – orchestrated a string of bombings throughout France. In the second half of the 1990s networks of jihadists, mostly linked to outfits in North Africa, were dismantled in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Belgium and Great Britain. Yet, despite all of these warning signs, few Europeans grasped the magnitude of the problem until the 2000s. Events such as the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks (whose ringleaders were radicalized in Hamburg), the 2004 Madrid train bombings and assassination of Theo van Gogh, the 2005 London bombings and scores of other thwarted attacks and dismantled terrorist networks have revealed the presence of a sizeable number of European-based Muslims who have embraced jihadist ideology and are ready to use violence for it[1896].

According to a 2011 report on integration efforts in Europe by various specialists and analysts for American Congress, prior to the most recent attacks in France and Belgium, the terrorist attacks of 9/11, Madrid (2004), and London (2005) consistently "injected an even greater sense of urgency into EU counterterrorism efforts and gave added impetus to EU initiatives aimed at both better integrating Muslims into European society and tackling the root causes of radicalization and Islamist extremism"[1897]. Yet, today, we have elites and academics declaring the same thing in response to the most recent terrorist attacks: more money and more integration; more counter-radicalism and more counter-terrorism. Despite the EAD, equal rights given to legal migrants, the promotion of Islam, Islamic values, Islamic history, and Euro-Arab interculturalism throughout European socieites since the 1970s, and despite, since the turn of the century, large volumes of money and various strategies of integration, counter-terrorism, and counter-radicalisation, these efforts have failed to prevent the presence and rise of significant numbers of Muslim fundamentalists, terrorists, and foreign-fighters with European citizenship and residency permits, amongst other alarming problems.

According to the 2011 American Congress report mentioned above, various strategies have been tried in different European countries to integrate foreigners, especially Muslims,

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[1896] Vidino, "Islamism in Europe," 1-2.
[1897] Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 38-39.

such as assimilation in France, multiculturalism in the UK, and 'guest worker' cosmopolitanism in Germany, but none of these efforts have prevented the emergence of exclusive parallel Muslim neighbourhoods and enclaves, which are described as "discrete ethnic, linguistic, and/or religious communities [that] function apart from the culture of the host society" and where radicalism flourishes[1898]. The various integration efforts of European nations have focused on increased political, social, and economic participation and

> new citizenship laws and language requirements in an attempt to instill a common identity, promoting dialogue with Muslim communities in an effort to generate greater Muslim participation, developing 'homegrown' imams more familiar with European culture and traditions, improving educational and economic opportunities, and tackling racism and discrimination[1899].

In 2007 Germany adopted a National Integration Plan that was geared towards

> promoting the German language and German values of equality and civic engagement; improving education and vocational training; enhancing employment opportunities; and improving the life and situation of women and girls.

There were also new naturalization and integration requirements, such as the need to "establish German language proficiency, take a mandatory integration course on German democratic principles, and participate in a naturalization ceremony that includes an oath of equivalent component" and "a multiple choice citizenship test" to receive a passport. Mandatory integration courses involved "German language, history, culture, and rule of law" and if immigrants did not attend then their social benefits would be cut off[1900].

In 2010 German Chancellor Angela Merkel said that "the constitution, not sharia" applies in Germany[1901] and in 2011 Merkel declared that immigrants, particularly Turks, must learn German[1902]. In 2014 the Society for Intercultural Existence funded by the Federal Ministry of Education in Germany, began providing funding to "approved" Turkish mosques for literacy

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[1898] Ibid, 6.
[1899] Ibid, 7.
[1900] Ibid, 16-18.
[1901] Stephen Brown, "German Muslims must obey law, not sharia: Merkel."
[1902] *Euronews*. "Merkel insists migrants must learn German."

and integration courses for new migrants, many of whom had very low levels of education. The aim of this initiative was the better integration of immigrants (from the religious environment of the lessons rather than a school classroom) and the prevention of radicalisation[1903]. But, in 2016 German Interior Minister Thomas de Maziere declared once again that immigrants must learn German and integrate, but this time they will face deportation. They are currently working on a new law to effect such requirements[1904].

Similar tactics have been practiced in the UK. Integration efforts have involved "improving dialogue with Muslim communities and promoting moderate Islam; tackling socio-economic disadvantage and discrimination; and introducing new citizenship and English language requirements". The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2004 was reformed to strengthen the relationship between new British citizens and Britain and various language requirements have involved the demonstration of English language ability and knowledge of British history, culture, and customs, allegiance sworn to the Queen, and a pledge of respect for rights and freedoms[1905].

The EU has also adopted a variety of integration measures since the turn of the century, such as in 2004, 2007, and 2010 the EU produced a *Handbook on Integration* for policymakers, which involved information on learning second languages, civic participation, "economic integration and the labor market, urban housing, immigrant youth, education, and the role of the media in integration". And in 2009 the EU established the European Integration Forum, which

> brings together representatives of civil society organizations with EU policymakers twice a year to discuss integration issues, and a European Web Site on Integration, which serves as a virtual platform to facilitate the exchange of information about

[1903] Peters, "Können Moscheen zum Ort der Integration werden?"
[1904] Mowat, "Germany plans new law to require migrants to integrate and learn language – or be deported."
[1905] Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 35-36.

> integration policies and practices between policymakers, civil society groups, community organizations, and the general public[1906].

The EU also adopted 11 common principles for immigrant integration policy in 2004, which were implemented at the national and EU level by the development of the Common Agenda for Integration in 2005. This Common Agenda also established the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in 2007 and was allocated 825 million Euros between 2007 and 2013[1907]. In 2011 the Common Agenda was updated to include various requirements from immigrants:

> immigrants must be given the opportunity to participate fully in their new communities, but...successful integration requires immigrants to possess the will and commitment to become part of the society that has received them. The new Agenda highlights four areas as crucial for integration: the acquisition of language skills; participation in the labor market; access to education; and decent living conditions[1908].

Very recently, on June 7th 2016, the European Commission presented an Action Plan on Integration for "third-country nationals and their economic and social contribution to the EU" and "sets out the concrete policy, operational and financial support to be delivered at EU level to support [EU states] in their efforts"[1909].

Anti-terrorism and de-radicalisation efforts in Europe have included "enhancing law enforcement and security measures and by reforming immigration and asylum policies", such as "increased...monitoring of mosques", the investigation of religious groups, the banning of certain Muslim organizations, the deportation of hate clerics, the criminalization of dissemination of terrorist propaganda, and the training of police to spot radicalisation in prisons[1910]. Since 9/11 various Islamist organizations have been banned in Germany, such as Kalifatstaat, Al-Aksa e.V., and Hizb-ut-Tahrir and in 2010 the Masjid Taiba mosque or Al Quds in

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[1906] Ibid, 40-41. Also see: European Web Site on Integration, http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/aboutus.cfm.
[1907] Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 40.
[1908] Ibid, 41.
[1909] European Commission, "Delivering the European Agenda on Migration."
[1910] Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 9.

Hamburg was shut down due to ties with 9/11 hijackers. Since the 2005 London attacks Britain has introduced "tighter controls on Muslim groups receiving public funds", has banned hate preachers "from visiting Britain to speak in public forums", has taken "a tougher line on forced marriages" and expects "all British citizens [to] support common values", changes that were reiterated in 2011[1911].

UK officials have also engaged in "counter-radicalization efforts in cooperation with non-violent Islamists whose political goals and values may differ from those held by mainstream Britons"[1912]. For example, Tariq Ramadan, the son of Islamist Said Ramadan and grandson of the Muslim Brotherhood's founder Hassan al-Banna, is one of 14 members of the Foreign Office's Advisory Group on Freedom of Religion or Belief. He began this position in 2005 when the British government asked him to become part of a task force called the Home Office Working Group on Tackling Extremism, which aimed at "examining ways to prevent young Muslims in Britain from deteriorating into violent extremism"[1913]. There is also the Prevent Program, which is a key program of the official Strategy for Countering International Terrorism (CONTEST). It was launched in 2007 with five objectives:

> challenge the ideology behind violent extremism and support mainstream voices; disrupt those who promoted violent extremism and support the places where they operated; support people vulnerable to recruitment by violent extremists; increase the resilience of communities; and address grievances exploited in the radicalisation process[1914].

This program cost 53 million dollars between 2007 and 2010 for over 1000 projects. It was revised in 2011 to separate counter-terrorism and integration efforts and focus more on the

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[1911] Ibid, 34.
[1912] Ibid, 34.
[1913] Dodd, "Blair backs banned Muslim"; Beckford, "David Cameron's religious adviser." Ramadan has previously been banned from the US and France for his links with terrorism. French author Caroline Fourest has accused him of taquia, or double-talk. See: Fourest, *Brother Tariq*; Dankowitz, "Tariq Ramadan"; Le Quesne, "Trying to Bridge."
[1914] As cited in Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 34.

prevention of radicalisation in areas such as "education, faith, health, criminal justice and charities" as well as the internet[1915].

13.2.2 Political Islam and Muslim Radicalism: Global Phenomena

It is quite clear that radical Muslim groups have developed complex networks throughout Europe[1916] and Muslim radicalisation is deeply embedded in European societies – in neighbourhoods, schools, mosques, prisons, as well as on social media. These are serious problems that cannot be solved by throwing more money at integration and anti-racism programs. In January 2016 Trevor Phillips, the founding chair of the Equality and Human Rights Commission in the UK, stated that

> Continuously pretending that a group is somehow eventually going to become like the rest of us is perhaps the deepest form of disrespect. Because what you are essentially saying is the fact that they behave in a different way, some of which we may not like, is because they haven't yet seen the light. It may be that they see the world differently to the rest of us[1917].

In May 2016 Phillips stated that the arrival of some Muslim groups to the UK are actively "resistant to the traditional process of integration"[1918]. Despite the evidence of various polls and surveys[1919] and reasons given by Muslim radicals and Islamists themselves, which consistently reveal to the Western world and its allies *why* radical Muslims exist and do not integrate and *why* Islamists are terrorising the West – because of Western-led international military campaigns in the Middle East, because of global capitalism, and because of religious aspirations that perceive Islam as the one true faith of all mankind that will eventually conquer Europe and the world – despite this, Western governments persist in reasoning that more needs to be analysed as to the *Why* of Muslim radicalisation and terrorism in Europe so

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[1915] As cited in Archick et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 35.
[1916] Mandaville, *Muslim Networks and Movements;* Jones, "Intelligence agencies"; *Recruitment and Mobilisation*.
[1917] Kirkup, "Yes, Muslims are different. No, we shouldn't accept that."
[1918] Bingham, "Britain 'sleepwalking to catastrophe' over race: Trevor Phillips."
[1919] See chapter 10.

Muslims can be integrated better. Despite hundreds of millions being spent on integration projects, social programs, and counter-terrorism and de-radicalisation operations, radicalism, Muslim criminality, and terrorist incidents in Europe have dramatically increased over the years[1920].

As has been discussed elsewhere in this work, Muslim anti-Western sentiments (and hence lack of integration) as well as the formation of radical Islamist networks and movements in Europe and the world over have their roots in the political Islam and aspirations of Islamists in the Muslim world, such as Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), founders and leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979), founder of Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan. Islamism and Islamisation in Europe includes three main types of activity: proselytism (*dawah)* and indoctrination (*tarbiyya*), radicalisation, and infiltration of all levels of society[1921] and is financed by external sources (Wahhabi-Salafism). A significant amount of funding and support for Muslims in Europe, including mosque building and the formation of Muslim networks and movements, comes from conservative and theocratic Muslim countries, such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Egypt, and there have been concerns about the transnational and foreign nature of this support and these networks[1922].

A 2010 Pew Forum report "Muslim Networks and Movements in Western Europe" states that

> The overseas origins of the groups, and their continuing ties to affiliates abroad, have prompted concerns that by strengthening Muslims' connections to the umma – the world community of Muslim believers – they may be encouraging Muslims to segregate themselves from the rest of European society. In addition, some in the

[1920] See: Kassam, "DATA: Young Muslims"; International Organization for Migration, *Compendium of Migrant Integration*; Papademetriou, *Europe and Its Immigrants*; Gsir, Mandin, and Mescoli, *Corridor Report on Belgium;* Seidle, *Comparative Research*; Hoßmann and Karsch, "Germany's Integration Politics"; Somerville and Saggar, *Building a British Model of Integration in an Era of Immigration*.
[1921] See chapter 8.
[1922] Alexiev, *The Wages of Extremism*, 60-61, 74.

> West perceive many Muslim groups as fomenters of radical Islam and, ultimately, terrorism[1923].

It is well known that prominent and influential Islamists, such as Qutb, al-Banna, Qaradawi, Choudary, and Erdogan et al, reject Western values and have demanded Muslims not integrate into European societies and instead practice self-isolation[1924]. Both internal and external Muslim groups are themselves promoting the separatism and radicalisation of Muslims in Europe. Many Muslims, including so-called 'moderates', do not want to integrate into European societies[1925], as has been pointed out in this work and evidenced by various trends in Muslim political activism and declarations of the right to difference, the right to multicultural minority rights, and the pervasive efforts towards self-government and Sharia governed neighbourhoods. As polls and surveys have shown, a significant portion of Muslim populations in European nations amounting to hundreds of thousands and in Muslim nations in amounting to millions, also support radical Islam, including terrorist attacks in the name of Islam[1926].

Muslim radicalisation is not the direct result of European Islamophobia, multicultural policies, or flimsy integration efforts and it is not what determines problematic Muslim-European relations in Europe. Tensions between Muslims and Europeans and support for radical Islam by Muslims have existed for hundreds of years, mostly due to their contrasting natures and worldviews, military endeavours, geographical proximity, and the vast differences that justify their hegemonic geopolitical drives. Multicultural policies have indeed encouraged the plethora of ethnic minority groups to preserve their unique culture, identity, and heritage as separate and collective communities within liberal democratic and secular European nations, yet it is only Muslims in Europe that have overtly exploited this right and pushed it to its most

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[1923] Mandaville, *Muslim Networks and Movements*, 6-8.
[1924] See chapters 8 and 9.
[1925] *Economist*, "The War"; Richard Bernstein, "A Continent Watching"; Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam*.
[1926] See chapter 10.

extreme form, creating hundreds of radical self-governing ethnic enclaves in European nations that are characterised by criminality, the rejection of the secular way of life, law, and values of Europe, which create major divisions and fractures in society.

Muslim radicalisation is a global phenomenon[1927] – it is found all over the world where Muslims exist, whether as a minority or a majority national population, and is directed at non-Muslims as well as Muslims considered too Westernised, of another sect, or those in alliance with the West. In just the first half of 2016 there were 1,063 Islamist attacks in 47 countries, which killed over 10,000 people and injured over 12,000 more[1928]. Muslim radicalisation is not determined by poverty, isolation, lack of education, or lack of integration. Research shows that radicalism is on a wide spectrum – from the poor to the wealthy, from the integrated to the non-integrated, and from the educated to the non-educated. There is no direct link between low socio-economic opportunities and radicalisation. Dr. Jitka Maleckova, researcher of terrorism at the Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education, Economics Institute (CERGE-EI) in Prague, writes that

> neither the participants nor the adherents of militant activities...are recruited predominantly from the poor...[and] there is no direct connection between poverty and terrorism[1929].

The World Bank has, according to Roderick Parkes, "been rowing back from its famous 1999 report which claimed that unemployment was the root of all violent extremism, and has conceded that terrorists in fact 'recruit among the employed'"[1930]. Other experts also say that "integration problems are far from the sole factor behind violent extremism" and EU officials have said that "while the lack of integration may be a contributing factor in explaining why

[1927] Lyons-Padilla et al., "Belonging Nowhere."
[1928] The Religion of Peace, "List of Islamic Terror Attacks, 2016."
[1929] Maleckova, "Impoverished terrorists: stereotype or reality?" 41.
[1930] Parkes, "Tourism, Terrorism, and Migration," 2.

some individuals turn to extremism, it is not the only one"[1931]. Many Muslim radicals and terrorists have come from wealthy educated backgrounds[1932] and were well integrated into their host societies but have "common cause" with Muslims of majority-Muslim countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, and Syria and thus have rejected the Western way of life, embraced fundamentalist Islam, and turned terror on their perceived enemies[1933]. One glaring example is Osama Krayem, a Syrian with a Swedish passport who in 2005 with his family was involved in a documentary called "Without Borders - A Film About Sport and Integration". In this film Krayem showed how the Malmo football team had helped him integrate into Swedish society. Krayem even had a job with Malmo city council as a management intern. However, he joined the Islamic State in 2014, and, posing as a refugee in 2015, he clandestinely entered Greece and headed to the radical Muslim enclave, Molenbeek, in Brussels. He was later arrested for his involvement in both the November 2015 Paris terrorist attacks and the March 2016 Brussels terrorist attacks that killed 162 civilians[1934].

Two important factors seem to be overlooked regarding militant Islamism in Europe: criminality and revenge. According to historian and Arabist Pieter Van Ostaeyen

> the allure of criminals for ISIS is significant. They have useful connections to weapons, money laundering, fake IDs, safe houses. And, crucially, they aren't as hard to convince to engage in violence.

He further states that the Brussels suicide bombers, Ibrahim and Khalid El Bakraoui

> weren't known as radicals. They were known as hardened criminals. The police were using two lists. The list of people you should be looking for because they are known for radical Islam, and the other list, people known for violent crimes. But they didn't cross-reference them. Nobody actually had any idea that they had to look on the other list[1935].

[1931] Archick, et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 9, 39, 44; Archick, *U.S.-EU Cooperation Against Terrorism*.
[1932] As doctors, lawyers, and engineers for example, see: *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, "Belgian vice PM acknowledges street celebrations following Brussels attacks"; Bethune, "Why do so many jihadis have engineering degrees?"
[1933] Archick, et al., *Muslims in Europe*, 9.
[1934] Lane, "Alleged Brussels Terrorist Was Star"; Dearden, "Osama Krayem."
[1935] Arsenault and Gagnon, "Why ISIS wants a 'clash of civilizations'."

Ostaeyen also thinks that what Muslim terrorists want in Europe is “Revenge for what ISIS claims the West has done to Iraq and Syria. And the more ground ISIS loses there, the more the group lusts for bloodshed in Europe”. And pessimistically, he states that “Even if we take out the Islamic State as a territory, I don't think we will take out the Islamic State as an idea. That is going to be something we are facing for the next few years, maybe even decades”[1936]. But how does this affect Europe and Europeans?

Europe has in the past, does so in the present, and presumably will continue to in the future, participate in war against Muslim countries while practicing immigration from these countries. Put another way, American-European neoliberal foreign policies and neoconservative military interventions in Muslim countries occur simultaneously with a European program of hosting large Muslim enclaves, as well as rapid and large-scale legal immigration, illegal migration, and refugee quotas from these very same regions (as well as other Muslim countries). Those who have sympathies with Islamic anti-Westernism, anti-globalism, and anti-Europeanism (as well as criminals, who are often recruited to Islamism) and want revenge upon Europe, well they either exist in Europe already or they are currently on their way, using the ‘migrant crisis’ to enter Europe. Their numbers have swelled, their networks enriched, and their damage more severe and rapid, as can be seen in the increase of Islamist terrorist acts and threats[1937]. It seems counter-productive therefore, for the security of Europe, to make war upon and destabilise the same nations they import and receive large amounts of people from (migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees) and to make war on a political religion (Islamism) that has many millions of sympathisers. A problem far exasperated by sympathisers who have immigrated and settled in large communities

[1936] Ibid.
[1937] See: Frontex, *Risk Analysis for 2016*.

throughout Europe, who continue to have strong transnational ties to their homelands, and who perceive the 'war on terrorism' as a war on Islam. European nations must remove their military forces from the Muslim world and the rate and depth of mass-migration from the Muslim world into Europe should be stopped. Political Islam and its aims should be officially recognised and acknowledged for what it is. Politically correct democratic ideals, civil liberty protections, and human rights concerns that constrain exclusion, deportation, and repatriation, caps on immigration, and other sovereign decisions regarding Muslim immigrants and immigrants in general in European nations should be overturned. The EU should do more to manage and secure its external borders, reduce incentives of migrants to enter Europe illegally, and most importantly, protect the safety, security, and longevity of ethnic European peoples.

Part V

Critical Views

14. An Analysis and Critique of Three Neoconservative Views

Historian Bat Ye'or has written several books critical of Muslim immigration in Europe and the developments leading up to this phenomenon, which include her widely-read *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (2005/2011). In *Eurabia* Ye'or presents the Eurabia thesis, which essentially means the Arabisation and Islamisation of Europe. Ye'or demonstrates that the Euro-Arab Dialogue (1974), which is discussed in chapter 3.2 in this dissertation, has not just been based on economic partnerships, but has also extended into other spheres, such as the merging of culture and society. She explains that the Arabs utilised the EAD not just for "economic and industrial parity with the West" but also as a way to extend Islam into Europe. While Europe expanded its markets and transferred its technology to the Arab world and received a guarantee of oil supplies, it itself received Arab manpower through large-scale immigration from Muslim countries, immigrants who were perceived as "builders of the future Euro-Arab alliance: 'Eurabia'". Ever since the first GC meeting in Luxembourg (1976) "every EAD meeting passed resolutions in support of Arab immigration, labor, and employment in Europe". This EAD plan for the "implantation of homogenous ethnic communities" into Europe, which resulted in the rapid growth of Muslim communities, necessitated the need for addressing the living and working conditions of these Muslim immigrants[1938].

[1938] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 75, 253, 94. Also see Mansur, "Meet Marc Lebuis: Canadian Takes on the Islamists."

The 1978 Damascus Declaration pronounced immigration policies that gave immigrants the right to retain their cultural traditions and not integrate into the secular European culture of their host nation and further policies, such as through the Hamburg Symposium (1983), have given immigrants the opportunity to "enjoy all the political, cultural, social, and religious rights of the host country". What this has meant is that with the support of the European elites and the legal system millions of Muslims have immigrated to Europe with no intention of integrating into the host culture and society; they have brought their cultural norms and habits with them, have rejected the secular liberal culture of Europe in favour of their own, and have utilised the legal system to protect their interests, all of which has created a volatile situation of social fragmentation and separatism within Europe and has radically transformed European civilization. Ye'or explains that European Muslims have called for the "partial incorporation of *shari'a* into European civil law in matters concerning marriage, family, and education" and that, in England Islamic Sharia Councils "apply Islamic law and issue *fatwas* and verdicts," such that "a parallel unofficial Islamic legal system" has been created[1939].

On top of these developments, Ye'or points out that European host populations have been required to "satisfy" and adapt to the "religious, cultural, and social requirements" of the large volumes of Muslim immigrants. The Eurabian Eurocrats have actively promoted their "sociopolitical directives" throughout all European institutions via the news agencies, media, universities, schools, cultural centers, and public figures, including the whitewashing of Islamism (such as its divorce from terrorism, jihad, and geopolitical goals), the propagation of Islamic culture, the spread of religious influences of Islamism, and the support of the "Arab perspective" regarding Islam and the Islamic world. These Eurabian orders have been "wholeheartedly embraced, applied and monitored by European leaders, intellectuals, and

[1939] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 164, 93, 95, 97, 75, 106.

activists". This conditioning of European minds, this indoctrination of indigenous Europeans to accept the social and political goals and ideologies of the EAD by what Ye'or calls "a gigantic machinery" created by the EU, has been grounded in idealistic notions about respect between cultures and religions and the enrichment of human knowledge through cultural diversity. In addition, it has involved pernicious concepts, ideologies and processes such as "the Andalusia utopia", "Islamic cultural superiority", the "Western Palestinian cult", "European self-guilt", "anti-Zionism", "anti-Semitism", "anti-Americanism", and "Christianophobia". What has been created from such idealism and subversive ideologies over the last four decades in Europe has been what Ye'or calls "the mutation of European civilization" or "a hybrid culture: Eurabia"[1940].

Ye'or provides ample documentation of the enforcement of EAD policies on the European population, as "planned and ordered at the top of Europe's political, cultural, and economic establishment" and committed through "various legal, cultural and political frameworks", such as the Damascus and Barcelona Declarations, the Hamburg Symposium (1983), and through MEDEA, the EMP, and the Anna Lindh Foundation (2004). Although all EU heads of state have endorsed these Euro-Arab policies, which "express Eurocrats' disdain for their own citizens", the European masses have remained unaware that such agreements and Eurabian imposed procedures have been made and have been and continue to be responsible for the "growing social insecurity", "the erosion of ... basic freedoms" and "the unrelenting mutation of [European] societies". According to Ye'or, not only have Europeans been "betrayed and misled by their own leaders", through the political, educational, and media systems as well as through cultural activities, the ideologies of cultural relativism and 'political correctness' have also been imposed upon the indigenous population. Since the 1980s anti-immigration sentiments arising from European natives has been consistently labeled as xenophobic, right

[1940] Ibid, 93-94, 103, 134, 252, 77, 92, 77, 239, 131, 134, 161, 102.

wing extremist, racist, Arabophobic, Islamophobic, and associated with Nazi anti-Semitism by "universities, books, and the media" as well as by politicians and other influential public figures, such as "the EAD's agents and executives"[1941].

Ye'or makes the case that the Eurabian influenced educational and media institutions have also distorted the history of European civilization in line with the social and political goals of the EAD. It is claimed that the Greek scientific heritage of Europe was transmitted to Europeans from the Arab-Muslim world, which implies that Islam "is the only relevant ancestor of modern European civilization" (although the main ones are Greek, Roman, and Judeo-Christianity, with many other lesser progenitors, such as European pagan and tribal heritages). This view of history ignores the fact that Greek civilization was taught in the Byzantine Empire and in Italy and when Jihad arrived in the 11th century these eastern European scholars fled to Western Europe where they then transmitted their knowledge in Latin. The false portrayal of European history is prevalent in European textbooks. Since 1981 Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, founder of the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), has challenged Western philosophy and education, perceiving them as contrary to Islam. He and IIIT have stressed the 'reIslamization' of science and the *Islamization of Knowledge* so to "fill the vacuum created when Western civilization will finally collapse". In addition, all those Europeans who have "functional relations with the immigrants" such as "civil servants, medical staff, members of the police force, social workers, and others" have been required to undergo "special training and educational courses" that sensitize them to the requirements and sensibilities of Muslim immigrants[1942].

In the early 2000s, when the EU was on the brink of enlargement by the admission of ten Eastern European countries (2004), the Arabs states of the Mediterranean were concerned

[1941] Ibid, 129, 243, 134, 143, 129, 143, 103, 252.
[1942] Ibid, 143, 254, 97.

that such enlargement would affect them financially as well as affect their being "Europe's privileged source of immigration". Already the Arabs, according to Ye'or, had "frequently complained about European restrictions on immigration" and they had called for "special privileges" for Arab immigrants, including equal work opportunities, and demanded that the host countries "provide immigrants with vocational training, freedom of movement, suitable living conditions, and financial aid should they decide to return to their homeland"[1943]. In response to the Arab fears, the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission (EuroMeSCo) released a study that stressed that over the next few decades the main sources of immigration into the EU would be "primarily from Turkey, a candidate member, the countries to the east of Central and Eastern Europe, which are not candidates, and, above all, the Mediterranean Arab countries". This study makes clear that Eastern and Central European countries "will not be serious competitors to Mediterranean countries"[1944]. Furthermore the report mentioned that out of the 15 EU states at the time, nine of them aimed to "restrict Eastern European citizens' access to jobs in their countries" so to fulfill obligations toward the Southern Arab countries and it "predicted optimistically" that Arab Muslims along with the Muslim populations of Bulgaria, the Balkans, and Turkey, and the Turkish Muslim populations in Germany and Austria, would contribute to the "diversification of European Islam"[1945].

It is obvious to Ye'or that with the EAD and its further developments "identities are to be destroyed in order to dissolve diversity into a uniform anonymous humanity....differences are submerged into a collective Us". Yet the first process of this engineering of collectivity is the erasure of the differences of Europeans from Muslims by the promotion in Europe of the Muslim cultural, political, and religious identity over and above that of the Europeans. Ye'or

[1943] Ibid, 140, 137.
[1944] As cited in ibid, 140-141.
[1945] Ibid, 233-234.

writes that the Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue of Cultures (the Anna Lindh Foundation, 2004) "seems to be designed to condition the minds of Europeans and mold them according to guidelines imposed by the Euro-Arab network" and aimed:

> to retain exclusive and totalitarian control on everything written and taught about the Mediterranean area in EU schools and universities. The report outlines a program to control the intellectual life, thoughts and activities of the whole Partnership area through guidelines given to the press, the schools, the universities and NGOS; through the arts, films, publications, and political pressure; and through the expurgation of history, reworking of school syllabi and other means – all in order to create a new mankind according to the Dialogue's standards 'in the spirit of and in support of the EU's neighbourhood policy'.

One year prior to the establishment of this Foundation, the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) held a seminar in Toledo on the *Enlargement of Minds* that addressed "the issue of the cultural consequences of the enlargement of the European Union". Within this seminar, another project, "Beyond Enlargement" aimed at the creation of

> a place for debate on the impact on the Arab-Muslim countries of Europe's enlargement, and to strengthen cultural cooperation with them through new tools, schemes and possible partnerships involving cultural organizations (EU, national governments, NGOs, and foundations)[1946].

The foreign culture of Islam has enormous prestige in Europe and the West and is being imposed upon indigenous populations against their will. Any criticism of Islamic history, Islamic doctrine, large-scale Muslim immigration and the demographic colonization of Europe is prohibited. The Euro-Arab policies and enforced political correctness reveal that Eurocrats are blind to the facts that contradict their doctrines, facts that arise from the European masses and from the Muslim world. But Eurocrats are not alone in their supposed ignorance. Ye'or claims that church leaders promote open borders, anti-chauvinistic nationalism, the merger of the North, South, and East Mediterranean countries, Muslim mass-immigration, and full political rights of immigrants, in an effort to promote human rights for all peoples of the world,

[1946] Ibid, 235-238.

especially for the "indigenous Christian communities in Muslim countries". However, this effort has not been successful; the rights of Muslim immigrants in the West are incomparable to the rights of European immigrants and indigenous non-Muslim populations in Muslim majority countries. Ye'or points out that "economic equality and legal representation" (rights) of European migrants and non-Muslim indigenous minorities does not occur in Arab countries. In addition, mass-immigration from Europe into Muslim countries on the same scale conducted by Muslim countries into Europe does not happen and "would never be tolerated"[1947].

The Barcelona Declaration ideals and the epitomes of the European Leftists, whether clerics, educators, or politicians, are not practiced by the Arab League states. The EU has claimed "that it promotes democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and fundamental freedoms with the Arab countries through the Barcelona Process" but "none of these goals has been attained in the African, Middle East, and Asian dictatorships". Although the EAD is "a political dialogue based on observance of essential principles of international law...in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as well as other obligations under international law", the 1990 Cairo Declaration of Human Rights (CDHR) supersedes the UDHR for the Muslim countries (and Arab League), conforming to Sharia rather than human law. What this means is that the persecution of indigenous minorities that has and continues to occur in Muslim majority countries is considered justified under the CDHR and is whitewashed by the European media, government officials, and educational institutions. Leftist Eurocrats attribute the sources of Islamist rage and terrorism to "circumstantial situations like 'poverty,' 'underdevelopment,' 'humiliation,' or

[1947] Ibid, 219, 94, 237. European mass-immigration into Middle Eastern Muslim countries is not necessary; Muslim immigrants are considered as surplus population, manpower that Europe 'requires' whereas no such surplus population exists in Europe.

'frustration' – for which the West and Israel bore responsibility". Here the aggressor is transformed into the victim[1948].

While Eurabians denounce "the Crusades, the Inquisition, imperialism, and European colonialism" and suggest that Europe owes "a moral debt to the Arab Palestinians and to the Muslim world", there is no acknowledgment of the 'moral debt' owed to Christian Europe for the historical jihad expansionism of Islam. Furthermore, European taxpayers have unwittingly contributed "billions to Arab regimes to provide them with services and to improve their economy and skills" yet this financial support has not generated gratitude, allayed Muslim anti-Western hostility, or stimulated Muslim reciprocity[1949].

14.1 Bat Ye'or

The Eurabia thesis is grounded in an extensive amount of evidence and exposes the pernicious influences of Islamism, multiculturalism, and Left wing ideologies in the EU. Ye'or provides a persuasive critique of the growth of Muslim communities and the promotion of Islam in European nations and the denunciation, by EU bureaucrats and intellectual elites, of the concerns of European peoples about such developments. However, there are several aspects of her argument that are problematic. What follows is a critical examination and refutation of some of the main themes presented in *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (2005/2011).

14.1.1 Franco-German Reconciliation, European Integration, Euro-Mediterranean Union, and Anti-American Strategy

Ye'or claims that after losing its colonial empire from the onset of decolonization (late 1940s) and Algerian independence (1962), France under Charles de Gaulle (and others, such as Jacques Chirac), sought to regain influence by leading the unification of Europe and by initiating

[1948] Ibid, 246, 244, 106, 199.
[1949] Ibid, 187, 226, 202.

cooperative economic partnerships with the Arab and African Muslim worlds. She claims that "de Gaulle's greatest ambition" was the unification of Europe. This union rested upon the restoration of good relations between France and West Germany and these two countries collaborated together to undertake a long-term geopolitical plan that sought the integration of the Euro-Arab Mediterranean countries into "a single interdependent economic bloc" which would act as "an international counterweight to America"[1950].

None of these ideas that Ye'or originates in France and Germany were new or confined to these countries. As detailed in this work, the integration of Europe became popular in the 19th century on both sides of the Atlantic and reached a high pitch in the interwar and initial post-WWII era in the 20th century among many leading politicians and public figures in Europe, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America. The notion of European alignment with the Mediterranean countries to the south (and east) as an integrated geopolitical bloc to counter America was an idea that was first disseminated by the Austrian geo-politician and activist, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, in the form of Eurafrica and Pan-Europa and was supported by a wide-range of leading European and American elites from the 1920s onwards. European integration and Euro-Mediterranean alignment were part of a long term socialist vision of a world federation of humanity, whereby the world, in an effort to maintain the balance of powers and attain perpetual peace, would be divided into five political blocs that would be lawfully ordered on a global scale.

The reconciliation of France and Germany was a first step towards European integration and Euro-Mediterranean political-economic bloc formation and was an attempt to create a disarmed and peaceful Europe, an idea that did not originate in post-WWII France but instead came out of the pre-WWI Atlantic peace movements and the interwar Pan-European

[1950] Ibid, 41, 39-40.

movement. Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, and Gustav Stresemann, the Germany foreign minister, were both greatly influenced by the ideas of Kalergi and in 1926 they were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts at Franco-German reconciliation. This reconciliation was further cemented by the alignment of West Germany and France in the extraction and production of coal and steel, as declared by the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 (Treaty of Paris) led by Jean Monnet. The ECSC was not confined to France and Germany; the Benelux countries and Italy also signed and belonged to this Community. The Friendship Treaty (Elysee Treaty), a peaceful cooperation between Germany and France that has lasted ever since its inception in 1963, embodies Kalergi's ideas of Franco-German reconciliation and initial European integration[1951].

In sum, in her analysis, Ye'or neglects the long history of notions of European unification with the Mediterranean areas and the ideas of a world federation based on five major world political blocs and the balance of powers, as well as the historical notions of peace, disarmament, anti-nationalism, and cosmopolitanism, all of which came before the Leftism of the 1960s, have not been confined to France and Germany, were endorsed by America, and have been central to European unification and to the various Euro-Mediterranean partnerships.

14.1.2 Oil Embargo Not a Threat but a Pretext for European Plan of Political Reversal

Ye'or surmises that the Arabs used the 1973 oil embargo as a weapon to gain leverage over international foreign affairs regarding the Middle East conflict, and it was Europe, particularly France and Germany, that "panicked" and succumbed to the oil threat by endorsing the Arab perspective "against Israel" in exchange for guaranteed oil supplies and access to Arab markets.

[1951] Rompuy, "Acceptance speech on the occasion of the Award of the European Prize Coudenhove-Kalergi 2012: 'Peace and the European idea'."

She claims that America knew that the oil threat was empty as the Arabs "would have been powerless without Western technology" and without oil and natural gas revenues, and the Americans "proved", through their policies, that this interdependent relationship between the Western and Arab Worlds meant that "there never was an oil threat". Yet regardless of the supposed emptiness of this oil threat, the EEC of Europe, motivated by "fear...greed and misplaced ambition", forged cooperative Euro-Arab partnerships, such as the EAD, on matters of energy supplies, cultural and political issues, and markets and trade, which involved "astronomical sums" and "big business". Ye'or claims that because "there never was an oil threat" and because Europe did not use its "political leverage" to remain 'politically autonomous' but instead established the EAD and other cooperative measures with the Arab world involving political issues at domestic and international levels, the oil embargo was really "just a pretext for a political reversal already planned by France and Germany". This Franco-German "planned reversal" was the integration of Europe through common political and economic strategies toward core issues such as foreign policy in the Middle East, and a Euro-Arab integration that aimed towards the creation of a geopolitical bloc that would rival America[1952].

As already mentioned, the integration of Europe as a geopolitical bloc that also utilised the Mediterranean countries in an effort to counter America was not new or confined to a Franco-German collusion. Although the oil embargo of 1973 was a new factor that prompted the increased need for a common European foreign policy in the Middle East, particularly regarding the peace process, this foreign policy had already been in development since at least the time of Kalergi, and especially since the Suez crisis, when the Arabs began to explicitly

[1952] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 48, 47-48, 243, 101, 230, 162, 101, 201, 243, 225, 39-40

reveal their ideological aspirations (Islamism) and geopolitical powers (via oil and pan-Islamic nationalisms) and threaten Europe's interests in the region.

Although Ye'or attempts to convince the reader that the oil embargo was an 'empty threat', which may have been applicable to America as it had its own oil supplies, this is just not true for Europe. Europe was dependent on a large amount of its oil supplies from the Arab oil-producing countries and the biggest port in Europe, Rotterdam, was 100 percent embargoed, which affected all the European nations, including Britain, whom was not embargoed at all. The effects of rising oil prices per barrel and the reduction by 25 percent of oil supplies to Europe resulted in massive inflation and unemployment, hardly facts that render the threat of the embargo 'empty'. How would have America (and Israel?) secured or guaranteed a vital energy resource for European industry if Europe had not established a dialogue with the Arab League and continued to be at the mercy of the oil embargo? How would they have prevented Arab hostility towards Europe? Why does Ye'or not mention the Soviet threat and what role this played in the European 'appeasement' of the Arabs and the development of the Dialogue?

One of the main reasons why the ECC entered into the Dialogue with the Arab League states was to avert the possibility of another embargo in the future and secure long-term guarantees of oil from the oil-producing countries in the Arab world. In fact, just recently a meeting of pro-Israel American neoconservatives aired on Horowitz Freedom Center TV reveals that America depends on Middle Eastern oil, and even admits that America relies on terroristic Islamic groups such as ISIS for the continued existence of the American military[1953]. What is important here, is that by denying the reliance of Europe and America on Middle Eastern oil, Ye'or can then gain credibility for her accusations against Europe - that the Europeans began

[1953] "Pro-Israel American Conservative: Thank God for ISIS...US Will be in Middle East Forever," YouTube video (Horowitz Freedom Center TV).

the Dialogue and continue it with the Arabs because they are first and foremost anti-Semitic, want to destroy Israel, and want to counter America as a large political bloc. Such accusations are unfounded. European elites have in no way fully endorsed the Arab perspective on Israel. While they have said they recognise Palestinian rights and nationhood, a people's sense of identity and rights, a move that was to placate Arab hostility and has not been enforced, they have not been opposed or sought the destruction of Israel as a nation state (not anti-Zionist) or the Jews and Israelis as a people (not anti-Semitic); rather, they have requested that Israel withdraw from former Arab lands that were taken by force by Israel in 1967 and to go back to the armistice lines of 1949.

14.1.3 Politics and Policy on Israel and a Nazi-Jihadi Alliance

According to Ye'or, the Franco-German project of a Euro-Mediterranean integration has roots in ideas advocated by Adolf Hitler, as represented in his 1941 vision: "the common interests of a unified Europe within an economic zone completed by the African colonies"[1954]. She argues that this vision of a socialist economic integration has otherwise manifested in the Euro-Arab Dialogue of 1974 and the successive developments towards Euro-Mediterranean union that have come after, which she considers anti-Zionist. She claims that a Nazi-Jihadi fascist alliance between Europe and the Arab countries, a "Euro-Arab Nazism" in the form of Palestinianism[1955], constitutes the EAD partnership and characterizes the construction of Eurabia. She explains that through the EAD the European heads of state developed, for the first time, a common European foreign policy that was aligned with the Arab League's policy on Israel. Although this shared policy was a strategy to gain European unity and was an effort to

[1954] Adolf Hitler as cited in ibid, 148.
[1955] Palestinians are transformed into victims and Israelis into Nazis; put simply, it is 'Palestinian victimology'. See chapter 14 in Ye'or, *Eurabia* for further definition.

appease the Arabs' conditions for dialogue and economic partnership, it also involved a "political commitment", a "common political will" of "collective hostility" toward Israel according to Ye'or, which was revealed through EAD Declarations, joint Memorandums, and representative statements (Brussels (1973), Cairo (1975), Hamburg Symposium (1983), and Barcelona (1995) among others). Ye'or thinks that because the EAD recognised the rights and national identity of Palestinians and urged the withdrawal of Israel from the 'occupied territories' post-1949, it has effectively endorsed the PLO's "ideology, strategy, propaganda, and phraseology" and sought the "delegitimization" of Israel[1956].

Ye'or claims Europe delegitimizes "Israel's sovereignty over the Old City of Jerusalem", which was captured in 1949 and further in 1967, because of "theological Judeophobia and subservience to Islamic threats". This 'delegitimization' of Israel by the EEC has involved a "hidden war against Israel" in the form of Palestinian Liberation Theology and Replacement Theology, socialist developments arising from Latin American Christianity, Third Worldism, and Islamic supremacism, and from "European pro-Palestinian lobbies" that have sought "to create a Euro-Arab population that would fight in Europe for Arab causes against Zionism". She thinks this supposed Nazi-Jihadi Euro-Arab alliance is the re-emergence of the same alliance of the 1930s era and poses an existential threat to Israel: "As Judaism was the target of Nazi ideology, so Israel's very existence is a central target of Euro-Arab policy" and claims that "anti-Zionist dogma" linking "Zionism with racism" has been spread far and wide by EAD inspired "radio, television, the press and the UN educational publications". She also thinks that Europe is to blame for internationalising the Arab-Israeli conflict by its public support of the Arab position and its more radical of leaders, Arafat and the PLO, and accuses Europe of using the conflict "as

[1956] Ibid, 181, 184, 225-226, 52, 89, 56, 86, 73.

a tool against America to strengthen EU influence and interests in the Islamic world, while working for the disintegration of Israel"[1957].

The EAD and the EU, however, have not aimed at the destruction of Israel or the elimination of her people but rather have requested Israel withdraw to 1949 armistice lines. The drive towards European unification and its use and development of Euro-Mediterranean partnerships have been in development since the late 19th and early 20th centuries and have been endorsed by leading figures in both Europe and America. In addition, in contrast to Ye'or's claims that France was a leading mastermind in the creation of Eurabia, certain French governments have attempted to stop labour immigration and family reunification over the years, through various laws and acts, such as the Chirac and Barre governments, the first Pasqa Law (1986), the Second Pasqa Law (1994), the Debre Law, and so on[1958].

For Ye'or to claim that Hitler and National Socialism is connected in a vital way to Euro-Mediterranean unification and therefore the destruction of Europe from massive Muslim immigration and subsequent colonisation, is to entirely miss the significant role and lasting impact Kalergi has had on this engineering project. The socialism of Hitler was ethnic and national, whereas the socialism of Kalergi cosmopolitan and international. The Palestinian Third-World socialism of Eurabia is the socialism of Kalergi, the Frankfurt School, cultural Marxism, and Fabianism. It is a socialism of anti-nationalism and open borders, Leftist agendas and policies that do not bode well for both the European indigenous peoples and Israelis alike, for they aim to destroy ethnic nationalism, meaning the loss of national and ethnic sovereignty and identity. It was Kalergi-Fabian-Frankfurt School socialism that gave rise to the EAD, not the National Socialism of Hitler. Although both Hitler and Kalergi did not intend for Third World

[1957] Ibid, 115, 23, 59, 180, 46-47, 42, 156, 87, 113
[1958] Kofman, Rogoz, and Lévy, *Family Migration Policies in France*, 4-6.

immigration into Europe, it was Kalergi who advocated the settlement, exploitation, and Europeanization of Africa (and the Arab world if necessary) while also imagining a mixed European race of the future, a "Euro-Asian Negroid" that would be spiritually overseen by a Jewish elite. He wrote in *Practical Idealism* that Jews are the predestined spiritual leader race of Europe and the world: "Instead of destroying Judaism, Europe, through an artificial selection process and without having the intention, ennobled it and educated it to be the leading nation of the future" and that "this people... became Europe's spiritual aristocracy.... a new aristocratic race by God's [the Spirit's] grace just at the time when the feudal nobility fell into decay"[1959].

14.1.4 Palestinianism, Third Worldism, and the Andalusian Myth

Ye'or claims Islamists believe Biblical figures are Muslim prophets (Abraham, Jesus), that Islam preceded Judaism and Christianity, and that Jerusalem has always been Islamic. Through the Palestinian Liberation Theology, the "biblical identity" and "patrimony" of Israel is delegitimated and severs Christianity from its Judaic roots. In this way, Judaism and Christianity came out of Islam, and thus the Abrahamic civilization is Islamic, which means that Europe is Islamic at its roots. This "Islamization of the Jewish sources of Christianity" is an effort to align Christianity with the Islamic "struggle against Israel". Ye'or claims a "vehicle of Palestinianism", of "Palestinian victimology" has been Third World ideology that developed in Europe during the 1970s and 80s via "church institutions, the media, and Eurabian networks". She claims Palestinian Liberation Theology, the Muslim-Christian dialogue, counters the Jewish-Christian

[1959] Kalergi, *Practical Idealism*, 50. Translation by Landgraf. To note, this citation is taken from Chapter 10, titled 'Judentum und Zukunftsadel' or 'Judaism and Future Nobility'. Original German text: "Statt das Judentum zu vernichten, hat es Europa wider Willen durch jenen künstlichen Ausleseprozeß veredelt und zu einer Führernation der Zukunft erzogen. Kein Wunder also, daß dieses Volk, dem Ghetto-Kerker entsprungen, sich zu einem geistigen Adel Europas entwickelt. So hat eine gütige Vorsehung Europa in dem Augenblick, als der Feudaladel verfiel, durch die Judenemanzipation eine neue Adelsrasse von Geistes Gnaden geschenkt."

rapprochement of Vatican II (1960s) and harnesses the same currents, the "traditional anti-Semitism", that led Theodore Herzl to found Zionism and which also "led to the *shoah*". She argues that Palestinian Liberation Theology renders both Judaism and Christianity subservient to Islam, i.e. dhimmitude, and aims to give legitimacy to the Islamist claims over the Holy Land and Al Quds/Jerusalem as well as the Christian lands of Europe.

Ye'or explains that dhimmitude denies difference of the 'Other', the other people of the Book, their roots and historical belonging, which makes them mere "amnesic collections of individuals" whom are vulnerable to "manipulation". She claims that unlike Americans, Europeans are not "proud" of their "Judeo-Christian values" and Islamophile Europeans, who indict the Bible because they hate Israel – "Christian Judeophobia" – and deny the Jewish-Christian relationship – the Judaic roots of Christianity – are merely dhimmi "Eurabians" who have opened the door to the Islamization of Christianity. Ye'or also suggests that another vehicle for Palestinianism are the apologists for Islam, dhimmis who make the case for the historical legitimacy of Islam in Europe and who have bestowed Muslims with a "privileged status as sources of immigration". These apologists have also promoted the utopian Andalusian myth as the model of European integration, an idyllic "coexistence" that has led to a "multicultural Eurabia", although Andalusia was in fact characterised by "cruelty, war, and slavery" against Jews and Christians[1960].

Islamophiles, apologists, and dhimmis who argue that Islam is integral and vital to the history of Europe and that Andalusia is a model to be emulated do indeed exist among the Eurocrats and Leftists, and their arguments can be refuted. However, although pro-Islamists may assert an Islamic-Christian relationship and although one can also posit the centrality of Judaism to the origin of Christianity, this does not mean that either Judaism or Islamism are on

[1960] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 113, 177, 215, 152, 176, 186, 177, 180, 194, 207, 223, 207, 194, 214, 163, 167, 166.

equal par with Christianity regarding the foundation and development of European civilization. Many other non-Judaic and non-Christian elemental factors have simultaneously played much more integral roles to such bases and processes than Judaism and Islamism, such as the Greco-Roman traditions, paganism, the Enlightenment, and the development of the sciences[1961]. This is not to say that the claims by Islamists and Islamophiles are correct regarding their influential role in European civilization.

Denying the Judaic roots of Christianity does not necessarily open up Christianity to Islamization and there are many who deny the importance of these roots and they are not dhimmis. What is more important in this context is the contribution of anti-nationalist socialism and Frankfurt School cultural Marxism towards the negation of the Christian religion and the ethnic identity of Europeans, a situation that has led to a hyper-individualised materialistic Europe that has a weak ethnic identity, no traditional codes of morality, and a lack of defining judgment of the Other. Due to this lack of such important unifying bases of society and identity along with the rapid growth of Muslim enclaves and Islamist ideology, Europe may now be susceptible to Islamization.

Although some Islamists may claim that Islam is the fount of both Judaism and Christianity in an effort to delegitimize Israel and conquer both Israel and Christian lands, most people probably recognise the errors of this argument. However, due to the promotion of secularism and cultural Marxism in Europe and the negation of Biblical creeds and dogma, what lies at stake for Israel is its claim upon Jerusalem and the territory of Israel according to 'Biblical identity'. If people no longer believe in Christianity or the stories of the Bible how can they support the Jews' claim over Israel and Jerusalem if it is based on Biblical history?

[1961] See: Kevin MacDonald, "Going Against the Tide: Ricardo Duchesne's Intellectual Defense of the West."

Ye'or suggests that Europe embrace its religious identity, its Christianity, and, in particular, its Judeo-Christian roots. Yet she neglects to mention the identity of Europeans beyond the religious dimension: language, culture, and racial descent. European nations have traditionally stood for more than just religious identity; European ethnic groups have been homogeneous for millennia and ethnic unity has been an essential feature of the nation and the nation-state. To be a nation, in part, is to be a distinct people, with an identity based in history, culture, race, and a set of values and standards, which are hinged upon a particular set of principles that have developed with that nation's intellectual culture and heritage[1962].

Ye'or barely gives a glance to the fate of the ethnic identity of European peoples from massive and rapid immigration and demographic colonisation from the Third World (Muslim and non-Muslim). She presents an ideological argument regarding Muslim immigrants in Europe – religious and geopolitical – and prefers the secular liberal democracy based on so-called Judeo-Christian values of the new Europe to the ethnonationalist Old Europe and the myriad of non-Judeo-Christian customs, traditions, and norms. Ye'or seems to be fine with large-scale immigration if immigrants integrate into the secular liberal democratic structure of Europe. Her argument is not about the ethnicity, the homelands, or the roots of Europeans, which, since the 1960s, are being eroded and replaced by Muslim and non-Muslim non-European peoples and traditions, and the ideals of Leftist Eurocrats.

14.1.5 European Eurabian Elites

Ye'or accuses the European elites (whom she calls Eurocrats or *Eurabians*: socialists, Leftists, neo-Nazis, and fascists) of being responsible for the "mutation" of Europe into an anti-Zionist *Eurabia* via the EAD, large-scale Muslim immigration, and the policies of multiculturalism, and

[1962] See: Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*..

asserts they have also aided Jihadi terrorism (PLO etc.) against the West and Israel. She claims these Eurabian elites have harboured Islamists and have allowed jihadist anti-Semitism to enter Europe, which has "rekindled latent Nazi and fascist vitriol in concoction of Eurabian culture". She argues that the Eurabians have denied the reality of Islamic terrorism by 'brushing aside' the religious justifications given by Islamic terrorists and by placing blame on "scapegoats" instead (Israel and America). She makes the case that Israel is not to blame for Jihadi terrorism, for the existence of Israel does not play a role in conflicts in other parts of the world that involve Muslims and local populations, such as "the Chechen, Kosovo, Macedonian, Kurdish, Iraqi, Sudanese, Nigerian, Algerian, Kashmir, Indonesian, Philippines, and Thai conflicts"; rather, it is the concepts of jihad and sharia and the drive toward world conquest contained within Islam that are the cause of Muslim terrorism. She thinks the European denial of Islamist terrorism and the deflection of blame onto Israel and America reveal a "subordinate collaboration, if not surrender" to Islam, collaboration in the sense of "appeasement and collusion with international terrorism" so to become a "strategic rival to America" but is "implicitly abetting a worldwide subversion of Western values and freedoms". She also accuses these European elites of paying dhimmi "tribute" to the Muslims for their spending of "billions...to purchase immunity" from Muslim terrorist attacks[1963].

These actions of the Eurabians, undertaken in an effort to secure 'peace' and 'dialogue' with the Muslim world and encompassed by the Proximity Policy[1964], are, according to Ye'or, rather "cowardly" and "impotent" acts that reveal the European status of dhimmitude[1965]. She thinks attempts at peace and dialogue, such as the historical revisionism of British Foreign

[1963] Ibid, 73, 102, 129, 205, 157, 227, 159, 185, 184, 77, 158, 111, 227, 77, 109, 227.
[1964] Proximity Policy is defined by Romano Prodi, October 13 2003: "To build security with our neighbours – not by building walls or installing missile shields, but through trade, exchange and dialogue". This "creates the conditions for cooperation and understanding. This is what we call 'soft security'". As cited in Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 230-231.
[1965] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 242.

Secretary Robin Cook who claimed in 1998 that "Islam laid the intellectual foundations for large portions of Western civilization"[1966], is "crawling behaviour". For Ye'or such behaviour is a sign that Europe is in "fear of conflict" and has surrendered to the "political agenda" of Islam. She claims that MEDEA mentioned "the principle land for peace," which is "the foundation of the Islamic *jihad*-dhimmitude system" and that through jihad Islam expanded into non-Muslim lands and Islamic protection (*dhimma*) was given to the subjugated by way of their surrender of land[1967]. She also claims European Leftists, Third Worldists[1968], "Arabophiles", Communists, and neo-Nazis have a "deeply ingrained" anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism and that the constant airing of European anti-American propaganda is merely based on a false "sense of moral superiority"[1969] i.e. Europeans prefer peace and dialogue over conflict and war.

Yet, it is not logical ideologically for fascists/Nazis who adhere to a national socialism based on ethno nationalism, to align with Leftist socialists, who are internationalists and cosmopolitans, and then together promote Muslim communities, immigrants, and immigration, and collaborate with Muslims in a collective hostility towards Israel with the aim of essentially destroying it and together create a geopolitical rivalry against America. It is more logical to say rather that globalists/neoconservatives have aligned with Leftists to ethnically transform Europe, a project that is based on socialistic ideations of a future world federation of states and humanity, a global system based on Western notions of perpetual peace and regulated by standardised economics, politics, and culture and the creation of a new humankind, an abstract economic man that has no firm attachments to the roots of his particular ethnic, national, and traditional identity. Muslim (and non-Muslim) immigration into Europe from Africa, Asia, and

[1966] Cook as cited in ibid, 172.
[1967] Ibid, 173, 242, 77, 104.
[1968] Third Worldism is a solidarity movement that arose in the 1970s among "clergymen, intellectuals, and politicians in favour of massive Muslim immigration to European countries"; ibid, 47.
[1969] Ibid, 227, 75, 242.

the Arab world, besides being the product of the EAD and other Euro-Arab partnerships, is a tool used by the Neocon-Leftist alliance to diminish the strength of European ethnic identity in order to achieve steps towards their ideal of World Federation in perpetual peace. Eurabia is merely a single instance of this striving towards World Federation.

It is true that many European elites have urged the withdrawal of Israel from 'occupied territories' and are critical of the American neoconservative foreign policy regarding the Middle East (war on terror etc.), and Leftists continue to provide a Marxist analysis of Muslim terrorism and whitewash the religious roots of militant Islamism. However, it is hardly 'scapegoating' to claim that Israel and America are in some way partly responsible for Islamic terrorism against the West. Islamists themselves have claimed that the military interventionist acts taken by America (and certain European countries) in support of Israel in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including Israel's claim over Jerusalem – 'the eternal city of the Jews' – are central factors to their cause. Just as Ye'or criticises Europe for the Eurocratic whitewashing of the roots of Islamic terrorism (Islamists utilise the Quran to justify their terror and Eurocrats claim terrorism cannot be linked with Islam) she herself must be criticised for dismissing certain factors that do indeed contribute to Islamist hostility against the West (such as the war on terror and 'occupied territories'). In addition, Islamists are not just against America and Israel but against Westernisation in general, which is called, by some, 'Westoxification'.

While it is accurate to argue that Israel is not responsible for the conflicts between Muslims and local populations in the non-Western and non-Middle Eastern world (the geopolitical goals and totalitarian character of Islamism are indeed contributing to these conflicts, as well to the conflicts in the Middle East and in the West), this does not, however, exempt Israel from its participation and contribution to Middle Eastern conflicts or alter the fact that Israel remains an issue for Muslims not just on a regional level, but most importantly,

on a global level. The Ummah, the collective and international Muslim identity, unites Muslims together towards important and defining issues, such as Israel, so that Muslims from Asia may support their fellow brethren in Palestine.

Although one can make the argument that Europeans have indeed lost their will to survive as a people due to their pacification and are vulnerable to a complete takeover by Muslims due to their idealism, as stated in above points and in this dissertation generally, peace has been a central element in European integration models since at least the 18th century and has become somewhat manifest post WWII. Peace has been a long-term choice of European elites in an effort to create a new type of man based on an abstract deracinated identity, a new type of society based on disarmament, and a new type of world order based on world federation. European pacification is a choice that has been made by the elites that to some is in fact 'morally superior' to war mongering, but, more importantly, it is a choice that has been made in regards to a larger, overall plan: world federation in perpetual peace. Striving for peace and preferring dialogue as a method of settling disputes rather than armed conflict is not synonymous with 'fear of conflict', 'dhimmitude', or 'submission to Islam'. Rather, it is a strategy in an effort to achieve a larger goal: Euro-Mediterranean integration and at some point in the future, the World Federation of States. This goal requires the creation of a geopolitical bloc that unites the Mediterranean countries, not necessarily as a 'rival to America', but as a force to maintain the balance of powers at the World Federation level. Besides, despite accusations that Europe is anti-American, anti-Israel, and pro-Islamist because of its insistence on peace rather than warfare strategies towards the Middle East, senior advisor for homeland security and counter-terrorism, Thomas E. McNamara, has stressed that "Europe and the United States are fighting terrorism together" and that both, together, have "built and sustained many institutions that now play special roles in this struggle", including the

EU, NATO, OSCE, OECD, the UN, IMF and so on. In addition, both have been working to fulfill Resolution 1373, passed in 2001, which has provided "the legal, political, and moral foundations for the international community to organize and act against terror"[1970].

14.1.6 Holocaust Guilt Complex Exploited

Ye'or claims that the EAD exploited the European holocaust guilt complex by i) conflating it with anti-immigration sentiments against Muslims (calling the opposition Nazis and racists); ii) equating Zionism with Hitler's National Socialism and deflecting Muslim terrorism onto Israel and America (casting victims as aggressors aka "Palestinian victimology" and Jews as the new Nazis); and iii) engaging in historical and theological revisionism or the correction of written "historical errors" regarding the notion of *jihad* (i.e. jihad is recast as a defensive rather than offensive war in terms of resistance to conquest, or the liberation of Muslim lands governed by non-Muslims). The Parliamentary Association of the Council of Europe is onboard with historical revisionism, alluding to the erasure of "hostile oriental stereotypes" regarding Islam, and the EAD has emphasised the dhimmi mentality, the "self-accusing complex", in university teaching, through such channels as the resolutions of Strasbourg and others, which, according to Ye'or, has led to a "growing Judeophobic culture" in universities and mainstream media. In the 1970s, Norman Daniel and Edward Said, among others, initiated the Arab holocaust exploitation trend in Europe by writing about a "European guilt complex towards Muslims", describing European anti-Muslim racism based on an us and them divide as the product of White ethnocentrism, while offering neither an analysis for the us-them divide created by the Muslim concepts of dar al- Islam (Muslim lands) and dar al-harb (non-Muslim lands of the enemies) nor the notions of *jihad* and *dhimmitude*. These exploitative and revisionist elements,

[1970] McNamara, "Despite Divisions, Europe and the United States Are Fighting Terrorism Together."

plus the political myth of an idyllic Andalusia or La Convivencia, have, according to Ye'or, prevented not just an open discussion on immigration, but also the rise of anti-immigration movements and an accurate understanding of the geopolitical intentions of Islamism[1971].

Leftists do indeed want to rid the world of ethno-national identities, and this would include the ethnic identities of Europeans as well as the Zionists of Israel. In stark contradiction, Leftists also strive to defend the national identity of the Palestinians and their rights as a 'people' against the Israeli occupation of Arab territories that go beyond the 1949 armistice lines, and protect and promote the distinct ethnic identities of non-European immigrants in Europe by multicultural policies and immigrant rights. Islamists themselves employ the Leftist cultural and political discourse of white privilege, white racism, affirmative action, human rights, collective multicultural rights, and open borders so as to gain further ground on all spheres of life in their attempt to counter Western hegemony inside and outside the West and establish a world-wide Caliphate. Although Islamists utilize Leftism for their cause, Islamists ultimately consider Leftists as decadent infidels who produce spiritually and morally vacuous societies and thus ultimately reject them.

Ye'or does not provide much information on how European natives are actually affected by the imposed white guilt complex or the holocaust exploitation trend other than a few comments here and there about the loss of ethnic identity, the prevention of criticism about immigration, the prevalence of the guilt complex in universities and mainstream media, and dhimmitude. The consequences for European natives of such pernicious developments stemming from the EAD, Islamists, Leftists, and mass-immigration in general, require much more research and must be addressed fully, but Ye'or, like other Jewish writers (see below), is more concerned about how these developments in Europe are affecting Israelis and the Jewish

[1971] Ye'or, *Eurabia*, 186, 188, 176, 112, 188, 194, 189, 196, 241, 187, 166.

population in Europe and emphasises these consequences throughout her books while neglecting the much larger population of European natives. The great majority of ethnic Europeans are being silenced by a Europhobic EAD, by Leftism, by the demographic of Muslim immigrants, and also by accusations from neoconservatives and Zionists (see below) that claim ethnic European anti-immigration sentiments are right-wing extremist and merely a new form of National Socialism and that European ethnic identities are backward, tribal, and intolerant and must be eradicated.

14.2 Melanie Phillips

Melanie Phillips is a British journalist and prominent Neoconservative opponent of Islamism and Leftism. She has written several books, including *Londonistan* (2006) and *The World Turned Upside Down: The Global Battle over God, Truth, and Power,* (2010). In *Londonistan* Phillips delivers a relentless critique of Leftism and Islamism and their pernicious roles in the destruction of European values. She provides details on the history, people, and groups involved in the rise of Islamism and information regarding London being the hotbed of terrorist activities in Europe. She addresses the ineptitude of the British intelligentsia on dealing with homegrown Islamic terrorism and the complicity of politicians in the tragedy by their seeking of the Muslim vote. Yet the focal point of the book is criticism of Leftism and Muslim aggression against European Jews, the nation of Israel, and Israel's main supporters, the Neoconservatives of Britain and America.

14.2.1 Reasons Behind Islamist Aggression Against the West and Israel

Phillips gives several reasons as to why Islamists are aiming their aggression against the West and Israel: the degeneracy of Western culture, the decadence and spiritual vacuity of

progressive Leftism, the historical 1400 year war waged by Muslims against Christians and Jews, as well as overall Muslim anti-Semitism and anti-Westernism. She dismisses the 'Arab view' (shared by Leftists and what Ye'or has called Palestinianism) that the behaviour of Israel and America, i.e. the 'oppression' of Palestinians and Neoconservative foreign policy, is a strategic reason for Muslim aggression against Israel and the West. She claims that the real reason why the West and Israel are targets of Islamists is that Muslims have a religious hatred for the Jews and "this hatred lies at the core of the war against the West". In other words, because Westerners and Israelites share religious roots -- Judeo-Christian roots -- they face the same religious enemy: Islam. She writes:

> It is not that *Israel's behaviour* has inflamed the jihad against the West….It is rather that the jihad, which views the West as a threat to Islam, sees Israel's existence as living, breathing proof of the Western and Jewish intention to rule the planet. The battle with Israel is thus conceived as a metaphysical struggle between good – the Islamic world – and evil – the Jewish-backed Western world. Israel's struggle to defend itself against this monstrosity is therefore the West's struggle to defend itself against the same monstrosity. Israel's struggle is simply being played out in a unique place where metaphysics and geopolitics have become fused.

Phillips also dismisses the connection between the geographical fact of land and ideological identity i.e. Israel and Zionism versus Palestine and Islamism. She writes, "It is *not a national or territorial conflict* but a historical, religious, cultural and existential conflict between truth and falsehood, believers and infidels, prosecuted through jihad until victory or martyrdom"[1972].

Phillips' emphasis on the metaphysical conflict between Islam, Christianity (the West) and Judaism (Israel), her insistence that Islamist terrorism is a struggle about values and metaphysical principles, dismisses some of the reasons given by Islamists themselves[1973] for their aggression, namely their rejection of Israeli foreign policy towards Palestine, American and British Neoconservative Middle Eastern foreign policy and military support of Israel, and

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[1972] Phillips, *Londonistan*, 104, 102-103 (my emphasis), 109 (my emphasis).
[1973] Such as accounts from their biographies. See: Christmann, *Preventing Religious Radicalisation,* 42.

the effects of Western global hegemony in the Middle East. While religious factors do indeed play a central role for Islamists – a moral imperative and geopolitical striving – dismissing the legitimacy of the reasons given by Islamists themselves, as well as disregarding the relationship between land and ideology, in effect denies vital information necessary for a clear and objective understanding of what actually lies behind Muslim aggression against Israel and the West. In addition, by denying that these factors are indeed destabilising elements that contribute to the Islamist rationale against the West, is to overlook the aggravation they elicit from Muslim communities across the world (civil unrest, war, terrorism), which is being transported into the Western world by Muslim immigration, such as seen in the massive violent pro-Palestinian protests across Europe.

14.2.2 Palestinian and Israeli Nationhood Compared

In *The World Turned Upside Down* Phillips claims that the territory of Palestine is a recent invention and the Palestinians are not really Palestinians as a legitimate racial ethnicity with a long heritage that could defend the legal claim to the land as a 'people', but instead are a mixture of different ethnicities, including Jews, such as "Arabs…Greeks, Syrians, Latins, Egyptians, Turks, Armenians, Italians" and so on. However, according to Phillips, arbitrary national construction does not apply to Israel, for Jews have lived in the area prior to its creation in 1948 and, more importantly, Israel is the ancient historic homeland of the Jews, as found in the Old Testament, and is thus determined by Biblical and racial ancestry. Phillips defends this claim on land as determined by ethno-religious ancestral factors by writing that "The Jews' aspiration for their homeland… derives from Judaism itself, which comprises the inseparable elements of the religion, the people and the land [...] The unique Jewish entitlement to Israel is not just a Biblical story but historical fact. The Jews are the *only* people

for whom the land of Israel was ever their national homeland". She further defends this *racial-religious factor* in the creation of the state of Israel by emphasizing the legal construction of Israeli territory, upheld by the British and bound by international law:

> The legitimacy of Israel rests not on the United Nations vote of 1947, which finally established it as a state, but on the setting up of the Palestine Mandate in 1922 by the precursor to the UN, the League of Nations, which paid recognition to 'the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country' [1974].

Phillips claims that on the one hand the conflict is not about territory or nationality but a metaphysical struggle, thus separating the link between ideology and nationality, while on the other hand, she acknowledges the importance of the link between ideology and land for the Jews of Israel, which is a clear hypocrisy. She also claims that in comparison to Israel, which she says is legitimated by thousands of years of Biblical history, Palestine is a recent arbitrary construction (independent in 1988) and thus Arab Palestinians do not have historical legitimacy to claims of Palestinian nationhood and territory. This is despite the fact that at the time of the 1922 British Mandate, the census revealed that the majority of the demographic population in Palestine was Muslim[1975]. For Arab Palestinians, according to Fred Gottheil writing in the *Middle East Quarterly*, 2003, "the character of their demography is at the heart of their claim to territorial inheritance and national sovereignty" in Palestine and they have "deep and timeless roots in that geography and that their own immigration into that geography has at no time been consequential"[1976]. Or, in other words, the difference between Israeli and Arab Palestine claims to 'territorial inheritance and national sovereignty' in regards to Palestine is the difference between history and demography. Although no conclusions can be drawn from such data and claims in this paper, the point is that the dispute over who has the sovereign right to

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[1974] Phillips, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 58, 55-56.
[1975] See: Barron, *Palestine,* Table I: Population of Palestine by Religions.
[1976] Gottheil, "The Smoking Gun," 54.

Palestine is clearly a murky one that continues to fuel the warfare spats between the two ethno-ideological rivals. Finally, Phillips' claim of the legitimacy of Israel by an appeal to the League of Nations, which is now a defunct international organisation, is confusing considering that in *Londonistan* she repeatedly criticizes supranational organisations such as "the European Court of Human Rights, the European Union, the United Nations or the European Court of Justice" for increasingly becoming the "sole sources of legitimacy"[1977].

14.2.3 Human Rights, and Alliances Between Leftists, Islamists, and White Nationalists

According to Phillips, the British Left has replaced the Christian religion with a new religion of human rights, which is utilised by the Islamists, and the British Left have developed an "axis with militant, fundamentalist Islamism" as they have the same goal: "the destruction of Western society and its foundation values". She claims that victim groups, such as homosexuals, feminists, and so-called anti-racists, use "public vilification, moral blackmail, and threats to people's livelihoods to force the majority to give in to their demands"[1978]. These demands are the same as the Islamists: as the majority is seen as hierarchical and therefore discriminatory, the normative majority values must become subordinate to minority values, tolerated as minority rights. This is all part of the movement of the radical Left intelligentsia of the UK and Europe. Morality is privatised, individual conscience is universalised, national values are despised, and moral legitimacy is found in universal progressivism such as human rights law and supranational institutions such as the EU, UN, and ICC.

Not only is there this Leftist-Islamist alliance against America and Western society, according to Phillips there is also cooperation between the far-right, the White nationalists, and

[1977] Phillips, *Londonistan*, 26.
[1978] Ibid, xxiii.

Islamists. She calls White Nationalists, such as the British National Party, the National Front, and the White Nationalist Party, far-right 'racists', 'white supremacists', 'neo-Nazis' or 'neofascists' and claims that their perception of Zionist influence on American and Western foreign and domestic affairs links them with the Islamists. She writes, "These ultranationalist, racist and anti-Jewish groups saw in the Islamists something beyond their wildest dreams: a global force, armed and trained, committed to the destruction of both Jews and the Western [liberal] political order"[1979].

Despite Phillips' seeming protest against minority values and rights superseding the majority, she implies that the only nation that is legally (and religiously) allowed to be ethnonationalist is Israel. In this way, Phillips is hypocritical in that Israel is based on blood kinship ties for citizenship i.e. is ethnonationalist, while claiming it is also a democracy. According to Phillips' logic, it seems that the only group that can legitimately defend European and British societies are not the Leftists and not the ethnonationalists, but only the neoconservatives, like herself. Like Leftists who decry White pride and preservation, she considers that ethnic Europeans who attempt to maintain their distinct ethnicity and nationality in the face of what they perceive as various destructive forces in their countries, such as mass-immigration from the Third World, Leftism (cultural Marxism and socialist cosmopolitanism) and Neoconservative Americanism, are racists.

In contrast to accusations that ethnonationalism is racist and must be done away with (which is similar to what Kalergi said about European ethnic identity back in the 1930s) it must be said that every ethnicity should have a homeland that is safe and secure and therefore have the right to defend that territory, and every nation should have the right to self-determination, such as independent decision making in accordance with national ethnic interests. Without

[1979] Phillips, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 217.

these ethno-national guidelines, Israel itself would not exist based on its racial-religious territorial claims. So why do these guidelines only apply to Israel?

In *Londonistan*, not once does Phillips meaningfully mention the White working classes, the ethnic identity and interests of the British masses, or how Muslim subversion is affecting them on the day to day level other than a passing comment or two about the demise of their traditions and culture in the face of Islamism. She provides no distinct coverage of the issues everyday native Britons are experiencing, such as the radical transformation of British towns into racially dissimilar anti-British Muslim enclaves. It seems the primary aim of *Londonistan* is to steer the critical discourse about Islamism in general and elicit Western support for Israel in its conflict with Palestine and the Muslim-Arab world in particular. In this process, she conflates two separate issues regarding Islam: the problem facing Europe and the problem facing Israel. She devotes most of the book to the plight of Israel and the Jewish people in the face of Arab and Muslim anti-Semitism and terrorism and does not elaborate the interests of or the tragedy that faces the indigenous Europeans who want to retain their ethnic identity and homelands but in doing so are called racists by Leftists and Islamists, and by neoconservatives like Phillips. In this vein and using the same logic that Phillips applies, it can be said that neoconservatives are aligned with Leftists and Islamists in the destruction of the ethnic identity of Europeans.

14.2.4 Western-Israeli Alliance Against Islam

As Islamism and Leftism are a threat to the Western nation states and Israel, Phillips suggests an inter-religious cooperation between them. She thinks that the West has to *necessarily* form an alliance with the Neoconservative view of Israel in the fight against these pernicious ideologies. She repeatedly declares that the West has Judeo-Christian foundational values based on the Mosaic Code (Ten Commandments) and thus, she claims, Israel and the West are closely united: “Jews were at the very heart of those Western values [and] At the core of those

Western majority values lay the Mosaic Code, which first gave the world the concept of morality, self-discipline and laws regulating behaviour". She then uses this as a main premise to argue against Leftism and promote a Western-Israeli alliance (the civilized 'free world') against a shared religious and historical threat, the barbarism of Islamism: "As [the Left] took aim at morality and self-restraint, it seized a golden opportunity to pulverize the very people [the Jews] who invented the rules in the first place [and] the far left and the Islamists have become a marriage made in hell….[they] use each other to fight the West"[1980].

Phillips' claim that the West is Judeo-Christian at heart is new (Vatican II, 1960s) and is simply debatable. Europe and the West do not derive all their core historical values from Judaism; they do indeed share the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament but many more foundational morals for European Christians come from the New Testament based on Christ, the Classical Greeks, Hellenic philosophy, the Greco-Roman traditions, and the Enlightenment, as well as influences from the various European pagan traditions. In addition, Judaism follows more than the Torah of the Old Testament (first five books), namely the Talmud, which is not shared by the Christians of Europe. Old Testament Judaism was merely one strain of historical influence on the rise of European civilization and not the co-founder. Moreover, even though Christianity may have initially arisen from Judaism it developed independently thereafter. Not only do Christianity and Judaism differ in fundamental ways, such as the rejection of Christ by Jews, but before Europe was known as Europe it was known as Christendom not Judeo-Christendom. Today, Europe is majority White European by ethnicity and majority secular Christian by ethics and it *primarily* ought to have an interest in preserving and protecting the European people's native homeland in particular and the European character of the West in general in the face of Islamism and non-European demographics and aspirations in Europe.

[1980] Phillips, *Londonistan*, 118-119.

European interests, including the preservation of their cultures *and* ethnic identity, are what matter to native Europeans in the face of large-scale Muslim and non-Muslim immigration from Africa, Asia, and the Arab world, but Phillips seems to want these interests to become subsumed by the interests of Neoconservativism and Israel.

14.2.5 Leftism and Antonio Gramsci

In her criticism of Leftist practices such as mass-immigration of Muslims into Europe, political correctness, the human rights victim culture, and feminism, Phillips suggests that these phenomena stem only from the writings of one person. She writes: "During the 1960s, the decade in which so many of our current leaders remain firmly stuck, the most influential thinker was the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci [...] Antonio Gramsci, the philosopher who became the iconic thinker of the 1960s, laid down the blueprint for exactly what has happened in Britain". She also explains that:

> the left alighted upon the Palestinians as *the new proletariat* whose cause could be championed as a weapon against Western society. Since the left demonizes America and Western capitalism, and lionizes the third world and all liberation movements, the Palestinian Arabs were a natural cause to be championed – victims of American imperialist power through the actions of its proxy, Israel[1981].

While she is not wrong to claim that the Marxist and Lenin inspired Gramsci was responsible for outlining a pernicious plan to subvert Western civilization by infiltrating all of its institutions and by utilising Third Worlders as the new proletariat, a plan that manifested first with the counter-culture movements of the 60s, it is quite deceptive of Phillips to suggest that Gramsci is solely to blame. Many others contributed intellectually to this subversive plan, and have come to be known as cultural Marxists or Frankfurt School Critical Theorists, such as Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse, Max Horkheimer, Erich Fromm, Friedrich Pollock, Leo Löwenthal,

[1981] Ibid, 71, 118 (my emphasis).

Otto Kirchheimer, and Franz Leopold Neumann among many others. These theorists have centered their anti-Westernism in cultural Marxism, and were significantly influenced by Sigmund Freud and George Lukacs. And, rather than Gramsci being 'the iconic thinker of the 1960s', it was Marcuse who was considered the 'guru' of the New Left.

Phillips may criticize the Leftist 'long march through the institutions' but never mentions the Frankfurt School out of which this strategy was further developed, incorporated, and disseminated. Nor does she mention the role of the socialist Pan-Europa movement of Kalergi and the plan of World Federation, the striving for perpetual peace and the denunciation of nationalism based on ethnicity by cosmopolitanists, which arose and developed in the 19th and early 20th centuries and greatly impacted the Frankfurt School and Leftist EU. She may have no clue about these connections, it does not really matter. What matters is that in her effort to rally support for Israel (and demonize *any* criticism of its dealing with the Palestinians) there is an obvious misrepresentation of the causes of Western and European cultural demise. On the one hand, she rails against Leftism and critiques European degeneration but on the other hand she skips over several important cultural and intellectual forces that have seminally contributed to this demise: the socialism of Kalergi, the Fabian Society, and the Frankfurt School.

Phillips is plain in her support for American-led and British foreign policy in the Middle East, which pits her against Leftists and Islamists, but she does not go far enough in terms of preserving European ethnicity and culture. She goes on about how Islamism and Leftism are bent on destroying the traditions of the West, which is not wrong, but they are only two destructive mounts. Neoconservative globalism is another destructive mount. While Neoconservatives maintain their warfare policies in the Middle East and middle of the road liberals (*The Economist*) press on for global markets and cultural standardization against traditional organic life, Islamists sustain their pernicious creed of non-violent infiltration,

demographic conquest, and violent death Jihad against the West and Leftists remain committed to furthering the spiritual nihilism and historical famine of European culture and ethnicity. These three groups are separate but interlinked anti-European ideologies. On the one hand, we have Neoconservatives fighting European traditional conservatism, Islamism, and European ethnonationalism, on the other hand, we have Islamists and Leftists fighting American militarism, corporate globalization, and traditional European institutions and identities. All three ideologies also support mass-immigration into Europe.

As Phillips is an avid supporter of American corporate capitalism and American-led global hegemony she is anti-European. Even though she is anti-Leftism, she is actually for open borders and mass immigration if it is about minorities assimilating into the majority culture and adopting liberal individual rights and not multicultural rights. It seems she has no problem with Britain and other European countries being swamped with a multitude of non-European ethnicities from the whole World, as long as they don't demand any kind of religious or cultural accommodations. Neoconservatives promote immigration for economic ends and thus indirectly fund the Leftist utopian dream of stripping regular people of their ethnic and national identity for a new global order by spreading abstract man: *homo economicus*. In turn, although Leftists are supposed to be in opposition to American-led hegemony and use Islamism (not necessarily the violent Islamism of ISIS and al-Qaeda affiliated groups) to counter Western Neoconservative global hegemony, they contribute to the corporate agenda by supporting mass-immigration and miscegenation, the end of Whiteness, multicultural rights, open borders, claims of racism and Islamophobia, and limits on the free speech of majorities. In addition, many prominent socialist writers and institutes have and are funded by wealthy capitalist elites, such as the Soros Open Society Foundation, the London School of Economics, the Frankfurt School, and the Fabian Society.

14.3 Bruce Bawer

Bruce Bawer is an American neoconservative and a peer amongst a very influential cadre of authors focused on the 'clash' between fundamentalist Islam and Western civilization, such as Bat Ye'or, Robert Spencer, Andrew Bostom, Claire Berlinkski, Oriani Fallaci, Melanie Phillips, and Mark Steyn. In his best-seller book, *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within* (2006), Bawer critiques the facilitation of Islamism in Europe by the Leftist PC Elites, the rise of anti-Semitism, and the rapid growth of fascist populist groups. He strongly advocates American-style neoconservative solutions to these problems.

Bawer explains that the European establishment Elites (1968-era PC Leftists, cultural Marxists) are responsible for the Islamization of Europe because they initiated massive immigration from the Muslim world into Europe and introduced segregating multicultural polices based on immigrant ethnic minority group rights, which have enabled distinct sharia-abiding communities to arise all over Europe. As these separate Muslim communities grew and radical Islam developed, the Elites looked the other way while the establishment media glossed over any problems. Borrowing terms from Bat Ye'or, Bawer explains that the Elites have taken no action against Islamism in Europe because they are dhimmis and practice Palestinianism. As they entered the European establishment in the 1970s, the 68ers began their overall capitulation to Islam (dhimmitude) with the advent of the post-OPEC crisis Euro-Arab Dialogue (EAD), a project that has been a "political, economic, and academic collaboration between the European establishment and Arab governments" that has favoured massive Muslim immigration and the promotion of Islamic culture in Europe[1982].

European Elites endorse Islamic norms and values, adhere to Muslim intimidation (cartoon riots, death fatwas, murders, claims of Islamophobia), and enforce politically correct

[1982] Bawer, *While Europe* Slept, 103-104.

speech codes upon critics of Islam and Muslim immigration at the expense of local European populations. European dhimmi politicians and public figures also appease Islamism by underplaying the politico-ideological element in Islam, which is a main element of militant Islamic ideology. They repeat PC claims that militant Islamism, such as al Qaeda, ISIS, and other Muslim terrorist groups, have nothing to do with Islam because Islam is a 'religion of peace'. They continually claim that the majority of Muslims in Europe are moderate and Muslim culture and religion enriches European nations. But Bawer disagrees. He claims there is no sizable moderate Muslim population in Europe, for if they do exist they are "a silent majority" in the face of Islamic terrorism; they may fear speaking up but, unwittingly, with their silence, support death fatwas, Sharia law, the world Islamic State, and "practically speaking, they're the radicals' allies"[1983]. It is highly interesting to see that there is indeed a lack of significantly large muslim protest movements in Europe against home-grown and external Islamist terrorism on Western soil, a lack of public support from European Muslims and Muslim communities for victims of Muslim terrorism against Muslims and non-Muslims alike, and a lack of loud protests from European Muslims against ISIS.

The European Leftists, Bawer says, have explained all problems that exude from Muslim communities in Europe in neo-Marxist terms; they frame European discrimination and racism, American-led military intervention in the Middle East (particularly the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the controversies surrounding Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo, but also the oil-hungry interests of the West), in terms of the Israel-Palestine conflict and side with the Palestinians (and other Muslims) on these matters. These developments have produced what Bawer et al have called a "new anti-Semitism" in Europe, which is captured by the term *Islamophobia* and holds that "Muslims are now the victims, Jews the Nazis". In the same vein as

[1983] Ibid, 227, 229.

Ye'or and Phillips, Bawer claims that the championing of the Palestinians and the demonization of Israel and America have brought Leftists and Islamists close together in their struggle against the Western establishment, what is called the "Black-Red alliance". Bawer writes that this 68er-Islamist alliance is evident in such people as the Danish journalist Jacob Holdt, who said the Hizb ut-Tahrir radicals were "the same bewildered, fanatical, idealistic, justice-seeking, sympathetic, angry, and, especially, dreaming young people we ourselves once were"; they share similar Marxist "analyses and criticisms of capitalism and Western democracy" as well as opposition to American military intervention abroad[1984].

14.3.1 Frankfurt School, American Superiority, and Pro-War

Bawer writes that the 68ers were the European counterpart of the American New Leftists but, whereas the latter "moderated their views and rhetoric and began to deal pragmatically with the real world's real problems", the 68ers remained stuck in their childish anti-authoritarianism when they got into positons of power. He writes, "all too many of Europe's 68-ers…continued to think, and behave, like protesting teenagers, savouring their reflexive, petulant opposition as a badge of honour". This type of comparison of America, to Europe (and the rest of the world) is present throughout Bawer's book. He thinks America is the guiding light for the world, the bringer of liberty, and the "savior and protector" of Europe, a Europe that is inferior, backward, and dependent on America. He is convinced that the American-led 'War on Terror' has been successful, worthy, and justifiable as it is supposed to make free the "unfree" Islamic world. To him, freedom through war is a central character trait of America throughout its history, something that Europe would do well by emulating. He thinks that Western military force led

[1984] Ibid, 140, 101, 186.

by the United States brings freedom and democracy to Muslim countries, and thus, when Muslim immigrants come to the West, they will integrate easily.

Bawer, in other words, thinks crushing Islamist tyranny and spreading liberal democracy by military intervention in the Middle East will neutralise the Islamist threat both at home and abroad. In fact, he believes that both the war in Iraq (2003) and the war in Afghanistan (2001 -) "were predicated on the assumption that Islam is compatible with democracy". Bawer continues this line of reasoning when he arrogantly writes of American moral superiority: "Americans...really do believe in fighting for liberty, even the liberty of strangers in faraway places with names they can't spell and languages they can't speak a word of and cultures they find ridiculous. In their view, to defend other people's freedom is to defend their own". Bawer is scathing of the overall European rejection of American and Israeli foreign policies and military intervention in the Muslim Middle East. While he appeals to Europe to help "America's global supremacy" in the face of challenges from Islam and China, he scorns Europe for its "love of peace and dialogue," which he says has "seriously complicate[d] the effective prosecution of the war on terror"[1985].

Like Ye'or and Phillips, Bawer fails to identify the pivotal roles of Pan-European Union socialism, Fabianism, and Frankfurt School cultural Marxism on post-WWII developments or how they influenced 68er Leftism, the Euro-Mediterranean partnerships, and the EU and formed the ideological core of European Leftism we see today. His assertion that the American New Leftists 'matured' and assimilated into the American establishment is plainly false because Leftist subversives have become the American cultural establishment as seen in American universities, schools, media, and PC governance. His claim that Europe needs to be more like America in its war-like character and to forgo its emphasis on peace and dialogue is simply to

[1985] Ibid, 99, 230, 234, 93, 231, 82, 86.

dismiss the reasoning behind the European 'peace' after WWII, as detailed in this work i.e. the elitist vision of European unification, the changing relations of Europe with the Mediterranean countries that aimed at creating prosperity 'for all', and the vision of a world federation based on the ideal of perpetual peace. In addition, Europe gained certain freedom through its engagement in the two World Wars of the 20th century and these wars devastated Europe, which opened up the reliance on non-European immigration for economic growth and rebuilding purposes based on cheap labour. In the main, this labour migration and eventual permanent settlement (through human rights) was from former colonies and neighbouring countries, many of which are majority Muslim in population.

While Bawer may find it surprising, the definition of freedom for Westerners (and even within Western countries themselves) is in distinction to definitions by other cultures and civilizations, such as Islam. The Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam defines freedom in terms of Sharia law, which contrasts with the definition of freedom according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is based on human law[1986]. Requiring local populations and immigrants to abide by the UDHR when in Europe and the West is not the same as attempting to impose this particular civilizational definition of rights and freedoms over another civilization, which is akin to prejudicial Western-centrism. By claiming that military intervention is necessary to establish Western-style freedom and 'democracy' (by force) in Islamic countries, which are supposed to be compatible with Islam, is to dismiss the possibility that Islam is actually not harmonious with or wants to embrce these Western values. In any case, what kind of democracy is Bawer talking about? There are various forms of democratic arrangements, such as liberal democracy, social democracy, participatory democracy, deliberative democracy,

[1986] Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, "Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam," article 24; United Nations, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

and others, and who decides which is best for who? How exactly has military intervention in the Middle East led by the Americans who are supposedly primarily focused on the 'freedom' of foreigners they do not even know (let alone understand), brought so-called democracy and liberty to the local populations there, when it is evident that such operations have not been successful? We can see this today with the violent and rapid spread of ISIS within the destabilised countries of Iraq, Syria, Libya and elsewhere[1987], the oppressive Taliban in Afghanistan[1988], and the continued functioning of Al Qaeda and its terror attacks against the West[1989], to name just three examples. How can Bawer defend the democratic aims of American global supremacy through warfare when a recent report by two university professors suggests that America is more like an oligarchy than a democracy?[1990] Rather than being humanitarian and rights based, is not American military intervention in the Middle East more to do with American interests, of protecting its unipolar position of number one superpower in the world, what Bawer himself calls American 'global supremacy'?

Certain scholars, such as political scientist Bassam Tibi, may argue that Islam can be attuned with Western values or become 'Europeanised' thereby creating a Euro-Islam[1991] an argument especially prevalent in Western immigrant-loving countries, but they are also faced with numerous other scholars who make the case that the political culture of Islam can never be reconciled with Western values and rights. Even if Islamic countries and Muslim diasporic communities in the West adopt democracy it will probably be based in accordance with Sharia rather than rule of law. Yet, some prominent Muslim leaders, such as the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdogan, have said that being a Muslim *and* being secular is impossible and that

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[1987] See *Global News*, "ISIS"; *SITE Intelligence Group: Jihadist Threat*.
[1988] Laub, "The Taliban in Afghanistan."
[1989] Shoichet and Levs, "Al Qaeda Branch"; Chengu, "America Created Al-Qaeda"; Dilanian, "Taliban Control."
[1990] *BBC News*, "Study: US is an Oligarchy, Not a Democracy."
[1991] Tibi, "Europeanisation, Not Islamisation."

they will use democracy for their own ends (Islamic aims) and then, when they are done with it, cast it off: "Democracy is like a train: when you reach your destination, you get off"[1992]. For secularists, democracy requires secularism as the main foundation stone – democracy and religions do not mix. For example, according to Secular Connexion Séculière (SCS), a Canadian-based Humanist organization, "A true democracy, one that treats all of its citizens as equals and respects fundamental individual freedoms such as freedom of conscience and religion, can not exist when there is a top-down imposition of any ideology."[1993] Azmi Bishara, General Director of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, thinks that "if freedom of thought and expression is an essential constituent of democracy, it follows that secularism...is an essential constituent of democracy" and according to Raja Bahlul, Professor of Philosophy at the Doha Institute of Graduate Studies, "freedom of thought cannot be ensured in a non-secular society"[1994]. In 2003 the European Court of Human Rights declared that the rules of sharia were incompatible with democracy and the European Convention of Human Rights.[1995]

14.3.2 World War II Guilt and Leftist PC Brainwashing

Among the darlings of the European Liberal Right, which include Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and Ayaan Hirsi Ali, it is Lars Hedegaard, a Danish historian, journalist, critic of Islam, and co-author of *In the House of War: Islam's Colonization of the West* (2003) who aptly explains for Bawer why ordinary Europeans and the elites are seemingly oblivious to the threat of Islamism. According to Hedegaard, Europeans now have an attitude like "a repentant criminal" and are "simply too willing to compromise their freedom". Hedegaard thinks that Islamic extremism has been ignored by the European Elites not because of "snobbism or hippie nostalgia" but

[1992] Dias, "Erdogan the Tyrant and his EU Accomplices."
[1993] Murray Web Works, "Open Secularism – Required for Democracy."
[1994] Bisharah cited by Bahlul in "Democracy Without Secularism?" 102.
[1995] Judgements on the merits delivered by the Grand Chamber, *Case of Refah Partisi (The Welfare Party) and Others v. Turkey*, 9; European Court of Human Rights, *Annual Report 2003*, 5-6.

because of the "psychic devastation of the First World War" which paved the way for Communism and National Socialism and produced atrocities that "placed upon Europeans an unbearable burden of guilt". But, ultimately, it was the Nazis that "made Europe think it is doomed and sinful…*and deserves what it has coming*", a psychic state which was then furthered by the Leftists who "re-educated" Europeans with pro-Muslim, anti-American and anti-Semitic propaganda and reared complacent Europeans ignorant to their dhimmi fate[1996].

Although Bawer thinks European Leftists are sympathetic to Islamists due to their similar anti-European-authoritarianism, he also fully agrees with Hedegaard. Overall, what Bawer suggests is that the contemporary psychological and national identity of Europeans is profoundly weak due to the guilt complex that arose out of European complicity in the 20th century mass murder of Jews. The 68er Leftists then exploited this vulnerable psychological state, indoctrinating Europeans with anti-war, anti-American, anti-Israeli, and pro-Muslim Leftist PC propaganda so that ordinary Europeans are now merely spineless puppets who mindlessly believe whatever the establishment tells them about Muslims, Israelis, and Americans. He claims Europeans have been programmed to perceive America "as a heartless, bloodthirsty imperial power, barely indistinguishable from Nazi Germany and certainly worse than the Soviet Union" and have been "repeatedly…told that America had asked for 9/11 – that the atrocity had been payback for American militarism, neocolonialism, capitalist exploitation, and support of Israel". In comparison, Europeans have been brainwashed to think that Western Europe is different from the USA because they are "more tolerant, more peaceful, more respectful of its fellow nations, more sensitive to the problem of poverty in the Islamic world,

[1996] Bawer, *While Europe Slept*, 186-188.

more supportive of the Palestinian cause" and therefore not the target of Islamic extremism[1997].

Out of all of this, Bawer thinks that the psychological effects of guilt, political correctness, and the Leftist explanation for militant Islamic attacks on the West, have resulted in the refusal of Europeans to engage in any form of conflict that may insult, offend, oppress, or discriminate against the Muslim 'Other,' even if that means losing everything, including their freedom, identity, and heritage. He writes, the 68ers "have sought to make [Europeans] feel ashamed of their heritage, contemptuous of their freedom, and willing and eager to settle for any kind of 'peace' at any cost". Furthermore, Bawer laments that Europeans have opened the door to a return of Europe-wide anti-Semitism and will remain on their path to Eurabia, a situation that thwarts America's striving for global hegemony. He writes, "the strongest potential ally" of America in its fight against the "tyranny of Islamism" is Europe, but "[t]he advent of fundamentalist Islam in Europe – and the eagerness of many Europeans to placate it – is a threat to American democracy and global supremacy"[1998].

Although Bawer is not wrong in his assessment of how World War guilt and PC Leftism contributed to the weakening of European national identities and their facilitation of Islamism in Europe, the possibility does not seem to occur to him that many Europeans are not brainwashed but highly intelligent and capable of thinking for themselves, genuinely *do not* want to engage in war with foreign countries, actually *do* want to tackle Islamism in Europe but have no political representatives to serve these interests, are fed up with the eagerness of America's moral mission to spread democracy and liberty throughout the Muslim world by military force and the repercussions this has had for Europe due to its close proximity to

[1997] Ibid, 187, 220, 154-55.
[1998] Ibid, 231, 104.

Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East and North Africa, and honestly *do not* want to aid America in its quest for global supremacy.

There are many groups throughout Europe that are attempting to address the Islamization of their nations and of Europe but if they promote the ethnic identity and culture of Europeans they are perceived with utter contempt from the mainstream political class and accused of being racists or fascists. For example, the PEGIDA movement[1999], which stands for Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West, originated in Germany, has spread across Europe, and marches are attended by tens of thousands of people. PEGIDA has been condemned by many European Elites and labeled as the "pinstripe Nazis"[2000]. Angela Merkel, chancellor of Germany, has claimed that attendees of PEGIDA "all too often ... have prejudice, coldness, even hatred in their hearts"[2001] and in contrast to the ideals of the PEGIDA marches has claimed that "Islam belongs to Germany"[2002].

While Bawer rails against the Leftist omission/dismissal of the politico-religious element within Islam he himself omits/denies the antagonistic effects of Western intervention in Muslim countries on militant Islamism at home and abroad. Although he critiques the guilt complex that has arisen out of WWII and PC and vilifies Leftists for degrading European national identities, he omits the role of America in the creation of the EU, uses guilt-tripping language, and trashes European peoples, history, and ethnic nationalities while attempting to compel European action against Islamism and aid American global hegemony. And although he vehemently condemns PC Leftism (accusations of Islamophobia) he himself imposes a Neoconservative style political correctness (accusations of anti-Semitism and anti-

[1999] Noack, "Anti-Islam Protestors March in Dresden, Germany."
[2000] Simon Jenkins, "Germany's 'Pinstripe Nazis' Show the Immigration Debate is Overheated."
[2001] *Guardian*, "Angela Merkel Issues New Year's Warning over Right-Wing Pegida Group."
[2002] Rinke, "Merkel Says 'Islam Belongs to Germany' Ahead of Dresden Rally."

Americanism) upon the European peoples while discussing Israel, America, Europe, and anti-Islamism.

14.3.3 American Melting Pot vs. European Multiculturalism

Bawer claims the radicalising elements of Muslim immigrants in Europe is an integration problem that has been facilitated by Leftist policies that afford special rights to immigrant minorities. These special rights have enabled Muslim immigrants to self-segregate into closed communities, preserve illiberal cultural practices, adhere to a parallel legal system, and affect change on many levels of society. Any criticism of these developments is vehemently condemned and silenced by Leftist dhimmi authorities. In comparison to European multiculturalism, Bawer thinks the American assimilating melting pot model of immigrant integration is a spectacular "success." According to him, America views immigrants with "respect", sees them as "individuals" and "potential assets", and treats them as "free, self-determining Americans" whereas Europe "condescends" them, perceiving them as "needy cases, wards of the state" – victims – and as "members of an ethnic and religious group", a collectivity with particular customs that needs to be preserved[2003].

A dire result of European multiculturalism for Bawer is the trumping of individual rights by collective rights of minority groups; differences between cultures rather than between individuals are respected and preserved. What this means is that "ethnic Europeans are viewed as individuals" but Muslims are not as they are seen as members of the Muslim community, a "common identity [that] is determined entirely by skin colour, ethnicity, and religious background". The consequence of this thinking and practice has led, according to Bawer, to the view by the European establishment that intolerance, self-segregation, and forced marriages

[2003] Bawer, *While Europe Slept*, 55, 58.

within the immigrant community are “aspects of cultural difference” that must be accepted in a multicultural society. Bawer claims Europeans adopted multiculturalism not out of respect of ethnic differences but because they have “a profound discomfort with the idea of ‘them’ becoming ‘us’”. In his view, European multiculturalism presents itself as an anti-racist method of preserving the diversity of distinct non-European cultural and ethnic identities, but it is actually an ethnocentric strategy to maintain the ethnic homogeneity of Europeans in the face of large-scale immigration from the Third World. Because Europeans are aware of their ethnic differences, non-European immigrants are not treated as individual citizens but rather as “guests”; they are seen as members of a particular ethnic immigrant group irreconcilable with the national identity of the host country and, in consolation, are given special rights to remain separate, and to promote and celebrate their collective ethnic identity[2004].

For Bawer, multicultural policies are merely segregating tools related to the “widespread” bigotry and xenophobia in Europe and have prevented immigrant minorities from assimilating into mainstream society and assuming a common national identity. These bigoted multicultural policies partly explain, according to Bawer, why Europe has a problem with radical Islamism: they have repelled many of the “most liberal and easily integrated” Muslims from immigrating so that Europe is left with “the more illiterate, reactionary ones” instead. Furthermore, rather than multiculturalism being “an act of generosity” Bawer thinks it is really an “act of cultural self-hatred and cultural suicide”. Bawer perceives that this “deep self-contempt” and xenophobic European multiculturalism, as well as Leftist PC dhimmitude, have provided the conditions for Islamic radicals to flourish in Europe at the expense of liberal democracy[2005].

[2004] Ibid, 66, 64, 56.
[2005] Ibid, 70, 72, 70, 219.

To counter Leftist-enabled Islamism Bawer suggests that Europe be more careful when selecting Muslim immigrants – "[a]uthorities must simply be more careful about whom they let in" – and to scrap multiculturalism in favour of the American way: assimilation into a non-ethnically defined national identity and the glories of liberal individual rights. He writes: "the answer to the narrow strictures of fundamentalist Islam lay…in democratic liberalism, pluralism, and tolerance – the liberty that had made American prosperous and powerful". In this view, if all immigrants, especially Muslims, assimilate into a liberal democratic Europe which treats them as individuals and citizens rather than as guests with a separate collective religious identity, then Europe would have no problem with Islamism. He believes that Islam can be compatible with democracy and liberalism but the onus is on Muslims who "must discover more liberal ways of understanding their faith". Furthermore, Muslims in Europe "can defeat extremism by disavowing and discrediting it as an expression of Islam" and their children must not "be raised to see their religious affiliation as the be-all and end-all of their identity"[2006].

On the one hand, Bawer states that European nations have had long and continuous ethnically contained histories prior to large-scale immigration from the Third World and are still "ethnically very homogenous" compared to America; on the other hand, he dismisses this when comparing American integration to European integration models: Europeans "don't understand the radical process that is true integration – a process that's been a part of American life for generations" because Europeans are too aware of their ethnicity and too wary of allowing outsiders to take part in their centuries-old traditions. He writes that across Europe there is a "reflexive, inflexible clinging to native customs; the identification of nationality with ethnic identity; and the equation of membership in the society with an attachment to long-

[2006] Ibid, 68, 218, 234, 230, 229.

standing tribal traditions – all this is still part of the fabric of Europe, and it continues to make true, full, American-style integration next to impossible"[2007].

In comparison to Bawer's claims that multiculturalism was initiated due to self-centered ethnocentric considerations of Europeans, here is an example of what the British Labour Party conceived as multiculturalism and why it was important to them. British multiculturalism was first advocated by Roy Jenkins (1920-2003) in 1966, who was a member of the Party for European Socialists and also president of the European Commission between 1977 and 1981. In the 1960s the conditions in Britain were ripe for an ideology to arise as some sort of companion-piece to the practice of immigration and a guideline for the settlement of non-Europeans in the UK. Jenkins was the son of Welsh trade unionist and Labour party politician and in 1948 was elected into the House of Commons. He was a Fabian socialist, publishing his essay, 'Equality' in the *New Fabian Essays* (1952). In December 1965 he was made Labour Home Secretary of the State, and in May 1966 he gave a speech in London to the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, outlining his concept of multiculturalism:

> I do not regard [integration] as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman...I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance.[2008]

This multicultural socialist egalitarianism wasn't nationalised in the UK until 1997 under the New Labour government.

What Bawer essentially suggests is the casting off of collective ethnic, racial, and cultural identities by non-European immigrants and European natives alike so that all peoples will assimilate into a neutrally defined common national identity based on a set of secular

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[2007] Ibid, 50, 74.
[2008] Cited in Lester, "Multiculturalism and Free Speech."

liberal democratic values. This is paramount to him. He wants people to be individuals – a diversity of characters – with their own lifestyle in tune with liberal rights but does not want people to identify with an ethnic collective displaying a distinct and unified way of life. The epitome of successful American-style immigrant integration, "a true melting pot, an immigration triumph" is to him, the Chinese restaurant in a European town with Asian waitresses who speak several languages and the laughing mixed race couple eating Chinese food with their mixed race child[2009].

In comparison to the ethno-national character of Israel, and Jewish ethnic minority rights in Europe, the notion of European identities based on historic ethnoculturalism is anathematic to Bawers dream of a world-wide American-style monoculture based on abstract human rights. Although he claims that European multiculturalism has aimed at retaining ethnic distinctiveness and is ethnocentric, in actuality, multiculturalism does not afford majority rights to the ethnic Europeans and it is their ethnic identity that is in peril in comparison to immigrant minorities. Under the rubric of multiculturalism, unlike ethnic minority groups, when ethnic majority Europeans define themselves as distinct peoples by their race, heritage, and traditions they are called retrograde, racist, or white supremacist. Yet, it is clear that Bawer wants to prevent all ethnic groups from having an ethnic identity in Europe – immigrants and natives alike. He assumes that integrating immigrants in Europe into a liberal melting pot democracy like America is necessary and good and that the ethnocentric identity of native Europeans (and ethnic minorities) must be replaced by American style values.

In typical Neoconservative-style rhetoric, Bawer blames European Leftist elites and natives for the failures of Muslims to integrate into society and for the presence of Islamism in Europe. It does not occur to him that many Muslim radicals in Europe are third generation

[2009] Bawer, *While Europe Slept*, 188.

immigrants, many are refugees, many are illegal immigrants, many are radicalised in mosques and over the internet and by satellite TV, many feel disillusioned from the impartial consumer society of liberal hyper-individualism, many are indeed angry at the military endeavours of the West in the Middle East, and many aim to conquer Europe and the West whether or not it practices multiculturalism *or* assimilation. He also does not seem to fathom that people have strong attachments to their particular cultures and ethnic identities and will come to America, to Europe, and to the West for family and economic reasons only; they will stick together and keep their cultural particularities, practicing their way of life in private if necessary, and will push against and not conform to the universal idea of American monoculturalism, no matter how much Bawer and others want it.

Bawer also fails to perceive that the supposedly non-discriminatory model of universal liberal democracy has not worked in his beloved America either. Although he tries to convince the reader of the superiority of American style immigrant integration this does not mean that it is a model to emulate or does not suffer from its own problems. In fact, the American-style melting pot model is not even a reality. There is no common American identity other than abstract individual rights and there is copious evidence of multicultural-like features characterising the US: emphasis on ethnic diversity in education, employment, and government; separate ethnic/racial groups; immigrant enclaves; Black ghettos; ethnic minority rights; abuse of individual rights; a non-White victim culture; La Raza; Black Pride; race-related crimes, and so on.

Bawer thinks that anti-American and anti-Israel media propaganda in Europe damage good relations between America and Europe, relations which he thinks are necessary for combating Islamism at home and abroad. He wants Europe to adopt American-style assimilation and foreign policy, both of which, in Bawer's mind, have allowed America to be

free from any internal Islamic threat or threat from other immigrant groups. Maybe he thinks that the numerous Muslim terrorist attacks on Americans and on American soil, illegal immigration from Mexico, the La Raza movement, Black pride groups demanding reparations and supremacy, the reduction of the White American population to a minority by 2042 and its celebration by White Leftists and non-Whites, clashes between ethnic groups, and the fact that Islam is the fastest growing religion in America, are nothing to worry about. Bawer's love-blind praise for America means he cannot see these problems for what they are.

While Bawer is not wrong in blaming the presence of radical Islam in Europe on 68-er Leftist thinking, nowhere does he factor in other elements that have also contributed to Islamism in Europe, such as illegal immigration from neighbouring Muslim countries, weakened European ethnic interests due to not just Leftist but also Neocon political correctness, Western military intervention in the Middle East, the antagonistic situation of Israel-Palestine relations, general anti-Westernism, robust Muslim family and community traditions, and Muslim transnationalism that links Muslims in Europe to the Middle East by strong physical, spiritual, and political connections (family, marriages, I.C.T., pilgrimages etc.). Although he mentions some of these things in other contexts they are off the table for reasons as to why radical Islamism is in Europe. Only Leftist elites are to blame and multiculturalism has to go. However, he never mentions the "leading role" of Jews in the Leftist transformation of Europe into a multi-ethnic and multicultural paradise, unlike Barbara Spectre, a Jewish activist and founder of Paideia, the European Institute for Jewish Studies in Sweden, who, disregarding major European leaders who have declared that multiculturalism has "failed" and is "dead", spills the beans. She said in an interview with Israeli IBA-News in 2010 that Europe must become multicultural in order to "survive":

> I think there is a resurgence of anti-Semitism because at this point in time Europe has not yet learned how to be multicultural. And I think we are going to be part of the

> throes of that transformation, which must take place. Europe is not going to be the monolithic societies they once were in the last century. Jews are going to be at the centre of that. It's a huge transformation for Europe to make. They are now going into a multicultural mode and Jews will be resented because of our leading role. But without that leading role and without that transformation, Europe will not survive.[2010]

Similarly, in an October 2015 European Commission speech Frans Timmermans, first vice-president of the European Commission, states in reference to Jewish flight or Aliya from European nations due in part to Muslim anti-Semitism and terrorist attacks, that "Without our Jewish community, Europe would cease to exist. Europe would simply cease to exist"[2011]. Such claims of the importance of Jews in Europe for European survival is bizarre for how large is the Jewish community in Europe? According to Pew Research there were around 1.4 million Jews in Europe in 2010, including eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, constituting about 10 percent of the total world population of Jews[2012]. In the EU the Jewish population was estimated to be around 1.1 million in 2014 or about 8 percent of the total population of Jews in the world[2013]. The total population of the EU is 508 million according to Europa, the official website for the EU[2014]. This means that the Jewish population constitutes merely 0.23 percent of the EU population. How can such a small proportion of the population be so influential, not just for the political and ideological landscape of Europe but, more importantly, for its very existence?

Bawer, like Spectre and Timmermans, doesn't grasp the tragedy that has unfolded for native Europeans. He doesn't perceive that Third World mass-immigration, cultural Marxism, and Neocon universalism are assaulting European indigenous culture with equally destructive results as Islamism. Although multiculturalism is better than assimilation as it recognises that

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[2010] "Barbara Lerner Spectre Calls for Destruction of Christian European Ethnic Societies," YouTube video (IBA News).
[2011] European Commission, "Opening remarks of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans."
[2012] Lipka, "The continuing decline of Europe's Jewish population."
[2013] Dashefsky and Sheskin, *American Jewish Year Book 2014*, 351.
[2014] *Europa*, "Living in the EU."

ethnicity and cultural roots matter for people's identity, the problem with it is that it does not afford the White majorities of Europe the right to preserve their traditional societal culture, ethnic identity, and particular history. In the end, assimilation is not the answer to European problems of Islamism as the fundamental problem facing Europe today is large-scale Third World immigration.

14.3.4 Large-Scale Third-World Immigration

Bawer is plainly pro-immigration. He writes:

> Western Europe desperately needs immigrants. The native population is aging and its numbers are on the wane….more and more workers will be needed to keep national economies from shrinking and to help pay for mounting retirement benefits and hospitalisation costs….there's no reason why the difficulties posed by fundamentalist Islam should prevent Western Europe from maintaining a steady flow of immigrants.

So, it is clear, Bawer considers massive immigration from the Third World into Europe as necessary. However, its not just for demographic and economic reasons. He also thinks immigration from non-European countries is essentially culturally-enriching. He says, for example, that "Time and again…I've encountered immigrants who've brought values and habits to Norway that the country needs more of [and immigrants tend to be] much friendlier… than Norwegians"[2015]. Bawer has no problem with mass-immigration from the Third World if it means immigrants assimilate into the contemporary Western way of life defined in terms of abstract individual liberal rights for all and contribute to its cultural progression to universalism. All immigrants as well as natives must assimilate into a liberal democratic culture and not demand special ethnic considerations. If Muslims in Europe assimilate into an individual rights based society, become secular, abandon their collective identity and their illiberal beliefs and practices, and stop their terror attacks on the West, then they can stay and more can come too.

[2015] Bawer, *While Europe Slept*, 68-69.

Bawer seems to think that only Muslims pose an integration problem due to their strong collective identity and for some, their militant radicalism, which are banes to American global supremacy in Europe and throughout the world. He believes no other ethnic minority groups in Europe are a problem as he thinks they have accepted their minority status and are integrating quite nicely; they do not demand special accommodations, do not bomb and commit terrorist acts against the West, and are not anti-capitalist or anti-democratic. Obviously, Bawer doesn't comprehend that all other ethnic minority immigrant groups in Europe pose a threat to European ethnic *identity* and *homelands*. He doesn't consider Third-World immigration and anti-European Third-Worldism as threats to the actual long-term existence of European peoples because he doesn't consider the erosion of the ethnic identities of Europe and the West (demographic and political decline) as a problem. In these regards, he has, along with other Neoconservatives, several elements in common with Leftism: he is for massive immigration from the Third World into the West, he outright rejects distinct collective European ethnic identities, and completely opposes the right of Europeans to maintain and preserve their identity at the national level in their own homelands. In the end, he thinks ethnic identity does not have a place in the American plan for global supremacy. Ethno-national identities and collective rights of distinct peoples must be replaced by individual rights and ethnically impartial identities.

Although Bawer opposes multiculturalism and favours assimilation, like Leftists and other Neocons, Bawer supports the political ideal that all the races of the World should come to and settle in the West and that all races should mix together there. As such, neither Leftism nor Neoconservatism stress the importance of preserving real ethnic diversity in the world. Nor do they show concern for the numerical majority replacement of native Europeans in the work force, schools, government, national institutions, and homelands by non-European high birth-

rates and large-scale immigration. They have no qualms about European peoples being overwhelmed, stifled, and dispossessed by the practices of mass-immigration. Rather, they encourage and celebrate these destructive processes in their efforts to create a new world order.

Bawer is plainly anti-European. His perception of Europe and European peoples comes across as malicious. He does not consider the diversity of ethnicities and cultures in the world, and their preservation, as goods in themselves. Despite being pro-Israel, he does not understand that geographical boundaries are integral to ethnic distinctiveness, or that ethnic distinctiveness is necessary for the diversity and vitality of the multitude of cultures and peoples of the world. Nor does he comprehend that ethnic particularity is a necessary feature of the psychological identity of social groups and that belonging and identifying with a distinct ethnic group with a collective identity and shared language, cultural heritage, norms, values, and traditions is an intrinsic feature of human psychology and of all human societies that have existed throughout human history. He wants to completely overhaul the historical traditions and character of Europe to suit the needs, wants, and aspirations of American global supremacy, which aims towards the imposition of a universal monoculture on the whole world. Therefore, Bawer is a supremacist ideologue of American-style race-mixed monoculturalism and an enemy of European heritage, pride, and ethnic diversity.

14.3.5 European Populism: Liberal Democracy or Fascism

For Bawer, the increasing popularity of real democracy in Europe could go two ways: liberal democracy or fascism. He hopes populism will lead to “a more democratic polity that placed liberty above multiculturalism”. He sees this in particular Liberal Right-leaning types of people, who he calls “the liberal resistance – a hodgepodge of writers, politicians, and activists”, namely those who are pro-liberty, pro-America, pro-Israel, and against the Islamisation of

Europe, such as Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, Ayaan Hirsi Ali, and Lars Hedegaard. Although European leftists have branded this “liberal resistance” fascist and racist for their stern policies regarding Islam and Israel, these are labels that Bawer refutes with zeal. Liberal right wing populist groups are acceptable to Bawer due to their "tolerance", which is “familiar to Americans”. He admires them because they are not against immigration and do not defend and promote the national ethnic identity of Europeans, but instead defend continued large-scale immigration and policies of “education, emancipation, and integration”, and have respect for democracy, secularity, freedom of expression, equality of women, sexual minority rights, and individual rights[2016].

In contrast, ethnic-minded Europeans responding to the Islamization of Europe and their homelands are a problem for Bawer. Although he observes that Europe has a history of ethnic and cultural homogeneity and is much more “traditionalist and nativist” than America, he perceives these nativist traditions and tribal-like European identities as hindrances to American global supremacy. He thinks right wing populist groups that deal with issues of Islamism but want to also preserve aspects of the Old World order in Europe, such as the British National Party (BNP), Vlaams Belang (Belgium), National Front (France), the Freedom Party (Austria), and the National Party (Germany), are truly “fascistic groups” because they are “fixated on racial, ethnic, and cultural identity”. For example, Bawer asserts that the ethnonationalist BNP, which stands for the British working class people, is “an explicitly racist group that…also opposes mixed-race marriages, has had associations with neo-Nazi groups, and requires members to be of British (or ‘closely kindred’) stock” and this is just “[n]ot a pretty picture”.

[2016] Ibid, 222, 163, 45, 164-165.

The anti-Semitic history of Europe and the rise of so-called neo-Nazism makes Bawer worry that "many Europeans … [will] respond to the looming Islamist fascism in their midst with fascism of their own". He writes, Europe has had a "long history of anti-Semitism", and Nazi anti-Semitism "was the culmination of centuries of Jew-hatred rooted in the European preoccupation with ethnic identity as the basis of cultural identity". So the "resurgent right-wing nationalism" witnessed today in Europe is "of a kind that had not been seen since the defeat of Hitler". He fears that the populist parties that are not already "far-right, racist, or xenophobic" may "easily move in that direction" as the crisis in Europe "deepened"[2017].

For Leftists and Neocons alike, non-liberal populist groups that emphasise the importance of ethnic identity and want to end or even just limit large-scale Third World immigration are truly fascistic. For Bawer, Islamists, Leftists, and indigenous ethnic-pride European populist groups all present an obstacle to his quest of American supremacy and monocultural hegemony in Europe and across the globe. While he bemoans the weak identity of the sleeping brainwashed Europeans in the face of Islamism, Bawer fears those Europeans who seek to preserve their distinct ethnic identity in the face not just of Islamism, but other pertinent issues too, such as rising non-European demographics and cultural demands of minority immigrant groups, PC Leftism, and American hegemony. Bawer dreads indigenous Europeans promoting their ethnically distinct identities and collective belonging as a protective measure against encroaching enemies because he associates a strong European ethnic identity with anti-Semitism. Quite simply, Bawer not only fears 'fascist' Europeans embracing their ethnic identity, but also fears anti-American European Leftists and Islamists, all because of their purported 'anti-Semitism'. For him, Europe must stop the Leftist-enabled tide of Islamism by adopting the American strategies of assimilation, liberal individual rights, and neoconservative

[2017] Ibid, 73, 44, 214, 222, 138, 159, 223.

foreign policy and must prevent White nationalists rising in response to mass-immigration and Islamism, otherwise this will lead to a new era of anti-Semitism in Europe. In fact, Bawer has a problem with any group or individual that is not pro-American, pro-Israel, pro-military intervention in the Middle East, pro-assimilation, or pro-immigration: if you do not ascribe to any of these descriptors you are labeled as either a brainwashed Leftist, an Islamist, or an anti-Semitic neo-Nazi fascist.

15. European Demographic and Political Decline: Is it Genocide?

We have so far seen the historical, geopolitical, international, demographic, and ideological influences on (and, where applicable, the consequences and critiques of) the development and current form of the European Union. In this final chapter, international laws and legal definitions on the aim and basis of the European Union, and on self-determination, discrimination, persecution, genocide, and indigenous rights are clarified. In the spirit of assessment, they are then applied to the EU cosmopolitan project, to demographic engineering that is motivated by economic and political interests, and to Leftist-Third Worldism, all of which directly influence the political and demographic decline of indigenous Europeans.

15.1 International Laws and Defintions

Let us begin with European Union Law and the right to self-determination. According to article 3 of the *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union* (2012), the central aim of the EU is to "promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples". It aims to provide its citizens with "an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers" while taking "appropriate measures" regarding its "external border controls, asylum, immigration and the prevention and combating of crime". It also seeks to "respect" the "rich cultural and linguistic diversity" of Europe and "ensure" that the "cultural heritage" of Europe is "safeguarded and enhanced". In addition, according to article 4(2) of the Treaty, "the equality of Member States," their individual "territorial integrity," "national identities," and their "safeguarding [of] national security" are all to be respected by the EU. Article 10 of the Treaty declares that the EU is to be based on "representative democracy", with citizens being "directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament". European political parties are to "contribute...to expressing the

will of citizens of the Union"[2018]. Article 10 reflects article 21(3) of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), which states that "the basis of the authority of government" is the "will of the people," a will that is "expressed in periodic and genuine elections"[2019]. In other words, based on democratic principles and human rights, the will of the European peoples is meant to determine the governance of European nation-states as well as the EU as a whole.

The EU also abides by the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR), which is a multilateral treaty adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1966 and came into force in March 1976. According to article 1(1) of this Covenant, "All peoples have the right to self-determination" and, based on this right, "freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." Member States are responsible, according to article 1(3), of promoting "the realization" of this right of peoples to self-determination[2020]. In his book *Self-Determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal* (1995), the late Italian jurist Antonio Cassese writes that

> Internal self-determination[2021] means the right to authentic self-government, that is, the right for a people really and freely to choose its own political and economic regime – which is much more than choosing among what is on offer perhaps from one political or economic position only. It is an ongoing right.... the right to internal self-determination is neither destroyed nor diminished by its already once having been invoked and put into effect[2022].

In other words, just because a political and/or economic regime of a nation, and, by extension, a nation of nations such as the EU, has been established, does not mean that is absolute; it remains continuously subject to being re-determined by the people.

[2018] EUR-Lex, *Consolidated Versions of the Treaty on European Union*, 17-18, 21.
[2019] United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*
[2020] United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (OHCHR), *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.*
[2021] Internal self-determination is "a people's pursuit of its political, economic, social and cultural development within the framework of an existing state". External self-determination is about secession and associated with decolonisation. See: Reference re Secession of Quebec [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217 at para. 126, 1998 SCC 25506.
[2022] Cassese, *Self-Determination of Peoples,* 101.

The right of nations (based on self-determined peoples) to self-determination is an essential principle of international law and is linked to the right to self-determine the state (coercive political apparatus) and to territorial integrity. In 2008 the UN General Assembly Security Council declared that the principle of self-determination "may be interpreted as reinforcing the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of states since it constitutes a reaffirmation of the principle of sovereign equality"[2023]. Ten years earlier, the Canadian Supreme Court declared that

> There is no necessary incompatibility between the maintenance of the territorial integrity of existing states...and the right of a "people" to achieve a full measure of self-determination. A state whose government represents the whole of the people or peoples resident within its territory, on a basis of equality and without discrimination, and respects the principles of self-determination in its own internal arrangements, is entitled to the protection under international law of its territorial integrity[2024].

In 2003, Johan D. Van Der Vyver, I.T. Cohen Professor of International Law and Human Rights at Emory University School of Law, wrote that "the right to self-determination is almost always proclaimed in conjunction with the territorial integrity of states" and that self-determination had come to include "the entitlement of national, ethnic, religious, or linguistic societies within a political community to live according to the customs and traditions of their kind"[2025]. Prior to WWII self-determination was associated with nationalism and popular sovereignty, and, according to the late Edward McWhinney, a Canadian lawyer, "the constitution of ethno-culturally homogeneous nation-states". After WWII self-determination became associated with "peoples" rather than "nations" per se with its concentration on "local, indigenous political movements in European colonial territories overseas" as well as national minorities and other minorities of nation-states[2026]. Since this time, self-determination has barely applied to current

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[2023] United Nations General Assembly Security Council, *Protracted conflicts in the GUAM area*, 38.
[2024] Reference re Secession of Quebec [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217 at para. 130, 1998 SCC 25506.
[2025] Van der Vyver, "Self-determination of the Peoples of Quebec under International Law," 1-2.
[2026] McWhinney, *Self-Determination of Peoples and Plural-Ethnic States in Contemporary International Law*, 2.

ethnic majorities of EU Member States, although, according to various European and international law documents as discussed above and below, like all peoples, European ethnic majorities also have the right to self-determination.

15.1.1 Discrimination and Persecution

Article 12 of the UDHR and article 17 of the ICCPR declare that "No one shall be subject to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation" and that "Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks"[2027]. In article 20(2) of the ICCPR, it is stated that advocating "national, racial or religious hatred" that incites "discrimination, hostility or violence" is "prohibited by law"[2028]. In article 14 of the *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* (1953/2010) in Europe, it is declared that "discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status" is prohibited[2029], a prohibition which is also found in article 26 of the ICCPR[2030]. Similarly, in article 7 of the UDHR it is stated that all people "are entitled to equal protection" against incitement to discrimination and the act of discrimination itself[2031].

According to article 6 of the *Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004* (on refugees and those qualifying for subsidiary protection) persecution can be undertaken by the State, by "parties or organizations controlling the State or a substantial part of the territory of the State", and by "non-State actors...including international organizations". According to article 9(2) acts of persecution can take various forms, such as "physical or mental violence, including acts of

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[2027] UN, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; OHCHR, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.*
[2028] OHCHR, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.*
[2029] European Court of Human Rights, *European Convention on Human Rights,* 12.
[2030] OHCHR, *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*.
[2031] UN, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*

sexual violence" and "legal, administrative, police, and/or judicial measures which are themselves discriminatory or which are implemented in a discriminatory manner." Such acts must "be sufficiently serious by their nature or repetition as to constitute a severe violation of basic human rights" according to article 9(1a)[2032]. According to article 2(c) persecution is based on "reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group". In article 10 race is defined as including "considerations of colour, descent, or membership of a particular ethnic group" and nationality is defined as *not* being

> confined to citizenship or lack thereof but shall in particular include membership of a group determined by its cultural, ethnic, or linguistic identity, common geographical or political origins or its relationship with the population of another State[2033].

A particular social group is defined as a group where

> members of that group share an innate characteristic, or a common background that cannot be changed, or share a characteristic or belief that is so fundamental to identity or conscience that a person should not be forced to renounce it.

And political opinion is defined as "the holding of an opinion, thought or belief on a matter related to the potential actors of persecution...and to their policies or methods, whether or not that opinion, thought or belief has been acted upon by the applicant"[2034]. In sum, individuals and peoples cannot be persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership of a social group.

15.1.2 Genocide, Ethnocide, and Cultural Genocide

Raphael Lemkin, a Polish-Jewish linguist and lawyer who helped initiate the Genocide Convention (1948), coined the terms 'genocide', 'ethnocide', and 'cultural genocide' in the first half of the 20th century. For Lemkin, the term genocide was a combination of the Greek word

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[2032] EUR-Lex, *Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004*, 16-17.
[2033] As a brief supplementation to the definition of nationality by the *Council Directive 2004/83/EC*, article 15 of the UDHR states that "Everyone has the right to a nationality" and "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality." See: UN, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.
[2034] EUR-Lex, *Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004*, 14, 17.

genos meaning race, tribe, or family and the Latin word *cide* or killing i.e. race, tribe, or family killing. In his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation - Analysis of Government - Proposals for Redress* (1944), Lemkin wrote that genocide

> does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the national group as an entity, and the actions involved are directed against individuals, not in their individual capacity, but as members of the national group[2035].

According to this original definition of genocide, various actions aimed at the destruction of nations, the national group and its members, can occur immediately through physical/biological destruction, or over time by deliberate actions aimed at destroying the "essential foundations" necessary for the survival of national groups. Lemkin further wrote that

> Genocide has two phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor. This imposition, in turn, may be made upon the oppressed population which is allowed to remain, or upon the territory alone, after removal of the population and colonization of the area by the oppressor's own nationals[2036].

In other words, genocide does not necessarily involve the immediate biological destruction of a distinct peoples, but rather the destruction of their "essential foundations", their distinct biological means and "patterns" for survival at the national level that will lead to the eventual annihilation of a distinct racial grouping. The "national pattern" is replaced by a foreign "national pattern" that is imposed upon them by an oppressive or colonizing force. This may be called American*ization*, Islam*ization*, African*ization*, or even cosmopolitanin*ization*. Genocide

[2035] Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe,* 79.
[2036] Ibid, 79.

involves denationalisation, but is more than this; it is aimed at depriving the racial group targeted of their actual existence as a distinct living group over the long-term.

Originally Lemkin intended the term ethnocide to be synonymous or alternative to the term genocide. The term ethnocide is a combination of the Greek word *ethnos* meaning nation and the Latin word *cide* meaning killing i.e. nation killing. Lemkin also viewed cultural genocide, meaning the destruction of cultural heritage or cultural killing, as an aspect of genocide[2037]. Similarly, in 1981 the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* (UNESCO) defined ethnocide as synonymous with cultural genocide, describing it in terms of

> an ethnic group [that] is denied the right to enjoy, develop and transmit its own culture and its own language, whether collectively or individually. This involves an extreme form of massive violation of human rights and, in particular, the right of ethnic groups to respect for their cultural identity[2038].

Likewise, in 2008 Spanish jurist and historian Bartolomé Clavero declared that "Genocide kills people while ethnocide kills social cultures through the killing of individual souls"[2039]. Ethnocide is more than cultural genocide in that ethnicity and culture are not identical. Ethnocide goes beyond the destruction of cultural heritage; it aims at killing the actual essence, the vitality or spiritual underpinnings of individuals who belong to an ethnic group. It can be understood as intentionally targeting a distinct ethno-national group for destruction by attacking their collective attributes, such as their ethnic and national identity, language, and homelands, and their ancestral, social, and cultural heritage, ways of life, and systems of thought[2040].

Cultural genocide as well as political genocide were included in the first draft version (1947) of the 1948 Genocide Convention but the final Convention excluded cultural genocide

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[2037] Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 79. In addition to cultural and biological aspects of genocide, Lemkin also viewed genocide as containing political, economic, social, physical, religious, and moral aspects as well. See: Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 82-90.
[2038] As cited by Schabas, *Genocide in International Law,* 189.
[2039] Clavero, *Genocide or Ethnocide,* 100.
[2040] See: Martin Shaw, *What is Genocide,* 65-67; Conversi, "Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing and Nationalism," 320-333.

and limited protected groups to racial, national, linguistic, and religious groups[2041]. According to the first draft (1947), cultural genocide involved

> Destroying the specific characteristics of the group by:
>
> (a) Forcible transfer of children to another group; or
> (b) Forced and systematic exile of individuals representing the culture of a group; or
> (c) Prohibition of the use of the national language even in private intercourse; or
> (d) Systematic destruction of books printed in the national language or of religious works or prohibition of new publications; or
> (e) Systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic, or religious values and of objects used in religious worship[2042].

In the finalised Convention, called the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, which was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948, cultural genocide is described as one aspect of genocide. Article II defines genocide as

> acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:
>
> (a) Killing members of the group;
> (b) Causing seriously bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group[2043].

Those who commit and direct genocide, conspire to commit genocide, publicly incite genocide, attempt genocide, or are complicit in genocide, will be punished and will either be tried by the State where the act was committed or by an international tribunal.

The *Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide* (OSAPG) provides an analysis framework of eight categories to ascertain if there is a "risk of genocide in a given

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[2041] See: Gellately and Kiernan, *The Specter of Genocide,* 267; Staub, *The Roots of Evil,* 8.
[2042] *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide - the Secretariat and Ad Hoc Committee Drafts* (1947 and 1948).
[2043] *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (1948).

situation". In the first category the relations of groups are analysed in terms of "tensions, power and economic relations, including perceptions about the targeted group" and "existing and past conflicts over land, power, security and expressions of group identity, such as language, religion and culture". In the second category, "circumstances," including existing structures, are examined in terms of how they "affect the capacity to prevent genocide" and in the third category the "capacity to perpetrate genocide – especially, but not exclusively, by killing" is investigated. In the fourth category the "underlying political, economic, military or other motivation to target a group" is examined in terms of "exclusionary ideology and the construction of identities in terms of 'us' and 'them' to accentuate differences." This also includes an investigation of "propaganda campaigns and fabrications about the targeted group" that are "used to justify acts against a targeted group by use of dominant, controlled media or 'mirror politics'" and of "any relevant role, whether active or passive, of actors outside the country...and respective political or economic motivations". The fifth category involves the examination of "any development of events, whether gradual or sudden, that suggest a trajectory towards the perpetration of genocidal violence, or the existence of a longer term plan or policy to commit genocide". Such events include a "sudden increase in inflammatory rhetoric or hate propaganda, especially by leaders, that sets a tone of impunity". The sixth category involves analysis of acts of killing, sexual violence and so on and "less obvious methods of destruction" such as "deprivation of resources needed for the group's physical survival" and the "creation of circumstances that could lead to a slow death". The seventh category involves the investigation of "hate speech", "widespread and/or systematic" discrimination, methods "designed to reach the foundations of the group", "targeted elimination of community leaders and/or men and/or women of a particular age group (the 'future generation' or a military-age group)", and "other practices designed to complete the

exclusion of targeted group from social/political life". And the eighth and final category involves analysis of "triggering factors" for genocide, such as "increases in opposition capacity... or rapidly declining opposition capacity". The former may be seen as a threat, which triggers "preemptive action", and the latter may lead to the erasure of "problem groups" [2044].

15.1.3 Indigenous Rights

Although ethnocide and cultural genocide were omitted from the Convention on Genocide, in article 7 of the 1994 draft version of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* both terms were included. This draft version is as follows:

> Indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right not to be subjected to ethnocide or cultural genocide, including prevention and redress for:
>
> (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities;
> (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources;
> (c) Any form of population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights;
> (d) Any form of assimilation or integration by other cultures or ways of life imposed on them by legislative, administrative or other measures;
> (e) Any form of propaganda directed against them[2045].

The UN General Assembly adopted the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in September 2007 but dropped both ethnocide and cultural genocide. Article 8, however, of the final document remains basically unchanged from the draft version above, merely changing the first sentence to read "Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture". In article 7(2) it is stated that "Indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace, and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence". This means that

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[2044] Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG), "Analysis Framework."
[2045] *1994/45. Draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples.*

indigenous peoples are legally protected from both cultural and biological genocide according to international law[2046].

Although the UN does not have an official definition of 'indigenous', in a UN factsheet on indigenous peoples it is stated that indigenous peoples are

> the descendants...of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived. The new arrivals later became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means[2047].

Likewise, in the annex of the 2008 *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, it states

> indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests.

In other words, being historically subject to colonisation and becoming a minority in one's own land are requisites to be considered an indigenous people by the United Nations. Also in the annex it is stated "indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such" and that "all peoples contribute to the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures". So, various peoples of the world give rise to human diversity as they are distinct and different to each other and these differences must be respected[2048].

According to the Declaration, in addition to human rights indigenous peoples "possess collective rights which are indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples". These collective rights are similar to immigrant multicultural rights in that they recognise the importance of group rights and the need for collectivity for the well-being and development of the group, while, at the same time, possessors of group rights also have the possibility of full participation in liberal democratic societies. In other words,

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[2046] UN, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 5.
[2047] United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, "Who are Indigenous Peoples?"
[2048] UN, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 1-2.

indigenous peoples have two sets of rights (collective and liberal democratic) and this creates two world spheres or ways of life and two identities based on particularity (ethnic) and universalism (national). Yet, in comparison to multicultural rights that do not allow autonomy and self-government for immigrant minorities, in article 4 of the Declaration it is stated that indigenous peoples "in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy and self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as means and ways of enhancing their autonomous functions" and in article 9 it is declared that "Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right to belong to an indigenous community or nation, in accordance with the traditions and customs of the community or nation concerned". This means that indigenous peoples have the collective right to govern themselves according to their cultural norms and to form distinct ethnically closed communities or nations[2049].

According to article 11 (1) of the Declaration, indigenous peoples have the right to "maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures" and in article 12(1) and 13 (1) they have the "right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures" and to "establish and control their educational systems and institutions...in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning". This means that indigenous peoples have the right to control their cultural knowledge and its dissemination to next generations. In article 18 and 19 it is stated that "indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights" and must give their "free, prior and informed consent" before states adopt and implement "legislative or administrative measures that may affect them". In other words, actions taken by the state that

[2049] Ibid, 4, 6.

have the possibility of affecting indigenous rights must be approved by indigenous peoples prior to their implementation[2050].

In article 26 it is stated that “indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired” and they have the right to “control” these lands and resources due to their “traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use” of them. In addition, “States shall give legal recognition and protection to these lands, territories and resources”. This means that claims over and control of lands, territories, and resources by indigenous peoples is recognised and protected by the State because of indigenous peoples’ ancestral or traditional ties to these goods. In article 32(3), it is declared that indigenous peoples have to approve of any state projects that affect their lands, resources, and territories and states must provide “appropriate measures...to mitigate adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual impact” that have arisen as a result of these activities. In other words, actions taken by the state that may affect both the rights and the goods of indigenous peoples must be approved by them prior to their implementation and any negative impact on the rights and goods after implementation must be allayed by the state[2051].

In article 23 it is stated that “indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions” and in article 34 it is declared that “indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive customs, spirituality, traditions, procedures, practices and ... juridical systems or customs”. This means that indigenous peoples have the right to self-identify and can decide what that identity means, and can develop and maintain

[2050] Ibid, 6-8.
[2051] Ibid, 10, 12.

their own distinct institutions that reflect this identity, including their customs, traditions, ways of life etc., without external interference. And, finally, in article 43 it is stated that "The rights recognized herein constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world". In other words, the aim of indigenous rights is the protection of the existence of indigenous peoples in a physically and mentally healthy way for the long-term and the acknowledgement that this requires recognizing them as distinct peoples who have the right to remain collectively different and develop their own institutions and communities/nations without external interference. It also means that indigenous peoples have traditional claims to particular territory and resources, which they have full control over, including who can enter and access such land and resources[2052].

15.2 Political and Demographic Engineering in Europe

> Ethnic groups are individuals who share a common trait such as language, race or religion, a belief in a common heritage and destiny, and an association with a given piece of territory. These shared ties are often intricately connected[2053].

The UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* implies that to be considered indigenous, a people need to have been colonized and dispossessed of their land, resources, and territory in the past so that today they form a minority group within a dominant state. Even though ethnic Europeans are indigenous to Europe, as evidenced by tens of thousands of years of regional presence, are already minorities in some of their main cities due to immigration and settlement by foreigners, and are predicted to become minorities in their own homelands before the end of this century, they are not considered indigenous by the UN and

[2052] Ibid, 9, 12, 14.
[2053] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 87.

other international bodies. Only when they have become *proper* minorities within their own homelands they may be recognised as indigenous and protected by indigenous rights and laws.

Like the UN, according to the popular online encyclopedia, *Wikipedia,* indigenous European peoples are Europeans that "have been *marginalized* by an immigrant population in recent times. The category is not for European peoples who remain the majority *in at least part of their historical homeland*, for these, just use Category: Ethnic groups in Europe"[2054]. This is an astonishing definition. According to this logic, ethnic Europeans who are in the process of becoming minorities in their own homelands due to a combination of mass-immigration and low fertility rates but remain a majority in *part of their homelands*, are not considered indigenous because they have not been completely "marginalised" and thus do not have indigenous rights. Only *after* they become full minorities to under 50 percent of the population *in all of their homelands* in Europe – estimated to be occur between 2050 and the year 2100 – will they then be recognised as the indigenous peoples of Europe, granted collective rights, and protected by international law.

Currently, Europeans only have liberal individual rights[2055]. In comparison, immigrants have both individual rights and multicultural group rights. It is assumed that European ethnic peoples are 'enlightened' cosmopolitans with a universal identity and thus don't need collective rights for their particularistic well-being and integral development or group rights to preserve, celebrate, enhance, and develop their distinct traditional cultures and ethnic identities. As such, no obvious legal protections (such as majority rights, collective rights) currently exist to prevent Europeans from becoming indigenous ethnic minorities within their own homelands.

[2054] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Category:Indigenous peoples of Europe," accessed July 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Category:Indigenous_peoples_of_Europe (my emphasis second sentence).
[2055] See chapter 4.

However, the UN itself declares that the definition of indigenous peoples is not official. A simple definition of indigeneity can be found in the Gage Canadian Dictionary, which states that indigenous means "originating or produced in a particular country; growing or living naturally in a certain region, soil, climate, etc.; native"[2056]. It is clear, from archaeological and genetic evidence, that Europeans are native to Europe; Europe is their continental homeland. Strong genetic components of modern Europeans were already found in the Upper Paleolithic Stone Age, around 37,000 years ago, in the European continent. This was ascertained by the discovery of human skeletal remains that are between 38,700 and 36,200 years old. Eske Willerslev, the director of the Centre for GeoGenetics at the University of Copenhagen and co-author of the multiple-author study *Genomic Structure in Europeans Dating Back at Least 36,200 Years* (2014) in the journal *Science*[2057], which discussed the findings, stated that the skeletal remains are from "one of the oldest modern humans found in Europe" and "all the major genetic components present in living-day Europeans were already present in Europeans 37,000 years ago[2058]. This means that due to the stability of genes within European peoples over thousands of years on the European continent, there was very little in-migration[2059].

In Britain, a central narrative justifying non-European mass-immigration today suggests that Britain is an immigrant nation and British people are 'mongrels'. Take for example Sandy Walkington, former Liberal Democrat candidate for St. Albans, UK who stated "We're all mongrels. I mean, this country is the most mongrel country in the world. In 200 years we'll all be coffee-coloured and I've no problem with that"[2060]. Or Eddie Izzard, who, in an attempt to justify multi-racial immigration, declared in his 2003 TV series *Mongrel Britain* for the Discovery

[2056] *Gage Canadian Dictionary* (1983), s.v. "indigenous," 593.
[2057] Seguin-Orlando et al., "Genomic Structure in Europeans Dating Back at Least 36,200 years."
[2058] "37 000 year old European DNA Identical to Modern Day Europeans," Youtube video.
[2059] Law, "The European Race Evolved in the European Continent — Relatively Recently."
[2060] Pierce, "Nutters, Nick Clegg? They're closer than you think."

Channel that "our country, after all, has been massively diverse for most of its history – a blend of Angles, Saxons, Romans, Vikings, Celts"[2061]. This is absurd logic. Indigenous Britons have ancestral links in Britain that go back around 11-12,000 years, just after the last ice age, and migration that occurred in history was sporadic, on a small scale over thousands of years, and from genetically similar peoples i.e. European.

According to a 20-year Oxford University study by geneticists and archaeologists, "Romans, Vikings and Normans may have ruled or invaded the British for hundreds of years, but they left barely a trace on our DNA". Around 30 percent of British DNA is Anglo-Saxon (German, around 1500 years ago), meaning around 70 percent of British DNA is from settlers that arrived just after the last ice age (around 11,000 years ago) when Britain was connected to continental Europe by a land bridge. Britons living in south and central England share about 40 percent of their DNA with the French, from a migration that occurred around 10,000 years ago. The southern and central English also share about 11 percent of their DNA with the Danes and 9 percent with the Belgians[2062]. A genetic map also shows that tribes in 600 AD Britain are almost identical to regional genetic variability now, which suggests that local communities have been living in the same areas for at least 1400 years. Other genetic and archaeological studies have found that the vast majority of British people have ancestors going back thousands of years[2063]. One example is Cheddar Gorge Man. His bones were excavated in 1903 and they were found to be from 7150 BC, or just over 9,000 years ago. His DNA was analysed in 1993 and people from the nearby Cheddar village had exact matches, meaning that they were direct

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[2061] *The Free Library*, s.v. "Eddie Izzard" (retrieved Oct 18 2016) https://www.thefreelibrary.com/Eddie+Izzard.-a0225478286.

[2062] Hannah Devlin, "Genetic study reveals 30% of white British DNA has German ancestry"; Leslie et al., "The Fine-Scale Genetic Structure of the British Population."

[2063] Kemp, *Four Flags: The Indigenous People of Great Britain*; De la Bédoyère, *Eagles Over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain;* Alcock, *Arthur's Britain: History and Archaeology AD 367–634*; Laing and Laing, *Anglo-Saxon England*; Johnson, *Offshore Islanders: From Roman Occupation to European Entry*.

descendants and still lived in the same area[2064]. In other words, British DNA is found to be rooted in thousands of years of history and regional identities, complemented by DNA from close European neighbours just across the Channel (with only subtle differences in genetic make-up) to the North, East, and South. This means that White Britons are indigenous to Britain; Britain is their ancestral homeland.

15.2.1 A Brief Introduction to the Current Situation

Europeans (including Britons) have low fertility rates and are experiencing population decline. At the same time, this decline becomes relatively accelerated by the rapid emergence, concentrated urban settlement, and continuing growth of non-European minority ethnic groups and communities, particularly within Western European nation-states. These large minority ethnic groups and communities have arisen significantly in Europe only in the past 60 years as a direct result of their large-scale in-migration and high fertility rates. In addition to demographic decline, Europeans are also experiencing political decline. Alliances between Leftists, Liberals, Islamists, and non-European ethnic minority groups are rapidly altering the political culture, identities, and institutions of indigenous European nations and, as Europeans inch closer to becoming demographic minorities within their own homelands, their legitimacy for majority rule and political sovereignty weakens.

Such rapid changes to the ethnic compositions and political structures of European nations is directly related to the EU project. This Leftist-Liberal elite-imposed project is a deliberate plan to create a cosmopolitan open society based on global economics, the ethnic/racial mixing of European populations through mass-immigration and settlement, multicultural immigrant rights and universal values, and an ethnically neutral European identity

[2064] *Wikipedia*, s.v. “Cheddar Man,” retrieved June 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheddar_Man.

constructed around liberal individualism and universal rights. Such a project 'unbundles' and 'decouples' European ethnic groups from their national identity, dispossesses them of their right to sovereignty over their homeland territory, renders them minorities within their own homelands, neglects to afford them the rights to protect, preserve, celebrate, and enhance their traditional ways of life and their very existence in the long-term, and creates the conditions for civil war. As such, the current 'European project' is contrary to international laws, particularly those that protect against the destruction, "in whole or in part", of national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups; thus, it can be understood as a form of genocide against indigenous Europeans.

There are three main consequences of the EU project that contribute to the genocide of European peoples: 1) the acceleration of European indigenous peoples becoming demographic minorities in their historic homelands; 2) the acceleration of the erosion of the traditional political institutions and collective identity of European peoples; and 3) declining social cohesion and an increase in the likelihood of civil war. The following provides a detailed discussion and critique of these consequences and is guided by the international laws and legal definitions described in chapter 15.1 and the research and theories of several eminent scholars: Myron Weiner, Michael Teitelbaum, Monica Duffy Toft, Anthony M. Messina, James F. Hollifield, Dominic Johnson, Sharon Stanton Russell, and Kelly Greenhill. To be clear, various census descriptions describe Europeans as 'White' and racial narratives designate Europeans as the 'White race', as such indigenous Europeans will interchangeably be referred to as either White, European, European peoples, ethnic European, or indigenous/native European.

15.2.2 Consequence One: European Peoples Becoming Minorities

One reason given for mass-immigration into Europe is the low fertility rate of Europeans. European elites have engaged in what is known as demographic engineering, which involves

"the full range of government policies intended to affect the size, composition, distribution, and growth rate of a population"[2065]. In other words, mass-immigration is a deliberate policy taken by European governments to offset demographic decline. Myron Weiner and Michael S. Teitelbaum, political demographers and scholars of international migration and ethnic conflict, explain that, in general,

> high fertility in some countries and low fertility in others produce what might be termed the *demographic differential hypothesis*, in which it is the magnitude and longevity of differential fertility rates between countries that substantially determine international population movements[2066].

Because the industrialised European countries have low fertility rates (and all this entails, such as an increasing older population, demographic decline, "inflationary wage increases", rising tax burdens, and decreases in both global economic and political power), they therefore need to import low-income foreign workers from high fertility countries[2067]. Put another way, in order to offset demographic decline and remain a power hub on the world stage, it is argued that Europe needs to import a "replacement population", a cheap, young, and willing labour force, through the practice of large-scale immigration[2068]. Yet, because all European-based countries in the world are suffering from demographic decline, the source of such immigration has to be non-European, typically from developing countries in Africa and Asia with high fertility rates and a young population.

In the year 2000, the United Nations Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) released a report titled *Replacement Migration: Is It a Solution to Declining and Ageing Population?* According to this report "Replacement migration

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[2065] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 63, 54.
[2066] Ibid, 87.
[2067] Ibid, 87-88.
[2068] Portes, "Immigration Is Good for Economic Growth"; Piketty, "For an open Europe"; Merritt, "The refugee crisis"; Bershidsky, "Europe Doesn't Have Enough Immigrants"; *Deutschland*, "Germany needs more immigrants"; *RT News*, "Germany needs 500,000 migrants a year until 2050"; University of California, "Migration and Refugee."

refers to the international migration that would be needed to offset declines in the size of population, the declines in the population of working age, as well as to offset the overall ageing of a population"[2069]. In one of its five scenarios, it estimates the migration required "to maintain the size of the working-age population (15 to 64 years) at the highest level it would reach in the absence of migration after 1995". In this scenario it estimates that the net number of migrants required for the EU between the years 2000 and 2050 would be around 80 million, or about 1.6 million per year. Another scenario "to maintain the potential support ratio (PSR), i.e., the ratio of the working-age population (15 to 64 years) to the old-age population (65 years or older), at the highest level it would reach in the absence of migration after 1995", estimated that the net number of migrants required by the EU between 2000 and 2050 would be almost 700 million or around 13.5 million per year[2070].

The 2015 population of the European Union stood at 508 million. Currently, EU population growth comes from net migration. Between 33 and 35 million (7%) of the 2015 population were born outside of the EU, with millions more being second and third generation non-Europeans. If the first UN scenario above was implemented then by 2050 roughly one-sixth of the EU population will be foreign-born (immigrants) with many more millions being second, third, fourth...non-European generations, possibly a quarter or more of the EU population. If the second scenario above was implemented, then the entire EU population that exists today (Europeans and non-European post-war immigrants) will be completely overshadowed by a larger population of non-Europeans, spelling the complete end of a European Europe. In a UN press release on the report, it is declared that "For the European Union, a continuation of the immigration levels observed in the 1990s would roughly suffice to

[2069] UN, *Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Population?* Executive Summary, 1.
[2070] Ibid, 2.

prevent total population from declining"[2071]. In the 1990s gross immigration of non-EU migrants to the EU was around 1.7 million a year, which includes a conservative estimate of illegal migrants[2072]. In other words, according to the UN the EU will 'roughly' follow the first scenario above of replacement population. However, Europe already has a net migration of around 1.6 million people a year[2073].

According to the logic and research of Weiner and Teitelbaum, "substantial inflows of immigrants" into Europe demographically transforms European nations and accelerates the rate of decline of indigenous European regional ethnic groups already suffering from very low fertility rates[2074]. In light of the UN project of 'replacement population' it is not hard to see what prolific French author Renaud Camus means by the phrase *The Great Replacement*. For Camus *The Great Replacement* describes the replacement of native Europeans with different peoples, with non-European immigrants. In an interview with John Lambton of the think-tank *Right On,* Camus explains that

> The Great Replacement is not a concept, it is not a notion, and it is not a theory: it is only the coining of a name for the most important phenomenon to affect Europe in the last fifteen centuries: namely, the replacement of its population and the changing of people.

He further says that the Great Replacement is part of a larger process that aims in

> the industrial production of l'homme remplaçable: replaceable man; exchangeable man; decultivated, decivilised, denationalised, and unrooted, such as needed by and for generalised exchange: of man with man, of man with woman, of people with people, of animals with things, of man with machines, with prosthesis and with objects — the post-human condition[2075].

[2071] United Nations, "New Report on Replacement Migration Issued by UN Population Division."
[2072] Rossi, "Managed Diversity," 121.
[2073] See chapter 7.
[2074] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 36, 41, 65.
[2075] Lambton, "The Great Replacement - Part I."

In other words, European peoples are seen as exchangeable, replaceable, expendable; they can literally be replaced by other peoples based on the view that Europe will remain the same without Europeans.

Attempts to justify large-scale immigration into Europe by demographic and economic theories of international migration runs into several issues. First, low demographic growth does not necessarily mean low economic growth and declining state political power at the global level. In fact, Europe had the highest period of economic growth in the 19th century when it was undergoing high emigration flows[2076]. In addition, although fertility rates of non-Europeans in Europe are higher than Europeans, it is often claimed that such fertility rates will level out over time and thus the non-European population will also age, recreating the situation of demographic decline and the need for more immigration[2077]. However, the levelling of non-European fertility rates in Europe has not yet occurred and large-scale immigration continues. In June 2016 German financial minister Wolfgang Schaeuble claimed in an interview with *Die Zeit* that if Europe does not open its doors to mass migration then Europeans will have to inbreed, saying "It is isolation that would destroy us, it would lead us towards degenerating in inbreeding" [2078]. This is an odd statement for various reasons. Mass-immigration into Europe is predominantly from Muslim-majority nations. Marriage between first cousins is a common practice of Muslims and some Muslim populations have a disproportionate number of disabilities. For example, over half of British Pakistanis marry a first cousin and are 13 times more likely to bear children with genetic disorders than the general population[2079]. In terms of the world-wide population of Muslims, it is estimated that around 50 percent are inbred. According to statistical research up to 34 percent of marriages in Algeria are blood related, 46

[2076] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 7.
[2077] Camarota and Zeigler, "The Declining Fertility of Immigrants and Natives."
[2078] *Zeit Online*, "Afrika wird unser Problem sein."
[2079] Reid, "It's time to confront this taboo"; Swinford, "First cousin marriages"; Rowlatt, "The risks."

percent in Bahrain, 33 percent in Egypt, 80 percent in Nubia, 60 percent in Iraq, 64 percent in Jordan, 64 percent in Kuwait, 42 percent in Lebanon, 48 percent in Libya, 47 percent in Mauritania, 28 percent in Morocco, 56 percent in Oman, 66 pecent in Palestine, 54 percent in Qatar, 67 percent in Saudi Arabia, 63 percent in Sudan, 40 percent in Syria, 39 percent in Tunisia, 54 percent in the United Arab Emirates, and 45 percent in Yemen[2080]. So Schaeuble wants to import large volumes of inbred immigrants and then anticipates that these immigrants will breed with Germans to prevent their inbreeding. Miscegenation is not a trend, however, because the majority of ethnically distinct peoples prefer to marry their own kind[2081].

In any case, mass-immigration of peoples into Europe with high fertility rates has led to a rapid growth of non-European populations in Europe that challenge existing social and political orders. Coleman writes that

> Although immigration can prevent population decline, it is already well-known that it can only prevent population ageing at unprecedented, unsustainable and increasing levels of inflow, which would generate rapid population growth and eventually displace the original population from its majority position.

In other words, mass-immigration in terms of UN demographic replacement plainly displaces European populations in favour of a foreign work-force and high-fertility migrants. Instead of relying on immigration, Coleman suggests that population decline can be managed by other means, such as by increasing labour productivity[2082]. In a similar fashion, the Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orban asks if "Europe wants to take part in a demographic race" and states that it is neither desirable or possible that "our population grows at the same rate as other countries in the world". He even thinks that a smaller population size would still allow Europe to be "liveable, viable and sustainable". Although he agrees that ageism is a problem for

[2080] Tadmouri et al., "Consanguinity and Reproductive Health Among Arabs," 3 of 9.
[2081] Simmons, *Immigration and Canada*, 219-220.
[2082] David Coleman, "'Replacement Migration'," 583, 594.

Europe he repudiates immigration as a solution, and instead thinks that it can be solved by successful family policies[2083].

It is interesting that very little research has been done as to *why* European females have such a low birth rate. This is not the place to analyse why fertility rates are so low but, to put it briefly, Weiner and Teitelbaum write that "Fertility rates can be affected by economic conditions, changing opportunities for women, tax policies, public policies toward child care, housing costs, inflation rates, and changing cultural norms"[2084]. Such affects involve women entering the labour force, deferment of child birth, and propaganda campaigns of the cultural Marxist type that promote abortion, planned parenthood, and non-homogeneous and non-traditional societies. Although writing about the situation in the former Soviet Union, what Turkmenian demographer, Sh. Khadyrov says may also be applicable for Europe:

> In the first half of the 1980s, a whole group of demographers supported the thesis about the necessity to do away with the demographic exclusiveness (that is high fertility) of whole peoples with the help of widespread propaganda and proliferation of modern contraceptive methods and active involvement of women in economic activity[2085].

Surely, in regards to article 16.3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State", there are reasons to bring European fertility rates back up to replacement levels rather than rely on a foreign source of fertility (non-European migrants).

Second, as discussed in Part III, the majority of immigrants that have arrived in European nations since the 1970s are not economic migrants but family members making up a form of chain migration[2086]. These migrants are predominantly from non-European speaking,

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[2083] Website of the Hungarian Government, "Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Rádió programme '180 Minutes'."
[2084] Weiner and Teitelbaum, 7.
[2085] As cited in ibid, 35.
[2086] According to James Hollifield, Professor of Political Science, Arnold Chair in International Political Economy, and Director of the Tower Center at Saint Mary's University, "Migration can quickly become self-perpetuating because of chain migration and social networks" and "individual risks and costs associated with migration are reduced by these

low education, rural and religiously traditional areas in Africa and the Middle East. Since the 1970s, when labour recruitment programs were ended and restrictive immigration laws were implemented due to high unemployment, migrant unrest, and economic recessions, immigration continued anyway. The main reason was the 'right to family reunification' (which also includes marriage migration). Immigrants that resided in Europe as temporary 'guest workers' and refused to be repatriated despite various attempts by national governments, brought over their wives, children, and other family members, a process that has continued and become one of the main reasons for immigration into Europe today[2087]. Such a form of immigration is not economic-based migration.

In addition, as also discussed in Part III, a significant portion of migration to European countries is in the form of asylum seekers. Refugees and those with subsidiary protection also have the right to family reunification, although there are various limitations to this practice[2088]. Such a form of immigration exists due to international humanitarian laws and is not based on the economic needs of the host countries. In other words, both family migration and asylum seeking migration, two of the main sources of immigration into Europe, are non-economic in nature.

Statistics have consistently shown that foreign-born populations in Europe are generally low-skilled, low-educated, and low-qualified migrants in comparison to the native born populations. They thus require a European education, language, and training to be viable contributors to the European workforce, which are costly programs. There have been numerous studies that have revealed that immigrants can take several years or even

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kinship networks, which can grow into transnational communities and constitute a form of social capital." Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," 889.

[2087] *Europa*, "Family Reunification"; EUR-Lex, Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the Right to Family Reunification.

[2088] Brenner, "A Family Reunification Dilemma for the EU"; also see chapter 11.

generations to gain employment or come close to the employment rates of natives. As such, many immigrants draw off of social services and the welfare state without having contributing to society at all, and, as such, are a fiscal burden rather than a benefit[2089].

Third, although immigrants may find employment as low-skilled cheap labourers they often compete for such jobs with natives (particularly the poor and students) and may also monopolise low-income jobs. Such low-wage job competition inadvertently decreases already low wages[2090]. Having a large and growing low-skilled migrant population means there are more people willing to work for low wages. Such a continuously growing supply of cheap labour not only means there may be more demand for jobs than can be supplied, it also may lead employers to establish even lower wages, which affects both migrants and natives alike, who are both pushed out of jobs by new arrivals willing to work for even less money. It is often said that "immigrants do jobs that natives won't do"[2091] But this is misleading. It is more accurate to say that natives do not want to do particular jobs for a low wage or lowered wages after decades of activism for a fair wage, activism which is rapidly undermined by immigrants who will take an even lower wage for the same job. In sum, the mass-immigration of low-skilled cheap labourers increases unemployment levels, lowers wages, and puts more pressure on the welfare system.

Those that economically profit from immigration into Europe are not the mass of working-class Europeans. Those who do benefit fall under the category "International Migration as a Business", which includes immigration attorneys, labor recruiters, non-profit religious and/or humanitarian organizations, foreign student recruiters, contractors (construction and services), multinational firms, and labor contractors. There are also unlawful

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[2089] See chapters 9, 11, and 12.
[2090] See: Durch, "Keepers of the Gates," 111.
[2091] Legrain, *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them*, 72; Citrin and Sides, "European," 352.

people and organizations that financially profit from migration, such as human traffickers and smugglers as well as unlawful "immigration consultants" and farm labour contractors that employ illegals for cheap labour[2092].

Fourth, mass-immigration from non-European countries in terms of 'population replacement' means also the importation of different cultures, identities, and behaviours that threaten to replace the cultures, identities, and values of Europe. What is a nation if it is not defined in terms of its common features: ethnicity, language, culture, and history? Members of a nation are not interchangeable; you cannot replace a nation's people with people from other nations, for this would mean that the nation would no longer be defined in terms of its original common features or made up of its original members. Baretzky, the President of the European Centre for Information Policy and Security (ECIPS), states that

> Europe has its own background, its own history. You cannot replace a population by measures that is [sic] bound to fail. The biggest problem with this particular concept of population replacement or management is that of, well, we are mixing cultural backgrounds, we are mixing the change of cultural values. Then what is the point in the first place to develop and invest in our cultural values? What a lot of people forget, is that with different nations come different cultures, with different cultures come psychological behaviours and with psychological behaviours comes identity. And the danger is that when this identity is threatened by putting the force of the identities together, it is an absolute recipe for disaster. I cannot see that that would succeed, unless one stronger identity succeeds. And that's the threat to the values that we face[2093].

The majority of foreign-born populations in Europe are Muslims who have a strong identity and tend not to integrate, which brings costly social, cultural and political problems to European nations in the short and long-term. There is already a conflict in Europe between the political and theocratic identity of Muslims and the secular identity of Europeans. Muslims in Europe, backed by EU elites, tend to strongly retain and promote their traditions, way of life, religious identity, and law in contrast with liberal democratic Europe. In addition, Muslims and other

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[2092] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 91-93.
[2093] "Insight - Migrant Crisis: ISIS & The Security Threat to Europe," YouTube video (Red Ice Insight).

non-ethnic Europeans tend to have higher crime and incarceration rates, lower educational and skill levels, and higher dependency on welfare than indigenous Europeans as demonstrated in other chapters. These will be the people that replace Europeans in Europe in the next one hundred years or so.

Fifth, population growth, particularly if it is from rapid mass-immigration, contributes to environmental degradation and strains resources, such as housing, land, transportation, healthcare and social services, sanitation and waste management, food, water, and education, and as such, produces resource scarcities and costly infrastructure programs and developments that damage the environment[2094]. André Welti secretary of ECOPOP, an environmentalist organization based in Switzerland, wrote that "With the region already overpopulated, massive immigration cannot be a solution to these problems". ECOPOP has estimated that the carrying capacity of Western and Central Europe is around 300 million people with modest consumption, far smaller than the current population at the time of 445 million[2095].

Sixth, many economic immigrants send a large portion of their wages in the form of remittances to their families in their homeland. These remittances help the economies of developing nations but also tends to increase immigration from these countries as people seek realtively higher paid jobs in wealthier first world nations. They also effect the service sectors of the host country as the consumption of migrants focuses on remittances rather than service goods[2096]. Remittances also lower native wages. According to William W. Olney, associate professor of economics at Williams College, "a one percent increase in remittances depress the wages of native workers by 0.06%. Furthermore, remittances predominantly affect workers in non-traded industries that are more reliant on domestic consumption". He explains that "as

[2094] See: Krebs and Levy, "Demographic Change and the Sources of International Conflict," 86.
[2095] Tarmann, "The Flap Over Replacement Migration."
[2096] Baas and Melzer, "The Macroeconomic Impact of Remittances," 21-22.

remittances increase, the consumer base shrinks, and domestic wages decline. Furthermore, since non-traded industries are more dependent on local consumption, remittances will have a more negative impact on the wages of workers in these industries"[2097]. Again, it is not the native Europeans that financially benefit from immigration, but employers, corporate elites, and other business interests.

Seventh, and most importantly, indigenous Europeans are rapidly becoming minorities within their own historic homelands due to non-European mass-immigration (replacement population). This is already well known. On September 3rd 2000, the *Guardian* newspaper titled an article "The Last Days of a White World" by Anthony Browne, the director of the UK think tank, Policy Exchange. In this article Browne states that "around the world, whites are falling as a proportion of population" and, citing an unnamed demographer, he writes that in Britain "It's a matter of pure arithmetic that, if nothing else happens, non-Europeans will become a majority and whites a minority in the UK. That would probably be the first time an indigenous population has *voluntarily* become a minority in its historic homeland". It is my view that on the contrary it is against natural inclinations, evolutionary theory, history, polls, and surveys, as well as anti-racist programs, legal mechanisms, and multi-racial and diversity indoctrination in schools, media, among other government propaganda, to declare that native Brits and other indigenous Europeans are "voluntarily" accepting the fact they are becoming a minority within their own homelands due to mass non-European immigration. In fact, the program of non-European mass-immigration has been publicly opposed by a significant number, if not majority, of indigenous Europeans since at least the 1980s and has increased rapidly in recent decades. Such opposition has been portrayed as racist, bigoted, neo-Nazi and even criminalised. It is obvious that indigenous Europeans really don't have a choice in the matter.

[2097] Olney, "Remittances and the Wage Impact of Immigration," 30.

The article by Browne further reports that the chairman of the British National Party, Nick Griffin, said "I don't think there's any doubt that within this century, white people will be a minority in every country in the world" and that "Every people under the sun have a right to their place under the sun, and the right to survive. If people predicted that Indians would be a minority in India in 2100, everyone would be calling it genocide"[2098]. Lee Jasper, race relations adviser and non-White British citizen, disagrees with the concerns of Griffin, stating that "There is no way that ethnicity of blood can be tied to a specific geographic place in a global world. You can no longer look at ethnic states, saying that Germany is Anglo-Saxon and so on"[2099]. But this assertion by Lee not only ignores global trends towards re-indigenisation and anti-globalism (see below) it ignores the fundamental rights of European indigenous peoples and nations and the archaeological and genetic evidence described above. All European nations were overwhelmingly ethnically homogeneous before the program of non-European mass-immigration began in the 1950s and 1960s. It is only over the course of a few decades, in comparison to *thousands of years of history*, that European nations have swiftly become ethnically mixed, and indigenous Europeans have become a rapidly decreasing demographic majority. This dramatic ethnic and demographic transformation of European homelands was not discussed with or approved by the European peoples themselves and has been opposed publicly since at least the 1980s.

Coleman estimated in 2009 before the 'migrant crisis' of 2015/2016, that the population of first generation immigrants and their children (second generation) in Germany will reach around 23 percent of the total population by 2050 and in Sweden will reach around 33 percent[2100]. These percentages do not include those of the third and later generations (the

[2098] Browne, "The last days of a white world" (my emphasis).
[2099] Ibid.
[2100] David Coleman, "Divergent Patterns in the Ethnic Transformation of Societies," 452.

grandchildren and great grandchildren of those who arrived in the 1960s and have been naturalised and are no longer counted in census statistics as immigrants). Thus it can be assumed that the percentage of the foreign population in Germany and Sweden is likely to be much higher in 2050 than predicted. In 2010 Coleman predicted that White Britons, who are already a minority in various cities throughout Britain, will become a minority in Britain before 2070, and he stated that "it would have occurred in younger age-groups and major urban areas rather earlier than that"[2101]. This is because the majority of immigrants are young, have high fertility rates, and settle in urban rather than rural areas; this applies to most European countries.

In 2011 Giampaolo Lanzieri, Senior Expert at the Statistical Office of the European Union (EUROSTAT), estimated that by 2061 Luxembourg, Austria, Spain, Belgium, Ireland, Germany, Greece, Portugal, and Italy could have foreign populations between 40 and 75 percent of their total populations; the UK, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands could have foreign populations between 32 and 39 percent of their total populations; and France and Finland could have foreign populations between 20 and 22 percent. Lanzieri also estimated that by 2061 the percentage of the population of the EU with a foreign background could be around 34.6 percent[2102]. These estimates, for both individual countries and the EU as a whole, are only based on data about migrant country of birth and their descendants beginning in 2008, and thus do not include immigrants and their descendants before this date. Therefore, it can be assumed that the estimated foreign populations of individual countries in Europe and the EU overall will likely be much higher than Lanzieri predicted for 2061. Already in 2012, around two-thirds of the foreign population in the EU-27 were non-EU citizens[2103]. As trends indicate, key

[2101] David Coleman, *Immigration, Population, and Ethnicity: The UK in International Perspective*, 8.
[2102] Lanzieri, "Fewer, older and multicultural?" 21, 31.
[2103] Vasileva, "Nearly two-thirds of the foreigners living in EU Member States."

Europeans cities and towns will probably be populated by a majority of non-Europeans by 2060, with the majority of European natives living in the suburbs and rural areas. By the end of the 21st century, if current trends of mass-chain migration and low fertility rates continue, indigenous Europeans, especially in Western Europe, are likely to be minorities within their historic homelands.

According to statistical information and estimates discussed in Part III, in comparison to the predictions made by Coleman and Lanzieri above, around 20 to 30 percent of the populations of Belgium, Britain, France, Sweden, and Germany are of immigrant background already. In 2011 over 17 percent of the population in Belgium was foreign-born and in 2012 in Brussels, the capital, 62 percent of the population were of foreign origin. It is estimated that around 25 percent or more of the population of Belgium have an immigrant background, including second and third generations. In 2010, Muslims made up between 10 and 49 percent of ninteen cities in Belgium, with Molenbeek set to become the first majority Muslim city by 2030. Muslims make up around 8 percent of the national population, and it is estimated they will constitute over 10 percent by 2030.

In Britain in 2016, 20 percent or more of the population is of immigrant background. London, Leicester, Luton, and Slough are majority non-white cities now and many other major cities are close behind. Immigrants are increasingly moving into rural areas too, such that only 800 wards out of 8850 are over 95 percent White. In 2008 less than two-thirds of new born babies born in England and Wales were White British[2104]. The Muslim population in Britain is around 5 percent and growing, estimated to reach just under 10 percent by 2030. Ten local authorities in England have Muslim populations making up between one-fifth and over one-

[2104] Hickley, "Only two in three babies born in England and Wales are white British."

third of the populations and since 2009 the most popular name for new born boys in Britain has been Mohammed.

In France, in 2008 around 20 percent of the total population were first and second generation immigrants, a percentage that is likely much higher today, possibly around 25 percent of the total population. It has been estimated that 27 percent of all new-borns in France in 2005 were non-white, rising to 31.5 percent in 2010, 34.4 percent in 2012, 35.7 percent in 2013, and is probably around 40 percent today[2105]. The Muslim population of France stands at around 10 percent. The city of Roubaix is over 50 percent Muslim and Marseilles is set to become majority Muslim in the very near future.

In Sweden, over 22 percent of the population in 2015 were of foreign origin and it is predicted that by 2030 a third of the population will be foreign-born. In 2012 foreign-born births in Sweden amounted to 25.7 percent of all births, with this rising to 26.2 percent in 2013, 26.7 percent in 2014, and 27.1 percent in 2015[2106]. If the births by non-ethnic Swedish-born are included, then it is likely that around a third of all births in Sweden are foreign-born births. If trends continue, foreign-born births may reach around 50 percent of all births in Sweden by 2060, a percentage that will likely be higher if non-ethnic Swedish born births were included. In 2011, over 50 percent of the population of the city of Malmo was non-Swedish and the two other largest cities, Goteborg and Stockholm, were close behind at over 40 percent. The Muslim population of Sweden is between 10 and 15 percent with most living in the three largest cities, constituting over 30 percent of the population of Stockholm, over 15 percent of the population of Goteburg, and around 25 percent of the population of Malmo. The size of the

[2105] Martine, "Drépanocytose: la carte du grand remplacement mise à jour + projection sur 35 ans (rediff)."
[2106] Statistics Sweden, Demographic Reports: *The future population of Sweden 2012–2060*, 45.

Muslim population in Sweden is likely more today due to family reunification programs and large influxes of Muslim asylum seekers into Sweden in 2015/2016.

In Germany, the foreign-born population reached 15 percent in 2011 and in 2014 it was estimated that over over 12 percent were foreign-born and 20 percent of the population had a migrant background. The Muslim population in Germany was around 5 percent in 2009 and 5.8 percent in 2010, and is most likely to be around 10 percent now or more due to mass-immigration, high fertility rates, and large influxes of Muslim asylum seekers. Most Muslims in Germany reside in the main cities, constituting around 10 percent or more of the local populations. Since the 2015/2016 'migrant crisis', and as discussed in other chapters, Germany, more than any other country in Europe, is experiencing extremely large influxes of migrants while having a below replacement level fertility rate. Professor Adorján F. Kovács of Goethe University in Frankfurt, published "Truths about the Refugee Crisis" (Wahrheiten zur Flüchtlingskrise) in *The European* magazine in late December 2015. In this work he shows that due to the unprecedented numbers of young male asylum seekers entering Germany on top of regular immigration, "Of the 23 million people in this country who are between 20 and 35 years, approximately 11.5 million people [will] have a migration background within five years". So half, 50 percent of all people in this age group, will be not be native Germans by 2020. Over the next thirty years, as the elderly population dies off and 20 and 30 year olds have children and get older, and as immigration continues, native Germans will become a minority within their own homeland[2107].

Speaking in November 2015 to Hamburg Parliament in Germany, Green politician Stefanie Von Berg declared

> Our society will change. Our city [Hamburg] will change radically. I hold that in 20, 30 years there will no longer be [German] majorities in our city. That's also what (female

[2107] Kovács, "Wahrheiten zur Flüchtlingskrise."

> and male) migration researchers say. We will live in a city that will thrive on having many different ethnicities. That we have plenty of people and will live in a supercultural society. This is what we will have in the future. And I want to make it very clear, especially towards those right wingers: This is a good thing![2108].

She is right about one thing: Germans will become a minority, but in Germany as a whole rather than just Hamburg in the next few decades. Referring to statistics and experts, such as Jens Schneider, German expert on integration, in April 2016 an article in the *Augsburger Allgemeine* newspaper stated that one fifth of people in Germany have "foreign-roots" (immigrants since the 1950s and their descendants) but in urban areas this number rises dramatically. Augsburg, with a current foreign population of 43 percent and 50 percent of six year olds having a foreign background, will be one of the "first major German cities where people with a migration background will form the majority population". This is a trend that is becoming common across Germany. Two other cities, Stuttgart and Frankfurt, will join Augsburg as the first cities "in which immigrants will become the majority". This means that the "country will change" irreversibly[2109]. The same is true for all previously ethnically homogeneous Western European nations, as well as all European-based countries in the world that practice non-European mass-immigration, have low fertility rates, and are experiencing the entry of large volumes of irregular migrants[2110].

Replacement migration as a form of demographic engineering significantly transforms the ethnic compositions of European nation-states, which has far reaching consequences. Large and rapid migration flows into European nations, both controlled and uncontrolled, are tipping the "identity-group" or ethnic ratios in Europe. Most of the non-European migrants that have

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[2108] "Green politician Dr. v. Berg: Good thing that Germans will be a minority in 'supercultural' society," YouTube video.
[2109] Krogull and Stifter, "Prognose: Zugewanderte sind in Augsburg bald in der Mehrheit."
[2110] For example, it is estimated that White Americans will be a minority in the USA by 2042 and, in Canada, it is estimated that Whites will become a "visible minority" by 2045. See: Passel, Livingston, and Cohn, "Explaining Why Minority Births Now Outnumber White Births"; Rayne, "Whites already 'visible minorities'."

and continue to arrive in Europe are from nations in the Arab, African, and Asian regions of the world and are ethnically different than Europeans. Most often they are religiously Muslim in contrast to secular or Christian Europeans, have vastly different world-views often mired in anti-Western and anti-European rhetoric, and have higher fertility rates than native Europeans[2111]. Such ethnic transformations of European nations can lead to what is called the "tipping" phenomenon, whereby the "demographic situation" shifts the ethnic identity "balance toward the settler community"[2112]. In other words, as ethnic Europeans become demographic minorities as a result of the large-scale and rapid settlement of non-European immigrants, the ethnic identity of European nation-states becomes decidedly non-European.

Changes in the ethnic composition of states most often lead to changes in power composition and distribution. This is summed up by Coleman, who surmised that the

> numerical reversal of [a European national] majority would symbolize transfer of power and underline a changed national identity: cultural, political, economic, and religious.... But the writing would have been on the wall long before, when the younger generation in school, college, workforce entrance, and upward had become majority ethnic.

Coleman further declared that this "ethnic transformation... would be a major, unlooked-for and, irreversible change in British society, unprecedented for at least a millennium"[2113]. Such power transition is aptly explained by Power Transition Theory (PTT). According to Monica Duffy Toft, Professor of Government and Public Policy at the Blavatnik School of Government, University of Oxford, PTT holds that in multiethnic or multinational states the population growth of distinct ethnic groups alter ethnic balances and challenge the control of the existing power structures[2114]. Because "ethnic groups are apt to vote as blocs" and because the basic principle of democracy is the "notion of majority rule" demographic shifts in ethnic

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[2111] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 42.
[2112] Ibid, 51.
[2113] David Coleman, "Projections of the Ethnic Minority Populations of the United Kingdom," 473, 476.
[2114] Toft, "Population Shifts and Civil War: A Test of Power Transition Theory," 245.

populations, whereby a minority becomes a majority, means that there is an exchange of power between ethnic groups based on democratic principles[2115]. The democratic principle of majority rule means that if an ethnic and/or political group becomes "quantifiable and easily recognisable" as a majority group it facilitates ethnic and/or political group mobilization and change[2116].

It is generally understood that power shifts between ethnic groups happen incrementally, but when a state suffers from low fertility rates, practices large-scale immigration from countries ethnically distinct from it, and is geographically proximate to such countries, power shifts may be more rapid and problematic[2117]. Large inflows of migrants, particularly in the form of chain migration, who share common characteristics with each other in distinction to the receiving population[2118] (could be African, Asian, or Arab yet share a common religion (Islam), grievance (past colonialism, present wars, economic globalisation), and/or distaste for the host country and its inhabitants), have strong transnational identities and ties with their homelands[2119] and high fertility rates, will rapidly expand already settled minority populations in host nations, increase their social capital, and readily threaten to tip established ethnic-power relations.

One of the central problems embedded in European demographic decline and simultaneous non-European immigration, foreign settlement, and ethnic power tipping, is the erasure of European control over their homelands. Toft explains that a territorial homeland is

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[2115] Ibid, 248.
[2116] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 91-92.
[2117] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 21-22.
[2118] Distant in terms of ethnicity, race, and language for example. See: Ibid, 104.
[2119] Network theories of international migration argue that transnational social networks "develop between migrants and their kin and neighbors in the origin country" and these "connections reduce the risk and lower the costs (economic, psychological, and social) of subsequent migrations, thereby perpetuating and even increasing international migration flows long after the forces that began them have waned" (Ibid, 90; see also Hollifield at footnote 2075). Such was the case in the 1970s, when European nations stopped labour recruitment yet immigration continued and increased in the form of family and marriage migration.

necessary for the survival of distinct ethnic groups and is an "indivisible attribute" of their collective identity[2120]. Weiner and Teitelbaum describe a homeland as "land [that] is not simply property with market value, but a place to which one is emotionally attached. It is not simply land, but a *home*land"[2121]. Distinct indigenous identities are deeply rooted and attached, culturally and historically, to their homelands. Homeland territory is foundational to the survival, development, and well-being of indigenous peoples. Such territory is recognised in international law in the homeland principle, involving the right of self-determination and the right of indigenous peoples to sovereignty over their traditional lands, territories, and resources based on terms of investment (historical territorial contribution[2122]) and tenure (indigeneity)[2123]**.** Loss of control over a homeland necessarily means the "dilution of the national group, its loss of power, and consequent diminution of national identity"[2124]. In the liberal-democratic multi-ethnic states of Europe, non-European ethnic minorities, due to their increasing numbers, demands for political recognition, and their desire to govern the territory in accordance with their non-European identities and ways of life, are increasingly challenging European sovereignty over their own institutions, traditions, and homelands. In this situation, the settlement and size of ethnic groups really matter; they determine the legitimacy of sovereignty over territory.

According to Toft, concentrated majorities are 50 percent or more of the population and have the highest form of legitimacy due to two principles: majority rule and the homeland principle (indigeneity)[2125]. This means that because Europeans are the majority ethnic group in their homelands and because they have indigeneity, they have the highest form of legitimacy

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[2120] Toft, "Territory and War," 190; Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War."
[2121] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 63.
[2122] This includes the development and sacrificial defense of the land.
[2123] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 90-91.
[2124] Ibid, 90.
[2125] Ibid, 89, 92.

for sovereignty. In terms of non-European immigrant minorities, the majority of them have settled and formed ethnic enclaves in urban areas in Europe. They already affect local politics in these areas as some enclaves are under self-appointed self-governance due to the logic of 'tipping', power transition, and the principle of majority rule (at the local level). They are also forming and electing political parties that represent their particular non-European ethnic interests. But, at present, they remain concentrated ethnic minorities that lack majority rule at the national level.

Indigenous Europeans are becoming an increasing demographic minority in their own homelands but they are still the majority and they still have the highest legitimacy to rule. However, although immigrant minority groups in Europe are ethnically disparate, they are (along with Leftist Europeans who facilitate them) mobilizing and uniting as non-Europeans over common criticisms against the history, identity, institutions, traditions, and practices of the national ethnic European peoples. For example, in contrast to economic arguments for mass-immigration, the socialist Left (such as Left-leaning political parties seeking ethnic votes, cosmopolitan elites and activists, No Borders and Open Society activists and NGOs, and cultural Marxists) use political arguments, such as Western imperialism and military intervention, previous track records of colonialism and slavery, and the rich West in comparison to the "rest" (economic inequity in the world)[2126], to justify the thrusting of mass-migration flows onto Europe and the transformation of European nations into open, ethnically diverse cosmopolitan societies.

These Leftist pro-immigration arguments appeal to non-Europeans (ethnic immigrant groups often with strong transnational identities, support from their co-ethnics in their homelands, and counter-ideologies of their own and movements like BLM and Islamic

[2126] See: Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography,* 47-48; Vltchek, "Refugee crisis."

organizations) who unite with socialists and Leftists into political groups that oppose the policies, structures, identities, institutions, and traditions of European nation-states and peoples and seek to create a global cosmopolitan civil society[2127]. This is what is known, in cultural Marxist terms, as Third World opposition, led by the 'organic intellectuals', to Western and European (ethno)-state power by the new proletariat (racial and minority groups). Because Europeans are experiencing demographic decline and because there is a lack of mainstream pro-European political parties[2128], through this coalition counter-hegemonic Leftists and non-Europeans can form a political majority prior to Europeans becoming a demographic minority. In this situation, non-Europeans in Europe gain one principle of legitimacy through political power[2129].

As mentioned above, at the local levels in Europe there has already been a shift in power between ethnic groups. More obviously, as Christianity wanes Islam rises; Islam is now the fastest growing religion in Europe. The majority of immigrants come from Muslim countries in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and are racially and ethnically distinct from indigenous Europeans. Although there are various Islamic sects (Sunni, Shia, Sufi, Alevi etc.) and various ethnicities that are Muslim, many self-identify as Muslims in general and come together over central issues such as Palestine, the war on terror, neoconservative-led wars in Muslim countries, anti-Islamic sentiments, neoliberal Western hegemony, Sharia law, and so on. What is known as the global Muslim community, the *Ummah*, provides Muslims in Europe with transnational social capital for political action in European nation-states, which has been aided

[2127] See chapters 2 and 4.
[2128] Mainstream political parties on both the so-called Left and Right that have conservative policies on mass-immigration are decidedly absent due to the dominant post-war ideology of liberalism, in its various forms, that pervades mainstream politics. As discussed in other chapters, mass-immigration and multicultural regulations are enforced government policies, whether Left or Right, that essentially impose a cosmopolitan and individualist rather than collective ethnic identity on Europeans and requires them to accommodate collective groups of non-European peoples, cultures, and ways of life.
[2129] See Consequence Two below for a more detailed discussion and examples on this subject.

by EAD elites since the 1970s. In addition, many Muslim groups in Europe are provided foreign funding, often from theocratic Muslim countries who have vested interests in the maintenance, growth, and political representation of Muslim populations in Europe, such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Turkey. All of these developments positively affect the organizational capabilities and capacity of Muslims in Europe to place demands on European states, which, in effect, alters local as well as national and foreign politics. For example, in Belgium the Muslim population in regions where they are a majority voted in an Islamist Party based on Sharia rather than European law; in various cities across England where the Muslim population is in the majority, schools have become dominated by Muslim councils; and in various cities, suburbs, and towns across Europe Muslims have formed autonomous parallel communities under self-governance that are diametric to the national juridical system and way of life and claimed as "Muslim areas" where non-Muslims are threatened with violence, have taken flight, and dare not enter.

The legitimacy to rule of ethnic minority groups in Europe who form a political majority will be further extended when Europeans eventually do become a demographic minority. At this point non-Europeans will have moderately high legitimacy to claim the final transference of European territorial power and sovereignty to themselves. However, although ethnic minorities may gain legitimacy prior to Europeans becoming minorities, they still lack the homeland principle. But this does not seem to matter. Currently, indigenous Europeans are not recognised by international law as indigenous to Europe and they are not afforded majority or collective rights. If Europeans were granted ethnic recognition and collective rights they could legitimately restore their collective national political identity and reclaim political sovereignty over their homelands. They could find ways to protect themselves from becoming full minorities within their own homelands and their eventual replacement by non-Europeans. If

they were granted, in the words of international law, "collective rights which are indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples" and the right "to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired" they would be able to reclaim their collective right over their homelands, preserve them as distinctly European, and regain control over who enters these nations. They may not end up becoming a minority in their own homelands or be replaced by non-Europeans in the near future if they were granted: the right to "the minimum standards for the[ir] survival, dignity and well-being"; the international protection of their existence as indigenous peoples in a physically and mentally healthy way for the long-term; and the international recognition as being distinct peoples who have the right to remain collectively distinct and develop their own institutions and communities/nations without external interference within their traditional homelands, which they have full control over, including who can enter[2130].

Demographic research shows that within a period of just 60 years native Europeans have already become minorities within a number of key cities and areas in their nations because of immigration and are expected to be full minorities within their homelands by the end of the 21st century. This means that in less than 150 years, from the onset of non-European immigration in the 1950s to the late 21st century, European nations will have transformed from being overwhelmingly homogeneous (i.e. ethnically European) to being majority non-European. According to the logic of the seventh category of the analysis framework of the UN Prevention of Genocide, the practice of mass-immigration into Europe as a method of demographic engineering to maintain and increase the size of the working age population requires investigation as being genocidal in nature. Mass-immigration based on demographic-economic goals targets a particular ethnic group (ethnic Europeans) and a particular age group (working

[2130] UN, *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*; also see chapter 15.1.

age). The very notion (and practice) of demographic engineering in the form of replacement population in Europe, which the UN itself has suggested, dismisses the possibility of increasing the fertility rates of indigeneous Europeans by favouring foreign sources of fertility and literally targets working age ethnic Europeans for physical 'replacement' by non-Europeans, who will come to outnumber them as future working-age generations in European nations.

Due to the democratic principle of majority rule, Europeans becoming a minority means that they must eventually hand over their collective right to govern their historic homelands to non-Europeans. This means that the very foundations that provide the integrity of Europeans as distinct ethnic peoples – their political autonomy, self-governance, and historic territory – will have been destroyed. According to article 8 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, indigenous peoples have the right to not be deprived of their integrity as ethnically distinct peoples, to not be dispossessed of their lands, territories, or resources, to not be subject to "any form of population transfer", and to not be forced to assimilate or integrate to "other cultures or ways of life imposed on them by legislative, administrative or other measures" [2131]. In addition, article 16.3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State" and article 32(3) of the UN Declaration of Indigenous Rights declares that any action taken by the state that creates "adverse environmental, economic, social, cultural or spiritual" conditions for indigenous peoples must be "mitigated" by the state[2132]. Taken together, because European states choose to rely on the importation of foreign populations rather than implementing serious and effective family policies and other strategic methods to offset population decline amongst ethnic European populations, and

[2131] See chapter 15.1
[2132] Ibid.

because State actors know fully well that adverse conditions are being created for European ethnics within their own homelands due to this immigration (minority status, dispossession, dilution of ethnic identity, loss of political power, and so on), they are thus failing to protect the European family unit and are deliberately ignoring their responsibility to provide for the security and long-term well-being of their peoples. It can be argued, therefore, that the long-term survival of Europeans as distinct indigeneous peoples in Europe is under threat from the deliberate demographic engineering project of mass-immigration. This deliberate practice of leading elites is creating the conditions that will result in the "physical destruction in whole or in part" of European peoples.

An investigation also needs to be conducted, according to the second category of the analysis framework of the UN Prevention of Genocide, of the specific circumstances and structures that exist that are affecting "the capacity to prevent [the] genocide"[2133] of European peoples. This includes the absence of collective group rights of European peoples, the lack of international recognition of European peoples as being indigenous to Europe, and the Left-Liberal and non-European anti-White narratives and movements that aim to dilute, decouple, and destroy traditional European ethno-national political identities and institutions.

15.2.3 Consequence Two: Erosion of European Ethnic Identity

Ever since the onset of European integration projects in the 20th century, ethnic European political institutions and traditional national identities have been undergoing a process of erosion. As detailed throughout this work, since at least the 1920s there have been major anti-ethnic-European movements and ideologues diligently designing and implementing their plans to alter and/or erase the borders and deconstruct the ethno-cultural identities of European

[2133] Ibid.

peoples. In the first half of the Twentieth Century there were people like the highly influential Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, and his Pan-European Movement, notion of Eurafrica and a future 'mixed race', as well as anti-nationalist campaigners; after the post-WWII era there were abstract cosmopolitanists, 'anti-racist' Critical Theorists and New Leftists, and Eurabian and Eurafrican advocates; and today, including the aforementioned, we have melting pot neoconservatives, global society neoliberals, pro-diversity and pro-immigration activists, and 'anti-fascist' no-border groups that declare Europe must be opened wide to global diversification and must silently submit to their forced 'mongrelisation'. The thrust and machinations of these socialist movements and political ideologies have been complemented by global economic corporations and organisations that promote and profit from mass-immigration and seek to create a new cosmopolitical world order based on global governance and economic capitalism, called the socialist-capitalist alliance. This situation reveals a convergence of economic, political and cultural factors in the transformation of European nations into cosmopolitan multi-ethnic concoctions dedicated to human equality, corporate capitalism, and Euro-Mediterranean partnerships at the expense of European peoples.

Although 'mongrelisation' may seem like a politically incorrect term, it is actually something that is advocated by various actors who seek to ethnically transform European nations. For instance, Roger Griffin, an illustrious and well-paid British professor of modern history and political theorist at Oxford Brookes University, stated in his 2008 book, *A Fascist Century*:

> Whatever the structural reasons for Britain's white racism and the counter-racism it breeds in its victims, such intolerance will not be rooted out until most Britons (of whatever background) not only tolerate the steady mongrelisation of British society, but celebrate it as the laboratory of exciting new forms of culture and human coexistence[2134].

[2134] Feldman(ed.), *A Fascist Century: Essays by Roger Griffin*, 131.

A scientifically imposed experiment aimed at the forced 'mongrelisation' of a people, such as suggested by the likes of Griffin, is a form of scientific racism and genocide and violates numerous indigenous rights. For example, enforcing mongrelisation is the intentional act of destroying "in whole or in part" a distinct people, which is genocide according to article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Enforced mongrelisation also deprives indigenous Britons (and Europeans) of their "integrity as distinct peoples", deprives them of their "ethnic identities", and imposes upon them "legislative, administrative or other measures" that essentially forces upon them "assimilation or integration by other cultures", which violates article 8(a) and article 8(d) of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples[2135].

Griffin and other influential European elites seem to think that there is nothing wrong with imposing 'mongrelisation' on ethnic Europeans. Take one of the main intellects for example, the German sociologist and philosopher, Jurgen Habermas, who endorses demographic and political change in Europe through non-European immigration. As discussed in chapter 4, Habermas is a second generation Frankfurt Schooler and can be described as a critical cosmopolitanist. He endorses a liberal immigration policy and the ethnic mixing of ethnically homogenous European populations. He thinks that the national identity of European nations should not be based on ethnically European political communities with ancestral ties to the land and who happen to be the ethnic majority of their homelands; instead, he thinks that the national identity of European nations should be a post-national cosmopolitan (constitutional) identity based on a political majority in line with racial plurality and universal cosmopolitan values. In other words, the political majority of European nations will necessarily be in distinction or opposed to a European ethnic identity, being as it is based on a non-

[2135] See chapter 15.1.

European constitutional cosmopolitan identity; European nations are to be ruled by a non-ethnic, non-European political majority.

As such, Habermas recognises non-European immigration as a force of change to the ethnic, religious, and cultural compositions of European nations, which are already being eroded by other global forces. He realises that immigration acts as a 'decoupling' agent that separates the distinct ethnic European identities from their foundational (political, religious, cultural) national identities and thus dispossesses them from majority rule over their traditional homelands. By endorsing, indeed, promoting this 'decoupling' and by enforcing a sense of national membership based on a constitutional patriotism built from the political force of non-European immigrants and their advocates, Habermas attempts to pry open European nations to a political leadership that is exclusively non-ethnically European. This engineering of a new civil society and population, an open liberal democratic society of mixed races and cultures bound by abstract constitutional laws and cosmopolitan identities and governed by a political and non-ethnically European majority is, in effect, an attempt to discredit the current ethnic majorities of European nations from having the legitimate right to govern their own nations and destroys their ethno-political foundations. Any opposition by European ethnic majorities to the rapid ethnic, religious, cultural, and political changes wrought to their nations, identities, and homelands from ethno-political demographic engineering is, to Habermas, 'xenophobic' and, in the spirit of human rights, justifies further entrenchment of procedural cosmopolitanism. Habermas, like many others, envisions Europe becoming a universal nation *proper* populated by peoples having cosmopolitan identities and world citizenship.

Such a project violates various rights of indigenous Europeans and is a form of slow genocide. Using non-European migrants to deliberately alter the demographic composition of Europe is a form of "population transfer" that aims to undermine the rights of European

peoples to their particular ethno-national identities, which is in violation of article 8(c) of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. By 'decoupling' and 'unbundling' the national identity of European nations from their ethnic identity by a program of non-ethnic European immigration, Europeans are essentially deprived of their distinct ethnic identity, which is tied to their nations, which violates article 15 of the UDHR and article 8(a) of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It also violates article 4(2) of the Treaty on the EU, which states that the EU shall "respect...national identities".

As Habermas intends the use of non-European migrants to alter the ethnic, religious, and cultural compositions and institutions of European nations and disintegrate and then replace European political institutions with decidedly non-European political institutions, he is violating article 34 of the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which states that "indigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures". Immigrants have their own institutional structures through minority rights and various organizations that promote their distinct attributes without interference from other cultures and ethnic groups. The same cannot be said of European institutions, which are increasingly portrayed as too white or racist although they were created and developed by and for Europeans. These institutions are being pried open to all cultural and ethnic influences, resulting in their dramatic transformation. According to the logic of Habermas, not only are Europeans replaceable but their political and social institutions are too. As such, Habermas, among many others, is advocating the destruction of the essential foundations and deliberately creating the "conditions of life" that will "destroy, in whole in part" European indigenous peoples, which is genocide according to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide.

The further erosion of political institutions by immigration falls in line with the Political Institutional Breakdown Perspective regarding the loss of government control over immigration. According to the Chair of Political Science at Trinity College, Anthony M. Messina, this perspective sees immigration accelerating the "long-term erosion" process that traditional political institutions, the "policy making bodies and vehicles for popular representation", have been undergoing. This erosion can be understood as being directly related to the cultural Marxist 'long march through the institutions' (war of position), and has led, according to Messina, to a loss of government and traditional political control over immigration and immigration policy, and by extension, border control. Messina explains that immigration policy "increasingly falls within the jurisdiction of national courts" and "a predominantly liberal judiciary" and "becomes the preoccupation of numerous pro-immigrant welfare groups and activists, usually but not exclusively on the political Left"[2136]. In other words, because political institutions are being eroded by various forces such as cultural Marxist attacks on the foundational structures of society and its drive toward reforming the political institutions of European nations, the power of government to control the entry of foreigners has been increasingly handed over to non-governmental liberal forces that are pro-immigrant and pro-global governance. This furthers the erosion of traditional political institutions as more immigration accelerates the separation of European ethnic identity from the political culture and redefines the political institutions into ethnically plural cosmopolitan entities.

It is in this way that the EU violates its own Treaty, particularly article 3 that states that its aim is to "promote" the "well-being of its peoples", which involves "appropriate measures with respect to external border controls, asylum, immigration". However, as the majority of European government elites, as well as EU elites, are pro-immigration, and as the EU project

[2136] Messina, *The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe*, 8, 105.

stresses liberal multiculturalism, various partnerships and unions with the African, Arab, and Asian worlds, and the existential need for immigrants, it is clear that although the traditional political institutions are indeed being eroded and the well-being of indigenous Europeans is put into question, this erosion is merely a deliberate part of the elite plan for the transformation of European populations into multiethnic cosmopolitan citizens.

Another influential figure that views migration as key to the transformation of ethnically homogeneous European societies is Peter Sutherland. Sutherland is an Irish international businessman, billionaire, founding father of the World Trade Organisation, chairman of Goldman Sachs between 1995 and June 2015[2137], the UN Special Representative for Migration, and head of the Global Forum on Migration and Development. In 2012 Sutherland stated that demographic decline in European nation states was the "key argument...for the development of multicultural states" and that "It's impossible to consider that the degree of homogeneity...can survive because states *have to become* more open states, in terms of the people who inhabit them". He further said that "the European Union, in my view, should be doing its best to *undermine*" any "sense of our homogeneity and difference from others"[2138]. In other words, the demographic decline of the indigenous inhabitants of European nations justifies the ethnic and cultural mixing of their populations by non-European immigration and thus further justifies the fall of ethno-cultural national homogeneity and the rise of multi-ethnic states. At the same time, national homogeneity must be purposefully eroded. The decline of national homogeneity is not just an organic result of foreign immigration, but also a deliberate engineering process to "open" European nations up to ethnic and cultural pluralism. Ethnically homogeneous nation-states of Europe are to be

[2137] Newenham, "Peter Sutherland to retire as Goldman Sachs chairman."
[2138] Brian Wheeler, "EU should 'undermine national homogeneity'" (my emphasis); Kent, "UN Migration Envoy"; "Peter Sutherland: Global agenda, nationalism & migration," YouTube video.

weakened in an effort to replace them with non-homogeneous states filled with a diverse array of distinct ethno-cultural peoples from all over the world. For Sutherland, like others, demographic decline is not the sole reason for non-European mass-immigration into Europe; immigration is an imperative humanitarian-political project to combat White 'racism' embodied by European national sovereignty, which he equates with Nazism.

Various other leading elites in Europe that argue for mass-immigration into Europe lift the notion of diversity up to a teleological imperative, an inevitable and uncontrollable force that is bathed in political righteousness. As mentioned in chapter 14.3, Barbara Spectre called for the end of ethnically and culturally homogeneous nations in Europe, declaring that European nations will "not survive" if they do not cease to be "monolithic societies" and do not undergo a "huge transformation", led by the Jews, into "multicultural mode"[2139]. This obviously begs the question: where is the concrete evidence that "Europe will not survive" without multiculturalism and, by extension, mass-immigration into Europe? In an October 2015 speech Frans Timmermans, vice-president of the European Commission, avowed that "Europe will be diverse, like all other parts of the world will be diverse" because "diversity is humanity's destiny. There is not going to be, even in the remotest places of this planet, a nation that will not see diversity in its future. That's where humanity is heading"[2140]. So apparently Timmermans has the psychic power to see into the future (precognition) and the ability to understand the *telos* of human existence; for him, the future is predictable, history is lineal, and immigration is destiny. But his intentions are political, for, as one can observe, influential intellectuals who endorse government practices of demographic engineering intend to ethnically mix European populations despite indigenous opposition. This diversity is a

[2139] "Barbara Lerner Spectre Calls for Destruction of Christian European Ethnic Societies," YouTube video (IBA News).
[2140] European Commission, "Opening remarks of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans at the First Annual Colloquium on Fundamental Rights"; "Europe will be diverse, or war! - Frans Timmermans," YouTube video.

preconceived plan that has been decades in the making and is really only intended for Europe and other European based nations.

According to Teitelbaum (among others) it is "commonplace...to find assertions that international migration is a 'global flow' driven by overwhelming economic, social and political forces, and that governments can do little other than get out of the way"[2141]. But he disagrees, concluding that such claims are "greatly overstated". He thinks that theories dealing with international migration are "deficient in dealing with the role of states in initiating, selecting, restraining, and ending international migration movements" and that "there is far less international migration occur-ring than would be the case if states were not regulating entry". In other words, states do exact various controls over cross-border migration flows into their sovereign territories and it is only when there is a purposeful lack of regulation that "migrant crises" will arise. Teitelbaum further declares that "the political implications of international migrations depend not only upon empirical facts but also on the ways these are perceived by political elites and publics" i.e. on how they are portrayed by intellectuals, political leaders, and other public figures and organzations (i.e. media) to their citizenry[2142]. According to Weiner and Teitelbaum, social theorists tend to neglect to mention state intervention in their immigration theories because they

> prefer to describe international migration as an inexorable process, driven by hugely powerful economic, demographic, and social forces that overwhelm any efforts by governments to affect them – a kind of human tectonics[2143].

If international migration into Europe is described as an inexorable or necessary process, then the hope is that the European peoples will just go about their business and readily embrace the historically unprecedented importation and arrival of millions of non-Europeans into Europe

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[2141] Teitelbaum, "The Role of the State in International Migration," 157.
[2142] Ibid, 166, 157-158.
[2143] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 94.

every year. In doing so, this type of demographic engineering project violates various rights of indigenous Europeans, such as the right to not be "deprived of nationality" (article 15, UDHR), the right to respect for national identities (article 4(2) of the Treaty on the EU), the right as a national, racial, and ethnic group to not be destroyed "in whole or in part" (article II, Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide), and the right "to belong to an indigenous community or nation" (article 9, UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples).

In addition to demographic engineering, leaders, members, and supporters of European groups that are concerned about the unprecedented changes occurring in European nations from this process, such as the emerging presence of political Islam and Islamist jihadism, like the Patriotic Europeans Against Islamisation of the West (PEGIDA) and its offshoots, are called "far right" and "pinstripe Nazis" by lawmakers, politicians, the media, and pro-immigration activists[2144]. North Rhein-Westphalia interior minister Ralf Jäger stated that the leaders of Pegida are "Nazis in pinstripes" as did Thomas Oppermann of the SPD, and Bavaria's interior minister Joachim Hermann called them "right-wing extremist Pied Pipers"[2145]. During the height of the 'migrant crisis' in the summer of 2015 Leftist German politician Gregor Gysi implied all indigenous Germans are "Nazis" and, with a smirk on his face, called their demographic decline and replacement through immigration "fortunate". Imploring people to attend a protest in Germany called "Live better without Nazis – diversity is our future" Gysi claimed that

> We have to take a stand against the Nazis. Because of our history between 1933-1945 we are obliged to treat refugees properly. We also have to save their lives in the Mediterranean....Oh, and by the way: Every year more native Germans die than there are born. That is very fortunate. It's because Nazis are not very good at having offspring. This is why they are so dependent on immigration from foreign countries[2146].

[2144] Oliver Harvey, "March of the Pinstripe Right"; Simon Jenkins, "Germany's 'Pinstripe Nazis'."
[2145] *The Local*, "Government in a twist over 'pinstriped Nazis'"; Withnall, "Dresden march."
[2146] "Germanistan - Diversity is our future!" YouTube video.

Gysi essentially suggested that the reason why native Germans have such low birth rates is because they are Nazis and therefore it is great that they are disappearing and being replaced as a distinct ethnic group indigenous to Germany!

Another example is a divisive Leftist propaganda video on Germany's public broadcaster *ZDF*'s NEO MAGAZIN ROYALE television programme, which is paid for by German taxpayers. Critics of mass-immigration who support politicians such as Geert Wilders, Donald Trump, Viktor Orban, and Frauke Petry, are called 'xenophobics' and 'authoritarian nationalist dorks' linked to Nazism. The video implies those who are welcoming of mass-immigration and the cultural and demographic changes it incurs are "true Germans" but those who are not are "murderous vandals". According to ZDF, 'true Germans' are "nice", "liberal", "compassionate", "considerate", "reasonable", "social", "temperate", "peaceful", and they are "proud of not being proud". ZDF declares that Germany has "freedom of speech", is characterised by "unity" and "diversity", and is "open", "multicultural" (despite the fact that Merkel herself has called multiculturalism a failure), "modest", "tolerant", "enlightened", "responsible", "selfless", and "forgiving". It further declares that Germans who are critical of immigration and its transformative effects on Germany do not represent Germany at all by stating that "You are not the people, you are the past"[2147]. In other words, indigenous Germans who are critical of a government-mandated program of immigration and racial and cultural mixing that undermines their ethnic identities, radically transforms their nations and institutions, and relegates them to an ethnic minority within their own homeland, are Nazis and don't deserve to exist.

A similar statement was made by Mona Sahlin, former leader of the Swedish party the Social Democrats, who patronizingly stated that "The White majority [in Sweden]... are the

[2147] "BE DEUTSCH! [Achtung! Germans on the rise!] | NEO MAGAZIN ROYALE mit Jan Böhmermann – ZDFneo," YouTube video (Neo Magazin Royale)

problem" that need to change and adapt to a new Sweden[2148]. Obviously then, the only people who have the right to be called the people of Germany, Sweden, and Europe in general must be pro-immigration, pro-Islamisation, and tolerant or even celebrative of their own demographic and political decline and replacement as distinct peoples in their own homelands. This is another way of saying that European indigenes who are critics of immigration have no right to self-determination, national sovereignty, or European identity.

The Nazism/extreme right narrative against Europeans (along with whites are racist narrative) is a dog-eared strategy, a propaganda technique, to condemn and thus delegitimise any and all ethnic Europeans who exhibit their democratic right to criticize and oppose the calculated prying open of their societies to mongrelisation and cosmopolitanism and the associated destruction of the essential foundations to their ethnic identities. The monolithic generalisations of indigenous Europeans as guilty racists and Nazis and other such dishonourable name-calling is part of an effort to justify mass-immigration and the replacement of Europeans with non-Europeans. They are acts of discrimination, persecution, and incitement to genocide and, according to international law, those who are committing such acts should be tried to the fullest extent of the law.

Other than violating various rights mentioned above, the Nazi-narrative propaganda campaign against ethnic Europeans needs to be analysed in terms of the analysis framework of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide. In the fourth category of this analysis framework, the Europeans-are-Nazis or racists narrative is an "exclusionary ideology" involving false "constructions of identities in terms of 'us' and 'them' to accentuate differences" and "propaganda campaigns and fabrications about the targeted group used to justify acts against a targeted group by use of dominant, controlled media or 'mirror politics'." It must, therefore, be

[2148] "Sweden: Leading Social Democrat 'The White Majority is the Problem'," YouTube video (SSU).

analysed as putting ethnic Europeans at risk of genocide. And according to categories five and seven the Nazi-racist narrative against indigenous Europeans committed by EU leaders (and non-state actors) must be investigated as "inflammatory rhetoric or hate propaganda" designed to reach the "foundations of the group" and analysed as a condition of genocide.

The Nazi-racist narrative against indigenous Europeans violates article 12 of the UDHR and article 17 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which state that attacks on the "honour and reputation" of individuals are prohibited. It also violates article 20(2) and article 26 of the ICCPR, article 7 of the UDHR, and article 14 of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in Europe, which state that any act of discrimination against a national or racial group or against the political opinion of an individual or group is prohibited. The Nazi-racist narrative against indigenous Europeans is also an act of persecution according to article 9(2) of the Council Directive on refugees and those qualifying for subsidiary protection, as it targets the racial and national social groups of indigenous Europeans and their political opinions on government programs of mongrelisation through "mental violence" and discriminatory legal, administrative, and judicial measures.

The racist narrative against Europeans is part of the logic of governments who induce in-migration for various economic and political ends. Weiner and Teitelbaum explain that imperial regimes, such as the European Union, "engage in demographic engineering by permitting or inducing settlers to enter". European elites encourage and allow the entry into Europe of "an immigration population that speaks another language, worships other gods, and competes for lands and jobs"[2149]. More importantly, migrants may take the form of settlers, such as those who desire demographic conquest, rather than benign immigrants looking for employment or refuge. For example, Weiner and Teitelbaum describe migrants as those people

[2149] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 73.

who most often respect and wish to integrate (into European societies), whereas settlers are usually a demographic minority characterised by the refusal to integrate "into the native culture and social order" and "regard themselves as superior to the natives"[2150]. Weiner and Teitelbaum also describe settlers in terms of colonization, which is "the movement into a territory of one's own people to settle the land, build or gain control of the urban settlements, and establish the political authority of the victors"[2151].

In terms of European nations undergoing massive non-European immigration, a vast majority of immigrants are Muslims from various regions in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East who arrive in Europe as either irregular migrants or through family reunification and marriage migration rather than as economic migrants and they are rapidly expanding their religious population in Europe. Immigration in this form will not stop as attempts to regulate such flows are limited by pro-immigration laws and lobbies, human rights laws, and an army of immigration attorneys[2152]. As discussed elsewhere a significant portion of Muslim immigrants and their descendants in European nations, whether under multiculturalism or assimilation policies, have concentrated in urban areas and key parts of major European cities, forming vast transnational ethnic networks and condensed self-governing ethnic communities distinct from the national mainstream. Hundreds of these ethnic enclaves have disproportionate levels of crime, incarceration, and unemployment rates and are posing serious social, economic, and political issues for European societies. Radicalisation is also an issue. In previous chapters it has been detailed that a significant portion of Muslims in Europe think their way of life is superior to Europeans and refuse to integrate into secular European culture and adopt European values and laws. More importantly, the risk of political Islam, in both its violent and non-violent forms,

[2150] Ibid, 62.
[2151] Ibid, 57.
[2152] See: Teitelbaum, "The Role of the State," 165; Hollifield, "The Emerging Migration State," 897.

is high in these neighbourhoods and has increased substantially over the years with continuous inflows of Muslim migrants. Islamists have terrorised, injured, and killed thousands of Europeans over the last few decades, peaceful 'rejectionists' have attempted to make European society accord to their politico-religious doctrine of Sharia, and various Muslim leaders have repeatedly declared that Europe will be conquered through demographic colonisation[2153].

There are numerous examples of non-Europeans who view Europeans with disdain and seek to conquer Europe through demographic conquest. For example, the socialist blogger Sukant Chandan, who is originally from North India but has British citizenship, advocates the replacement of Europeans with non-Europeans. He epitomises the new proletariat, new cosmopolitan alliance against Europeans. In 2007 Chandan set up the 'Sons of Malcolm' website which he describes as being

> Inspired by the principles of Malcolm X/Malik El-Hajj Shabazz. A 'Third Worldist' perspective focusing on the increasing pace of south-south co-operation which is challenging and defeating neo-colonial hegemony, and the struggles of those oppressed by neo-colonialism and white supremacy (racism) who fight for their social, political and cultural freedom 'by any means necessary'[2154].

Malcolm X was an African-American Muslim who thought that "white people were a race of devils who were created by an evil scientist named Yakub". He was also a follower of the Nation of Islam, who "believed that black people were superior to white people, and that the demise of the white race was imminent"[2155]. In the transcript of a video posted in 2011 for the *Monthly Review* magazine titled "Taking Over the West," Chandan stated that

> We have won, historically, the right to come here, in the 50s and the 60s and the 70s, when the West wanted, literally, us to do their dirty work here and they wanted us *out*. But we fought for our right to stay here, against the government and against the Far Right and racist organizations and movements. So, we've won our right to stay here.

[2153] See chapters 8-10.
[2154] Sukant Chandan, "What is Sons of Malcolm?" *Sons of Malcolm* (blog), n.d. http://sonsofmalcolm.blogspot.ca/p/what-is-sons-of-malcolm.html.
[2155] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Malcolm X," retrieved June 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malcolm_X.

> We're here to stay, permanently. That right has been won. Now, I think, the final challenge is for us to completely take over the West[2156].

Then, in early 2016 on a *Russia Today* episode of CrossTalk entitled "Human Tidal Wave," Chandan literally called for the genocide of European peoples:

> I tell you one thing: Black and Asian people should come here in the hundreds of millions. It's not right that for 500 years, imperialism has looted our countries of all our wealth, has destroyed our countries. We will come here, we have been coming here, and we will continue to come here in the hundreds of millions until, indeed, as Gaddafi said, Europe will turn Black![2157]

By implying Europeans are 'collectively guilty' and calling for the replacement of them by non-Europeans, is called demographic conquest or colonization and incitement to genocide. But there has been no international uproar. Not for him or for Swedish citizen Sam Dol Lee Gunnar Tobias Hübinette of Asian descent.

Hübinette is one of the leading leftist extremists in Sweden and lectures at the university of Karlstad. He has also incited European genocide, stating that

> Knowing or even thinking that the white race is inferior in every conceivable plan is natural considering its history and current actions. Let the white race in the west country perish in blood and suffering. Long live the multicultural, racially mixed and classless ecological society! Long live anarchy![2158]

And there was no international uproar over German citizen Lamya Kaddor of Syrian descent either. Kaddor is an Islamic scholar, the head of the German Liberal-Muslim Union, Researcher for Islam Studies and expert for religious education. She publicly celebrates the demographic decline of ethnic Germans and their replacement by non-Europeans and declares a radical change in German identity. On German state television she stated that

> I think we have to be aware that we are a country of immigrants. 'Being German' will mean having a migration background in the future. This is what being German will mean in the future! No more blue eyes, light hair and claiming 'we're all German!".

[2156] Chandan, "Taking Over the West."
[2157] Lavelle, "Human Tidal Wave.," RT News CrossTalk Video, 28:20 (18 minute mark).
[2158] "Tobias Hübinette CREOL 4 - EXPO Incitement to genocide by ethnical Korean Tobias Hubinette (Lee Sam-dol)." Creol no 1 1996 and "Svartvitt." Balder.org (blog), http://balder.org/avisartikler/Tobias-Hubinette-Lee-Sam-Dol-Calls-For-Genocide-Of-Whites.php.

> Being German also means wearing a Hijab (Muslim headscarf), having dark hair. This is what being German means today![2159]

Of course, not all native Germans have blue eyes and blonde hair. But by deliberately focusing on replacing the historically racial and religious characteristics of Germany to fit in with an immigrant narrative is clearly a celebration of the disappearance of German ethnic identity.

American political scientist Kelly Greenhill, who is associate professor at Tufts University and a research fellow in the Belfer Center's International Security Program, has argued that demographic engineering in terms of engineering in- and out- migration movements may be "political and military weapons of war"[2160]. Migration as a weapon of war can be used in several ways, but "the coercive variant" is the most relevant here, which is "the class of cross-border migrations designed to influence the political or economic behaviour of potential host states and other state-level actors farther afield"[2161]. Such strategic and instrumental manipulation of migration has been used "by both state and non-state actors" since the end of the Cold War[2162]. Such a form of engineering aims to "augment, reduce, or change the composition of the population residing within a particular territory, for political or military ends" and specifically aims to "alter the ethno-reiligious-political balance within said territory"[2163]. For example, through in-migration, the ethnically homogeneous populations of European nation-states are diluted by importing ethnically dis-similar people into the region (mass-immigration) and conducting, at the same time, a strategy of propaganda (cosmopolitan-multicultural media and education, "diversity is destiny", Europeans in opposition to the

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[2159] "'No more blue Eyes & blonde Hair!'- Islam Researcher who taught ISIS fighters applauded on German TV," YouTube video, 0:28.
[2160] Greenhill, "Strategic Engineered Migration as a Weapon of War," 6.
[2161] Ibid, 7.
[2162] Ibid, 6.
[2163] Ibid, 7-8.

program are ‘Nazis’ and racists etc.) that aims to further undermine the ethno-cultural identities of indigenous European groups.

In other words, the Left-Liberal intellectual, political, and economic elites, in an effort to create a global cosmopolitan-liberal society, view engineered in-migration, which alters both the size and ethnic composition of European populations, as beneficial in terms of perceived economic and political benefits. On the one hand it increases the tax base, replacing low fertility populations and a shortage of labour power, thus maintaining and benefiting multinational economic hegemony in the region and at the global level, and on the other hand, it further de-couples and destroys the ethno-cultural identities of Europeans by increasingly making them a minority in their own homelands and by providing ever increasing numbers of non-European votes. Other political benefits may include the generation of crises, a constructive chaos (Leo Strauss) or creative destruction (neo-conservativism, Michael Leeden), that are used to justify methods that change the foundational nature of society, such as the mixing of ethnic populations and the reduction of certain freedoms and civil liberties.

In terms of out-migration as a political weapon of war, according to Weiner and Teitelbaum, sending governments may send migrants to settle in another country and will use settlement policies “to establish control over [that] territory”[2164]. Greenhill calls this form of strategic engineered migration “exportive”, which may be used by state and non-state actors to undermine, “discomfit or destabilize foreign governments”[2165]. For example, political dissidents may be expelled from a particular country but are provided asylum in another country, where they may continue their dissidence and set up various networks that aim to alter both the domestic and foreign policies of their host country and the domestic policies of

[2164] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 60.
[2165] Greenhill, “Strategic Engineered Migration as a Weapon of War,” 8-9.

their homeland. As discussed in chapter 8, various Muslim 'refugees' came to Europe in the 1980s and set up various radical Muslim organizations and networks that funded and contributed to political efforts in their homelands and committed terrorist acts upon their host countries. The generation and use of refugee flows by ISIS to infiltrate and destabilize Europe is another example of exportive engineered migration. ISIS also uses 'militarized' strategic engineering in that it displaces peoples in Syria and Iraq to gain military advantage against said governments and territory (establishing the Caliphate) and acquires both resources and manpower from doing so. Such displacement is an "effective way to consolidate control over territory" and "economically quite remunerative", such as in the form of asset appropriation (housing, banks, government documents, national resources such as oil) and "departure taxes" of would-be-refugees (i.e. in the form of selling passports)[2166].

Foreign governments may also use their exported populations or cross-border population movements and refugee flows as a method of coercion. Greenhill describes this strategy of coercion as

> the class of events in which (real and threatened) outflows are used, as a foreign policy tool, to induce (or prevent) changes in political behaviour and/or to extract side-payments from the target(s); coercive use includes the propagandistic use of outflows (which are generated by others) for their own benefit[2167].

Coercive engineered migration is often used by weak actors to generate migrant crises in more powerful states, after which they will then "offer to make them disappear for financial or political pay-offs"[2168]. For example, as mentioned elsewhere, Turkey has repeatedly threatened to unleash millions of 'refugees' into Europe to extract various political deals and economic benefits from the EU, such as accession to the EU, visa-liberalisation, and billions of Euros in aid, both repayable and non-repayable. In fact, during the 'migrant crisis' of 2015 and 2016

[2166] Ibid, 17-18.
[2167] Ibid, 8.
[2168] Ibid, 14.

before the EU-Turkey deal (March 2016), Turkey did very little to stop the hundreds of thousands of irregular migrants crossing the Turkish border into Europe. It was only after a political and economic deal was reached did Turkey start patrolling its borders to reduce or prevent illegal migration. Another example is the refusal of developing countries of origin to accept back deportees from Europe, countries that have instead demanded more legal entryways for their people to enter Europe and more money (in the billions of euros) for them to accept back voluntary deportees[2169].

According to the logic of Teitelbaum and Weiner, European natives may legitimately feel that the rapid arrival of non co-ethnic foreigners is "a threat to the cohesiveness and integration of the society", that "another population has been imposed upon it" and that the "settler population represents a conquering power". Furthermore, a settler population may be viewed by the indigenes "as its nemesis - a long-standing rival or enemy whose presence in the territory constitutes a threat to one's culture, social structure, and perhaps even to one's safety". In this situation it is likely that any form of integration and "tipping" – demographic transition or power transition in favour of foreign settlers – is resisted. Resistance comes in the form of the "will to difference", which is also strong in the settler population. The native "will to difference" involves indigenes having a shared perception of the settler population as a "conquering power" that imposes itself, occupies their lands, and attempts to oppress and humiliate them. Natives will demand "autonomy, independence, self-determination, and other measures aimed at restoring their dignity, ending their humiliation, and 'returning' to them, as it were, a sense of control over their land and over themselves"[2170]. In terms of indigenous resistance to immigration and Islam in Europe, it can be understood as a reaction to the settler

[2169] See footnotes 1801 and 1802, and chapter 11.4.
[2170] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 104, 61.

nature of Muslim immigration and part of the historically hostile relations and incommensurable cultures between these two peoples (secular and religious, and Christian and Muslim). It is well-known that various anti-Islam and anti-immigration parties and movements have arisen over the last few decades in Europe and seek to regain control over their borders and political institutions, which can be understood as a response to what is perceived as the Islamisation and non-European demographic take over of Europe.

According to the logic of Weiner and Teitelbaum, if indigenous Europeans want to prevent the impending power transition from rapid ethnic and demographic changes in Europe wrought by the colonization of their countries by foreign immigrants and induced by their own governments, if they wish to "affect migratory movements", then they will need to have both "coercive and organizational capacities" to do so[2171]. These capacities are available to Europeans but the political and economic interests of elites and the demands of non-European immigrants prevent them from affecting such change. Such interests involve those who "benefit from immigration" i.e. employers who seek cheap labourers, big businesses that want to keep wages low, 'co-ethnics', various political parties seeking the ethnic vote, diversity-promoters, cosmopolitanists, and cultural Marxists or Leftists who seek to alter the existing order and ethnic composition of Europe. These actors who are invested in immigration and benefit from it politically or economically are in "contest" with European indigenes who perceive the demographic and ethnic transformation of Europe as a loss to themselves and their fellow Europeans. This loss includes their long-term livelihoods, threats to their cultural values and security, threats to their ethnic identity, and their relative decline in ethno-cultural

[2171] Ibid, 42.

demographic terms and all that it entails (loss of sovereignty and power over their homelands, minority status, end of a European Europe and so on)[2172].

European elites variously and continuously justify immigration and consistently belittle European concerns. Yet this is part of the logic of imperial regimes who engage in demographic engineering: "Governments of multi-ethnic societies resist" the claims of indigenous peoples to sovereignty over their homeland and claims that "they as a people exist only within one country, while others have other homes to which they can return"[2173]. Governments then declare "a counterposition: that in a multi-ethnic society people should be free to move to where economic opportunities are present" i.e. mass-immigration into Europe is part of inevitable global economic forces[2174]. But this counter-position does not address the government planned importation of foreigners and their settlement that rapidly created the multi-ethnic society in the first place, but only the consequence of such importation i.e. multiethnic society. It does not address the simultaneous action taken by elites, such as cosmopolitan and left wing projects that are gradually stripping European natives of their political and territorial sovereignty and destroying their self-determination and identity, indeed their very existence as distinct peoples.

In order for settlers and those that induce settlement to maintain control over an indigenous population, especially if it is in the majority, various coercive tactics need to be employed against the natives that involve the prevention of "secessionist and irredentist movements", "protest movements", and "political democratization"[2175]. It is clear that such tactics have been used by various EU elites against their own populations in the face of large-scale foreign immigration and their settlement, which they have induced themselves. Such

[2172] Ibid, 43.
[2173] Ibid, 121.
[2174] Ibid, 74.
[2175] Ibid, 61.

tactics include the use of massive propaganda campaigns that aim to crush populist opposition among native Europeans (the racist and Nazi narratives) and the dismissal or lack of acknowledgment of polls and surveys that reveal significant portions of European indigenes want immigration levels to be reduced or stopped altogether[2176]. It is very clear that EU elites are not listening to the will of its peoples.

Not only are polls and surveys showing that Europeans are tired of endless mass-immigration into their countries, they are also showing that Europeans are not happy with the EU and its institutions either. For example, in a Pew Research survey released in May 2014 with a subtitle "EU Favorability Rises, but Majorities say their Voice is not Heard in Brussels", it was found that 48 percent of Europeans were not in favor of the European Union, 64 percent were not in favour of the European Parliament, 66 percent were not in favour of the European Commission, and 70 percent were not in favour of the European Central Bank[2177]. In a Eurobarometer survey conducted by the European Commission it was found that in August 2014 only 37 percent of Europeans trusted the EU and 53 percent thought their voice didn't count. In December 2014 it was found that only 39 percent of Europeans viewed the EU positively[2178].

What is striking, is that although public support for the EU and its institutions is very low, EU leaders are demanding that European Prime Ministers should listen even less to their peoples for the sake of the European project. George Soros, the influential multi-billionaire who has his fingers in many European Union integration projects and foreign policies, in a December 2015 interview with Gregor Peter Schmitz of the German magazine *WirtschaftsWoche* said that Merkel should "change public opinion instead of following it"

[2176] See chapter 15.1.
[2177] Pew Research Center, *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections*, 6.
[2178] European Commission, "Public Opinion in the European Union, First results," 6-9.

because “national sovereignty” needs to become subordinate “to a supranational, European order”[2179]. In May 2016, Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the EU commission complained that European Prime Ministers listen too much to their voters: “Too many politicians are listening exclusively to their national opinion. And if you are listening to your national opinion you are not developing what should be a common European sense and a feeling of the need to put together efforts”[2180]. In response to the Brexit vote, in June 2016 German president Joachim Gauck, said “The elites are not the problem, the population is at the moment the problem”[2181].

Kieron O’Hara, associate professor at the University of Southampton where he specialises in the politics, philosophy and epistemology of technology, complains that

> For many years, the architects of European Union have tacitly assumed that they know the political and economic interests of the people of Europe better than they do themselves. This is a symptom of the so-called democratic deficit in the EU, and one reason why whenever people are directly consulted they tend to reject the project, only to be ignored. European Parliamentary elections receive ever-lower turnouts. These setbacks are seen as regrettable, but not important. There is actually nothing wrong with that if Eurocrats wish to assert (and risk) their own authority and political legitimacy; what is wrong is to give the impression of consultation without really consulting at all. Genuine consultation involves not only collecting and listening to heterodox opinion: it also means acting upon it[2182].

The Prime Minister of Hungary, Viktor Orban, captures the gist of the democratic deficit and Leftist demographic engineering project of the EU quite well on several occasions. In a speech at the European People’s Party (EPP) Congress in Madrid on the 22nd of October 2015, he declared that

> We are the European People’s Party – Partie Populaire, Volkspartei, Partido Popular, Party of the People – our responsibility is towards the people. Listen to the people. Let’s be determined, let’s defend Europe. Do not let the leftist mess up and reconstruct Europe! And do not let them oust the soul of Europe! Do not let liberals and socialists take away Europe from the people![2183]

[2179] Soros and Schmitz, “‘The EU Is on the Verge of Collapse’—An Interview.”
[2180] Holehouse, “Prime Ministers listen too much to voters, complains EU's Juncker.”
[2181] “German president Gauk,” YouTube video.
[2182] O’Hara, *Conservatism*, 43-44.
[2183] Website of the Hungarian Government, “Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress.”

In a May 2016 radio interview, Orban stated that the "bureaucratic Brussels elite is [sic] quite clearly acting against the will of the European peoples"[2184]. In regards to the 'migrant crisis' and EU imposed mandatory refugee quotas, he asked "When and who voted for admitting millions of people who entered illegally, and distributing them among EU member states? What's happening lacks democratic foundations"[2185] and that "Nobody has voted for what is going on, so the quality of European democracy is in question"[2186]. In a speech in March 15th 2016, Orban stated that "Europe is not free. Because freedom begins with speaking the truth. Today in Europe it is forbidden to speak the truth" such as stating "that those arriving are not refugees", that "Europe is threatened by migration", that "immigration brings crime and terror to our countries", and that "the masses arriving from other civilizations endanger our way of life, our culture, our customs, and our Christian traditions". Most importantly, Orban declares that Europeans are "forbidden to point out that this is not an accidental and unintentional chain of consequences but a preplanned and orchestrated operation; a mass of people directed towards us" and that "the purpose of settling people here is to reshape the religious and cultural landscape of Europe, and to reengineer its ethnic foundations – thereby eliminating the last barrier to internationalism: the nation-states". He further stated that Brussels "is now stealthily devouring more and more slices of our national sovereignty and that in Brussels many are now making a plan for a United States of Europe – for which no-one has ever given authorisation" and using and developing "a set of tools to force us into submission", such as evidenced in "the international media's artillery bombardments, denunciations, threats, and blackmail"[2187].

[2184] Website of the Hungarian Government, "Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Rádió programme '180 Minutes'."
[2185] *RT News*, "Hungarian PM blames Soros for fueling refugee crisis in Europe."
[2186] Hallett, Nick. "Orban: Multiculturalism Endangers Christian Europe, Leads To 'Parallel Societies'."
[2187] "Orban's historic speech puts Hungary on war footing," YouTube video.

Demographic engineering, the use of propaganda to silence opposition, the use of discriminatory tactics to diminish opportunities for native Europeans, the importation of an historical enemy, and the refusal of European elites to listen to the will of the people, violate various rights of indigenous Europeans and undermines the aims of the EU Treaty. In addition to the violation of rights described above, according to category 1 of the analysis framework of the Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG) EU elites are purposefully putting Europeans at risk of genocide by knowingly importing a religious group that has historical and current relations with Europeans characterised by “tensions” and “conflicts over land, power, security and expressions of group identity, such as language, religion and culture”. By not listening to the will of the peoples of Europe leading EU elites are also defiling article 10 of the EU Treaty, which states that European nation-states and the EU are determined by the will of the people. They also violate article 21(3) of the UDHR that states that the authority of the government must be based on the will of the people. By ignoring the will of the people, EU elites are also violating articles 18 and 19 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which state that state actions that may affect the rights of indigenous peoples need to be approved by indigenes (Europeans) prior to their implementation. By not listening to the will of the people EU elites are also in violation of article 1 of the ICCPR, which states that all peoples have self-determination. By extension, this means that European peoples have the right to re-determine the EU on a constant basis and the right to territorial integrity, the latter of which is threatened by large-scale immigration and the formation of Muslim ethnic enclaves under self-prescribed self-governance.

Habermas, Griffin, Sutherland, Spectre, Timmermans, Gysi and the others discussed in this dissertation that are for the demographic mixing and transformation of European nations, seek to create a new version of European society and of European citizens, a project that is

inextricably tied in with the arrival of supranational political and economic institutions, such as the European Union, the United Nations, and other international 'humanitarian' NGOs that erode the legitimacy of the nation-state (and its borders) itself. One of the most influential NGOs that facilitates this transformative cosmopolitan project in Europe is the Open Society Foundation of multibillionaire George Soros.

Soros is a Hungarian-born American citizen, multi-billionaire business magnate, chairman of Soros Fund Management and Open Society Foundations (active in more than 70 countries[2188]), and self-described philanthropist. He has (unelected) political influence across the world and aspirations to create a global open society. Soros' finances are managed by his Quantum Group of Funds and in 2014 Soros donated $381 million from this fund to his Open Society Foundation (OSF)[2189]. According to the OSF, the Foundation is

> a *private* operating and grantmaking foundation based in New York City, implements a range of initiatives that aim to promote *open society* by *shaping government policy* and supporting education, media, public health and human and women's rights, as well as social, legal and economic reform. To foster *open society on a global level*, OSI aims to bring together a larger Open Society Network of other nongovernmental organizations, governments and international institutions[2190].

According to Soros the open society is "an abstract idea, a universal concept" that "transcends all boundaries". The open society is "a society open to improvement", a society based on individual rights, "freedom of expression and protecting dissent", a society "aware" of and coexisting of multiple religions and cultures and a society that "offers a vista of limitless progress". In contrast to 'closed societies' that "derive their cohesion from shared values" that are often "absolute" being as they are "rooted in culture, religion, history, and tradition", an open society "does not have [such] boundaries". In an un-bounded and un-rooted society not

[2188] Open Society Foundations, "About Us."
[2189] Bryne, "Panama Papers reveal George Soros' deep money ties to secretive weapons, intel investment firm."
[2190] Open Society Foundations, "OSI Announces New Fund to Protect Immigrants' Rights " (my emphasis).

based on culture, religion, history or tradition, shared values "that hold society together" are found in "the concept of the open society itself" and are "a matter of debate and choice"[2191].

Soros thinks that the liberal-democratic EU was built on the principles of an open society: regional integration based on cultural and religious pluralism, critical thinking and freedom of thought, humanitarianism, equality, political freedom, human rights, democracy, individualism, abstract or depersonalised social relations, and man-made law[2192]. The ultimate goal of Soros is to promote a liberal democratic global society without borders and without traditional societal ties, such as religion, history, or tradition but rooted in individualism and human rights, a global economy and global governance. But the global society would be the prop for the global economy and not the other way around: "we need some global system of political decision-making. In short, we need a global society to support our global economy"[2193]. In other words, his main goal is the creation of a New World Order based on economic globalization and abstractions, such as those of the Open Society.

Soros' wealth politically influences sovereign governments across the globe. In his effort to promote and create his 'open society' project to all corners of the Earth Soros elicits regime change by funding opposition parties, 'social justice' movements, and pro-migration and open-border activists and organisations in various nations. For example, according to Neil Clark writing for the *New Statesman* magazine,

> From 1979, he distributed $3 million a year to dissidents including Poland's solidarity movement, Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia and Andrei Sakharov in the Soviet Union. In 1984, he founded his first Open Society Institute in Hungary and pumped millions of dollars into opposition movements and independent media. Ostensibly aimed at building up a 'civil society', these initiatives were designed to weaken the existing political structures and pave the way for eastern Europe's eventual exploitation by global capital. Soros now claims with characteristic immodesty, that he was responsible for the 'Americanization' of eastern Europe[2194].

[2191] Soros, "The Capitalist Threat."
[2192] Wikipedia, s.v. "Open Society," retrieved June 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open_society.
[2193] Soros, *The Crisis of Global Capitalism*, xxix.
[2194] Clark, "NS Profile - George Soros."

In addition, Soros was also involved in the break-up of Yugoslavia. Clark writes:

> From 1991, his Open Society Institute channeled more than $100 million to the coffers of the anti-Milosevic opposition, funding political parties, publishing houses and 'independent' media such as Radio B92, the plucky little student radio station of western mythology, which was in reality bankrolled by one of the world's richest men on behalf of the world's most powerful nation. With Slobo finally toppled in 2000 in a coup d'etat financed, planned and executed in Washington all that was left was to cart the ex Yugoslav leader to the Hague tribunal, co-financed by Soros along with other custodians of human rights, Time Warner Corporation and Disney. He faced charges of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide, based in the main on the largely anecdotal evidence of (you guessed it) Human Rights Watch [which is Soros funded][2195].

More recently, Soros has been funding numerous left-wing special interest groups and NGOs in America and Europe that characterise these countries as being rife with white sexism, white racism, and white discrimination against non-White minorities. In America he has funded the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Feminist Majority, Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, Ms. Foundation for Women, NAACP, Public Justice Center, Res Publica, Southern Poverty Law Center, and so on[2196]. Some of the other organizations he directly funds include Brookings Institute (Brookings has been involved with the Global Governance Initiative that seeks to establish a U.N dominated world government), various organizations that support illegal immigrants such as Human Rights Watch, Immigrant Defense Project, Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition, National Immigration Law Center, as well as various Open Border organizations such as Immigrant Workers Citizenship Project, Immigration Advocates Network, Immigration Policy Center, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Migration Policy Institute, National Council of La Raza, and National Immigration Forum among others[2197]. Soros has also either directly funded or indirectly funded (through various organisations[2198]) 'social justice' movements and ethnic groups behind some

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[2195] Ibid.
[2196] *Discover The Networks*, "Organizations Funded Directly by George Soros and his Open Society Foundations."
[2197] Ibid; *The Event Chronicle,* "Organizations Funded Directly by George Soros and his Open Society Institute."
[2198] Such as Democracy Alliance, Moveon.org, and Media Matters.

of the most violent riots and protests in America, such as the Ferguson and Baltimore protests[2199], Black Lives Matter[2200], and violent anti-Trump protests[2201]. These movements have contributed to a worsening of race relations across America.

In Europe, his 'humanitarian' and 'philanthropic' influence focuses on migration into Europe and uses a cadre of mostly naïve and young ultra left-wing human rights activists and NGOs in Europe and beyond, which he primarily funds through his Open Society Foundation (OSF). The Open Society Initiative for Europe, which was established in 2013, aims to "build on three decades of the Open Society Foundations' work in Europe" and "narrow the gulf between the promise of Europe as the prototype for an open society and reality". As such it supports "the activists and civil society organizations confronting Europe's many challenges"[2202] i.e. anything that is perceived as an obstacle to the open society project (national and external borders of the EU preventing the free movement of people, national sovereignty and so on).

The OSF also has an International Migration Initiative that aims at preventing deterrence policies of migration. It states that

> The assumption is that security-centered policies do not stop migration, and instead put migrants at risk. Policies that maximize options for movement through safe, legal channels will decrease both the human costs of migration and spending on migration control and border enforcement. The International Migration Initiative seeks to ensure that alternative migration channels extend protections to more people, that asylum systems and migration policies respond to the pressure of mixed flows, and that states detain migrants only as a last resort[2203].

The International Migration Initiative "works across borders through a strategic corridor approach, facilitating coordinated action in countries of origin, transit, and destination" and specifically focuses on "three strategic corridors: Asia/Middle East, Central America/Mexico,

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[2199] Riddell, "George Soros funds Ferguson protests"; Corcoran, "Billionaire George Soros spent $33MILLION."
[2200] Vogel and Wheaton, "Major donors consider funding Black Lives Matter."
[2201] Bremmer, "Soros-funded group promises even more anti-Trump protests."
[2202] Open Society Foundations, "Open Society Initiative for Europe."
[2203] Open Society Foundations, "International Migration Initiative."

and Eurasia". It also has a "targeted project" that seeks to "reform the Common European Asylum System, both in the short term—to leverage the current crisis in the Mediterranean—and in the long term"[2204]. As an important note, Gerald Knaus, a senior fellow at the Open Society Foundation and founding member of the Soros-funded European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR)[2205], is also founding chairman of the Soros-funded European Stability Initiative[2206]. This European Stability Initiative was responsible for the creation of the Merkel-Samsom Plan (the EU-Turkey deal, March 2016)[2207], which, other than an attempt at slowing the migrant inflows into Europe from Turkey and regain control over that part of the EU's external border, also offered visa-free travel to Turkish citizens throughout the EU. So is the Merkel Plan really the Soros Plan?

In terms of the African/European corridor, Soros supports various left-wing activists that are involved in projects dedicated to the free movement of people. The notion of the free movement of peoples is perhaps best captured by Robert F. Barsky, who is professor and Chair of the French and Italian Department at Vanderbilt University in Nashville. In his "An essay on the free movement of peoples" in *Refuge*, Canada's Journal on Refugees, he states

> People have the inalienable right to move around as they wish, for whatever reason they think appropriate. Period. Borders between states are an aberration, the idea of the nation is reprehensible in its consequences, and restrictions imposed upon people who wish to travel from one region of their world to another are absurd and hurtful[2208].

Soros funds various free movement of people projects such as Boats4People. This organisation was set up in 1989 to "end deaths at maritime borders and to defend migrants' rights at sea",

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[2204] Ibid.
[2205] The ECFR was initially funded by George Soros. See: European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), ECFR Internship Rome, 2012.
[2206] European Stability Initiative (ESI), Gerald Knaus; European Stability Initiative (ESI), Gerald Knaus, *ESI* (September 2 2009). This initiative is supported by the Foundation to Promote Open Society or the OSF, which has been a "core funder." See: European Stability Initiative (ESI), "Donors."
[2207] Laub, "Why the German-Turkish Migrant Plan Can Work"; European Stability Initiative (ESI), "The Merkel-Samsom Plan – A proposal for the Syrian refugee crisis."
[2208] Barsky, "An Essay on the Free Movement of Peoples," 86.

deaths which they attempt to use to pressure Europe to open up its external borders to unlimited inflows of African migrants[2209]. This organization involves a coalition of fourteen organisations including the International Federation for Human Rights, Migreurop Euro-African Network, Africa-Europe-Interact Network, and the Welcome to Europe Network (W2EU). Migreurop is a Moving Beyond Borders project of the European Programme for Integration and Migration[2210] and aims for "a radical change in migration policies in order to make possible the freedom to go, to come and settle for everyone, freedom which is the necessary corollary of migrant' rights"[2211]. Africa-Europe-Interact Network is against the protection of EU's borders by Frontex and for a universal right of the free movement of peoples and "flexible and non-regulated migration policies between Europe, North Africa and Africa south of the Sahara"[2212]. W2EU network is a self-described "antiracist network" that campaigns for the "right of freely roaming the globe" but is especially focused on breaking down European external borders and its Dublin asylum system[2213]. Although W2EU state that they neither encourage nor condemn illegal migration they claim that "freedom of movement is everybody's right" and they distribute pamphlets to illegal immigrants before they make their journey to clandestinely enter Europe – those leaving from Morocco, the Central Mediterranean, and Turkey – informing them of the "risks, rights, and safety at sea" and what to do when landing illegally in Europe[2214]. They have also distributed handbooks, written in Arabic, to would-be sea migrants

[2209] Boats4People (2011), http://www.boats4people.org/index.php/en/; Boats4People Facebook page, accessed September 2015, https://www.facebook.com/boats4people/info?tab=page_info.
[2210] European Programme for Integration and Migration (EPIM), "Project: Moving Beyond Borders" and "About EPIM." The European Program for Integration and Migration (EPIM) is an initiative of the Network of European Foundations, which seeks to spread democracy and international development throughout the world. See: Network of European Foundations (NEF), "NEF is the Network of European Foundations."
[2211] Solennel, "For freedom of movement."
[2212] Afrique-europe-interact (æ act).
[2213] W2eu.net, "Solidarity with the crew of 'Salamis'."
[2214] W2eu.net, "Safety at Sea."

that aid them in their illegal entry into Europe, including where they may get detained and screened so to avoid these places[2215].

W2EU is also associated with the No Border Networks throughout the EU, which involve ultra-leftist militants protesting against national (e.g. UK border agency) and external European borders (e.g. Frontex) and migration control. A well-known chant they use on protest marches is "Brick by brick, wall by wall, make this fortress Europe fall"[2216]. In France, in the form of Calais Migrant Solidarity[2217], they support illegals trying to smuggle themselves into Britain; they support 'antiracist' and 'antifascist' demonstrations; they set up squats for illegal migrants; they help illegals organise protests and riots (including blocking the Channel Tunnel, storming ferries, and stealing boats); they also train, organise, and incite mass-violence against police and other authorities, as well as vandalize, commit arson, and human smuggling[2218]. Behind their actions, lies this worldview:

> Borders create misery and death. They are a cruel fiction, a weapon of divide and rule. They serve the rich, who use them to protect the wealth hoarded by colonialism and capitalism, and to turn the rest of us against each other. Borders create an illusion of safety and control, while setting up poor migrants as a cheap labour force of "illegals", who can be easily exploited and easily made into scapegoats[2219].

The Open or No Borders Network is associated with *UNITED for Intercultural Action: European Network against nationalism, racism, fascism and in Support of Migrants and Refugees* (and minority groups). This umbrella group has received "financial backing" from more than 550 organisations since 1992, including the European Commission, the European Council, Home Office UK, the Rothschild Foundation, Open Society Foundations (Soros), and the Erasmus+ Programme of the European Union[2220]. Soros has also donated money to the US-based

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[2215] Samuels, "Sky Finds 'Handbook' For EU-Bound Migrants."
[2216] "Solidarian humanitarian #refugees convoy started to march to the #refugees kettled in spielfeld," YouTube video.
[2217] UNITED for Intercultural Action, "Calais Migrant Solidarity."
[2218] *Wikipedia*, s.v. "No Border," retrieved June 2016, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/No_Border.
[2219] Calais Migrant Solidarity, "Who are we?"
[2220] UNITED for Intercultural Action, "Supported by."

Migration Policy Institute and the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants, which are organizations that advocate the resettlement of Muslims into Europe.

Soros' funding of opposition movements and regime change, often under the rubric of preventing human rights abuses i.e. justified by 'humanitarian reasons', goes beyond European "colour revolutions", to the Middle East and elsewhere, such as the Arab Spring[2221], Afghanistan[2222], Libya, and Syria. The foreign-financed armed rebellion and the Western-backed opposition (such as the Syrian National Council (SNC) and the Free Syrian Army) to Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad has been linked to the Bilderberg conference, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the Goldman Sachs megabank, the U.S. government, and George Soros[2223]. Soros and other globalists helped create the destabilisation in the Middle East and North Africa through military intervention, support for rebels and opposition groups, support and funding for the 'Arab Spring', and the forceful imposition of liberal democracy. Such destabilisation helped create the refugee and migrant flows.

The notion of the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P), which is Soros funded, redefines national sovereignty as it promotes "global governance while allowing the international community to penetrate a nation state's borders under certain conditions"[2224]. R2P enables the UN to military intervene in sovereign nations, force them to align with UN mandates on "responsibly," and allows for the creation of 'No Fly Zones'. The creation of a 'No Fly Zone' in Syria follows the same logic as the creation of 'No Fly Zones' in Libya and Iraq and the wars

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[2221] Bramhall, "The Arab Spring"; Elliott, "Look who smuggled Soros"; Phil Butler, "The ROI of Crisis Building."
[2222] Open Society Foundations, "Open Society Afghanistan."
[2223] Skelton, "The Syrian opposition: who's doing the talking?" US money for Syrian opposition began in 2005 and further in 2006 up until 2010 (possibly longer and still today) when the aim of spreading American-style democracy to Syria and elsewhere was reaching a fever pitch. According to Tamara Cofman Wittes, who oversaw the US state department's Middle East Partnership Initiative, "Syria and other countries that are seeking changes from their government … That's an agenda that we believe in and we're going to support" (Ibid). In early 2006 the state department announced a new "funding opportunity" called the *Syria Democracy Program*. On offer were grants worth $5m "to accelerate the work of reformers in Syria." See: Whitlock, "U.S. secretly backed Syrian opposition groups, cables released by WikiLeaks show."
[2224] Gareth Evans, "The Limits of State Sovereignty"; Aaron Klein, "Soros fingerprints"; Moran, "Libya and the Soros."

there that were then unleashed that devastated these countries. The US-led wars, backed by NGOs and humanitarian organisations, were premised on 'regime change' in these countries, yet all they did was kill, maim, and destroy the peoples and destabilise the societies, leaving millions displaced and creating power vacuums now filled by radical Islamists. General Carter Ham, former head of AFRICOM, stated that the creation of a No Fly Zone in Syria

> entails *killing a lot of people* and destroying the Syrian air defenses and those people who are manning those systems. And then it entails destroying the Syrian air force, preferably on the ground, in the air if necessary. This is *a violent combat action that results in lots of casualties* and increased risk to our own personnel"[2225].

And there is no mention of ISIS here. Organizations involved in the creation of the 'No Fly Zone' include: Avaaz, the White Helmets, The Syria Campaign, and Amnesty International[2226]. Avaaz is an online lobby organization for global civic advocacy and democracy, is the operational name of Global Engagement and Organizing Fund and start-up funding was provided by the OSF of Soros, which is their foundation partner[2227]. According to Rick Sterling, co-founder of the Syria Solidarity Movement[2228], and Vanessa Beeley, an investigative journalist and peace activist, the White Helmets (also known as Syria Civil Defence), which is supposedly a human rights NGO, was founded in 2013 by America and Britain (and not by Syrians) and only operates in areas controlled by the rebels (Nusra/Al Qaeda)[2229]. According to Global Research, the White Helmets is linked to George Soros through Purpose Inc.[2230], which was set up by Jeremy Heimans who is also co-founder of Avaaz[2231]. Purpose Inc. is associated with BLM and the Syrian Campaign, the latter of which supports military intervention in Syria against Assad. Soros also funds Amnesty

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[2225] *CBS News*, "Face the Nation Transcripts September 28, 2014: Blinken, Kaine, Flournoy" (my emphasis).
[2226] Sterling, "Humanitarians for War on Syria."
[2227] IN GAZA, "'Human Rights' front groups"; Avaaz, "Libya: No-Fly Zone"; Avaaz, "Safe zone for Syrians, now!"
[2228] Syria Solidarity Movement, "Steering Committee."
[2229] Sterling, "Seven Steps"; *Sputnik News*, "Soros-Sponsored NGO in Syria."
[2230] Purpose, "About."
[2231] Turbeville, "White Helmets NGO"; The Syria Campaign.

International and Human Rights Watch both of which demonise Assad and bolster support for the war in Syria[2232].

Wars in the Middle East are funded and armed by the West and based on military aggression and global corporate interests that hide behind 'human rights', 'philanthropy', and 'liberal democracy'. American conservative Ron Paul notes that

> The reason so many are fleeing places like Syria, Libya, Afghanistan, and Iraq is that US and European interventionist foreign policy has left these countries destabilized with no hopes of economic recovery. This mass migration from the Middle East and beyond is a direct result of the neocon foreign policy of regime change, invasion, and pushing 'democracy' at the barrel of a gun.

He suggests that "the real solution to the refugee problem" is to "stop meddling in the affairs of other countries"[2233]. A Pentagon report also suggests that the US government, who supports the opposition in Syria, knew that it was being led by radical Islamists, those who have been involved in terrorist acts against the West i.e. "The Salafist, the Muslim Brotherhood, and AQI [Al Qaeda in Iraq]", and fully supported them in order to "isolate the Syrian regime". They also fully knew that a "Salafist principality in Eastern Syria" would be established, which was where ISI (Islamic State of Iraq) began setting up its Caliphate and became ISIS[2234]. Furthermore, Vice President Joe Biden, speaking at Harvard in 2014 stated that "The fact is, the ability to identify a moderate middle in Syria, um, was, uh — there was no moderate middle". In other words, there are no 'moderate' rebel forces that exist in Syria and Iraq, despite the fact that the US and her allies are arming 'moderate' rebels against Assad and ISIS. Yet even ISIS, according to Biden and others, were inadvertently (or purposely) created by "Obama's anti-ISIS coalition" which "had armed, trained, and funded al Qaeda and ISIS to wage war on Assad"[2235].

[2232] Engdahl, "Soros Plays Both Ends in Syria Refugee Chaos."
[2233] Paul, "The Real Refugee Problem – And How To Solve It."
[2234] JW v DOD and State 14-812, Pgs. 287-293 (291).
[2235] Newman, "U.S. Intel: Obama Coalition Supported Islamic State in Syria."

Soros is using his money to influence regime change and destabilise governments all over the world, implying that he supports a cultural Marxist agenda of altering society from within in an effort to create his Open global Society. According to Leandra Bernstein writing for the *Executive Intelligence Review* in 2008,

> Soros arms his philanthropic organizations with cash, buying up key sectors within the population who are then let loose to overthrow a government that tries to maintain a "closed society." If a nation wishes to control its own natural resources, it's a closed society. If a nation wants to develop its economy and power of labor through tariffs and regulations, it's a closed society. Any nation that rejects globalization (i.e., British imperialism), is a closed society and subject to attacks from Soros and his shadow government of national agents[2236].

To this one could add that according to Soros and his Open Society/No Borders ilk, including Leftist intellectuals like Habermas, any nation that wants to maintain its borders, protect its citizens, and control immigration, is a 'closed society' that needs to be forcibly transformed. His abstract vision of a universal open society, a New World Order, is utopian at best and not representative of global trends towards exclusion in reaction to globalism, both economic and liberal democratic processes.

Soros and others mentioned above suggest that anti-immigration sentiment in Europe is an evil that needs to be stamped out[2237]. Yet anti-immigration sentiment is a legitimate reaction of indigenes to the rapid transformation of their ethnic populations and their societies and political institutions by the constant influx of millions of non-European migrants and settlers. It is well-known that such transformations of population set the conditions for civil conflict and war (see below). Popular anti-immigration movements and political parties have been increasing since at least the 1980s in Europe, yet European leaders have only increased immigration rather than address the wishes of the people. Using "massive" insertions of money to stamp out native opposition to immigration in general is undemocratic and tyrannical and is

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[2236] Leandra Bernstein, "George Soros: The Forced-Open Society," 71.
[2237] Soros, "The Case for Surge Funding."

in direct contrast to his view that open society is based on "freedom of expression and protecting dissent". Apparently dissent can only be carried out if it furthers the open society. It is obvious, despite Soros' attempts to say that values are "a matter of debate and choice" that Soros wants to prevent debate over whether the open society is what European people actually want for he thinks that the open society is indeed the best society, but surely that is also 'open' to debate. To discredit values and identities based on organic historical, religious, cultural, and traditional characteristics – identities and values that have been around for thousands of years and provide people with a sense of community, belonging, and sense of right and wrong – and replace them (imposingly) with an unrooted and unbounded secular, economic, open universal identity based on individualism, abstract and impersonal rights, and a unsubstantiated value system, is to disregard peoples right (and want) to their particular and distinct collective identities, traditional values, and their right to self-determination. In fact, the will of the European people have shown that a substantial number reject the EU project[2238].

Soros' Open Society Initiative for Europe and the International Migration Initiative aim to make Europe a radically Open Society and supports left-wing open-border and pro-immigration activists and NGOs in this endeavour. These organisations and activists direct African, Asian, and Middle Eastern migrants into Europe, or, in other words, have helped facilitate the European 'migrant crisis'. Open-border and far-left activists, social media users[2239], and twitter bots from outside of Europe[2240] have lured both genuine and bogus refugees to Europe by stressing the 'free movements of peoples' and informing the global

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[2238] Caroline Wheeler, "REVEALED: SECRET MAP shows what European nations REALLY think of 'doomed' EU."
[2239] Comes and Van de Walle, "#RefugeesWelcome."
[2240] *Oriental Review*, "Who is twitter-luring refugees to Germany?" According to Vladimir Shalak from the Russian Academy of Science (who developed the Internet Content-Analysis System for Twitter), the vast majority of welcoming tweets to migrants that suggested Germany and Austria were the most welcoming countries in the EU came from the USA and the UK, and many were "galvanised" by netbots. Only 6.4% of "#RefugeesWelcome" +Germany tweets came from Germany, whereas 19.2% came from the UK, 17% came from the US, and 5% came from Australia. In other words, non-Germans were the overwhelming majority of tweeters who were inviting migrants to go to Germany. See: Engdahl, "Soros Plays Both Ends"; Fomin, "Who is twitter-luring refugees."

public through social media of the very generous refugee policies offered by German Chancellor Angela Merkel and other European Union countries[2241]. In response to the ensuing 'migrant crisis' Soros provides a solution to it that furthers his globalist agenda. As a 'solution' Soros of course suggests more globalism in Europe and across the globe, less national sovereignty, more debt for Europeans (taxpayers provide money for non-European countries destabilised by the globalists) and more dependency for Africans and Arabs (infrastructure, economic development, democracy, rule of law etc.).

An MEP in France, Jean-Luc Schaffhauser, has said that Soros-funded humanitarian structures have fostered the migrant crisis. He has said that "the crisis was preceded by the almost simultaneous establishment of a series of pro-immigration associations, financed in particular by George Soros' 'Open Society Foundations'" and that

> We are faced with something we can no longer control, something that has been orchestrated behind our backs, on the one side because of the events, but on the other by putting in place the humanitarian infrastructure which dictates the way we should welcome those people, and thirdly by the collusion of organised crime with a certain number of states[2242].

Lew Rockwell, American libertarian author and editor and founder of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, thinks that Soros

> is a caricature of an oligarch who thinks that he should be able to control other people's lives because he is wealthy… If he wants to pay for refugees, let him house them. He has got plenty of properties; let him put them in there. There is no right for welfare recipients to enter into Europe and be legally and financially privileged at the expense of European tax payers. This is destroying European civilization, which is why Soros, of course, has been promoting it. There is evidence that he was helping funding certain organizations that are promoting the flow of refugees. This wouldn't be happening if the US hadn't done its evil work along with Britain and others in Syria, but the answer is not to destroy European civilization[2243].

Daniel Friberg, chairman and editor of the think-tank *Right On*, states that Soros is

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[2241] Morris, "Sweden's asylum offer to refugees from Syria."
[2242] Gotev, "Nationalist MEP blames Soros for EU migration crisis."
[2243] *RT News*, "'European nations should control their own borders & immigration policies' – Lew Rockwell."

> funding and encouraging the current migrant crisis by sponsoring movements that are helping so-called refugees, most of them aren't even refugees, to come into Europe illegally. What he is doing is illegal, immoral and it is none of his business[2244].

Serbian film maker Emir Kusturica states that "Soros has helped spark Europe's migration crisis through his vocal support for freedom of movement"[2245]. According to Hungarian PM Viktor Orban, the European 'migrant crisis' is not a 'refugee crisis' but an uncontrolled flow of "economic migrants, refugees, and foreign fighters". He claims it is a "planned invasion" that is "driven, on the one hand, by people smugglers, and on the other by those (human rights) activists who support everything that weakens the nation-state", such as open borders, immigration, and multiculturalism[2246].

Such human rights activists are left-wing and far-left activists and NGOs who are funded by Soros. Orban accuses these activists of "inadvertently" becoming part of the "international human-smuggling network" and accuses Soros of "drawing a living from the immigration crises"[2247]. In a speech at the European People's Party (EPP) Congress in Madrid on the 22nd of October 2015 he declared that

> We cannot hide the fact that the European left has a clear agenda. They are supportive to migration. They actually import future leftist voters to Europe hiding behind humanism. It is an old trick but I do not understand why we have to accept it. They consider registration and protection of borders bureaucratic, nationalist and against human rights. They have a dream about the politically constructed world society without religious traditions, without borders, without nations. They attack core values of our European identity: family, nation, subsidiarity and responsibility.[2248]

In a May 2016 radio interview, Orban explains that "a background power" exists, a power linked to "the figure of George Soros". Such "background power" are the "Hungarian organizations financed by George Soros", who is now an American citizen, as well as other NGOs who have unelected "political influence". The objectives of these politically influential

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[2244] Friberg, "Daniel Friberg: Interview with Russia Today."
[2245] *Euronews*, "Kusturica accuses Soros over migration, says EU leadership is soviet style."
[2246] *Hungary Today*, "PM Orbán: Europe's Peoples Are Beginning To Awake"; Hallett, "Soros Admits Involvement."
[2247] *RT News*, "Hungarian PM blames Soros"; Kassam, "Hungarian PM Slams Soros-Funded Advocacy Groups."
[2248] Website of the Hungarian Government, "Speech of Viktor Orbán at the EPP Congress."

and Soros-funded organizations involve Europe (and Europeans) accepting "millions or tens of millions of Muslims", a project that is justified by appealing to "arguments based on human rights considerations"[2249]. The point of such importation is, according to Orban, "to reshape the religious and cultural landscape of Europe, and to reengineer its ethnic foundations – thereby eliminating the last barrier to internationalism: the nation-states"[2250]. Istvan Hollik an MP of the Christian Democrats in Hungary said in early October 2015 that Soros and organisations associated with him, such as the Hungarian Helsinki Committee and the Civil Liberties Union (TASZ) or Migration Aid, will "do everything to allow an unlimited number of immigrants to enter the country"[2251]. Likewise, Hungarian mayor of the town of Ásotthalom (which is on the border with Serbia), László Toroczkai says that Soros and his OSF are funding illegal immigration into Europe and has laid criminal charges (human trafficking, incitement against a decree of authority etc.) against several illegal left-wing organizations in Hungary[2252].

The Open Society and open border movements have developed a worldview like Chandan's, that perceives Europe as a region of the world that has become rich by exploiting the resources and the poor peoples of the world, and has "hoarded" this wealth behind borders, and this richness, this wealth ought to be shared by all the peoples of the world. People are trying to access this wealth by illegally entering Europe and some have died. Therefore, European wealth is the reason that there should be no borders because people attempt to reach that wealth and die trying. In other words, irregular migrants arriving in Europe from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are not fleeing war or persecution but instead are illegal economic migrants looking for economic opportunities in Europe. But no one forced

[2249] Website of the Hungarian Government, "Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Orbán on the Kossuth Rádió programme '180 Minutes'."
[2250] "Orban's historic speech puts Hungary on war footing," YouTube video.
[2251] *Daily News*, "Christian Democrats: Soros supports 'unbridled' illegal migration."
[2252] Custodela's Facebook page, (22 January 2016), accessed June 2016, https://www.facebook.com/custodela/.

people to travel across the Mediterranean to Europe illegally; they may have been compelled by the promise or lure of wealth but they were not forced at gun-point. Their attempts at prying open the borders of Europe to unlimited migration based on the idealistic notion of a one-world and the idea of the right of the free movement of Africans, Asians, and Arabs into Europe, in the name of their right of entry into Europe en-masse and in defiance of established laws and procedures and the will of ordinary Europeans, have led to deaths, destabilised the EU, created economic and political and security crises, severely affected the safety and well-being of Europeans, and may lead to civil conflicts and even war.

The idea of one-worldism also runs counter to global trends towards the "unmixing" of populations since the advent of both decolonisation and globalism. According to Weiner and Teitelbaum, "The current worldwide trend toward demographic unmixing runs counter to a prevailing view that the globalization process and global migration reduces the importance of borders and enables people to migrate more freely to areas of economic opportunity with little regard for differences in language, culture, or indeed citizenship". They argue that new and old immigration countries, such as Western Europe (new) and the US, Canada, and Australia (old), which are governed by elites committed to a project of ethnic mixing and multi-racial and multi-cultural diversity (as "destiny" as Timmermans et al would say), starkly contrast with "much of the world" where "the demographic tendencies have been toward ethnic consolidation rather than diversification, and that the demographic processes of exodus and return have resulted in increasing homogeneity along religious, linguistic, and other ethnic lines"[2253]. This re-indigenisation and "unmixing" in the non-Western world is, in part, a reaction

[2253] Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 73; United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development 6 – 8 July 2005, "International Migration Trends: 1960-2000"; Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?"; Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*.

to the homogenizing influences of global capitalism and liberal universalism propounded by the West.

Attempting to strip the right of countries to self-defense and security in terms of demanding the de-regulation of migration and border controls and helping to flood the shores of Europe with illegal migrants is itself criminal activity: human smuggling, violation of national sovereignty, incitement against decrees of authority, civilizational instability, and so on. They may condemn the deaths of migrants at sea, but open border/no border activists themselves have contributed to these deaths by stressing the right of the free movement of peoples, which is an idea that fosters or incites them to travel and is not a right. They have also provoked civil unrest and riots[2254], attempted to provide alternative illegal migrant routes into Europe that have proved fatal and also contributed profits to human smuggling networks, and inadvertently helped criminals and terrorists to enter Europe who have unleashed unprecedented mass-crimes against European peoples: rape, sexual assault, structural damage, massive costs and terrorist attacks. In other words, Soros' Open Society initiatives (including left-wing activists and movements) support and fund regime change in a Europe, not just in the form of open internal borders and the free movement of European peoples i.e. Schengen, but also in the form of opening up or relaxing Europe's external borders to non-Europeans i.e. the free movement of non-European migrants into and within Europe through both illegal and more legal channels, or a Euro-Mediterranean Union (European integration with Africa and the Middle East).

The involvement of Soros in various other European projects, such as the European Council on Foreign Relations and the European Stability Initiative, as well as his apparent influence on the European response to the 'migrant crisis' in terms of the EU-Turkey deal, really

[2254] Vincent Wood, "Calais chief"; Mulholland, "Police arrest 35"; Julian Robinson, "Knife fight in the Jungle."

makes clear how unelected power through wealth effects elected (and unelected) power structures in Europe, especially in terms of demographics, migration, borders, and foreign relations. Soros' funding of civil unrest and regime change in various nations across the world, including Europe and the wars and civil unrest in the Middle East, whether direct or indirectly, is at best meddlesome, and at worst, catastrophic. By financing such movements and intervention, he contributes to asylum seeker and economic migrant flows into Europe (destabilising the regions) and financially profits and furthers his utopian dream.

The Open Society agenda is premised on the notion that Europeans want such an open society and the idea that Europe can provide unlimited numbers of migrants with economic opportunities, which is just not the case. Immigration places serious strains on resources, jobs, welfare, wages, and so on, which has been discussed above and in other chapters. More importantly, having to spend large amounts of money and create various anti-discrimination and pro-immigration propaganda and regulation to stamp out indigenous resistance to mass-immigration (i.e. forcing Europeans to accept massive Muslim immigration through the criminalisation of anti-immigration sentiments) and claiming Europeans are 'racist' are obvious clues that Europeans do not want an open society. In fact, they have never been asked and have never been given the opportunity to vote on mass-immigration and their concerns about the radical transformation to the political, cultural, ethnic, and social aspects of society have been ignored.

To make it absolutely clear that Soros thinks European national borders are an obstacle to his Open Society, in his December 2015 interview with Schmitz mentioned above, Soros stated that he wanted "the subordination of national sovereignty to a supranational, European order"[2255]. And to further make clear how far Soros influences European political decision

[2255] Soros and Schmitz, "'The EU Is on the Verge of Collapse'—An Interview."

making, the newest version of European integration that French and German elites want to implement is the worst in terms of national sovereignty: the EU superstate, as discussed in chapter 3.2. This European supranational state, a United States of Europe, is a technocratic development mirroring the USA and the idea has been around for decades, contained, in various forms, in the idealistic visions of Coudenhove-Karlegi, Winston Churchill, Robert Schuman, and Jean Monnet.

But EU integration has not always meant the sacrifice of national sovereignty to the centralisation of power. In May 2000 for instance, German Foreign Minister and now Vice-Chancellor of Germany, Joschka Fischer declared that Europe is "full of different peoples, cultures, languages and histories" and that "nation-states are realities that cannot simply be erased" especially in an age where "globalization and Europeanization create superstructures and anonymous actors remote from the citizens". He argued that European integration required that national "institutions are not devalued or even made to disappear" and that "the existing concept of a federal European state replacing the old nation-states and their democracies as the new sovereign power shows itself to be an artificial construct which ignores the established realities in Europe"[2256]. And in January 2001 he made it quite clear that his version of a European federation would not be a superstate because its foundation would be centered on nation states themselves[2257].

More recently, just before Brexit, European Council President Donald Tusk declared that an integrated Europe without nation-states is not a vision shared amongst European

[2256] Fischer, "From Confederacy to Federation - Thoughts on the finality of European integration," 9-10. However, Fischer is a previous leader of the Leftist 68-er student revolts in Germany and is now German politician of the pro-immigration political group, the Alliance '90/The Greens. His friend, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who was also a leader of the 68-er revolts in France, is a French-German politician who co-chairs the Spinelli Group, which seeks to federalise Europe. Cohn-Bendit, who is thought to be a pedophile, was also co-chair of the pro-immigration European Greens–European Free Alliance in the European Parliament. See: Fuller, "The Prospects for Philosophical Rhetoric," 74; "EU official pedophile," YouTube video; Fleischhauer, Müller and Pfister, "Pedophile Links Haunt Green Party."
[2257] Fischer, "The future of Europe and the Franco-German partnership."

indigenes. He stated that ordinary Europeans do not share the elitist vision of "a utopia of Europe without nation states, a utopia of Europe without conflicting interests and ambitions, a utopia of Europe imposing its own values on the external world, a utopia of Euro-Asian unity"[2258]. He went on to say that these utopias in the face of reality shows that elites are

> Obsessed with the idea of instant and total integration, we failed to notice that ordinary people, the citizens of Europe, do not share our Euro-enthusiasm. Disillusioned with the great visions of the future, they demand that we cope with the present reality better than we have been doing until now ... Euroscepticism (has) become an alternative to those illusions[2259].

Yet Soros and his army of no borders and European elites are anti-nationalist internationalists, a globalist force with an agenda for a denationalised, centralised, and cosmopolitan European Union and a statist New World Order. Soros seeks to erode the remaining national sovereignty of European nation-states by cracking open further the external borders of Europe, supporting and funding, as he does, Open Borders and No Borders and creating more supranational institutes empowered by the dis-powering of the nation states. He has no concern about what Europeans want or what Europeans think about mass-immigration into their countries or their rights as peoples to have sovereignty, autonomy, and self-determination, because the human rights of non-Europeans are what matters to him, and the profits he can make from immigration (long term AAA bonds). What about national, social, and ethnic preservation for Europeans who are becoming minorities within their own homelands? Soros, like Gysi, Timmermans, Habermas, Sutherland, Griffin, and numerous other influential elites, are anti-European, are violating various rights of European peoples and advocating a slow form of genocide. Because persecution, discrimination, and genocide can also be committed and incited by non-state actors and NGOs, it is clear that as head of one of the most influential NGOs on European integration and the open society, Soros, along with EU elites, must be

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[2258] Barber, "Brexit: Haunted Europe."
[2259] Alastair MacDonald, "EU chief Tusk"; European Council, "Speech by President Donald Tusk."

investigated for violating various rights and for implementing and inciting a form of genocide against European indigenous peoples.

The Leftist-Liberal EU leaders and various NGOs are demographically engineering European populations and imposing population mixing through large-scale non-European in-migration and settlement in European nations. Migrants are being used as a weapon against indigenous Europeans for political reasons with the aim of destroying the ethnic fabric and the historical-territorial-ethno identity of European peoples, societies, and institutions. The EU 'project' uses both migration and propaganda to dismantle the ethnic European social and political institutions and identities, including the nation-state and national identity, and replace them with racially diverse, open, cosmopolitan, transnational, universalist populations and societies governed by non-democratic supranational and global institutions and abstract ideals.

15.2.4 Consequence Three: Declining Social Cohesion and the Coming Ethnic War

> [H]omeland territories are imbued with historic significance and their boundedness allows communities of individuals to maintain distinct identities and cultures. These unique properties mean that people and states behave differently in conflicts over homeland territories[2260].

The Leftist-Liberal demographic engineering project of the European Union violates the rights of indigenous European peoples, goes against global trends towards the territorial partition of ethnic groups, and contradicts expert research on conditions that create ethnic and political conflict and civil war. The continuous practice of settling large numbers of non-Europeans into regions already inhabited by large European indigenous populations but who have very low fertility rates inevitably alters the ethnic composition and balance of European nation-states, affects the distribution of political power and the relations between ethnic groups, and causes a variety of conflicts and problems.

[2260] Johnson and Toft, "Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict," 12-13.

According to Weiner and Sharon Stanton Russell[2261], demographic research has found that countries with low fertility rates that also experience large-scale international migration tend to suffer from "violent ethnic conflict and political instability", an erosion of national identity and sovereignty, as well as "radicalism, terrorism, religious fundamentalism, environmental degradation, and economic growth and stagnation"[2262]. According to Frank Salter, an Australian political ethologist, research shows that "ethnic diversity tends to increase social conflict and crime, undermine welfare, exacerbate ethnic inequality, racialize politics and erode civil liberties"[2263]. Finnish sociologist Tatu Vanhanen found that "two thirds of global variation in ethnic conflict was explained by ethnic diversity" and ethologist Irenaeus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, a professor at the Max Planck Society, and his colleagues found that "large scale mixing of different ethnicities reduces social stability and risks domestic peace"[2264]. According to Teitelbaum, "large-scale population movements across borders by refugees or other migrants can affect the cohesion of societies and generate social and political conflict both within and between countries"[2265]. And according to Toft "82 percent of all independent states comprise two or more ethnic groups, which are often in dispute either with each other or with the state itself" and multiethnic states are "the most violence prone settlement pattern" of distinct ethnic groups[2266]. Toft explains that demographic balances are key to ensuring stability and peace in multi-ethnic states but violence and civil war can result from a shift in these ethnic balances. What causes these shifts? According to Toft, reasons include "differential birth/fertility rates and economic immigration", "deliberate state manipulation", and "Mass

[2261] Russell was a former senior research scholar at the Center for International Studies at MIT and academic in the field of international migration.
[2262] Weiner and Russell, *Demography and National Security*, 1.
[2263] "Germany's Jeopardy," YouTube video; Salter, "Germany's Jeopardy."
[2264] Salter, "Germany's Jeopardy."
[2265] Teitelbaum, "The Role of the State in International Migration," 158.
[2266] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 82, 117.

migration and resettlement"[2267]. Even the UN admits that international migration can cause "social tensions" in host countries[2268].

Toft describes the five main theories for why conflict and civil war occurs between ethnic groups: "ancient hatreds"; "modernization"; "relative deprivation"; "security dilemma"; and "elite manipulation"[2269]. In brief, differential rates of modernisation, competition for resources and power, threats to ethnic boundaries, and/or political leadership can make violence between ethnic groups within multiethnic states more likely. In European nations for example, contentious relations between ethnic minorities and indigenous Europeans are due, in part, to cultural and ethnic differences (Muslims, Africans, Arabs compared to Christian, secular, atheist, European) and past and present grievances (colonialism, wars, hegemony). Such relations can further complicate the 'security dilemma'.

According to the logic of Power Transition Theory, large-scale non-European immigration in the form of settlement in European nation-states experiencing low fertility leads to a shift in the size of ethnic minority populations (the creation of multiethnic states) creating a "tipping" point whereby ethnic majorities become a demographic minority and, according to the democratic principle of majority rule, lose their legitimacy to govern the state. Such a power transition leads to cultural changes as well as changes to domestic and foreign policies. However, alterations to the notion of political community and national identity (in terms of a cosmopolitan constitutional citizenship and the erosion of European political institutions and their replacement with Leftist-Liberal multicultural organizations that are decidedly non-ethnically European in nature and seek the ethnic vote), means that such a power transition can occur earlier because majority rule becomes defined by political qualifications rooted in

[2267] Toft, "The State of the Field" 26; Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography,* 32-33, 46.
[2268] United Nations, "Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to Declining and Ageing Population?" 99.
[2269] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 82-84.

non-European ethnic groups and identities and Left-Liberal political parties. Just before, during, or after a power transition occurs, violence and civil wars are likely to break out between European indigenous minorities-to-be and immigrant ethnic majorities-to-be, particularly if the latter are settlers rather than migrants and/or engaged in a war of opposition (along with Leftist members of the European majority); power becomes contested and minorities-to-be fear their loss of power[2270].

In terms of majority rule based on ethnic rather than political groups, according to Tanja Ellingsen, associate professor of Political Science at Norwegian University of Science and Technology, "wars are more likely to occur when the largest group is less than 80 percent"[2271]. In some European nations foreign-born populations already exceed 20 percent of the national population and demographers are predicting that indigenous Europeans will become minorities within their own homelands in the latter half of the 21st century. This means that civil wars are likely to occur in Europe in the near future.

Toft provides an additional and "key" reason as to why violence and civil war between ethnic groups occurs: how ethnic groups and the state view territory[2272]. According to Toft and Dominic D. P. Johnson, Alistair Buchan Professor of International Relations in the department of Politics and International Relations at Oxford University, almost three quarters of all ethnic wars between 1940 and 2000 were "centered on the control of territory". The ownership and defense of bounded territory and homelands is necessary for sovereign states and is also central to international laws that emerged in the era of decolonization and post WWII ethnic group independence movements that involved "the gradual partitioning of the globe into self-determined territories". According to evolutionary theory, territoriality or the "partition" of

[2270] Toft, "Population Shifts and Civil War: A Test of Power Transition Theory," 243-244, 248.
[2271] As cited in Ibid, 247.
[2272] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 84.

"living space" (a universal behavioural trait) and its defence (a conditional or contingent trait) is prevalent among both humans and the animal kingdom and can ensure relatively peaceful relations between distinct groups. The material resources of the territory such as "water, food, and shelter", the "human contents" of the territory such as "the family, relatives, friends, allies, and ethnic group to which one belongs", and the immaterial or symbolic factor of territory, are "key" to why "territory [is] worth fighting over" for human ethnic groups[2273].

The symbolic or non-material factor of territoriality is the "shared history" and attachment of ethnic groups to their historic and traditional land, seen as a common home or homeland, which provides "in-group/out-group psychology" and group identity[2274]. Toft explains that a homeland is "an indivisible attribute of group identity", it is "inseparable from its past and vital to its continued existence as a distinct group" as it contains the very "fundamentals of culture and identity" that have developed over millennia and cannot be exchanged for another homeland. Homelands are geographically "bounded" and they sustain "cultural boundaries"; such "boundedness" is endangered by the 'other', by ethnically distinct immigrants who threaten the integrity, sovereignty and security, the very survival of distinct ethnic groups in their homelands. As such, Toft clarifies that "Ethnic groups rationally view the right to control their homeland as a survival issue, regardless of a territory's objective value in terms of natural or man-made resources" and will engage in fighting to protect and preserve control over their symbolic territories and thus secure their collective group identities. Losing control over a homeland means the "dilution of the national group, its loss of power, and consequent diminution of national identity" as well as a loss of control over the distribution of "economic and political resources", immigration, and the cultural content of the society[2275].

[2273] Johnson and Toft, "Grounds for War: The Evolution of Territorial Conflict," 15, 37, 8, 18, 31, 16.
[2274] Ibid, 16.
[2275] Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," 86-87, 84, 90.

According to Toft, the deep connection between homeland and the survival of distinct ethnic group identity is what "distinguishes ethnic groups from states". For states, power and survival are seen in terms of control over material and physical territories and resources and not in symbolic terms. Although a central duty of the state is the protection and survival of its citizens in the long-term their focus on their own survival may trump the survival of distinct indigenous groups "who view territory as [indivisible and] inextricably bound up with their identity and thus ultimately with their survival as a group". This difference in territorial control for survival between states and ethnic groups can result in violent conflicts[2276]. For example, European states may rationally calculate that their survival, in terms of the preservation and enhancement of economic and political power at the global level, depends on the mass-importation of foreign migrants as a 'replacement population'. But mass-immigration of foreign ethnic migrants leading to the creation of multiethnic cosmopolitan states based on multicultural immigrant rights and an ethnically neutral abstract European identity is not conducive to the long-term survival and sovereignty of indigenous Europeans who inhabit the European nation-states as homelands. In other words, European state survival at the global level is overriding indigenous European survival at the national homeland level. As such, because they are engaged in non-European in-migration, in the decoupling of European ethnic identity from political power, and in propaganda campaigns that aim to belittle European concerns and discredit their distinct identities and sovereignty over their traditional homelands, projects that have defined various Leftist-Socialist EU integration models since the time of Kalergi, they may be perceived as hostile to European indigenous peoples and thus represent illegitimate political power. They no longer represent the interests, provide secure homelands, or protect the survival of distinct and indigenous European peoples. In this

[2276] Ibid, 87, 84, 88.

situation, indigenous ethnic groups may "rationally calculate" to enter into conflicts, including political struggles and violent conflicts leading to civil war with both immigrant-settler ethnic groups and the state[2277].

Since WWII indigenous European concern over international migration has been discredited as right-wing extremism, Nazism, and racism[2278]. In reality, it is a legitimate response of native Europeans who are being replaced by non-European migrant-settlers and being dispossessed of their political power and sovereignty over their homelands. Such a situation has led to the rapid rise of populist and alternative right anti-immigration and anti-Islamist political parties and social and political movements in Europe: Freedom Party in Austria, Flemish Block in Belgium, the BNP, Liberty GB, and UKIP in Britain, the Progress Party in Denmark, the National Front in France, the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands, the Alternative for Germany, the Progress Party in Norway, the National Socialist Front in Sweden, the People's Party in Switzerland, Golden Dawn in Greece, and Pegida, Stop the Islamification of Europe, Generation Identitaire, the European New Right, and so on.

Numerous authors and political figures have declared that immigration, political correctness, and multiculturalism are leading to the death of European countries. For example, former member of the Executive Board of the Deutsche Bundesbank and former senator of finance for the State of Berlin, Thilo Sarrazin wrote one of the most widely read and controversial books ever published in Germany, *Deutschland Schafft Sich Ab* (Germany Abolishes Itself) in 2010. In this work he argues that "Islamic immigrants threaten Germany's freedom and prosperity because they are unwilling to integrate and rely overwhelmingly on welfare benefits"[2279]. He has also said of Islam:

[2277] Ibid, 114; Weiner and Teitelbaum, *Political Demography, Demographic Engineering*, 61-64.
[2278] Mark Miller, "International Migration and Security: Towards Transnational Convergence?" 200.
[2279] Peter Martino, "Will Germany Abolish Itself and France Commit Suicide?"

> No other religion in Europe makes so many demands. No immigrant group other than Muslims is so strongly connected with claims on the welfare state and crime. No group emphasizes their differences so strongly in public, especially through women's clothing. In no other religion is the transition to violence, dictatorship and terrorism so fluid[2280].

Although condemned by leading elites in Germany, 89 percent of German readers of the *Bild* newspaper would choose to elect a party headed by Sarrazin "because Sarrazin theses have convinced me" and a poll by Emnid found that a fifth of Germans would vote for his party[2281].

Along with Renaud Camus as mentioned above, a similar view on immigration, Muslims, and multiculturalism has been espoused in France by Éric Zemmour, a conservative French journalist, who wrote *Le Suicide Français* (The French Suicide) published in 2014. His book has broken many sales records and elite reactions have been similar to those towards Sarrazin[2282]. Zemmour argues that "the policies of the French political elite are destroying the country" and that "France is being destroyed by immigrants who refuse to assimilate; by political correctness that stifles freedom of speech and by supranational organizations, such as the European Union (EU), which are undermining the French nation state and the French economy"[2283]. A well-known Flemish politician in Belgium, Filip DeWinter argues that Islam will colonise and replace Europe. He says "mass-immigration and multiculturalism have become the Trojan horse of Islamisation. Millions of Muslims and their families come to live in Europe and multiculturalism encourages Islam and under the guise of freedom of religion put it on equal terms with European religions. Europe will be colonised by Islam"[2284]. In January 2016 the chief of the Swedish army, General Anders Brännström told his troops to prepare for a war in Europe and defend Sweden against skilled opponents that was expected "within a few years"[2285] and in

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[2280] Sarrazin, "Bei keiner anderen Religion ist der Übergang zu Gewalt und Terrorismus so fließend."
[2281] Solms-Laubach, "Würden Sie eine Sarrazin-Partei wählen?"
[2282] Benbassa, "Zemmour: le bouffon du populisme-roi."
[2283] Peter Martino, "Will Germany Abolish Itself and France Commit Suicide?"
[2284] Dewinter, "The Colonisation of Europe: How Europe Will Become Eurabia"
[2285] Lane, "Sweden's Army Chief Warns Of WORLD WAR 3 Inside Europe 'Within a Few Years'."

February 2016, Norwegian Army Chief Odin Johannessen remarked that Europe "must be prepared to fight, both with words, actions - and if necessary weapons - to preserve the land and the values we have in common" against the threat posed by radical Islam[2286].

In reaction to the 'migrant crisis' in Europe, in April 2016 Swiss People's Party (SVP) member of parliament Roger Köppel stated that "Europe is about to abolish itself" due to a "megalomaniac" open border policy, and such "overconfidence is at the root of all evil". He further states that "The basic problem today is Islam" and that "It is an illusion to believe that politics can cope with this mass migration"[2287]. But the crisis situation in Europe is not just about Islam and Muslims and the protection of cultural values; it is also about the deliberate transformation of ethnic European homelands into multi-ethnic cosmopolitan states by the importation of non-European immigrants, a situation that is hostile to European indigenous peoples and creates the conditions for civil war. It is a situation that has been deliberately created by the EU project of power-hungry Leftist-Liberal and neoconservative elites and NGOs and is exploited by an anti-European alliances between naïve or treasonous Leftist-Socialists and non-European settlers. These groups aim to overthrow the existing political institutions and traditions of European nation-states, render Europeans minorities in their own homelands and dispossess them of their territorial and political sovereignty, eventually replacing them demographically. All of this is contrary to international laws that protect against the destruction, "in whole or in part", of distinct national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups. What is really at stake in Europe is the actual survival of European indigenous peoples as distinct ethnic groups and the preservation of a European Europe, the historic homeland of Europeans.

[2286] *Dagens Nærinsliv*, "Hærsjefen: Vi må være beredt til å kjempe."
[2287] Köppel, "Terrorismus und Migration: Wir produzieren Heerscharen von Entwurzelten und Unzufriedenen."

15.2.5 Critical Comments and Conclusions

What began as an elite Pan-European socialist and cosmopolitan movement initiated by Kalergi that focused on the cultural, economic, and political integration of Europe and the establishment of a Euro-Mediterranean geopolitical bloc united with both the African continent and the Muslim Middle East, has today become an anti-European project that strips European nations and peoples of their sovereignty and right to self-determination. The Euro-Mediterranean Union with Africa and the Middle East is based on non-European 'replacement' migration, multiracial and multicultural immigrant ideologies, new or global proletariat cosmopolitanism and open socieities, global capitalism, and a Neoconservative global monoculture. This social, political, and demographic experiment engineers universalism and diversity and seeks to overcome human nature, nationalities, and ethnic identities for the sake of an abstract conception of a future utopia that is global in reach. It colonizes Europe with non-European settlers and foreign ideologies, renders European indigenous peoples to minorities within their own homelands, challenges existing power structures, and threatens to erase the distinct cultures, societies, traditions, and ethnic identities of indigenous European peoples. The EU project has been in existence for close to a century and various aspects of it have changed, injected, as it were, with Fabianism, cultural Marxism, socialist Liberalism, Americanisation, and Islamism, yet the core ideology remains the same: the replacement of Europeans as distinct ethnic peoples and European civilization as defined by ethnic Europeans with a new civilization in Europe and a new type of European.

The crisis facing Europe is not just about Islam; Islam in Europe is merely one part of the overall elitist strategy to transform Europe. The European crisis is more than just an ideological (religious and political and cultural) issue, it is also an issue of ethnic identity and survival. Multiculturalism, as a pluralistic political and social ideology and integration model,

involves policies and goals that aim to preserve ethnic diversity (of minority groups) and prevent ethnic discriminations and 'cultural jealousies' between host and immigrant populations. To this extent it promotes, or protects, the particular traditions of each minority ethnic group – immigrants are allowed to adhere to their own cultural practices, values, institutions, laws, and ways of life in general – yet, at the same time, multiculturalism encourages immigrants to integrate into the society as a whole, i.e. according to certain universal principles we have come to associate with liberalism and rationalism, such as the equal rights of all individuals, economic competition, equality under the law, and democracy. So, on the one hand, differences and diversities are preserved such that every culture is considered as morally valid and no one culture is perceived to have the right to impose or force its values on the others or to have central ethnic, religious, or cultural community values that are representative of the entire country; but, on the other hand, the host (Western) culture is expected to function as a neutral promoter of universal values with no particular traditions of its own. Liberalism advocates universal values while it simultaneously endorses the rights of non-Western cultures and adheres to a philosophy of relativism in relation to its own culture, as associated with multiculturalism. Furthermore, both multiculturalism and liberal universalism fail to acknowledge the ethnic particularism of Europeans – majority rights and ethnic European identity are not included in either of these integration schemes.

The Leftist-Liberal diversity project involving mass-immigration and multiculturalism requires indigenous Europeans to be ethnically impartial and don a universal character, dispossesses them of their homelands and territories, and suppresses any opposition to these trends. Therefore, the Left-Liberal EU is anti-European. The same is true of Neoconservative assimilation but it goes further: assimilation denies the ethnic identity of all peoples, not just Europeans. Rather than organic bonds as a regulatory force of traditional societies (elevates

the community over the individual), multiculturalism and assimilation ascribe abstract human rights (elevates individual over community) as the moral standard for all. Multiculturalism and racial diversity is cast by Leftist socialists as the exemplary model for all the world's nations to conform to, whether they like it or not (forced to be "free"), and assimilation is portrayed by neoconservatives as the model to follow and to be enforced upon the indigenous and immigrant populations. Both models of integration are utilised, both unknowingly and knowingly, by an alliance of Leftists and capitalists to transform cultures into cosmopolitan societies and to integrate them into a world economic market run by wealthy elites. Neither multiculturalism nor assimilation affords the indigenous majorities of Western nations majority rights; European majorities have individual rights only[2288], which is premised on the assumption that they have replaced their societal culture and traditions with enlightened liberal individualism over the last few decades. In fact, liberal individualism has been enforced upon European peoples through pressure tactics, indoctrination by media and education institutions, mandates of multiculturalism and racial diversity, and legal punishment of dissent.

These progressive diversity models attempt to erase differences and standardize distinct ethnic groups according to an abstract notion of humanity devoid of racial, ethnic, or ancestral identifications. American historian Michael O'Meara, in his book *New Culture, New Right* (2004), views multiculturalism as insisting upon "the presence of other cultures" and the "mixing of populations" (multiracialism) so as to "impose a system in which Europeans are to be turned into an indifferent multiracial multitude, without roots or collective memories – programmed simply to consume"[2289]. Likewise, cultural anthropologist Dr. Mark Dyal, writing the foreword for *Babel Inc: Multiculturalism, Globalisation, and the New World Order* (2013) by

[2288] Duchesne, "Will Kymlicka and the Disappearing Dominion."
[2289] O'Meara, *New Culture, New Right: Anti-Liberalism in Postmodern Europe*, 101.

Kerry Bolton, considers multiculturalism a "moral regime" that "condemn[s] pride in one's particularity", i.e. European indigenous particularity, and is used by the State "at the bidding of the capitalist oligarchs…to spread a monolithic culture of liberal politics, feminism, anti-racism, and identity-based hyper-consumption"[2290]. In these contexts, there have been growing debates about European countries suffering from an 'identity crisis'[2291] (if not a civilizational crisis) and anti-white racism or Caucasophobia[2292], as well as concerns about the 'end of Europe'[2293], 'White genocide'[2294], the Islamization of Europe, and the creation of 'Eurabia'[2295].

Progressive diversity or cosmopolitanism is essentially bourgeois humanism and economic individualism that masquerades as the supreme moral force of Western universalism. Liberal individual rights are abstract laws that claim to exist outside of or before culture and race and view 'humanity' as if all people are equal, despite their distinct ethnicity, history, and heritage. But distinct peoples and societies are not blank slates; people are grounded in, belong to and have loyalty to their race and social-cultural group (societal group) and not to an overarching set of artificial neutral rights and rules created and imposed by elites. Culture and social norms create rules and laws (organic and grassroots) and laws reinforce these; rules and laws do not create culture.

Even though multiculturalism does affect all classes, it is the working classes which have undergone the most radical of top-down transitions in the past 60 years and have been the recipient of the most harm to their neighbourhoods, culture, and ethnic identity. The political and cultural machinery that implements the Euro-Arab partnerships to create multi-

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[2290] Dyal, foreword to *Babel Inc: Multiculturalism, Globalisation, and the New World Order*, by Kerry Bolton, vi-vii; Bolton, *Babel Inc: Multiculturalism, Globalisation, and the New World Order,* 101. Bolton is a Fellow of the Academy of Social and Political Research (Athens) and the Institute for Higher Studies on Geopolitics and Auxiliary Sciences (Lisbon).
[2291] Fukuyama, "The Challenges for European Identity."
[2292] Fjordman, "Caucasophobia - the Accepted Racism."
[2293] "The End of Europe - Mark Steyn (1 of 5)," YouTube video (Heritage Foundation).
[2294] Christian Miller, "The White Genocide Evidence Project"; Christian Miller, "None Dare Call It White Genocide."
[2295] Such as Bat Ye'or, Melanie Phillips, Bruce Bawer and many others.

racial and multi-cultural Eurafrica *and* Eurabia conditions European minds. Political correctness and the doctrine of "tolerance" have resulted in the punishment of any dissent towards multicultural policies and immigration practices. Europeans who are critical of mass-immigration, Third-Worldism, Americanization, Islamization, Africanization, and cosmopolitanization and who want to preserve and be proud of their ethnic distinctions, their nations, homelands, traditional cultures, and heritages are today punished with heavy fines, arrests, imprisonment, job loss, and public demonization.

The creation of a global world in perpetual peace is a dangerous utopian myth that was generated by Enlightenment thinkers who were still entrenched in the religious eschatological tradition. This myth was carried further by socialists, anti-nationalists, cosmopolitanists, and Universalists in the mid to late 19th and 20th centuries. Since the Enlightenment many Western elites have adhered to secular and universal faiths – religions without God – such as the universal ideologies of progressivism, Marxism, humanitarianism, and Olympianism (global corporate ideology). Westerners that adhere to these utopian mindsets think that 'defects' in societies can be fixed, that the human condition (flaws) can be ameliorated by direct political action, and that human nature is naturally good.

According to James Kurth, Claude Smith Professor of Political Science at Swarthmore College, these 'Enlightened' ones envision "a universal empire – except that it will be called global 'governance' – and a universal religion – except that it will be called universal human rights"[2296]. This contemporary version of the Enlightenment, with its "universalist pretensions and illusions" have "made the peoples of the West undiscriminating about other cultures and unconfident about their own. They have therefore made the West disoriented and vulnerable

[2296] Kurth, "Western Civilization: Our Tradition," 11.

to assault from the East, and especially from Islam"[2297]. I would add, that Europe is also vulnerable to a demographic conquest by the Muslim and non-Muslim South, in terms of Third Worldism. In addition, the West is persecuted and stupefied with guilt complexes, which Dewinter names as "racism, violence, anti-Semitism, slavery, colonialism, and xenophobia" and which are liberally heaped upon Europeans by Leftist-Islamist-Third World-Neoconservative agents[2298]. As such the Left-Liberal and Neoconservative universalist project for Europe is creating the conditions for demographic conquest, Islamization, and civil war.

Universalism begets ethnic impartiality. If an ethnic group is to belong to a universal culture it has to forgo some, if not all, of its racial idiosyncratic characteristics. And this is what Europeans are doing. Through programs of coercion they are renouncing their distinct ethnicities and embracing universal principles. Yet, at the same time, multiculturalism allows the preservation and flourishing of distinct non-European ethnic identities within European homelands, identities that often reject Western universalism. This amounts to the dissolution of the ethnic character of Europe into universalism while preserving the ethnic characteristics of the non-European 'Others' into particularism. Global trends reveal that many non-Westerners and non-Western nations reject the universalism, ethnic mixing, and consequential ethnic impartiality of Westernization, and instead embrace, preserve, and promote their own unique cultural and ethnic heritages, their distinct national identities, and their particular indigenous histories and homeland territories. In Europe, the ethnic, nationalist, and religious character of non-European immigrants are promoted over and above the ethnically neutral, anti-nationalist, and secular European culture. Non-European immigrants (Islamists and non-Muslims) in Europe are also forming, through Leftist facilitation, a Third-Worldist counter-

[2297] Ibid, 12.
[2298] Dewinter, "The Colonisation of Europe: How Europe Will Become Eurabia."

hegemonic coalition that directly contests Westernism, and further undermines the ethnic identities, institutions, and traditions of indigenous Europeans, contributing, and often encouraging and celebrating, European demographic and political decline.

During the 20th century utopia was about emancipation and was found on the far Left. By the end of the 20th century utopia was mainstream political ideology that sought to bring an "American-style democratic capitalism – the final form of human government" to all the world[2299]. The American Creed was born at this time, which holds to the "ideas of liberty and individualism, institutionalised in liberal democracy, free markets, constitutionalism, and the rule of law" and has become the concept of Western Civilization as a whole. This Creed was a "combination of American energy and European legacy" known as "the Allied scheme of history", also known as the "NATO scheme of history"[2300]. And it is this very scheme that is imposed the world over, often through force, which claims to speak for all races of humankind, and presents solutions to the human condition in the guise of humanitarian utopian universalism. This is what is known as Western universal imperialism or Westernization, or what some people call 'Westoxification', and is propounded by neoconservatives[2301].

Neocons have "understood that free markets would not spread throughout the world in a peaceful process" so their implementation "would have to be assisted by the intensive application of military force"[2302]. The global democratic revolution as advocated by NeoCons sees itself as a creative-destructive force: "Creative destruction is our middle name" says Michael Ledeen, neoconservative foreign policy analyst. He further writes:

> We tear down the old order every day, from business to science, literature, art, architecture, and cinema to politics and the law. Our enemies have always hated this whirlwind of energy and creativity, which menaces their traditions (whatever they may be) and shames them for their inability to keep pace. Seeing America undo traditional

[2299] Gray, *Black Mass: How Religion Led the World into Crisis*, 29.
[2300] Kurth, "Western Civilization: Our Tradition," 7.
[2301] Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*, 101.
[2302] Gray, *Black Mass*, 32.

> societies, they fear us, for they do not wish to be undone. They cannot feel secure so long as we are there, for our very existence—our existence, not our politics—threatens their legitimacy. They must attack us in order to survive, just as we must destroy them to advance our historic mission[2303].

In this way, the imposition of global corporate capitalism and all it entails under the guise of humanitarian development and progress, requires the violent intervention of the American-led West into other countries that are considered 'backward' and 'unfree'. This intervention and the destruction of existing traditional cultures is considered justified for it makes possible the room for the construction of modern, democratic, capitalist, and standardised systems of American-style Western living based on an idealised notion of a future federation of humanity in perpetual peace. However this socialist-capitalism, disguised as liberalism, seeks to create the kind of people that lack private property, that lack individual choice, that lack a sense of traditional community bonds, people who are atomised and alienated with no history, no ethnic identity, and no nation and at the beck and call of a heavily taxed, materialist and consumer society run by multinational companies and supranational moral agencies.

The greatest threats to Europe today are mass-immigration, Islamism, Leftism, Third-Worldism, globalism, and Neoconservatism. Islamism, Leftism, and Neoconservatism are three ideological groups vying for global hegemony. Their worldviews, regardless of their differences, systematize all people into a homogeneous 'humanity' split between two moral groups of good and evil, civilized and barbaric, human and subhuman and ascribe 'proper' conduct for the whole world, claiming that if individuals or a people do not comply with their ideology there is something wrong with them – mentally, morally, intellectually, or psychologically. They all claim they have the 'Truth' that will solve all 'human' problems, and present it as a new enlightening revelation that is good for humanity, but are totalitarian in some way or another, bent on eradicating all opposition to their ferocious appetite for world supremacy and moral

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[2303] Leeden, *The War Against the Terror Masters: Why It Happened. Where We Are Now. How'll We Win*, 212-213.

superiority. Their global aims involve direct destruction by war, mechanisms of genocide, or indirect annihilation through cultural, economic and demographic engineering.

After nearly one hundred years since the publication of *PanEuropa* and the conception of *Eurafrica*, the utopian aspirations of socialist anti-nationalist cosmopolitans continue today in other forms, such as Leftist-enabled *Eurabia*, multicultural immigrant ideologies, Third Worldism, and Neoconservative-style global monoculture. Meanwhile Eurosceptic, ethnonationalist, and anti-cosmopolitan opposition continues, albeit alongside non-European immigrant nationalisms demanding self-determination in Europe and non-European oppositional alliances with the Left. Mass-immigration and multiculturalism/multiracialism are the most recent strategies linking socialist and progressive ideas towards Euro-Mediterranean integration and the future aim of a World Federation. These ideas are utilised by global capitalists and socialists alike to rapidly and radically transform Europe into a deracinated place obedient to the dictates of global accumulation and racial equality. These practices are gradually stripping native Europeans of their cultural integrity, ethnic identity, popular power, historical memory, birthright, the right to dissent, and threatens their long-term existence as distinct ethnic peoples and sets the conditions for civil war.

As the socialist-capitalist global alliance continues to demographically and politically engineer the EU into a cosmopolitan society, high levels of Third-World (Muslim and non-Muslim) immigration into Europe will persist and the “long march through the institutions” will continue to undermine the demographic and political existence of European peoples. Left-Liberal Euro-Mediterranean aspirations and the attempt of neoconservatives to enforce a global monoculture in the face of Islamism, are plainly and simply unethical practices that have created the conditions that lead to the cultural death and the eventual disappearance of European peoples.

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Appendix

Primary sources consulted in chapter 1, titled **Early European Integration**, include numerous works by Count Richard Nikolas Eijiro von Coudenhove-Kalergi, such as his essays "Pan-Europe" (1923) and "The Pan-European Outlook" (1931), his book *Practical Idealism*: *Nobility-Technique-Pacifism* (1925), and his speech "A Parliament for Europe: A Third Solid Pillar for the United Nations" (1947) as well as translated works, such as *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays* by Immanuel Kant and *A Project for Perpetual Peace* by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and relevant information and documents from the European Council, the European Commission, the Historical Archives of the European Union (HAEU), and the Council of Europe, such as a speech delivered in 1946 to the University of Zurich by Winston Churchill. Secondary sources include works by scholars and research analysts in the departments and/or disciplines of **Politics, International Security, International Law, Ethnic Studies, Philosophy, Migration, History, and European Law**, such as Eric Kaufmann, Daniel C. Villanueva, Peo Hansen, Stefan Jonsson, Thorsten Botz-Bornstein, Dina Gusejnova, Anita Prettenthaler-Ziegerhofer, Richard J. Aldrich, and Edward McWhinney.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 2, titled **The Fabian Society and the Frankfurt School**, include *The History of the Fabian Society* (1916) by Edward R. Pease; "Social Insurance and Allied Services" (1942) by Sir William Beveridge; several works by H.G. Wells, such as *Anticipations: Of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought* (1902), *Russia in the Shadows* (1920), *The World of William Clissold* (1926), and *Open Conspiracy: Blueprints for a World Revolution* (1928); info on the Fabian Society from the UK Fabian Society; a speech by British Labour Party politician, David Miliband, titled "Europe 2030: Model Power Not Superpower" (2007); *The Authoritarian Personality: Studies in Prejudice* (1950), by T.W. Adorno et al; *Soviet Total War: "Historic Mission" of Violence and Deceit* (1956), by the Committee on Un-American Activities; *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (1964), *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (1955/1966), and *The New Left and the 1960s: Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse* (2005) by Herbert Marcuse; translated works, such as *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (1999) by Antonio Gramsci; documents from the Marxist Internet Archive, such as "Theses on Feuerbach" (1845) by Karl Marx; and several works by Kalergi as mentioned above. Secondary sources include works by Eric Kaufmann as mentioned above, as well as scholars, authors, researchers and analysts in the departments and/or disciplines of **Literature, History, Law, Sociology, Politics, and Multiculturalism**, such as William Kymlicka, Robert Sullivan, Zygmund Dobbs, Kerry Bolton, Dave Renton, Cyril Levitt, Paul Mattick, Martin Jay, William Lind, Jay Bernstein, Raymond Raehn, Patrick J. Buchanan, and Richard Howson, among others. Other sources include newspaper articles from the *Telegraph*, *Daily Mail*, *BBC News*, and the *Sun*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 3, titled **International and Geopolitical Developments**, include relevant official documents from the United Nations, the UK Parliament, the European Council, the U.S. Department of State, the Council on Foreign Relations, the UN Security Council, the Commission of the European Communities, the Lillian Goldman Law Library, the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union, the UK National Archives, the General Secretariat of the Council (of the EU), the European Parliament, Frontex, the European Union External Action, the European Commission, Eurostat, the European Union Global Strategy, EUR-Lex (an official website of European Union law), the Official Journal (OJ) of the European Union, a 2003 speech titled "Sharing Stability and Prosperity" by Romano Prodi former President of the European Commission, and the 2007

speech by David Miliband, as mentioned above. Secondary sources consulted include works by Daniel C. Villanueva, Peo Hansen, and Stefan Jonsson mentioned above, as well as works by several scholars, research fellows and analysts in the departments and/or disciplines of **Politics, International Studies, Radicalisation, History, and Europe and Mediterranean Studies**, such as Randall Hansen, David Allen, Muhamad Hasrul Zakariah, Bat Ye'or (Gisèle Littman), Pierre Gerbet, and Amany Soliman, among others. Other sources include newspaper articles from the *Guardian, Al Jazeera,* the *Express,* and *Reuters*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 4, titled **Original to New Cosmopolitanism, and a Critique**, include *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays* (1983) by Immanuel Kant; *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* (2001) and *The Crisis of the European Union: A Response* (2012) by Jürgen Habermas; "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" (1994) and "Toward a Globally Sensitive Patriotism" (2008) by Martha C. Nussbaum; *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (1995) and "The Canadian Model of Diversity in a Comparative Perspective" (2008) by William Kymlicka; "Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates" (2010) by Keith Banting and William Kymlicka; "Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and the World" (2012), by William Kymlicka and Kathryn Walker; and a 1971 House of Commons speech by Canadian PM Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Secondary sources consulted include works by several scholars, research fellows and analysts in the departments and/or disciplines of **Sociology, Social and Political Thought, Historical Sociology, Rhetoric, Social Studies, Government and Public Administration, International Peace, Psychology, Philosophy, Law, International Relations, World Development, Democracy, Politics, and Classical History**, such as Gerard Delanty, Pheng Cheah, Des Gasper, Thomas Mertens, Robert Fine, Will Smith, A. Lupel, Max Pensky, David Chandler, Bruce Thornton, Joseph Vogt, Lasse Thomassen, David A. Hollinger, Ricardo Duchesne, and Carlos Strenger.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 5, titled **Liberalism: Classical to Neoliberal**, include "Discourse on the Origin and Basis of Inequality Among Men (1755)" by Jean-Jacques Rousseau; *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1761) and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1778) by Adam Smith; *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; and "Critique of the Gotha Program" (1875) and a letter, "Marx to J. Weydemeyer in New York" (1842) by Karl Marx. Secondary sources include works by several scholars, research fellows, and analysts in the departments and/or disciplines of **Psychology, Anthropology, Geography, History, Sociology, Philosophy, Social Science, Ethics, Political Science, Public Interest, and European Security Studies**, such as Steven Pinker, Arthur Herman, Robert Nisbet, Karl Löwith, Alasdair MacIntyre, Erich Fromm, David Harvey, Dag Einar Thorsen, Joseph Weatherby, David Fasenfest, Jean Hardisty, Henry A. Giroux, and Roderick Parkes.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 6, titled **Conservatism: Classical to Neoconservatism**, include "Ten Conservative Principles" by Russell Kirk; *Conservatism* (2011) by Kieron O'Hara; "Principles of Conservatism" (1953) by Keith Feiling; *Suicide of the West* (1964) by James Burnham; *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (1981) by Alasdair MacIntyre, *Two Cheers for Capitalism* (1978), "The New Face of American Politics" (1994), *Neoconservatism: An Autobiography of an Idea* (1995), and "The Tragedy of Multiculturalism" (1999) by Irving Kristol; *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (1969/70) and "The Politics of Stability" (1967) by Daniel P. Moynihan; *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (1962) by Daniel Bell; *Natural Right and History* (1950/68) by Leo Strauss; "Dictatorships and Double Standards" (1979) and "Politics and the New Class" (1979) by Jeane Kirkpatrick; *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy* (2000) edited by William Kristol and Robert

Kagan; "The Bush Doctrine Unfolds" (2002) by Robert Kagan and William Kristol; "The End of History?" (1989), *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992), "The Clash of Cultures and American Hegemony" (2006), "The History at the End of History" (2007), and "The Challenges for European Identity" (2012) by Francis Fukuyama; *The War Against the Terror Masters: Why It Happened. Where We Are Now. How'll We Win* (2003/07) by Michael A. Leeden; *Neoconservatism: Why We Need It* (2006) by Douglas Murray; *National Security Strategy of the United States of America: The White House* (2002) by the United States and George W. Bush; "Remarks by the President at the United States Military Academy Commencement Ceremony" (2014) by Barack Obama; and resources from the website of the Project for the New American Century (PNAC). Secondary sources include works by Arthur Herman, Robert Nisbet, and Karl Löwith, as mentioned above, and works on neoconservatism by several scholars, politicians, columnists, and organization directors in the departments and/or disciplines of **Aesthetics, Political Philosophy, History, Politics, Political Science, International Studies, Foreign Policy, and Humanities**, such as Roger Scruton, George H. Nash, Michael Gove, Cas Mudde, Murray Friedman, Paul Gottfried, Thomas Fleming, Stefan Halper, Jonathan Clarke, John McGowan, and Joe Klein.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 7, titled **Immigration: EU and Five Country Profiles**, include several documents on citizenship, residency permits, population estimates, foreign-born population by country of birth, migration population statistics, and fertility statistics from Eurostat; *The 2015 Ageing Report: Economic and Budgetary Projections for the 28 Member States (2013-2060)* by the European Commission; statistical information about fertility rates, young and elderly populations, and total populations as well as the *International Migration Outlook 2014* by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); statistical information on net migration from Determinants of International Migration (DEMIG); several statistical documents on population, net migration, and naturalizations from Statistics Belgium; two statistical documents on foreign-born and native populations from the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD); several statistical documents on migration and population from the Office for National Statistics (UK); several documents on population and migration statistics from the National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) and the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), France; several documents on citizenship and migrant and native population statistics from Statistics Sweden; and several documents on migration, naturalisations, and population growth from Destatis, Germany. Secondary sources include works by several scholars, analysts, and national institutional directors in the departments and/or disciplines of **Demography, Political Science, International Relations, Sociology, Migration, Political Economy, and Statistics**, such as David Coleman, Mark J. Miller, Stephen Castles, James F. Hollifield, Anthony M. Messina, Gerard Bouvier, Carlos Vargas-Silva, Cinzia Rienzo, and Martin A. Schain.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 8, titled **Islam and Islamism**, include *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Banna: A Selection from the Majmu at Rasail al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna* (1978) by Hasan al-Banna; *Milestones* (1980) by Sayyid Qutb; *Council Framework Decision 2002/475 on Combating Terrorism* (2002) by the European Union; *The Koran* (1956/2006); *Common Concerns about Islamic Extremism: Muslim-Western Tensions Persist* (2011) by Pew Research Center; *The Project* (1982) by Sa'id Ramadan; "Europe and the US Should Agree to Become Islamic or Declare War on Muslims" (2006) by Mu'ammar Al-Qadhafi; and "Libya: The Strategic Gateway for the Islamic State" (2015) by an unnamed Islamist recruiter (also a secondary source as it is translated and analysed by Charles Winter, a senior researcher at the Quilliam Foundation). Secondary sources include works by leading scholars, research fellows, analysts, and politicians in the departments and/or disciplines of **International Affairs,**

Religion, Islamic Studies, National Security, European Affairs, Global Affairs, Eurasia Affairs, International Relations, Terrorism, Political Science, Extremism, Islamism, Transatlantic Relations, Muslim-Christian Understanding, and Strategic Studies, such as John Esposito, Peter Mandaville, Alex Alexiev, Bassam Tibi, Thomas Butko, Lorenzo Vidino, Alex Schulman, Zeyno Baran, Filip Dewinter, Soeren Kern, and Mattia Toaldo. Other sources include magazine articles from the *New Yorker* and *National Geographic*, and newspaper articles, such as from the *New York Times*, the *Globe and Mail*, *Al Jazeera*, *Sky News*, the *Guardian*, the *Telegraph*, *BBC News*, *Breitbart*, *The Local*, *Mail Online*, and *International Business Times*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 9, titled **Muslim Immigration: EU and Five Country Profiles**, include two Pew Research Center reports titled *The Future of the Global Muslim Population* (2011) and *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050* (2015); a 2003 *Annual Report* from the European Court of Human Rights; information on sensitive urban areas in France from the Ministry of the Interior (France); a Danish Ministry of Justice funded research report titled *Home Grown Terrorism and Islamist Radicalisation in Europe* (2007) by Tomas Precht; an October 2015 speech by First Vice-President of the European Commission, Frans Timmermans; population statistics from Statistics Belgium and statistics on the Muslim population in Belgium by the sociologist Jan Hertogen; a 2015 European Parliamentary research report titled *ISIL/Da'esh and 'Non-Conventional' Weapons of Terror* by Beatrix Immenkamp; information on foreign fighters in Syria from the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR Insight); various statistical documents on the 2001 and 2011 census, including statistics on economic activity, educational levels, ethnicity, religion, and baby names, as well as the 2006 report *National Statistics: Focus on Ethnicity and Religion* (2006) from the UK Office for National Statistics; a 2016 speech by the then PM of Britain, David Cameron; a 2015 annual report on prison statistics by the UK Independent Monitoring Board (IMB); various demographic data about prison populations in the UK from the UK government website, Gov.uk; a 2001 report on behalf of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) titled *Situation of Islamic Communities in Five European Cities: Examples of Local Initiatives* (2001) by Yvonne Bemelmans and Maria José Freitas; data on baby names from the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE) in France; a 2013 report by CIRANO, a research center based in Montreal, titled *Educational Attainment, Wages and Employment of Second-Generation Immigrants in France* (2013) by Gabin Langevin, David Masclet, Fabien Moizeau, and Emmanuel Peterle; a 2010 report titled *Violence-promoting Islamist Extremism in Sweden* from the Swedish Security Service; a 2015 report titled *Prevent, Preempt, and Protect – the Swedish Counter-Terrorism Strategy* from the Government Offices of Sweden; a 2014 report on criminal networks in Sweden by the National Police (Sweden); a 2008/2009 study titled *Muslim Life in Germany: A Study Conducted on Behalf of the German Conference on Islam* by Sonja Haug, Stephanie Müssig, and Anja Stichs; various statistical documents on boys names and educational levels of immigrants and natives from Statistics Sweden; various crime statistics from the Swedish National Council on Crime Prevention (Brå); and several annual reports on prison statistics from the Council of Europe Annual Penal Statistics.

In addition to works by Alex Alexiev, Lorenzo Vidino, Filip Dewinter, Soeren Kern, and Eric Kaufmann mentioned above, secondary sources consulted in chapter 9 include works by several scholars, analysts, and research fellows in the departments and/or disciplines of **Political Science, History, Computer Science and Information Systems Engineering, Contemporary Islam, International Studies, Sociology of Law, Radicalisation and Political Violence, Security and Intelligence, Penal Law and Criminology, Foreign Policy and Affairs,**

Democracy, Crime Prevention, Demography, War and Conflict Studies, Employment, Religion, and Migration such as Robert S. Leiken, Houssain Kettani, Jean-Paul Gourévitch, Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, Kees Groenendijk, James Brandon, Omer Taspinar, Claude Moniquet, Peter R. Neumann, Rik Coolsaet, Paul Ponsaers, Gavin Berman, Jonathan Laurence, Justin Vaïsse, Timothy M. Savage, Samir Amghar, Eric Denécé, Jan Ahlberg, Dominique Meurs, Yaël Brinbaum, Philip Jenkins, Yann Algan, Göran Larsson, Didier Bigo, and Muhammad Hisham Kabbani. Other secondary sources include various works and reports from the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), the Swedish Muslims in Cooperation Network, the Open Society Initiative, the Open Society Institute, The Soufan Group (TSG), the Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC), the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Euro-Islam, HOPE not Hate (HnH), the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), the Clarion Project, the Institute for Study of Civil Society, the Congressional Research Service, the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, the Centre for Labour Market and Discrimination Studies (Linnaeus University), Affes Statistik-blogg, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CF2R). In addition, other sources include relevant articles from various newspapers, such as *CBN News,* the *Guardian, Flanders Today, Morocco World News,* the *Spectator, RT News, Agence France Presse, Catholic Online, De Morgen, Bild, Der Spiegel, Haaretz, Sputnik News, The Economist, Europe1, The Local, Le Parisien, Fox News, Le Monde, Radio Free Europe,* the *Telegraph, BBC News, Mail Online,* the *Daily Mail,* the *Independent,* the *Sunday Times, International Business Times,* the *Express, Vice News,* the *Washington Post, France24*, *Stuttgart-Zeitung, De Welt, Breitbart, Novopress,* and *Deutsche Welle,* which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 10, titled **In Statistics: Muslim Fundamentalism and European Opposition**, include *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections* (2014), *American Muslims: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream* (2007), *Common Concerns about Islamic Extremism: Muslim-Western Tensions Persist* (2011), and *Unfavorable Views of Jews and Muslims on the Increase in Europe* (2008) from Pew Research Center; "Valuing Diversity – Fostering Cohesion" (2010) by Christian Wulff; *The Military Campaign against the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant: Arab Public Opinion* (2014) from the Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies; *Six Country Immigrant Integration Comparative Survey* (2013) by Evelyn Ersanilli and Ruud Koopmans; *Global Views on Immigration* (2011) and "British Views on Immigration" (2003) by Ipsos MORI; *Public Opinion and the Politics of Immigration* (2013) from Lord Ashcroft Polls; *Young People and Prejudice Survey* (2013) by ComRes; "What Muslims Really Think" (2016) by ICM Unlimited; "Public Opinion in the European Union, First results" (2014) and *Quality of Life in European Cities, 2015* from the European Commission; *Comparative survey France/Germany on Islam* (2010), *L'adhésion des Français à L'accueil des Migrants* (2016), and *Le regard des Européens sur l' I slam* (2012) by Ifop; "Federica Mogherini's remarks at 'Call to Europe V: Islam in Europe', FEPS conference" from European Union External Action; "European Values Study 1999" from European Values Survey; and *The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations* by Gallup. In addition to Houssain Kettani and Soeren Kern as mentioned above, secondary sources include reports by Policy Exchange, Migration Watch UK, and Euro-Islam, and works by several scholars, research fellows, and organization directors in the departments and/or disciplines of **Political Science, International Migration, Ethnic Conflict, Political Demography, Sociology, Government, Comparative Politics, Migration Policy, Global Migration, Extremism, Democracy, Psychology, European Studies, Security Studies, and Public Policy**, such as Myron Weiner, Ruud Koopmans, Jennifer L. Hochschild, Lauren McClaren, Heaven Crawley, Will Somerville, Neli Esipova, Jérôme Fourquet, *Oliver Decker, Oldrich Bures, and* Shamit Saggar. In

addition, other sources include articles from various newspapers, such as *Daily Mail Reporter, BBC, Het Laatste Nieuws, CBS News, Deutsche Welle, Der Spiegel, RT News,* the *Mirror,* the *Telegraph,* the *Independent,* the *Guardian, Le Monde, Euractiv, Le Figaro, Reuters,* and *Breitbart*, among others, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 11, titled **Asylum, Migrant Demographics, and International Responses,** include the 1998 and 2004 *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* from the United Nations; *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (2010), *Mid-Year Trends 2015,* "Refugee Status Determination," various daily reports of the Refugees/Migrants Emergency Response – Mediterranean, Global Appeal 2015 Update for Jordan and Lebanon, and other statistical data and documents on the migrant crisis and asylum seekers from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); *Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004, Regulation (EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013,* and *Report from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on progress by Turkey in fulfilling the requirements of its visa liberalisation roadmap* (2014) from EUR-Lex; "Questions and Answers: An improved EU Blue Card scheme and the Action Plan on Integration" (2016), *European Neighbourhood and Partnership Initiative 2007-2013: Overview of Activities and Results* (2014), and several other documents and reports regarding asylum laws, Schengen, the EU-Turkey deal, visa liberalisation for Turkey, the migrant crisis, the Syrian crisis, funding and economics, and safe countries of origin, as well as an October 2015 speech by Frans Timmermans, and remarks by him and Commissioner Avramopoulos in April 2016 from the European Commission; the Schengen 2.0 Action Plan from the Website of the Hungarian government; the *Risk Analysis for 2016* report by Frontex; the *Migrant Smuggling Networks: Joint Europol-INTERPOL Report* (2016) from Interpol; speeches and an interview of Hungarian PM Viktor Orban from LiveLeak, YouTube, and the Website of the Hungarian Government; a 2015 interview of Ricardo Baretzky, President of the European Centre for Information Policy and Security (ECIPS) from Red Ice Insight; an interview of Christina Baum, Deputy Federal Chairwoman of Alternative for Germany (AFD), available from YouTube; "The Merkel Plan" (2015), "Turkey as a 'Safe Third Country' for Greece" (2015), and "Why people don't need to drown in the Aegean – ESI policy proposal summary" (2015) by the European Stability Initiative (ESI); a report on the migrant crisis and a 2016 concluding statement on Germany from the International Monetary Fund (IMF); information about asylum and benefits from the Federal Government and the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, Germany; information about safe countries from the UK Government, the HALO Trust, and the Finnish Immigration Service MIGRI; directives, charters, declarations, and treaties on the right to family life and family reunification from EUR-Lex, the United Nations, the OHCHR, and the European Court of Human Rights; *Fragile States Index 2016* from the Fund for Peace; the *Reintegration and Emigration Programme for Asylum-Seekers in Germany (REAG)* and *Government Assisted Repatriation Programme (GARP)* (2016); *Undocumented Migration: Counting the Uncountable. Data and Trends Across Europe* (2009) by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP); "Action Plan on the Integration of Third Country Nationals" (2016) by the Commission of the European Communities; *Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population* (2009) by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life; migration profiles on Jordan and Lebanon from the Migration Policy Centre (MPC); two speeches by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2015 and 2016 available from YouTube and the website of the President of the Turkish Republic; video and audio footage of interviews and statements by Horst Seehofer, CSU Minister of Bavaria and Milos Zeman, Czech President available from YouTube and LiveLeak; interviews with Syrian women in Syria by On the Ground

News (OGN); documents, maps and various data on asylum seekers and the migrant crisis from the International Organization for Migration (IOM); several documents, reports, and statistical data on asylum, migration, and the EU-Turkey agreement from the European Migration Network, the Asylum Information Database (AIDA), the Geneva Academy, the Parliamentary Assembly, the European Council, the European Parliament, the UK Parliament, the House of Lords, the World Bank, the Migration Policy Institute Data Hub, Eurostat, Kapa Research, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), and the Website of the Hungarian Government; and other relevant media footage from YouTube.

In addition to works by Martin A. Schain and Jérôme Fourquet mentioned above, secondary sources consulted in chapter 11 include works by several scholars, research fellows, politicians, directors, government advisors, analysts and spokespeople in the departments and/or disciplines of **Policy, Political Studies, Migration and Refugees, Europe, the European Union, Open Society, Government and Public Service, Migration Policy, Labor, Employment, European Parliament, Asylum, United Nations, IMF European Department, Forced Migration, International Affairs, Refugee Studies, Politics, Political Science, Energy Policy, Economic Reform, Public Administration, Law, Central Asia-Caucasus, Silk Road Studies, Middle East, and Economics**, such as Manuel Manrique Gil, Judit Barna, Pekka Hakala, Benjamin Rey, Eulalia Claros, Amikam Nachmani, Anna-Katharina Rich, Shekhar Aiyar, Bergljot Barkbu, Gerald Knaus, William Spindler, Thierry Meyssan, Kalena Cortes, Anna Di Bartolomeo, Jacob Poushter, Giulio Sabbati, Gertrud Malmersjo, Milan Remáč, Anne Bonewit, Rosamund Shreeves, Ginbot Abraha, Åsa Romson, William Hague, Michael Meyer, Alexander Betts, Jean-Pierre Garson, Christina Boswell, George Igler, Luay Al-Khatteeb, Regina Konle-Seidl, Burcu Togral Koca, Rebecca Lowe, Souad Ahmadoun, Halil Karaveli, and Paolo Verme. In addition, other secondary sources include works by the European Observatory of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) & Diversity, by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) (A Department of Homeland Security Center for Excellence, University of Maryland), and from *The Clarion Project*, the *Gatestone Institute*, and *Amnesty International*. Other sources include articles from magazines such as *Time* and *The New American*, and articles by various newspapers and news outlets, such as *Deutsche Welle, Amnesty International, Euractiv,* the *Financial Times, BBC News, Agence France Presse, RT News, Hungary Today, Euronews, De Welt, Breitbart, Der Spiegel,* the *Economist, Focus Online, The Local, CNN,* the *Guardian,* the *Express, De Volkskrant, EU Observer, Wall Street Journal,* the *Independent,* the *New York Times, Bild, Salzburger Nachrichten, CNBC, Greek Reporter,* the *International Business Times, Zeit Online*, *World Finance*, *Junge Freiheit, Ekathemerini, Europe1, Dutch News, Hungary Today, Novinite, The Australian,* the *Business Insider,* the *Washington Post, Bloomberg,* the *Mail on Sunday,* the *Daily Mail, Der Tagesspiegel, De Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine, Breitbart, Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ),* the *Telegraph*, *AFP, UN News Centre, Ekstra Bladet, Spiegel Online, Berlingske*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung, Global Government Forum, Middle East Eye, TOLO News*, *Reuters, EU Business,* the *New York Times, Politico, N-TV,* and the *Globe and Mail*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 12, titled **Criminal Aspects and Costs of the Migrant Crisis**, include the *Risk Analysis for 2016*, *Frontex Programme of Work 2015,* "Budget 2016", and a news release on Operation Triton by Frontex; *Migrant Smuggling Networks: Joint Europol-INTERPOL Report* (2016) from Interpol; *Remarks at the United Nations* (2016) by Peter Sutherland; "Changes in the modus Operandi of Islamic State terrorist attacks" (2016) by Europol Public Information; a news briefing by General Philip Breedlove; *Recruitment and Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe* (2007) by King's College London; "Operation of police powers under the Terrorism Act 2000, quarterly update to September

2015" by the UK Home Office; documents about the Internal Security Fund, the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund, and the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, as well as other documents and press releases on economic funds and the migrant crisis by the European Commission; the "EU-Turkey Statement, 18 March 2016" from the European Council; statistical data on asylum applications from the Swedish Migration Agency; the *UNHCR Note on the Principle of Non-Refoulement* (1997) from UNHCR; a video of an address to the European Parliament (2015) by Czech MEP, Petr Mach; a Red Ice Radio interview with a Eurotunnel official; the 2015 interview of Ricardo Baretzky, as mentioned above; a speech by Calais resident Simone Héricourt available from YouTube; and two YouTube videos of footage, including interviews, on the settlement of migrants in two small German communities. Secondary sources include several works by scholars, senior fellows, and researchers in the departments and/or disciplines of **Politics, Political Science, Foreign Policy, Asylum, European Parliament, Islam, European Politics, and Cultural Heritage, IMF European Department**, such as works by Shekhar Aiyar, Soeren Kern, Jérôme Fourquet, and Anne Bonewit as mentioned above as well as by Angel Rabasa and Cheryl Benard. Also included are reports and articles by the Refugee Council (UK), the World Watch Monitor, Amnesty International, the European Parliamentary Research Service (EPRS), the think-tank *Right On*, the *Migrant Report* organization and the *National Geographic* magazine. Other sources include articles from various newspapers and news outlets, such as the *Guardian, Kvälls Posten, Breitbart,* the *Telegraph,* the *Mirror,* the *Express*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung, Dispatch International, World Net Daily, Associated Press, Euronews, Der Spiegel, Welt N24, Bild, Focus, Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ), Frankfurter Allgemeine,* the *Mail Online, Aleteia, Nord Littoral, Reuters, Corriere Del Messogiorno,* the *International Business Times,* the *Spectator, Junge Freiheit, Finland Today,* the *Daily Mail, Der Tagesspiegel,* the *Independent,* the *New York Times, Expressen, Sud Ouest, Kurier, Westfalen-Blatt, Deustche Welle, N-TV, The Local, Ekathimerini, The Atlantic, Sputnik News*, *BBC News, Agence France Presse, Novinite, RT News, Euronews, Dawn, N-TV, Zeit Online, Dagblad Noorden, Die Presse, Euractiv, Alfahir*, *De Welt,* the *Financial Times, Hungary Today, Cronkite News, Huffington Post, Global News,* the *Wall Street Journal,* the *Greek Reporter, CNN, National Review, National Post, WND, France24*, and *CTV News*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 13, titled **A Critique of Elite Reactions to Migrant Sex Crimes and Terrorism**, include *Child Sexual Exploitation and the Response to Localised Grooming* (2013) from the House of Commons, UK; *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Exploitation in Rotherham (1997 – 2013)* by Alexis Jay; "Arrests of Foreign Nationals by Nationality and Specified Arrest Areas: For the arrest period April 2008 - December 2012" (2013) from the UK Directorate of Information; a map of the "Combined Scale of the Prevalence and Sanction of Rape and Sexual Assault of Women" (2011) by the WomanStats Project; a 2012 interview with Andrew Norfolk, journalist from the *Times* newspaper; 2016 video footage of a 2016 German town meeting with the mayor, of a press meeting with the Swedish police, and an address by MP Geert Wilders, available from YouTube; "Delivering the European Agenda on Migration: Commission presents Action Plan on Integration and reforms 'Blue Card' scheme for highly skilled workers from outside the EU" (2016) by the European Commission; *Recruitment and Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe* (2007) by King's College London; *Risk Analysis for 2016* by Frontex; and comments from foreign policy analyst Rula Jebreal on a CNN *Tonight Show* (2016). Secondary sources include works by several scholars, researchers, analysts, columnists and policy advisors in the departments and/or disciplines of **Social Psychology, European Affairs, Migration, Migration Policy, Ethnic and Migration Studies, Diversity, Immigration and Integration, Public Policy, Population and**

Development, Turkish Studies, Public Administration and Policy, **English Language and Literature, Law, Counterterrorism, Immigration, Crime Prevention, and Statistics** such as Sarah Lyons-Padilla, Michele J. Gelfand, Kristin Archick, Paul Belkin, Caroline Fourest, Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Sonia Gsir, Jérémy Mandin, F. Leslie Seidle, Iris Hoßmann, Jitka Maleckova, Kathleen DeLoughery, Khaled Aljenfawi, Andrew C. McCarthy, Esther Ben-David, and Jan Ahlberg, among others. Other secondary sources include articles from the website *Investopedia*, articles from magazines such as *Time* and *MacLean's*, the report *How Safe Are Our Children?* (2015) by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), the report *Easy Meat: Multiculturalism, Islam and Child Sex Slavery* (2014) by English author Peter McLoughlin, the *Compendium of Migrant Integration Policies and Practices* (2009) by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and works by Lorenzo Vidino, Peter Mandaville, Will Somerville, Alex Alexiev, Justin Vaïsse, Jonathan Laurence, and Roderick Parkes as mentioned above. Other sources include articles from various newspapers, including *Bild, Focus, Presse-Portal, Sputnik News, Breitbart, The Local, Sikh24,* the *Times, Arab Times,* the *Wall Street Journal,* the *Independent, Mail Online,* the *Telegraph, WND,* the *Guardian, Svenska Dagbladet,* the *New York Times, De Welt, Politico, Dagbladet,* the *Metro, Der Tagesspiegel,* the *Express, Chronicle Live, ABC News, The Age, Radio Netherlands, Mail on Sunday,* the *Daily Mail*, *CBN News*, *RT News, Le Parisien, Euronews,* the *Jewish Telegraph Agency, Nachrichten, International Business Times, Israel National News, CBC News,* and the *Financial Times*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 14, titled **An Analysis and Critique of Three Neoconservative Views**, include *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (2005/2011) by Bat Ye'or; "Acceptance speech on the occasion of the Award of the European Prize Coudenhove-Kalergi 2012: 'Peace and the European idea'" (2012) by Herman Van Rompuy; *Praktischer Idealismus: Adel-Technik-Pazifismus* (1925) by Kalergi; a Horowitz Freedom Center video of a 2014 meeting of American neoconservatives discussing the American military and ISIS; *Londonistan* (2006) and *The World Turned Upside Down: The Global Battle over God, Truth, and Power* (2010) by Melanie Phillips; *Palestine: Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922 Taken on 23rd October, 1922 (1922)* by J.B. Barron; *While Europe Slept: How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within* (2006) by Bruce Bawer; the Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in Islam (1990) from the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation; the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948) from the United Nations; information about Jihadism from the *SITE Intelligence Group*; *Annual Report 2003* by the European Court of Human Rights; "Opening remarks of First Vice-President Frans Timmermans at the First Annual Colloquium on Fundamental Rights" (2015) from the European Commission; "Living in the EU" from *Europa;* and a 2010 interview of Barbara Spectre by Israeli *IBA-News*. Secondary sources include works by diplomats, politicians, researchers, and scholars in the departments and/or disciplines of **State, Political Science, Economics, Gender, Migration and Citizenship, Sociology, Nationalism and Ethnicity, Psychology, Applied Criminology, Philosophy, Law, Liberalism, and Judaic Studies**, such as Thomas E. McNamara, Salim Mansur, Eleonore Kofman, Anthony D. Smith, Kevin MacDonald, Kris Christmann, Fred M. Gottheil, Bassam Tibi, Raja Bahlul, Garikai Chengu, Anthony Lester, and Arnold Dashefsky. Other secondary sources include articles from the Council on Foreign Relations, SCS Nexus, and the Pew Research Center. Other sources include news articles from *Global News*, *CNN*, *BBC News*, the *Guardian*, *Reuters*, *NBC News*, and the *Jerusalem Post*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources consulted in chapter 15, titled **European Demographic and Political Decline: Is it Genocide?** include *Consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union* (2012), *Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29*

April 2004, and a 2003 Council Directive on the Right to Family Reunification from EUR-Lex; the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, "Replacement Migration: Is it a Solution to a Declining and Ageing Population?" (2001), and "International Migration Trends: 1960-2000" (2005) from the United Nations; *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966/76) from the UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (OHCHR); a 2014 Eurobarometer survey titled "Public Opinion in the European Union, First results" (2014) and a 2016 statement on Family Reunification from the European Commission; *Protracted conflicts in the GUAM area and their implications for international peace, security and development: The situation in the occupied territories of Azerbaijan* (2008) from the United Nations General Assembly Security Council; *European Convention on Human Rights* (2010) from the European Court on Human Rights; the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide - the Secretariat and Ad Hoc Committee Drafts* (1947) and the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948);* "Analysis Framework" from the Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG); the *1994/45 Draft United Nations declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples* and the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2008); "Who are Indigenous Peoples?" by the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues; Reference re Secession of Quebec [1998] 2 S.C.R. 217, 1998 SCC 25506; a 2012 report titled *The future population of Sweden 2012–2060* from Statistics Sweden; a 2014 report titled *A Fragile Rebound for EU Image on Eve of European Parliament Elections* from the Pew Research Center; relevant information and documents from the Open Society Foundation, the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), the European Stability Initiative (ESI), Boats4people, Migreurop, Welcome to Europe (W2eu), UNITED for Intercultural Action, and the European Programme for Integration and Migration (EPIM); various speeches and interviews of Hungarian PM Viktor Orban; various articles by and interviews of business magnate George Soros; various statements by Malcolm X supporter, Sukant Chandan; a 2016 speech by Donald Tusk, president of the European Council; a 2016 interview with Eske Willerslev, the director of the Centre for GeoGenetics at the University of Copenhagen; a Red Ice Insight interview with Ricardo Baretzky, as mentioned above; and various statements and declarations available from YouTube on the transformation of European nations through migration made by various European elites and other public figures, such as Stefanie Von Berg, Peter Sutherland, Barbara Spectre, Gregor Gysi, Frans Timmermans, Lamya Kaddor, and Mona Sahlin**.** Secondary sources include works by several scholars, jurists, lawyers, politicians, and researchers in the departments and/or disciplines of **International Law, Human Rights, History, International Relations, Psychology, Government and Public Policy, Demography, International Security, International Affairs, Politics, International Studies, Political Ethology, International Migration, Ethnic Conflict, Political Demography, Historical Sociology, Political Economy, Philosophy, and Democracy,** such as Antonio Cassese, Johan D. Van Der Vyver, Raphael Lemkin, William Schabas, Bartolom*é* Clavero, Martin Shaw, Daniele Conversi, Robert Gellately, Ervin Staub, Edward McWhinney, Monica Duffy Toft, Michael Teitelbaum, Kelly Greenhill, Samuel Huntington, Joschka Fischer, Dominic D. P. Johnson, Sharon Stanton Russell, Frank Salter, Myron Weiner, David Coleman, Ricardo Duchesne, James F. Hollifield, Anthony M. Messina, Kieron O'Hara, Kerry Bolton, and Francis Fukuyama. Other sources include articles from various newspapers including *Breitbart, Mail on Sunday,* the *Guardian, Worldpost, Deutschland, Bloomberg, RT News, Zeit Online,* the *Telegraph, BBC News, Mail Online, The European, Augsburger Allgeimeine,* the *Irish Times,* the *Sun, The Local,* the *Independent, Fox News,* the *Washington Times,* the *Express, Politico, Sky News, CBS News, Sputnik News, Euronews, Hungary Today,* and *Daily News*, which are a combination of primary and secondary sources.

Curriculum Vitae

Clare Ellis *E-mail*: acacia.3@unb.ca

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Interdisciplinary Studies, Current
University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, NB

M.A., Interdisciplinary Studies, October 2011
Thesis title: "The Idea of Progress and the Agonistic Ethos of Western Man," University of New Brunswick, Saint John, NB

B.A., Philosophy (Honours) and Sociology, October 2008
University of New Brunswick, Saint John, NB

PUBLICATIONS

Ellis, Clare. "Dualism and Progress in Kant and Nietzsche." *Minerva Internet Journal of Philosophy* 16 (November 2012): 83-101. http://www.minerva.mic.ul.ie/vol16/Dualism.pdf

Ellis, Clare. "Demographic Engineering: Creating the Conditions for Civil War and Genocide in Europe." *The Occidental Quarterly* 17, no.2 (Summer 2017).

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS/ ACADEMIC TALKS

Ellis, Clare. "Dualism and Progress: A Comparison and Contrast of Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Nietzsche." In: *The First Annual Social Sciences and Humanities Student Conference*, UNB, Saint John, NB, February 18-19 2011.

Ellis, Clare and Dr. Ricardo Duchesne. "The Western World is Ruled by One Ideology." UNBSJ, NB, March 26 2014.

Ellis, Clare and Dr. Ricardo Duchesne. "The Migrant Crisis in Europe: Leftist Internationalism meets Corporate Globalism: Part I." UNB Saint John and Fredericton, NB, February 19 2016.

Ellis, Clare. "The Migrant Crisis in Europe: Leftist Internationalism meets Corporate Globalism: Part II." UNB Saint John and Fredericton, NB, February 26, 2016.

Ellis, Clare. "Diversity Enrichment in Sweden." UNB Saint John and Fredericton, NB, March 18 2016.