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Walter Laqueur: The Last Days of Europe Study Guide

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WALTER LAQUEUR: THE LAST DAYS OF EUROPE

STUDY GUIDE, 2007

Steven Alan Samson

INTRODUCTION

Study Questions

1. **A Very Brief Tour Through the Future of Europe** How have the sights, sounds, and smells of London, Paris, and Berlin changed since 1977? How did immigration to those cities differ one hundred years compared with today? What are the typical characteristics of the immigrants of 2006?
2. **The Last Days of Old Europe** What is “Old Europe?” What is the role of tourism in the European economy? What accounted for the author’s optimism in the 1970s? What were some of the danger signs in the 1970s? What did leading demographers show? What were some of Russia’s problems in the 1980s? How did the new immigrants differ from the guest workers of the 1950s? How did the European vision differ from the American dream? What accounted for the rosy picture painted of Europe by Tony Judt, Mark Leonard, and Charles Kupchan? What was the general consensus of EU’s 2000 meeting in Lisbon?

Review

danger signs in the 1970s
European vision

new immigrants
Tony Judt

resistance to assimilation

CHAPTER ONE: EUROPE SHRINKING

Study Questions

1. When did the average European family fall below the reproduction rate? What is the present rate? What was the state of Europe in 1907? What were some of the clouds on the horizon? What percentage of the world’s population lived in Europe in 1900? What were some of the false alarms about overpopulation, such as the German concern about **lebensraum** and the Club of Rome report in 1972? Identify some reasons for the steady decline of birthrate all over Europe?
2. Apart from immigration, how much of a population decline is forecast for various countries by 2050 and beyond? Which parts of Europe will be hardest hit? What part does the aging (**overage**) of the native population play? The fertility rate of immigrant communities in France and Britain? What is Europe’s share of the world population projected to be by 2050? According to a UN report on **replacement migration**, how many immigrants does Europe need for the period between 1995 and 2050 to restore the age balance? Why does the immigrant population fail to meet Europe’s workforce needs?
3. When the welfare state was first introduced after WWII, how did the population structure differ from today? Even as life expectancy rises, what is likely to happen to social services? How do median age projections for Europe by 2050 differ from those of the

United States? What is apt to happen for Europe's military forces? [A Historical Note: Once Rome became an empire, its legions – and then its leaders – were increasingly filled from the conquered provinces].

4. What began happening to the family with the Generation of 1968 and attacks on it by the Frankfurt School (a school of cultural Marxism founded in the 1920s and associated with Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, *et al.*)? What sort of **natalist policies** have been introduced by various countries? Have they been successful?

Review

Europe in 1907	overpopulation fears	<i>lebensraum</i>
reasons for birthrate decline	overage	fertility rate of immigrants
replacement migration	Europe's workforce needs	median age projections
welfare state	decline of the family	Frankfurt School
natalist policies		

CHAPTER TWO: MIGRATIONS

Outline

- A. DEMOGRAPHY IGNORED UNTIL c. 2000 (33-36)
 1. Small Scale Migration Prior to WWI
 - a. Family name changes as a sign of assimilation
 2. Massive Scale of Migration after WWII
 - a. 1950s: Most newcomers were from inside Europe
 - b. 1960s: The next wave was due to the dissolution of empires
 - 1) **Guest workers** were expected to be temporary
 - 2) Oil Crisis, 1973
 - 3) Europe stopped issuing labor permits but the number of foreign workers did not decline
 - 4) **Reasons for the Increase:** large number of dependents, smuggling
 3. **Asylum Seekers**
 - a. "Economic Immigrants"
 - b. Islamists and terrorists
 - c. Criminal gangs
 4. Denial of Permits
 - a. Asylum seekers frequently destroyed their papers and were impossible to deport
 - b. **Schengen accord**, 1985: abolition of border controls
 5. Targets of Asylum Seekers
 - a. Decline after 2002 due to more stringent screening processes
- B. EMERGENCE OF MUSLIM COMMUNITIES (36-41)
 1. Historical Background
 - a. Population estimates
 2. Turkish Muslims
 3. North African Muslims
 4. British Muslims
 5. Sects: Sunnis, Shiites, Alawites, Admadiya, Sufis
 6. Mosques
 7. Orthodoxy Issue
 - a. Unfamiliarity of younger generation to understand sermons Arabic, Urdu,

- and Bengali
 - b. **Haj:** low attendance
 - c. Low religious observance
 - d. Militant mosques
 - e. Subcultures
- 8. **Distribution of Muslim Immigrants:** big cities, old industrial regions
- 9. Demographics: Large cohort of the under 25 population
 - a. Muslim population of Germany is expected to double in the next decade
- C. **PROBLEM WITH UNASSIMILATED YOUNG PEOPLE (41-49)**
 - 1. **Reasons Given for Their Revolt:** Poverty, Ghettoization, Inadequate Housing and Overcrowding, Unemployment, Lack of Education, Racial Prejudice
 - 2. **Housing Assistance**
 - 3. Paris Suburbs [*Banlieues*]
 - 4. Youth Unemployment
 - a. Lack of language skills
 - b. School controversies
 - 5. Success of Indian and Far Eastern Students
 - 6. Expectations of Failure Are Instilled in Young People
 - a. Influence of street gangs
 - 7. School
 - a. Streetwise pupils are adept at playing the race card
 - 8. Muslim Youth Culture
 - a. Hip-hop
 - 9. Street Gangs
 - 10. Rising Crime Rates
 - a. Assaults
 - b. Theft rates
 - c. Homicide rate
 - 11. Identity Issues
 - 12. Sexual repression: homosexuality, defacing walls, torching cars
 - 13. Reluctance to Accept Cultural Explanations: Cool-Pose Culture
- D. **FRANCE: ALGERIA TO PARIS (49-60)**
 - 1. Muslim Birth-Rate
 - 2. Secularism (***Laïcité***)
 - 3. Wave of Terrorism, 1994-1995: *beurs*, *beurettes*, **no-go zones**
 - 4. Reasons for Violence
 - 5. Success Stories
 - 6. French Policies: 4% of imams are French, Saudi financing of mosques
 - 7. Muslim Organizations: CFCM, UOIF (Sheikh Qaradawi, Al Taqwa Bank), FNMF
 - 8. Religiosity
 - 9. Failure to Integrate: molestation of Jewish pupils in school
 - 10. **Hijab** Issue
 - 11. 2005 Riots in Clichy-sous-Bois
 - a. **Nicolas Sarkozy:** "positive discrimination"
 - 12. Demographics of the Rioters: most gangs were not religiously motivated
 - a. Drug dealers
 - b. Emergence of dangerous classes [cf. Edward Banfield's lower-class]
 - 13. Racism
 - 14. Cultural Assimilation
 - a. Persistence of forced marriages and female circumcision
- E. **GERMANY: EASTERN ANATOLIA TO BERLIN**
 - 1. Demographics
 - 2. Integration Initiatives
 - a. Emergence of a parallel society
 - 3. Origins of the Immigrants
 - 4. Schools

5. Urge to Maintain Their Otherness
6. Turkish Fundamentalists
 - a. Necmettin Erbakan
 - b. Cemeleddin Kaplan's **Khalifat** group
 - c. **Recep Tayyip Erdoğan** [Turkish president, 2007-]
 - d. *Valley of the Wolves: Iraq* [anti-American film]
 - e. Kaplan's Deportation
 - f. Milli Goerues
 - g. DITIB
7. Failure to Integrate
 - a. Christian outreach
8. Islamists
9. Social Pressure
 - a. **Honor killings**
10. Women: Forced Marriages
11. Distrust
- F. UNITED KINGDOM: BANGLADESH TO THE EAST END
 1. Demographics
 2. Origins of the Immigrants
 3. Sources of Anger
 4. Lower Professional Qualifications
 5. Separation
 6. **Race Relations Act of 1976**
 7. Loyalty and Cohesiveness
 8. Political Organizations
 - a. **Muslim Council of Britain** {MCB}: **Iqbal Sacranie**
 - b. Socialist Workers Party (SWP): **Ken Livingston**
 - c. British Muslim Forum (BMF)
 9. Radical Initiatives
 10. Hizb al Tahrir
 - a. Clare Short [notorious for being a political loose cannon]
 - b. Finsbury Park mosque
 11. British Attitude of Benign Neglect
 - a. "War of Civilizations" demonstrations, 2006
- G. MUSLIM IMMIGRATION INTO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (76-79)
 1. Italy and Spain as Transit Points
 2. Areas of Concentration: Milan, Varese, Cremona, Turin, Catalonia, Malmö, Brussels
 3. Use of Services and Crime Rate
 4. Aggressive Behavior in the Streets
 5. **High Price of Humanitarian Intentions**
- H. ISLAMOPHOBIA AND DISCRIMINATION (79-88)
 1. 1998
 2. No European Collective Psychosis
 3. Escalation of Terrorism
 4. Attacks
 - a. Paki bashing
 - b. Verbal abuse
 5. Absence of Statistics
 6. Muslim Immigrant Complaints
 7. Manipulation of the Social Safety Net by Social Workers
 8. Pockets of Poverty
 9. Failure of Authorities
 10. Condescension (disrespect)
 11. *Taqi'a* (Pretending)
- I. EURO ISLAM AND TARIQ RAMADAN (88-95)

1. **Tariq Ramadan**
2. **Hudud** Controversy
 - a. Unwillingness to dissociate himself from the stoning of adulterers
3. Ramadan's Limitations as a Reformer
4. Liberal Islam
 - a. **Reform Islam** is weaker in Europe than in some Muslim countries
5. Emancipation of Women
- J. ISLAMIST VIOLENCE IN EUROPE (95-104)
 1. History of Terrorism
 2. Europe Was Not an Obvious Choice for Terrorism
 3. Italy as a Transit Point
 - a. Milan's two Islamist mosques
 4. Competition between **Salafis** and the **Tabligh**
 5. Degree of Outside Direction and Coordination
 6. Muslim Networks
 - a. Recruitment
 7. Motives
 - a. Insufficiency of social and economic factors
 - b. Political-psychological factors
 - c. **Mixture of Motives**
 8. Turks and Nigerians
 9. Indiscriminate Immigration
 - a. Europe as a giant safe house for terrorists
 - b. Terrorist cells in Madrid, Turin, Milan, Frankfurt, Rotterdam, Eindhoven
 10. Acquittal of Militants
 11. Asymmetric Warfare on the Law
 12. Difficulty of Deportation and Extradition
 13. Naïveté
 - a. Bad conscience
 - b. Beggar thy neighbor principle
 14. Little Help from Muslim Communities
- K. MOST CRITICAL ISSUE
 1. Comparison of Islamism with Fascism
 2. **Hizb al Tahrir**
 - a. Aim: Restoration of the **Caliphate**
 3. Spontaneous Violence

Review

guest workers	reasons for immigrant increase	asylum seekers
Schengen accord	<i>haj</i>	Muslim immigrant distribution
revolt of unassimilated youth	housing assistance	<i>laïcité</i>
no-go zones	<i>hijab</i>	Nicolas Sarkozy
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	honor killings	Race Relations Act of 1976
high price of humanitarian intentions		Tariq Ramadan
<i>hudud</i> controversy	mixed motives of terrorists	Hizb al Tahrir
Khalifat (Caliphate)		

CHAPTER THREE: THE LONG ROAD TO EUROPEAN UNITY

Outline

- A. MOVEMENT TOWARD GREATER COLLABORATION (107-13)
 1. Political Change Since WWII
 - a. Uncertain Prospects of a United Europe
 2. Development of the Idea of Europe
 - a. 17C
 - b. **Giuseppe Mazzini's** Young Europe and **Victor Hugo's** United States of Europe
 - c. Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi
 - d. **Aristide Briand** and **Gustav Stresemann**
 - e. Both Left and Right were opposed to the idea
 3. Obstacles
 4. Postwar Impetus
 - a. **Jean Monnet**
 - b. Outside help: [Marshall Plan] and Comecon
 5. ECSC and NATO
 6. Movement toward a Common Market
 - a. DeGaulle Blocked Entry of Britain
 - b. Council of Europe
 - c. Euratom
 - d. Maastricht
 7. Complaints
 - a. Smaller countries
 - b. Euro
 8. Europessimism
 - a. Customs
 - b. Visas
 - c. Unemployment
 9. Disapproval of U.S. Foreign Policy
 10. **Points of Contention** with the United States
 - a. Kyoto Protocol
 - b. International Court of Justice
 - c. Tariffs
 - d. Arab-Israeli conflict
- B. GROWING OPPOSITION (113-22)
 1. Declining Support for the EU
 - a. Criticism by Czech President Vaclav Klaus
 2. John Gillingham's Summary
 3. Earlier **Warning Signs**
 - a. 1993 Danish rejection of Maastricht
 - b. Narrow approval of French plebiscite in the early 1990s
 4. **Sources of Popular Discontent**
 - a. Opposition to own governments
 - b. Reluctance to hand over sovereignty
 - c. Uneven benefits
 5. Economics Does Not Explain French and Dutch Opposition
 6. Diminished Popularity of Governments
 - a. **European model** (welfare state)
 - b. Need for reforms and cuts
 - c. No sense of urgency drives the process of unification
 7. Success of the Common Market
 - a. There was no necessity for surrendering sovereign rights
 - b. But the elites were unaware of the popular mood
 8. Elites Decided at Maastricht on a **Common Foreign and Security Policy** (CFSP)
 - a. Saint-Malo declaration
 - b. Balkan crises

- c. Amsterdam Summit, 1997
 - d. Meetings in Helsinki and Nice
- 9. **Reasons** for the Failure to Establish a Common Foreign and Domestic Policy
 - a. Too many bodies involved in the elaboration and implementation of CFSP
 - b. Lack of unanimity: three main factions
 - c. Lack of political will to create a substantial military force
 - d. Reduction of military spending
- 10. **Fundamental Differences of Approach** between America and Europe
 - a. **Robert Kagan** on European attitudes: "reduced status"
 - b. Vision of a New World Order of peace
 - c. Europe's Reliance on American Military Help
- 11. Does the Future Belong to European Soft Power?
 - a. A rationalization of weakness?
 - b. The power of wishful thinking
 - c. Assumption that America's aggressive foreign policy is bound to fail
 - d. A world view oblivious to the spread of nuclear weapons and other harsh realities
- 12. The Mainsprings and Motives of This World View Remain a Mystery
 - a. Theory builders had a heyday but the concerns of real people were ignored
- 13. **Constitutional Crises**
 - a. Rejection of the constitution
 - b. The Turkish question
 - c. Sources of opposition
 - d. Support taken for granted

Review

Giuseppe Mazzini	Victor Hugo	Aristide Briand
Gustav Stresemann	Jean Monnet	points of contention with the US
warning signs of opposition	sources of popular discontent	European model
reasons for failure of CFSP	fundamental differences of approach between US and Europe	
Robert Kagan	constitutional crises	

CHAPTER FOUR: THE TROUBLE WITH THE WELFARE STATE

Outline

- A. GREAT CRISES FREQUENTLY COME AS A SURPRISE (123-35)
 - 1. Optimistic Forecasts in the 1970s
 - 2. American Academics and Think Tank Experts on the European Century
 - 3. Earlier Domsayers
 - a. France as a spent force after 1871 and subsequent recovery
 - b. **Oswald Spengler**: *Decline of the West*
 - c. Jean-Paul Sartre
 - 4. Illusion of Europe as a Civilian Superpower
 - 5. When Should the **Alarm** Have Been Sounded?
 - a. Oil Crisis of 1973
 - b. Stagflation of the 1980s
 - c. Slump of 1992-1994
 - d. Rising unemployment

6. Conflicting Views
7. Pessimism
 - a. **Robert Samuelson** on birthrates
 - b. **Fareed Zakaria** on the OECD Report
 - c. Necessary reform postponed
 - d. Decline in higher education and scientific research
8. T. R. Reid's Impressions
9. Rebuttal by Bruce Bawer and Jochen Buchsteiner
10. Europe's Achievements
11. Low Self-Esteem
12. Origins
 - a. **Otto von Bismarck**
 - b. **William Beveridge**
 - c. Definition of the **welfare state**
13. High Social Expenditure
14. Achievements of the System
 - a. Abuses
15. **Dependence on Substantial Economic Growth**
 - a. **Growing expense**
 - 1) Expense of more pension
 - 2) Medical Services
 - 3) Unemployment
 - 4) School funding
 - 5) Tax rate
16. Economic Slowdown
 - a. **Mancur Olson's** theory
 - b. Emergence of the East Asian **tiger states**
17. Economic Performance of China and India
18. **Edward Gibbon** on **slothful luxury**
19. **Declining Birthrate: Explanations**
- B. GERMANY (135-39)
 1. Pessimism
 2. Tendency to Overreact
 3. **Economic Difficulties**
 - a. Slow-motion society
 - b. Cost of German reunification
 - c. Price of oil
 4. **Causes of the Malaise**
 - a. Costs of production
 - b. Fewer working hours
 - c. Loss of many of the young, the more enterprising, the better educated
 5. **Agenda 2010: Gerhard Schroeder**
 - a. Peter Harz
 6. Angela Merkel
 - a. Recognition that the old model no longer works
 7. Reforms Are Easier to Carry Out in Smaller Countries
- C. FRANCE (139-42)
 1. Crisis of the 1970s Continues
 - a. Cynicism and pessimism
 2. Erratic Pace of History
 - a. Stagnation
 - b. **Dirigisme**
 - c. Very little **privatization**
 3. Mass Strikes
 4. **Large Public Sector**
 - a. Mass strikes of 1995-1996

5. Corporate Welfare System
 - a. Widespread aversion and distrust toward the private sector
 - b. Debt financing
 - c. **Aubry Laws**: 35 hour workweek
 - d. Retirement age raised
6. Tourism and the Economy
 - a. Annual growth rate
 - b. Industrial production
 - c. **Reduced productivity** in sheltered service industries
 - d. **Raymond Aron**: France seldom if ever reforms
- D. UNITED KINGDOM (142-44)
 1. Poor Productivity after WWII
 2. **Margaret Thatcher**
 - a. Defeat of the National Union of Mine Workers
 3. Economic Revival
 4. Golden Age of British Economic Development
 - a. OECD
 - b. **Energy self-sufficiency**: North Sea oil and coal reserves
 5. **Weaknesses**
 - a. Low savings rate, high personal indebtedness
 - b. Dependence on building boom, weakness of manufacturing
 - c. Need to cut public spending
 - d. Political feasibility issue: need to restore competition in labor and product market, improving terms of trade, flexibility of monetary policy, etc.
 7. Euroscepticism
- E. ITALY AND SPAIN
 1. Spain's Rapid Progress
 - a. Reduction in unemployment
 - b. Support of neo-Gaullist policy
 - c. Need to reduce pensions for the aged
 2. Italy
 - a. Low growth rate
 - b. Luxury goods and tourism
 - c. Black market sector
 - d. Blaming outside factors
- F. PROSPECTS FOR MUDDLING THROUGH (146-48)
 1. A Slow, Gradual Decline Is More Likely Than a Major Collapse
 2. Advantage of Smaller Countries
 3. **Basic Problems**
 - a. Financial debts
 - b. Low domestic demand
 - c. Fuel prices
 - d. Interdependence
 4. Political Consequences

Review

Oswald Spengler	sounding the alarm	Robert Samuelson
Fareed Zakaria	welfare state	dependence on growth
growing expense	Mancur Olson	Edward Gibbon
declining birthrate	economic difficulties	causes of the malaise
Agenda 2010	<i>dirigisme</i>	privatization
large public sector	Aubry Law	reduced productivity
Raymond Aron	Margaret Thatcher	energy near self-sufficiency
British weaknesses	basic problems	

CHAPTER FIVE: RUSSIA: A FALSE DAWN?

Study Questions

1. What are public attitudes about **Josef Stalin**? Why? What makes it difficult to define the political character of Russia today? Who are the **siloviki**? How does Russia today resemble Germany after WWI? Why should it have been clear even in the 1970s that the Soviet system did not work well? What was **Mikhail Gorbachev**'s error? What did **Boris Yeltsin** bring? What service did **Vladimir Putin**, former head of the FSB, perform for Yeltsin before he stepped down? What circumstances have favored Putin and contributed to his popularity?
2. Even as Moscow has become a boom town, what has happened in the Russian countryside, especially in Siberia? How has Putin dealt with the billionaire oligarchs? What sort of political party is Unity [also called One Russia]? What are some of Putin's foreign policy initiatives? What kind of demographic pressure does Russia face?
3. Why makes Europe's oil dependence particularly dangerous to France and Germany? Does Russia harbor any **irredentist** [claims to outlying territory as Italy did after unification: *Italia irredenta*] ambitions? What is the state of affairs in the Caucasus? What is the state of Russian relations in the Middle East? What are the trends with respect to the Muslim population of Russia? What has happened with the Communists? What has been the ideological character of right-wing groups such as Pamyat and the Eurasians? What role has **Aleksander Dugin** played?
4. What are the prospects for Russia's return to superpower status? What is lacking? How well is the demographic problem recognized? What is the government doing about it?

Review

Josef Stalin	siloviki	Mikhail Gorbachev
Boris Yeltsin	chaotic privatization	Vladimir Putin
Russian demographic trends	oligarchs	Putin on oil and gas
irredentist claims	Aleksander Dugin	

CHAPTER SIX: THE FAILURE OF INTEGRATION, AND EUROPE'S FUTURE

Study Questions

1. **What Went Wrong?** What have been the historical effects of migration on nations? What has been the plight of ethnic minorities in an age of aggressive nationalism? What has worked against assimilation? What factors and forces account for the wave of immigration? Who initiated it? What was the effect of social **permissiveness** and **moral relativism** on the immigrants? Why is the immigration problem contributing to the end of Europe as a major player in world politics? What makes the European economy especially vulnerable?
2. **Europe: What Remains?** What are some of the demographic problems? How many jobs are needed in North Africa and the Middle East in the next ten years? Why is it

- difficult for Europe to attract labor from other areas? Is a rise in European birth rates very likely?
3. **The Future of Muslim Europe: United Kingdom** Who do the British tend to blame when ethnic relations are bad? What are some of the issues that have led to white demoralization in the East End? What has been the effect of **multiculturalism**?
 4. **The Future of Muslim Europe: France** How does French policy differ from that of Britain? How does the rate of mixed marriages compare?
 5. **The Future of Muslim Europe: Germany** What are some of the characteristics of the underclass? How do Turks in Germany differ from those in Turkey? Why has it been especially difficult for Germany to absorb Turkish immigrants? What is required for progress?
 6. **Spain** Did the legalization of immigrants in Spain help relieve the pressure?
 7. **Dreaming of a United Europe** What made Europe's political weakness starkly evident?
 8. **Salvaging the Welfare State** What is happening to welfare state costs and benefits? What is the generational problem for which there is no answer?
 9. **Toward Binational States?** What kind of immigrant is needed in Europe? What might happen when minorities outnumber natives? Are Muslim communities likely to be united? What evidence does Laqueur provide when he says: "As Muslims face the temptations of Western societies, this process of cultural and political assimilation is inevitable" (p. 210)? Why are street gangs more likely found in Europe than in the authoritarian regimes back home? How is political accommodation likely to develop? What happened in the case of **Hirsi Ali**? What role is likely to be played by **taqi'a**? Why is classroom discipline so important? How well is the second generation doing? Is **tolerance** likely to succeed?
 10. **Turkey to the Rescue?** Why are both Europe and Turkey skeptical about each other? What is the general picture of Europe today?

Review

reasons for immigration	permissiveness	moral relativism
employment issues	white demoralization	multiculturalism
integration and assimilation	mixed marriages	Turkish underclass
Spain's legalization of immigrants		Balkan wars
welfare state costs/benefits	generational problem	binational states
Hirsi Ali	<i>taqi'a</i>	tolerance