



# Migrated War

Military, security,  
humanistic ideologies  
and anti-migration policies

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and anti-migration policies**

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## Preface to “Migrated War”

**m**igration -or more accurately its control and repression- has consistently been a critical agenda of the powers worldwide, from the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe to the borders of the US and Mexico or those of Australia. On one hand, the main causes that force millions of people annually to move (war, impoverishment, environmental plundering, social and ideological exclusions based on gender, race, class, religion) lie at the core of the existence and ruling power of state-capital-patriarchy, while on the other hand in the current period the intensity of all these causes is far from being diminished. On the contrary, from the war in Ukraine and the state/capitalist plundering of humans and the environment, to the continual economic, health, climate, food and systemic “crises”, these causes are becoming normalized in the everyday life even of the previously “safe” developed states and economies. On such a basis, “Fortress Europe”, this indispensable state and capitalist structure of death-politics, racism and social/class exclusions or discrimination against migrants, manages to consolidate itself materially and ideologically through its so-called “migrant crises”, with the most recent of them having started to manifest itself about a decade ago. Bringing back into european “normality” much of what had been carefully hidden under its carpet after WWII: the cynicism of military campism, institutional racism, racial “superiority”, religious discrimination, mass murders and the legal distinction of people living and working in the same place into multiple categorizations (starting with the distinction between migrants and refugees and continuing to that of refugees and citizens, etc.).

In the middle of the previous decade, more and more people were heading towards the european mainland rather than the nearby Asian or African regions of their respective places of origin. The island of Lesbos (the largest island on the northeastern border of the greek and turkish states) became the main passage for hundreds of thousands of migrants in order to enter the wider european region. Lesbos and more generally the sea and the islands of the eastern Aegean, that combined in a condensed way both the "non-place" of borders and camps as well as a miniature of the "urban field" of the western states, including an international movement for tourism, became the model and the field for the new anti-migration strategy of Fortress Europe and the greek state, carried out by Frontex, the greek army, but also an -initially innumerable, later more limited- cohort of "Non-Governmental" Organizations, which emerged to a large extent as helpers and institutional complement to the "Governmental Organizations", participating deservedly in the oppression, exploitation, blackmail and control of migrants.

In this context, the ideological and repressive arsenal of this politics strengthened and enriched itself with new and old equipment, mainly drawn from military manuals and military-police security doctrines: closure and militarization of sea and land borders, new administrative structures of state and transnational border guards or armies, technological renewal of means of repression and surveillance (e.g. drones, information systems for detection and recording -now with artificial intelligence functions- interconnection and expansion of databases, etc.), deliberate mass murders of migrants -mainly in the Mediterranean- dubbed "tragic accidents", the operation of detention centers and concentration/internment and

control camps, bilateral anti-migration and economic agreements with non-european states to strengthen the death policies outside Europe, class/gender oppression, exploitation and division of useful "labor hands", exclusion/marginalization or forcible displacement of "surplus" people, criminalization and intolerance on the basis of color, religion, patriarchal categorizations and "white supremacy", rhetoric of "endangerment" and policies of "state of emergency". And all of the above, based on a humanitarian ideology which, like its peace counterpart, appears from neutral to opposed to chauvinism, nationalism and war, while in reality it is a precondition for their continuation and perpetuation.

On the other hand, the solidarity and social/class grassroots resistances against the anti-migration policies formed multiple and different fields of resistance, meetings, mutual aid, self-organization and common struggles of locals and migrants against all kinds of institutions and mediation. A series of joint assemblies, marches, clashes with repression, squats of housing, squats of ports or squares, collective kitchens and celebrations, gift collections and sharing of essentials and many other actions of solidarity, many of them spontaneous and unseen, spread throughout the country, including Lesvos, either in residential areas or near the places of migrants' internment. At the same time, many anarchist and anti-authoritarian assemblies throughout the country have had more or less a sustained action, discourse and engagement -at local and central level- against the state/capitalist management of migrants and its "institutional humanitarianism". In this context, Musaferat group against Detention Centers (Lesvos) and the Initiative for Total Army Objection (Athens) intersected with common discourse and actions, as well as with

an inter-collective publication named "Populations on Target", published in print and on the web in June of 2016.

Several years later, the content of this publication remains consistently topical. The tears of "civilized Europe" and the greek state cannot manage to wash out their anti-migration policies, their participation in exploitation and wars in the "countries of origin", as well as the organizing of their subsequent anti-migration plans to this day. The "Hot Spots" in Lesvos and the other large islands of the eastern Aegean Sea gave way to the hellholes of the detention centers (with the main one in Moria, Mytilene), the murderous "push-backs" of the greek coast guard, the military armoring of the maritime borders in the warlike management, the repatriations, the expansion of the fences, the push-backs and the murders of migrants in Evros with the events of spring 2020 being the most characteristic ones, when the greek state and its army formalized the treatment of migrants as an "asymmetric enemy". At the same time, from the small plastic boats of migrants crossing relatively short distances in the Aegean Sea, the return of larger boats occurred (more people, miles and risks) crossing the Mediterranean. Unfortunately, the current publication is made under the burden of the group murdering of several hundred migrants by the greek state and the other european states in the sea area of Pylos, on Wednesday 14<sup>th</sup> of June 2023. The hundreds of murdered migrants of Lampedusa in 2013 were not the dissonance of "european civilisation" but the image of the future it held for "the damned of the earth" and the model of european anti-migration policy in the Mediterranean.

The current edition of "Migrated War"\* contains the english translation of the first two sections, out of totally

five, of "Populations on Target". The english translation was initiated and continued with the decisive contribution of comrades of the self-organized space of solidarity & rupture "Resalto" (Keratsini, Pireaus) and the translation/editing group "the ajanib project", with the final editing being completed by our collective. During these years, the english translation of the texts has helped us generally to communicate with non-greek speaking collectives and comrades as well as in the realization of non-greek speaking events: at the 10<sup>th</sup> Balkan Anarchist Bookfair in Ioannina in June 2016, at the library "Le Taslu" in the occupied ZAD area in northwest France in summer of 2017, as well as at the 16<sup>th</sup> Anarchist Book Meeting in Madrid in winter of 2018. The current printed edition is published on the occasion of the 15<sup>th</sup> Balkan Anarchist Bookfair in Ljubljana, in July of 2023.

The selection of the first two chapters for this translated edition -which focus on a more general view on militarism, war, migration, military doctrines, security ideologies and humanitarianism - is based on the fact that one of the two groups of the original edition, the Group against Detention Centers "Musaferat" (Lesvos), has discontinued its function. The other three sections edited and signed by Musaferat -which focus on the anti-migration policy of the greek state and the example of Lesvos- are in their own way as timely and important as the ones that are translated. Nevertheless, both in terms of content and of the cross-collective process that produced it at that time, we considered it disproportionate as much as unfeasible for us (politically, translationally, procedurally and, why not, emotionally) to unilaterally engage in the translation and publication of these sections without the comrades with whom we co-formed them. In the same context, the current edition bears a different title from the

original precisely because, despite the relative autonomy retained by its texts, only in a complete translation of all sections can the original title be retained.

In conclusion, as much as the interconnection of militarism and war with migration is a given, our solidarity and position alongside migrants, their struggles and revolts against death policies, internment, hostage-taking, exclusion, repression and exploitation by states, capital and patriarchy is equally a given. No matter how much the powers attempt to impose fear and futility, the social/class grassroots resistances and mutual aid will always open paths of emancipation against the superficial national-racial-religious divisions, against borders and armies, war and peace, against ideologies of security and risk, against any power/authority.

June 2023

Initiative for Total Army Objection (Athens)

*\* "Migration" and its subject "migrant" are defined in social/political terms, as opposed to "immigrant" which is defined in legal terms. For this reason, in the english translation we have chosen to use the term migrant rather than the term immigrant. The same term (migration) is used in the IT industry for moving data or programs from one system to another. The title "Migrated War" is chosen based on this concept of the term, highlighting the existence or transfer of war (ever more technologically advanced) on the bodies of migrants.*

## Preface to “Populations on Target”

**T**he story of the points of contact between Athens and Mytilene starts long ago enough, when both political groups of the current publication made the choice to build bridges between them in order to make the contents of their actions and refusals against authority and its individual manifestations, intersect. Although the groups seem to be “single thematic” – antimilitarism for the Initiative for Total Army Objection from Athens and struggle against detention centers for Musaferat from Lesbos – there is a common desire to confront the system that generates and nourishes oppression and exploitation within the context of economic and political organization produced by capitalism and the bourgeois state.

Guided by the process of building this resistance, against both militarism and anti-migration policies, our contact started in spring 2015, when it began to appear more clearly that the choice of the dominant groups concerning “the migration issue” would follow several bloody paths. It would also give particular emphasis to the increasing militarisation of the management of large populations, complying with the standards of the already initiated options for addressing social resistance and “internal enemies” in western societies, through modern security, repression and social control doctrines.

As a result of a fertile exchange of content, we met after May Day 2015 at Bineio Squat in Lesbos, expressing concerns about the military-police management of populations, using the example of migration and tracing self-organized, anti-institutional ways of resistance

and struggle against barbarism and militarism. By then, Lesvos had already had an enduring and often macabre experience of the war against migrants and constituted for a long time a passage to Europe for those who have been sent outside the borders of their land due to western plundering itself, by means of war or not. At that period, we were talking about "organized deaths" and hundreds of dead at the water graves of the Mediterranean, our analyses were shedding light to the dark future of incarceration in concentration camps as a choice made by the dominant groups for the "surplus" migrants, our estimates were highlighting the key role that armies were expected to play in controlling migrants' movement; but a year later, experience came to prove that no foreknowledge is as brutal as the events themselves, when produced by armies, nation-states and their borders.

During this past one year, state barbarism showed its "teeth" a lot of times, determined to stand relentless against border crossing by migrants who, in this way, challenge the core of the bourgeois civilization of the West. Fortress Europe showed once again its murderous arsenal, reconstituted itself without reserves and inflexibilities and entered a state of emergency in order to "preserve" the "democratic" ideals of "european civilization" from the advent of the "barbarians". With the usual tool of diffusion and magnification of fear in western metropolises, aiming at the elicitation of broader social consent against "jihadists/islamists/terrorists", but also with the appropriate background of the last attacks in Paris and Brussels, trench warfare has moved to Europe from Near and Middle East and Africa, zones

that have been paying for centuries the price of western atrocities on them. Armies in the streets of metropolises came once more to prove the obvious: that "peace" is an integral part of the military process.

In the canvas of this "peace", "humanism" was very easily incorporated, in relation to the irrevocably military/repressive management of the mass of migrant populations -in particular, of those that do not meet the standards for cheap labour in the service of capitalism. Migrants, as a "result" of battlefields, are once again caught in the vortex of international militaristic imperatives for their management, experiencing on their own skin the rawness of the false dilemma "humanism or barbarism", facing hermetically sealed borders, NATO and other military forces placed there for their deterrence.

Since last year, some things may have changed, but the policy of illegalizing migrants and the philosophy of extensive militarisation as a "necessity" to address the "threat from the East" remained the same. The present publication does not attempt another analysis of the famous "refugee crisis", that seemed to fall "from the sky down on our heads" over the past year, transforming not only the main political agenda and the human geography of the map of Greece, but also the map of resistance to this crisis. It pursues to open in public the debate about the results of this military/repressive management, to highlight what militarism really is, not as a deviant ideology of bourgeois civilization but as one of its structural parts, to track its institutional persistence to control and stifle sociopolitical resistance and reveal its ideological and material diffusion at the level of everyday life. To highlight the active role of the greek state in the

implementation and dissemination of security ideology and its crucial position-attitude in geopolitical rivalries. To critically evaluate the experience of the example of Lesbos and the NGOation of solidarity on the island –with very few exceptions of self-organised stances– and convey this critique to the fields where solidarity and dignity are being collectively fought for.

Currently, Lesbos is probably in a standby mode, without the experience of “migrant waves” that lasted from summer 2015 to February and March 2016, when Macedonian borders were shut down and the agreement between EU and Turkey was signed. However, the neoliberal recipe of the famous “revolving door”, that is the occasional opening and closing of the tap, still makes the island one of the most important passages to Europe, especially if the agreement between EU and Turkey collapses. During summer and autumn 2015, media eyes were turned to the beaches that demarcate the edge of Europe, but it was in the mainland that the sequel was about to unfold when the detention center of the island was to territorialize the philosophy of the state of exception, sometimes as an Authentication Center with “open gates” and sometimes as a Hot Spot incarcerating thousands of migrants.

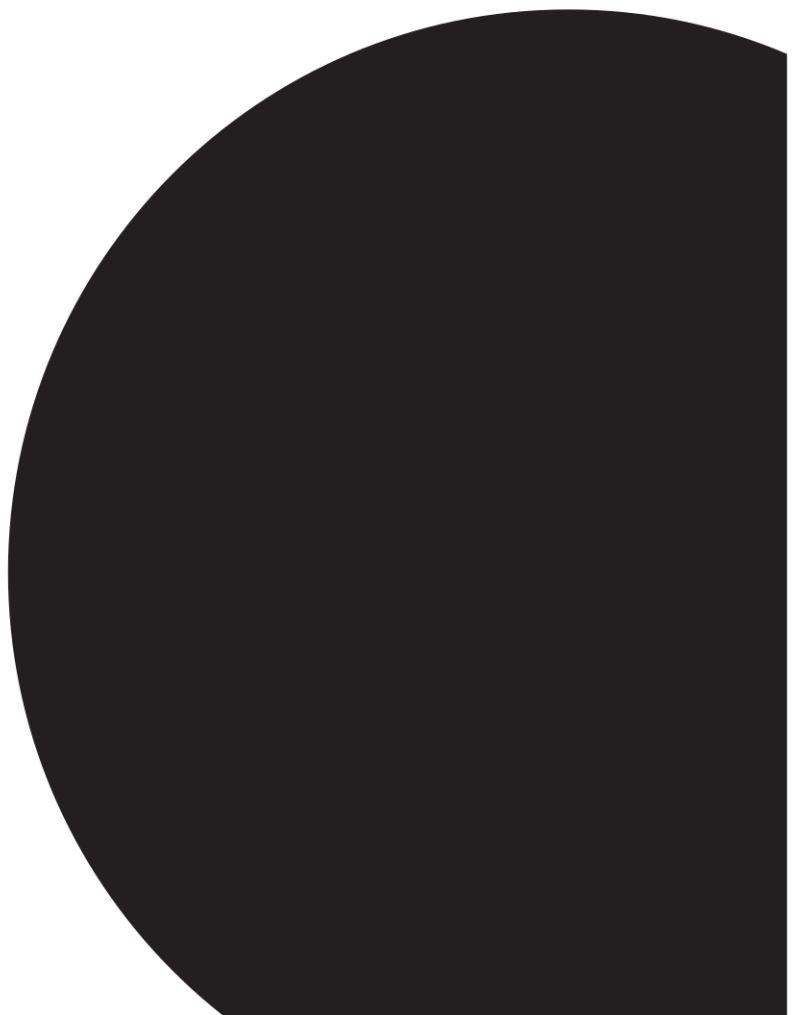
At the same time, the “refugee crisis” moved from the border areas to the parks and squares of Athens, to be confined later at detention centers-prisons in many areas of the greek territory under the watchful eye of the army personnel. A new normality has emerged into our lives: life in the barracks as a model of population management. Piraeus, Elaionas, Elliniko, Schisto, Malakasa, Skaramagas, Thessaloniki, Larissa, Lamia,

Karditsa, Volos. There –and elsewhere– “non-spaces” are set up, fences, internal borders and enclosures are demarcated, carrying humanism of the barracks to everyday life.

The brutality of the military-police management already produces its own spontaneous explosions, with dozens of big and small uprisings, protests, food abstentions and hunger strikes in most of these “infrastructures”(sic). Last year, we were thoughtfully tracing the possibility of common struggles against anti-migrant policies and militarism that pervades them, but now we are even more confident of our stance: **Standing by the migrants, consciously foreigners, against the culture of individualisation, of capitalist and state barbarism, nations and nationalism, borders and enclosures. In common struggles, until the destruction of the last military camp.**

June 2016

Initiative for Total Army Objection  
Group against Detention Centers, Musaferat



# Section 01

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(Initiative for total army objection)  
Militarism, War, Migration, Exception

## **Militarism: Crystalizing social divisions**

*"Many, Lorenzo, have held and still hold the opinion, that there is nothing which has less in common with another, and that is so dissimilar, as civilian life is from the military [...] But if they should consider the ancient institutions, they would not find matter more united, more in conformity, and which, of necessity, should be like to each other as much as these (civilian and military); for in all the arts that are established in a society for the sake of the common good of men, all those institutions created to (make people) live in fear of the laws and of God would be in vain, if their defense had not been provided for and which, if well arranged, will maintain not only these, but also those that are not well established. And so (on the contrary), good institutions without the help of the military are not much differently disordered than the habitation of a superb and regal palace, which, even though adorned with jewels and gold, if it is not roofed over will not have anything to protect it from the rain. And, if in any other institutions of a City and of a Republic every diligence is employed in keeping men loyal, peaceful, and full of the fear of God, it is doubled in the military; for in what man ought*

*the country look for greater loyalty than in that man who has to promise to die for it? In whom ought there to be a greater love of peace, than in him who can only be injured by war? In whom ought there to be a greater fear of God than in him who, undergoing infinite dangers every day, has more need for His aid? If these necessities in forming the life of the soldier are well considered, they are found to be praised by those who gave the laws to the Commanders and by those who were put in charge of military training, and followed and imitated with all diligence by others."*

Niccolo Machiavelli, "The Art of War", Florence  
1519 AD

**P**robably one of the greatest advantages of militarism is the fact that – despite being a universal and intertemporal ideology, materialized in forms of state organization of class divided societies – even today it is still being perceived and understood either in terms of tautology (for example "militarism are those things related to military life") or empiricism (i.e. "militarism corresponds to whatever is being experienced under a specific social, political and economic conjuncture"). This perception creates a false belief of what constitutes one of the most brutal and repressive versions of power relations.

Firstly, militarism is treated as something natural, something which exists rather inevitably in people's lives and not as the result of specific social, ideological and economic conditions (which are thus reversible or "destroyable"). Moreover, analysing it in terms of

tautology deprives us of any ability to understand its origin and penetration to social relations, starting from the wider understanding of each social status up to the more molecular/everyday affairs. From a critical point of view towards militarism, attaching it to authority, states and capital in a vague and general way also fails to deepen our understanding and thus does not allow us to confront and deconstruct it effectively. On the other hand, the empirical perception, which is –de facto– characterized by insufficient subjectivity, is totally unable to explain its universality, the different forms by which it is realized in different times or socio-political circumstances, as well as the fields of its reproduction which are not easily and/or primarily understood. Moreover, this kind of perception is commonly related to an inherently ideologized perception of social relations and power mechanisms, which limits the ability of understanding militarism historically. Finally, militarism may be attributed to a human metaphysical necessity or to a religious perception about the bad human nature. In this way, the dialectical and historical path of an authoritarian institution and its concomitant ideology acquires an essentialist and naturalized status, inseparably linked to human history. Of course, militarism is not the sole example. Similarly, patriarchy, religion and nation form corresponding explanatory impassable fields which hamper resistance against them<sup>01</sup> and establish their dominance.

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01. This point does not try to void the various – fruitful or not – attempts of the movements to analyze, resist to and deconstruct those institutions, but rather tries to point out the remarkably few steps that have been taken in the fields of social dispute and emancipation concerning such structural pillars of power relations.

According to various views, militarism is perceived in line with either the form in which it is more intensively concentrated (military uniform, green/khaki color etc.), or its institutional bodies and representatives (the military, its political leadership etc.), or even worse violence itself ("militarism is violence" or "every form of violence is militaristic by itself"). Thus, these kinds of views reproduce the dominant narratives about militarism and are unable to understand the emergence or development of militarism through time as an ideology, as an institution and as a repressive mechanism, in all its multiplicity of forms and contents.

The purpose of this publication is not attempting to reconstitute all the conceptions mentioned above, but rather the critically deepening on the current militarized version of the anti-migrant policy. However, it is rather impossible to convey contents and analysis when they are mediated by dominant perceptions, narratives, images and concepts. We approach militarism as a specific philosophy of organizing and systematizing violence<sup>02</sup> in hierarchical terms for the conquest, maintenance, enforcement or extension of political power (primarily of a state or a potential state power) within and in favor of a context of social segregations and divisions (economic, racial, gender etc.). As such, this philosophy can be

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02. This approach also derives from the rejection of a dominant ideological construct, the one that identifies violence with its militaristic version. The attributes of violence could range from emancipatory to manipulative/repressive depending on its actors, causes, means and contents. Militaristic violence does not support the emancipation of social relations, just as violence that liberates cannot exist as such in centralist and hierarchical terms, in a militaristic version.

ideologized and spread throughout society by the current power, ideological and repressive mechanisms either as a practice or as conduct of social relations. The main characteristics constituting militarism are: a) the culture of enforcement, predominance and extermination in physical and material terms, against anything defined as "enemy" or "other"; b) the focus and organization around the means provided for the accomplishment of a political/cultural/religious "holy cause", through which all social relations are mediated and defined; c) the model of cantonment as a social/political organization and condition (complete submission to hierarchy and acceptance of roles, uniformity, discipline, obedience, male gendered flattening etc.), which is strictly applied to a military community (like a military camp/canton) and is widely spread as conduct beyond this community.

The bourgeois state and its social contract, regardless of the philosophical current with which it can be examined, is structured around the concepts of violence (and its monopoly), domination and population management. Capitalism, as production, accumulation and destruction of capital through its brutal antagonism to labour, but mainly as a social relation, wouldn't be established as a global socio-political system without the parallel development of a corresponding philosophy of organization of violence as a mean of exercising, enforcing and preserving political power – or even as an end itself – within the economic/political context of enclosures and privatization. In this sense, militarism is neither an incongruous nor a supplementary and certainly nor a deviating ideology of bourgeois civilization; but rather one of its deeper essences, which what socially suggests (and what is materialized after all in camp life as a model of social organization) is in fact the universal

acceptance of separations and hierarchy as ordered by each and every authority, while at the same time it voids any partial or overall social process against it.

This is exactly the relation underlined five hundred years ago by Nicolo Machiavelli, the early theorist of bourgeois civilization and ambitious mentor of governance, when he directly matched the faithful accomplishment of a citizen's duties in a class divided state to the soldier's figure. Maybe the only thing that has dramatically changed is the character and the extent of the so called "state". And in this way, maybe we can see in a more complete way that the military boot in the revolutionary Spain of '36, the massacre at chinese area Nankin by the japanese army in 1937, the Auschwitz of the SS, the mass rapes of women in Berlin in 1945 (or in the Balkans during the 90s), the apartheid in South Africa, the marine who sets a village on fire in Vietnam, the nuclear tests that destroy oceans and their exotic islands, the hundreds of thousands of missing and murdered by military governments in Latin America, the army tanks at Tien An Men square against rebelling students, the suppression of the Los Angeles '92 riots, the use of chemical weapons in the struggling Gaza, the revolted Damascus or the falling apart Yugoslavia, the combat aircrafts that can demolish just in few minutes cities like Bagdad, Cairo's military dictatorship, thousands of dead migrants in Mexico's northern borders, in Lampedusa or in Pharmakonisi, as well as the drones which can perform "precise" murders (largely of civilians) in remote slopes at the mountains of Pakistan, all these cannot be considered as exceptions to an otherwise "civilised" and "symmetrical" politico/economic confrontation. They are indicative moments of how the world goes round. And to be precise, how states and capitalism go round.

## Dominant wars, dominant narratives

It would be really hard to understand the dialectic of war without the necessary refraction by the mayhem caused during the two World Wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which though characterized as “world wars” both mainly took place in a very limited European geography<sup>03</sup>. Approaches around these two wars focus on destructions caused in human, cultural, economic, and material terms; however, they do not pay proportionate attention to the causes and the heavy legacy that those wars left behind including the radical development of the war process itself. It is rather crucial to conceive this development of war –as a process of violent conflicts and as rearrangements in the context of competition among dominant powers<sup>04</sup>– in order to deconstruct the dominant narratives which generally attribute war to a series of political, religious and ideological fooleries: God’s will, bad leaders having more power than they should, the

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03. In the miserable light of statistics, according to the most recent data: WWI counts from 8.5 to 17 million of dead and about 20 million wounded, whereas WWII counts more than 60 million deaths, while certain studies report 80 million.

04. Not strictly for the purposes of this publication, but also as a general approach, we do not include the struggles for liberation as part of the war process, irrespectively of the violence that they may bear in each case. “Social/class war” constitutes the process of reversal, deconstruction and opposition against every concept of war, whereas, when it assumes proportions of violent social transformation within a liberating context, it constitutes a revolutionary and not a militaristic process.

“monster of communism” which has taken over half of the planet, “psychotic fundamentalist muslims” who will destroy the western world making sudden attacks out of “caves”, “americans/soviets/german killers of people”, “the bad side of capitalism” which does not allow the “healthy forces” to take the reins of the world, and most recently the “invasion” of the islamist-migrants, who came to colonize and mutate the white-masculine-christian DNA of western civilization.

In 1946, at the dawn of the postwar era, the U.S. military school lost no time in analyzing questions and innovations that emerged during World War II<sup>05</sup>. Political leadership, the Pentagon and military think tanks (most prominently Rand Corporation) financed by major capitalistic institutions (like the Ford Institute) also using the concurrent military-state course of the Soviet Union as counterbalance weight and deterrent that justified everything, formulated the new war doctrines which would shape the Cold War period<sup>06</sup> until 1989 (a period shamelessly advertised as “peaceful” by its major actors<sup>07</sup>). Apart from the intensification

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05. Of course, this is not disassociated but in close correlation with the ruling class and the political elites, according to the plans, the divisive declarations and the far-reaching expansionary visions of Truman, Marshall, Churchill and others.

06. During this period, the first application of “war via representatives” (proxy wars) was observed, which nowadays is one of the most widespread forms of war.

07. This ideological obsession can be brought down by a simple

of social/class antagonism, capitalists and political authority utilized an objective factor as criterion, that of global population rearrangement caused by capitalist development in the relationship between peripheries-metropolis<sup>08</sup>. The division of the planet in two big hostile camps, the strategy of “nuclear prevention” under the M.A.D. (Mutually Assured Destruction) doctrine, conducting war bloodbaths in undeveloped economies and states of the so called “Third World” – mainly in the form of civil conflicts (Greece, Korea, Vietnam etc.)- and the simultaneous shifting of repression paradigm in the cities –even of the most developed states– in a purely militaristic context; the above are probably the most basic breakthroughs that occurred, and which from the middle of the 70s and the inglorious end of the american intervention in Vietnam, were condensed under the R.M.A. (Revolution in Military Affairs) doctrine. As is known, when those “on the above” get inspired

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number citation (although greek territory experienced this cold war “peace” with thousands of dead and around 1 million displaced people in the civil war between 1946 and 1949): By the end of the WWII until 1984, 159 war conflicts have been conducted which till 1992 increased up to 180. Moreover, until 1992, as per “conservative” calculations, due to wars there have been 16 million of deaths and 50 million of injured, 60% out of which concerns civilians, in conflicts carried out off the borders of the western world. The West may well not have felt that misery in its territories; however, on a world scale, Cold War was particularly bloody.

08. In 1900 only 16% of the global population lived in cities, in 1950 almost 26%, in 2004 it reached 48% and in 2014 it reached 54% with clear increasing tendency.

by their “revolutions”, only human flesh smells (from those below). The large national armies which were the leading actors in the battlefields since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the conflicts between states with relatively similar/comparable power, are replaced by flexible, small, autonomous and effective armed forces, increasingly mercenary or private<sup>09</sup>. Armed forces that conduct less or more “preventive” wars and act as proxies for national governments or interstate formations against “terrorists” and “asymmetric threats” (regardless of whether they are presidents of states such as Saddam Hussein with his entire army or a small number of armed and decentralized groups/cells such as al-Qaeda<sup>10</sup>). The concept of “no-risk war”, of

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09. By the end of 2006, it was estimated that about 100,000 USA mercenaries were involved in the Iraq war, ten times more than those hired in the Gulf War at the beginning of the 90s. The increasing use of mercenary units in general is typical in the USA: during WWII, mercenaries constituted 10% of the US missions, in Vietnam 20%, in Iraq various studies mention even 50%, whereas in Afghanistan the percentage varies from 65% to 70%.

10. The ability of the “new enemy” to sow death is disproportionate or even completely incomparable to that of the nation-states. Even if we sum up all deaths caused worldwide by the actions of all the Islamic organizations in the last decades, still the numbers would most probably fall terribly short to those caused by the military process conducted by solely one western nation-state, like the one carried out in Iraq in 2003 under the label “Shock & Awe”. Even the USA-affiliated Iraqi government speaks of 104,000 to 223,000 dead civilians during the first three years of the war; obviously, those numbers are actually much higher.

spectacularizing conflicts<sup>11</sup>, of minimum possible losses, of “remotely committed murders” and “psychology of distance” –concept which is now being widely noticeable not only in conducting war with fighter aircrafts, but also in the growing development of technology concerning unmanned aircrafts (Unmanned Aerial Vehicle or drones)<sup>12</sup>– originates in the “revolutionary spirit” of the R.M.A. militarists during the Cold War and the foreseen prevalence of liberal democracy against the soviet counterpart.

The military-industrial complex was not exempted by such a policy of modernizing war affairs. On the

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11. The launching of war gaming and digitalization by the WWII veteran Ralph Baer, who is considered to be the “father” of video games, is also located in the beginning of the cold war period.

12. In a world scale, Pakistan is most probably the region with the most systematic application of target attacks with the use of drones by the US air forces and the CIA. From 2004 until 2014, there have been 370 strikes of “surgical precision” to not so transparent targets. The “surgical” results of modern technology count more than 3,000 dead people, 22% of which were civilians, less than 2% of the dead were targets of high importance and priority, whereas a veil of unknown militaristic criteria labels the rest as “effectives of the enemy”. Note that the vast majority of the operations, as well as of the dead, were carried out on Obama presidency (2008-2014) and not on that of the usual suspect Bush (2004-2008). In countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan and others with uncharted territories, deserts and hard-to-approach mountains, on the one hand it is difficult for armies to intrude and on the other their surface provides shelter for the haunted ones and the outlaws. Therefore, drones dynamically contribute in distance search and annihilation of targets–shelters–subjects.

contrary, it was financially supplied and did supply state militarism to such an extent that became one of the most profitable and high value sectors of the capitalist market, attracting investments and research innovations that many other industry sectors would envy. The same financial magnitudes prove the flourishing of the war industry from the beginning of the Cold War until our days and actually void the peaceful promises which are widely spread by the “developed” states after WWII. The member states of the newly established NATO in 1950 were sustaining a military economy market of more than 215 billion dollars, which in 1968 increased to 755 billion dollars, whereas in the year 1989, when the Wall fell, the size of this market exceeded the amount of 915 billion dollars. In 1990, 1.5 trillion dollars were spent worldwide in military equipment (including states non-members of NATO). Apart from a slight decrease in the 90s (mainly due to the financial collapse of one of the two military superpowers), during the 21<sup>st</sup> century spending on the military market has regained, once again exceeding the amount of 1.5 trillion dollars and keeping steadily this pace since then. On March 2016, an official study was published in accordance with which 2015 military expenses worldwide amount 1.676 trillion dollars, reasonably expected to rise in 2016.

## **Moving of populations: a century of continuous migration**

**T**he transformation on the concept, the philosophy and the conduct of war described above has two significant consequences. The first one concerns the relativization of war, which means that anyone can declare war in accordance with one's specific criteria and values, against whichever subject, activity or region is determined as threat<sup>13</sup>. However, as usual, the only one who can really declare war is solely the one who can also conduct it: a state, an army or a coalition of states (usually with the support of a well-equipped police directorate); in short, anyone who has the means to carry out something like that<sup>14</sup>. Thus, the distinction between "war" and "peace", that was attempted for years to be solidified by a common inter-sovereign code (most indicative cases of which are the Hague and Geneva Conventions and interstate institutions like the League of Nations and the United Nations) sounds now more like a short and grotesque joke. Nowadays, US government can just discover non-existent weapons of mass destruction in Iraq so as to justify the demolition of millions of people's lives; or an Israeli tank can turn its barrel against a 5-year-old boy in Palestine who points

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13. Thus, a series of euphemisms have flooded political and public life: from the war against drugs, to the war against criminality, poverty, cartels, famine in Third World, terrorism, migration etc.

14. This relativization is also adopted and applied by stateless or potential state entities, most recent and most typical example of which is the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

at it with a stone. At least, this state-capitalist system in its neo-liberal and globalized version is much more sincere than it used to be in the past: war is everywhere at every moment, while peace is part and parcel of the military process.

The second impact of the evolution of the war process concerns those subjects that bear its burden. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, wars were conducted among states without extensive rates of casualties, while fatalities concerned mainly those having been directly involved in battles<sup>15</sup>. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a gradual but emphatic reversal of the repercussions of war took place. Researches concerning WWI, a war of unprecedented brutality and annihilation until then, revealed that the percentage of the dead noncombatant civilians varies vaguely from 5% to 35%<sup>16</sup>. The rate of the dead noncombatants rose up to 66% in the WWII, whereas in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century it is estimated that 80-90% of people affected by war are noncombatants.

However, these “breakthroughs” are not just simple experiments in a test tube. They take place and interact

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15. Between 1819 and 1859, only 0.1% of world population was killed during war. From 1910 to 1950, this percentage raised to 2.1%, while during WWII it amounted 3% of back then contemporary world population.

16. This wide range is due on the one hand to the objective difficulties to carry out statistical records in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and, on the other, to the stricter or more flexible counting criteria since certain studies include in dead civilians all deaths caused by illnesses, the Armenians’ slaughter and all the missing ones of that period.

with an extremely dynamic political and economic context where divisions, enforcements and sovereign violence are (re)produced. Capitalist development from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards has not just rearranged patriarchy, land and trade by brutally suppressing women, enclosing land and promoting private life. At the same time, but mainly after the creation of nation states, it generally rearranged people's communities transforming them progressively, and until our days, to populations which are more and more national, urbanized and metropolitan. People moved from the rural lands of feudalism to the industrialized urban centers forming at the same time their consciousness within the rigidly fortified geographical context set by the borders of the nation state. The new state model of the 19<sup>th</sup> century began to mold homogenous populations in terms of language, culture, religion etc. mainly through its ideological mechanisms (education, church, media, army etc.). Thus, inside nation states, populations were gradually formed that either were reluctant or were unable to be integrated to the models of the new era and at the same time to the new institutions (of labor, education, culture etc.). Such populations, widely known today as "minorities", apart from being a real pain in the neck of the nation states, also constituted a fixed factor that helped one to differentiate between the "familiar" and the "unfamiliar" or the "foreign", simultaneously providing a factor of consistency for the national identity in order for the latter to be established. Every nation formed its consciousness by negatively differentiating itself from its minorities<sup>17</sup>.

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17. Nations and nationalisms, as concepts and dominant ideologies, are derivatives of the transformation of the state in accordance with

However, since the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, various factors brought forward certain limits regarding the co-existence of nationally uniform populations and minorities. The developing course of German ethnic statism based on blood and culture (and not on political convention as it was defined by French nationalism which first introduced the nation-state model in Europe), the final collapse of the Austrian-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman old empires, the industrialization and the galloping taylorism/fordism which claimed the greatest possible –and nationally uniformed– massification of the labor workforce, the social groups that began to be classified as “surplus populations” by the dominants because they could not be used for their financial, political and cultural purposes; all these were basic factors which formed a series of horrible forced uprooting, displacements and annihilation of populations that did not “fit” in state territories of the time. So, while the great moves of people usually stemmed from the need for a better life<sup>18</sup>, since the end of the World War I the concept and the causes of migration both changed radically. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the constitution of the Turkish nation-state meant the displacement of 700 thousand

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bourgeois standards, rather than humans’ eternal fate just as they love to declare themselves. Being such historical constructions, they are established and socially integrated following the particularities of every sociopolitical conjuncture, but always in favor of the hegemony of the state.

18. By 1921, 55-60 million people had migrated from Europe to America.

Armenians, apart from the slaughtering of hundreds of thousands of others<sup>19</sup>. At the same time, both in Russia of tsarism and in the first years of the Soviet Union, there were 14 million dead civilians by non-natural causes and 5 million dead due to the famine of 1921-22. In that way, 20,000 refugees per day passed from Omsk heading east and 7 million orphan children wandered in the vast russian territory, while another 1.5 million belarussians were displaced. Maybe the most basic institutional change took place in 1923, when the turkish and the greek state signed the Treaty of Lausanne, which came to make mass displacements official and legitimate. The aforementioned treaty included an exchange of 1.2 million greek-speaking and turkish-speaking christians to the greek state and half a million greek-speaking and turkish-speaking muslims to the turkish state, based on religious criteria (and not linguistic ones, let alone their subjects' free choice)<sup>20</sup>.

As mentioned before, during WWII the great reversal of the burden of war upon the civilians took place. Between

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19. The murders of thousands of greeks mainly in Asia Minor is not withheld due to some kind of anti-nationalist awkwardness, but they are singled out due to not only the existence of an almost centenarian greek state (as opposed to the lack of an Armenian one) but also because of the previous war campaign of the greek army, which reached the depths of the turkish state –with the equivalent slaughtering and destructions caused by the greeks– and failed followed by turkish nation-state retaliations.

20. In the list of displacements of that time, 500,000 bulgarians and hundreds thousands of germans, hungarians and romanians are also included.

1939 and 1948, almost 90 million people were either killed or displaced because of the war, with 46 million of them just in Eastern Europe. After the end of WWII, 11 million displaced people were identified, ten times more than those after WWI, although in Europe after the war 10 to 15 million people migrated. Cold War caused millions of deaths and displacements mostly by civil conflicts; referring to them exhaustively is not the purpose of this publication. From 1983 until 1993, 1.5 million children were killed internationally because of wars and 5 million children were injured. Another 5 million children became refugees, according to official studies, and 12 million children were displaced. Finally, as part of the national cleansings which led to the collapse of the former Yugoslavia, more than 2 million people abandoned their land, while those who were temporarily displaced and later came back to the place of their origin were much more.

All the above do not claim to be a total record on the matter (for which it would take a whole publication) but the schematic of a general rule of deaths, brutality and displacements, included in state/capitalist development. A rule tagged by the dominants as an exception every time it marks its presence. Migration in itself is not exclusively caused by the process of war (which, nevertheless, contributes a great deal to the enlargement of the former since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) but also by various other social/political/financial/environmental factors. It is a perpetual social condition, continually intensified for many decades now, which today corresponds to 3.2% of the world population. Nowadays, from 2000 to 2015, international migration –regardless of particular causes and conditions– has increased from 173 million people to 244 million according to a recent study of the U.N.

Beyond this general situation, the extension (almost in terms of trade export) of capitalism, nation-statism or even liberal democracy to many areas of Asia and Africa, to communities where geographically, culturally, historically, financially and politically do not follow the western bourgeois worldview, could only cause new, hybrid war zones with the analogous results and numerous moves of people either internally or towards the West<sup>21</sup>. Exactly as it used to be the case in the past, when state and capitalist antagonism took place with great tension in Europe. According to the official data of the UNHCR for 2015, those displaced internationally are way more than 60 million, and growing steadily in number in the last years. The greatest part of them is the Internal Displaced People (IDP – officially defined by this term), while migrants who move across borders because of war (officially defined as refugees) have been calculated by the UN to 19.5 million for 2014, while for 2015 the respective migrants who are under the aegis of the UNHCR rise to 15 million.

It has already been mentioned that today, for the first time in human history, a “human without identity” (and mostly a human “without nation-state identity”), who up until recently was considered by certain literary figures

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21. As Hobsbawm mentions in one of his essays: “...the 15-day war between India and Pakistan for the independence of Bangladesh in 1971 was a small matter, but it created 10 million refugees. The battles among armed units in Africa in the 90s barely involved some thousands of fighters, usually inadequately armed, however they created, in their peak, almost seven million refugees – much more than any moment of the Cold War, when the black continent was the stage of wars “through representatives” among the great powers”.

and thinkers to be a blessing, is probably the worst curse. In a world of borders, nation-states and trade flows, like our world today, the movement of people is everything but free. In the capitalist world, if the existence and the movement of a person “without papers” within the territory of a state is mainly characterized to be a danger and security breach, the movement of a person “without papers” from one state to another can range to be from prohibited to a “*sui generis*” crime<sup>22</sup>. Borders are not simply part of a spatial planning that would typically demarcate state power, but also a materiality that condenses and symbolizes a series of dominant

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22. Free movement in the capitalist world is subject to the political goals and the historical conditions within which capitalist states are to function each time. National territory, its accessibility by “foreigners”, their possibility –and the way– to stay there change from place to place and from era to era. If we take USA as an example, since their constitution, they allowed the free movement and settling of people in their territory without the obligation of demonstrating legal papers. Since 1882 (with the Chinese Exclusion Act), a period of strict limitations to migration of specific populations (chinese, mexicans) begins, which also includes qualitative limitations on others (of european origin). With the increase of the demand for workforce after WWII, we enter again a period of vast and lenient inflow of migrants (with the so called “Bracero program”), during which the immediate legalization of entering and settling down in the territory of the USA was the rule. Finally, since 1955, a period of change in the migration policies of the capitalist states begins, with the latter experimenting upon various forms of making migrants illegal/legal. An experiment which ends in what turned out to be called the “revolving door strategy” in international bibliography. This strategy comprises of two controversial (at first sight) functions on the part of the capitalist state: a) (legally) the total prohibition of entrance, b) (practically) the control and exploitation of the illegalization of migrant “flows”.

meanings and premises that constitute nation-state societies: nation and its ideology; its political self-determination; social separation not only as *modus operandi* but also as *modus vivendi*; power of the law and the state etc. Borders are limits and without them a social organization based upon the constitutionalizing of separations in every aspect of social/daily life would have its foundations shaken. Therefore, free movement of many people from one place to another, not to mention from one state to another, not only upsets the guardians of bourgeois legality, but also makes for a radical questioning of the nucleus of bourgeois civilization. A civilization that considers totally normal to force a human being to endure a certain, unjust, violent, painful and undesirable death during a war confrontation which he/she never chose; and, on the other hand, a civilization that pompously pronounces the apocalypse about the "end of the world" when a human tries to pass a river, a sea or a hill –which act as a fence and carry the meaning of a "border"– without showing the specific state papers to armed guards.

To conclude, the massive and continually increasing movement of people due to the war process is already a centenarian condition that is caused by state/capitalist plundering itself. However, a linear and a one-way connection of migration to war would be wrong, presented as the exclusive result of the choices of "those above". Migration still goes on as a dynamic action – even under the most forced and harsh conditions that limit not only the space but also the sense of "choices"– of people who turn to it, questioning states, borders and armies. And as usual, the active subjects that take action against the commands of authority are persistently on its target, especially when that takes place in destabilized

situations which are out of control. So far for dominance, the exact consciousness of migrants themselves of their action (which is derived more from their will to survive and not always from political and ideological motives) is not so important as the very action itself.

Bourgeois civilization does not oppose free movement just because it questions state borders, but also because of the role that those who move play in the social/class antagonism in the mainland. If the bourgeois state classifies communities according to capitalist needs and goals, free movement of people causes uncontrollable rearrangements of social and labor relations. Whether those rearrangements intensify social/class exploitation or not, mainly depends upon the restoration of control and the concomitant oppression of that movement, by the state and the capitalists<sup>23</sup>.

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23. For example, 1.5 million refugees of Asia Minor in the '20s forever reshaped social/class antagonism in the greek territory, with beneficial results for capitalist industrialization; at the same time, they strengthened social and class resistance. State and military control of this movement, emphatic on the one hand but full of gaps on the other, allowed for emancipatory social processes to prosper to a greater extent than ruling class and political leadership would desire at that time. It took bloody decades of oppression, integration and a parallel radical reshaping of the urban architecture and planning of public spaces and neighborhoods in order to extinguish the problems of dominance which were caused by this movement.

## Exception and emergency, security state and militarism

**B**eing born, a human being is identified with its nationality and as a consequence with its political status which, outside a nation-state “belonging” context is abrogated or rather “excepted”<sup>24</sup>. In this framework, it is clear that a person or a social group which does not belong to the “nation” of the territory in which they move and do not hold certain documents to justify their presence there (some sort of visa or green card), they are immediately considered outlaws or “excepted” both legally and socially. The roots of biopolitics lie in the foundations of the nation-state perception and capitalism.

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24. The idea of the nation-state has enabled itself from the start – and what is more, within a pompous rebellious framework of “social emancipation” from the misfortunes of the “God given” kings and their courts– to define very clearly the power of the national state, crashing anyone who may question it. The “Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen”, by the french national assembly of 1789, managed to cancel its own title by declaring: *“The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body, no individual can exercise authority that does not expressly proceed from the latter.”* What is noticed here is a syntax mistake on the part of the first forefathers of the french republic. Rights, as defined by law, do not belong much to the “Man and the Citizen” but more to the “citizen-man”. And since the citizen presupposes a human existence, whereas a human does not necessarily have to be a citizen, then the historical declaration of 1789 recognizes and empowers only the latter, turning whoever has only a “human” status into literary a prey of the legal transcendence of every authority. It is the first official state document that penalizes the lack of national and state status.

According to the above, one can conceive the structural necessity of "exception" as not only a condition but also as a space. Liberal democracy may claim to be protecting and respecting human life, and also wring their hands when different systems of power and government bring out their brutality. However, in reality, bourgeois states have been able to develop only after having excepted social groups and populations which are either surplus or resisting authority. Basically, the tearing apart of the nation-state-territory triptych (whether it stems from conscious political antagonism or from the struggle of a group of people who change place in order to survive) is confronted by oppressive mechanisms outside the bourgeois conventions and disillusionments about "rights" and "respect to human being".

In its relatively short historical course, nation-state power has created a small genealogy of fenced "non-spaces" for the excepted populations. Their military aspect has been the guide for this. In Europe, the first military camps of exception were built to control migrants. From then on, military camps themselves incorporated the most notorious facets of state brutality, ranging from detention camps to concentration camps and extermination camps. The social groups that were excepted or exterminated in those "non-spaces" were of various categories (national, religious, racial, sexual, political). What is more, that model was applied and urbanized by various states either throughout their whole territories (like in the excluded, and torn from the Wall and the military check-points Palestine or the open ghetto-prison of the Gaza Strip), or in their metropolis in the form of ghetto-neighbourhoods like in Los Angeles or in the continually developing slums; again, based on the various discriminations that signified state power (of class nature in Brazil, national

in Israel etc.). These exceptions –which in real life mean social exclusion, enclosure, imprisonment, financial suffocation, death etc.– were always justified as the result of a “necessity” which threatened social peace, order and furthermore the landmark of bourgeois civilization: security. State of emergency, as a legal condition of dominance, is precisely the concept that favors every possibility to exceed power.

There are many analyses about the fact that contemporary domination is structured not so much upon the concept of justice but upon the flexible concept of security. Considering Agamben’s view in which contemporary states seem to function on the triple frame of preserving a general state of fear, depoliticizing citizens and denying every certainty about justice, we can realize the relation of this view to contemporary war doctrines and the relativization of the concept of war as it has been mentioned before; so that war can be present everywhere. Hence, if the state of emergency is a broader framework to abrogate the existing political/legal condition in order to reshape and intensify social/class exploitation, discipline and control –and if this framework becomes more and more the rule on which the security state functions– then war is rather the proper process to apply that condition which is becoming normal (and normalizes) socially. In this way, militarism as a way to organize state violence can only be one of the most active and emerging tools of power<sup>25</sup>.

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25. Biopolitical management of the “asymmetric threat” of migrants is indicative. So far, in the last year more than one million people migrated, crossing Greece towards Europe, under harsh and inhumane conditions; nevertheless, by their own choice both of destination

This dangerous mixture of exception, state of emergency, security and war is what coordinates the expanded militarization seen in the European states. Within the framework of the general capitalistic crisis, the ideologies of anti-Islamic terror-hysteria, the anti-migrant policy as well as the bankrupt economies make up the field in which the dominant classes can spread eschatological, with almost ontological extensions, fear to the subordinates. Such a fear, that first obscures where these people come from and why they change place, and then socially legitimizes and activates the military management of migrants and the militarization of everyday life. At the same time, in such a conjuncture, social/class resistance and liberation processes spread, reshape and contract with unpredictable qualities and temporalities; they

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and the place to file their petitions for asylum or citizenship. What matters is that such a vast and relatively uncontrolled movement did not cause any particular problems to the cities or villages where those people arrived—even though the hawks of media and oppression were luring for reasons to demonize migrants. However, the character of antimigration policy eliminates exactly any thought about free movement. Hot spots in the borders arrest, record, take fingerprints and file bodies in national and biometrical molds. Whoever passes through the first “filtering”, created by the dominant discrimination between refugee and migrant (the latter already is a surplus body for elimination), remains in military camps which, at any time, can close and become concentration camps; while “hospitality” is connected to a vicious suffocation and pressure towards those who move outside camped spaces and with the vulgar blackmail of refusing to issue papers or start official processes for those who do not self-confine inside camps. Contemporary totalitarianism is indeed more civilized than before, when all it took for the state of exception was to print a tattoo on the arm of the prisoner, usually of 6-digit numbers.

are also critical variables against dominant plans and capable of creating a series of unwanted barriers against them. The army forces in the streets of Brussels, Paris and the migration military camps are a first step in what is to follow if modern totalitarianism advancing is not stopped. The powerful reemergence of militarism is not an irrational reaction of capitalism. It inheres in it and issues into it as its structural part in order to ensure the violent ruling of power upon the subordinates, to ensure subjugation and discipline on the social discriminations which are to be enforced, to ideologicalize its domination as a natural and inevitable necessity and to be embodied into social conscience as an attitude.

### **Fortress Europe: The military management of migration**

**B**efore mentioning the philosophy of anti-migration policy in the EU it is important to consider the reality behind the crocodile tears of the “european family”. The totality of “the tragedy of migrants” that the European institutions live through (with non-stop support from the media) hides a brutal reality. The “end of history” and the establishment of liberal globalized capitalism at a world level do not seem to bring any particular happiness to the planet. Official data show an increase on migration and displacement in the beginning of the 90s, while the whole first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century displays a steady number of 40 million displaced people. In the decade that follows, the current decade, there is an important increase in displaced people, who can be today up to 60 million, nonetheless their majority remain inside the borders of their country. The number of people who cross borders is much smaller than in the early 90s and just in the last years has it started to increase significantly, but

not as much as 20 years ago. And this increase concerns mostly "internal migration".

Two conclusions result from this data. On one hand, the "tragedy of the refugees" is not a "bad coincidence", some "misery" that was caused by bad management performed by distant and underdeveloped states beyond the function and responsibility of the european states. Displacements are a constituent element of capitalism with evident durability and sustainability. On the other hand, one observes an important increase in populations which move towards the European Union. So, the "european family" has exceptionally selfish reasons so as to pretend that it has "discovered America" when it comes to migration. The human caravans have relatively been a commonplace throughout time; however, in the last years, instead of being recycled internally in the African or Asian continent, they move more and more towards the european mainland and mostly towards its central and northern areas<sup>26</sup>. A brief look on the petitions

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26. What is more, another factor that adds greatly to a timeless derivative of capitalism is the geopolitical, political and financial importance of the war process that is taking place in Syria, which reshapes the entire Middle East, which is critical for capitalism. Syrians who have moved out of the Syrian state are a critical factor among others that demands careful and strategic management. In a few words, if the same number of migrants that is moving today towards Europe came from a relatively unknown and unimportant state of Africa or Asia and headed somewhere else, european sensitivity would not take up even 15 seconds of daily publicity, with the exception of charity galas and festive donations to Unicef. It seems that the war in Syria brings the West and especially Europe face to face with an emphatic weakening of Western colonialism in the Middle East and Eastern Mediterranean; having as possible results even the emergence of new forms of state, political and financial management.

for asylum is explanatory in order to see that petitions for asylum in the EU during the last decade have increased beyond 600% and this increase has taken place mostly in the last years. In 2015, petitions for asylum added up to 1,321,000 breaking the record in the history of the E.U.<sup>27</sup>

All the above prove that the “refugee crisis” is nothing more than a dominant ideological bluster issued by a racist anti-migration policy. When a continent of developed economies, high technology and 500 million residents claims that it cannot accommodate several hundred thousand people (who as a matter of fact do not necessarily want to become permanent residents), then a series of despicable ideological blusters come to the fore: deterioration of national and christian identity (by the flow of people who make up only 0.2% of the current population); anti-islamic frenzy which is practically against a billion of people worldwide and a few million residents of the EU (just 4% of its population, which even if it accepted 4 million muslim migrants tomorrow, the islamic population in Europe would launch

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27. This rise is mainly due to people’s movements from Syria and Afghanistan, that is countries to which western world has shown proper care in order to loot them in various ways. Considering the humanitarian disaster in Syria is indicative of the new war ethics. Out of 20 million of inhabitants, there are more than 300,000 dead until today (and more than a third of them are noncombatants), whereas more than 50% of the population has been displaced. From these, about 4 million have moved out of Syria and only half a million out of them has managed to enter EU; also, more than 3 million of Syrians still remain in Near & Middle East countries (Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan etc.).

the percentage of ... 5%); "anti"terrorist propaganda against fanatic islamists who circulate inside migrant groups with the aim to blow up Europe (while, in their majority, the attacks of islamists take place mainly by islamist-citizens of the EU raised and trained in the West); "sanitary bombs" that go against any common sense; nationalistic outbreaks either from the very governments of the member-states of the EU or via their extreme right and neonazi formations; even obscene accusations against migrants for "tourism" and "merriment".

Fortress Europe is an organizational model to shield the european borders and to intensify control, surveillance and oppression inside member-states. Giving a few data about the business cycle of the infamous industry of security, between 2007 and 2014 over 2 billion euros were spent on border control; a model that connects various regional military and police forces with the equivalent european ones, NATO, FRONTEX and other institutions. Military-industrial complex, state leaderships, police forces, media, various academic research programs (mainly about all the more upgraded electronic surveillance of the borders)<sup>28</sup>, mercenary forces

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28. In greek universities there is a series of research programs funded by european anti-migration policy; some of these programs are part of the European Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR) and HORIZON 2020 (european funding program). The more known and visible contributions of the greek academy (such the "Jason" and "Poseidon" programs) have to do with electronic shielding/surveillance of the borders (with the use of drones, thermal vision cameras as well as systems of control and broadcasting information to the Greek Police, the Coastguard, FRONTEX etc.) and are implemented in the fence of Evros and the maritime frontiers of the Aegean Sea.

and security companies, local and peripheral authorities take action either together or separately to serve the official anti-migration policy. The greatest emphasis has been given on the southern and eastern borders of the EU that coincide with those of the greek state which has been going through a systemic crisis in the last years. As a consequence, the greek borders, being two times important for shielding a territory in a case of emergency, take on the gravity of a stressed war condition; which as a result militarizes more and more maritime and land borders<sup>29</sup>.

Like that somehow, and mainly since the land trails of Evros were fenced, the Mediterranean Sea evolved into a water grave for thousands of migrants during the last years. The official records refer to 3,500 deaths in 2014 out of the 4,272 worldwide (the very year when the official EU policy started to favor more deaths in the Mediterranean in order to stop migrant flows), 3,770 in 2015 and 1,361 deaths until the beginning of May 2016. Basically, in the years of the great increase in the entrance of migrants to Europe (from 2014 until today, with 2015 being the year of the peak of arrivals), the great majority (mostly from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan) followed the route passing through the eastern borders of the greek state (whereas in the turkish side over 2 million migrants have been settled for sure, while various sources refer to over 3.5 million).

In 2015, UNHCR recorded 1,015,018 migrant arrivals in Europe, 856,723 of whom passed through the

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29. In the following sections, we describe more thoroughly this shielding in political, institutional and operational terms.

Aegean Sea, 153,842 in Italy and little more in other parts of the Mediterranean. In 2016, until the March agreement between EU and Turkey signed at migrants' backs, displacements were more than those recorded in 2015. Shielding of the borders with the cooperation of the Turkish state, NATO patrols in the Aegean Sea, militarized imprisonment of migrants in camps, relatively few but real deportations of migrants, filtering of people across the island zone of the Hot-Spots and naturally closing the borders in the north of the Greek state as well as the eastern land borders of Evros; all these had a clear impact: April 2016 is the first month in the last years to show a decrease (a great one as a matter of fact) in migrant inflows, compared to the previous years<sup>30</sup>. The future holds on one hand the increasing shielding of the borders with intense military presence and on the other hand the intensification of imprisonment and surveillance of the populations in the European mainland.

## **War and charity – a 150-year-old innovation**

**B**ourgeois civilization was founded on an ideology that spoke of rights, freedoms, liberation from the plights of theocracy, scientific/technological progress and rationalization of politics on the basis of "popular will" and "common good". All authoritarian relations, mechanisms and processes were reshaped or transformed on this very basis. Thus, war had to incorporate, sooner

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30. There are indications that, because of the current situation, migrants will be led to use the Italian route for their movement (where one observes that the Italian military are in full preparatory performance) as well as to approach the so far inactive destination of Crete.

or later, the new cultural narrative of power under which –and for which– it was applied. Battlefields have always been great sources of inspiration and symbolism for hegemonies, empires, arts etc. The description, narration, musicalisation, shaping, depiction, teaching and analysis of war conflicts are timeless and cohesive elements of various social and authoritarian formations. On one hand, the social impact of so harsh and violent incidents and, on the other, the political, ideological and cultural earning of every authority activated rephrasing and interpretations that gave meaning and sanctity to war, usually according to the view of the righteous winner or the unfairly defeated.

Nonetheless, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, what stopped to be commonly accepted as it is, was the reality of a battlefield. Up to that point, from the first literary texts of antiquity that have survived (the Iliad was a war fiction) until the arts of the Middle Ages, the cruelty of armed conflict was described or depicted without any parsimony. On the contrary, its fullest possible description was not only acceptable but also fair. However, the contents and ideas of the Enlightenment, such as humanitarianism, the democratic society which would bring justice to all without exception, as well as the parliamentary political culture and voltairean spirit of disagreement, do not fall in line with the hecatombs of dead, the burnt human flesh, the slaughtered and mutilated bodies and the villages and cities that are starving or plundered. And since the war process was not going to suspend its violence under capitalism (on the contrary, capitalism would widely systematize it), it was necessary to make a modernist separation of itself from the social field with a double –and profitable– beautification. On one hand, with a liberal civilizing of war, pertaining to not as much to the conflict itself as to its consequences. A battle can be

as barbaric as it takes as long as its human or material destructions are taken care of<sup>31</sup>. On the other hand, it was necessary that the “universal ideals” of sacred and pure duty, heroism, democratization, prevention of communist plight at a world scale, terrorism etc. would continue to infiltrate the narrative of war<sup>32</sup>.

Thus, in contrast with the past –when every authority fought for its court, its territory and sometimes for its peasants, without having the special need to justify its actions– nowadays, every war conflict takes place through ontological or universal motivations, which go beyond even the “common interest” of the “people” of a state: nation-states tried to build a fair world in the place of dynastic empires and monarchies; Hitler tried to save the world from “evil” jews; Mussolini tried to revive

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31. The current widely spread logic of rebuilding a destroyed area, as well as rehabilitating the victims of a conflict, are typical characteristics of bourgeois modernity. In pre-capitalist societies, human and material wreckage of war were usually left as they were.

32. Bourgeois ideologization of war is not only based on the ideological apparatuses of the state. The Spectacle, as a process of social divisions through the production of images, designifications and significations, apart from being a structural function of capitalism, it is also directly connected to militarism and war –which they in turn are the embodiment and reshaping of the social/class division. The industry and the entities of the Spectacle (not only the pinpointed Hollywood but also the bourgeois cinema in general, the bourgeois theatre, the music industry, the media, bourgeois literature and current internet virtual and non-virtual games) have been something more than helpers and ambassadors of the war process; they are its interactive element and its connection channel with society.

saving roman civilization; Churchill saved the world from dictatorships which he himself (also) imposed upon his colonies; the Allies tried to save the world from the Axis powers they themselves constructed; Stalin was trying to rescue the global revolution; Nixon saved the planet from the evil peasants of Vietnam; Bush saved –receiving a midnight command from God– the galaxy from the Axis of Evil and Terrorism; Assad saves the whole Middle East (hence the whole world) from destabilization etc. In this way, one realizes that humanitarianism is incorporated in the war process, as “nature”, motive and purpose. Humanitarianism, as a modern ideology, can claim to have noble motives with which it attracts (among others) people guided by selfless goals; nevertheless, on one hand these motives do not fully characterize humanitarianism and on the other hand they have never changed and have never liberated the world. Besides, the defenders of humanitarianism exaggerate its innovation and uniqueness: a series of older or simultaneous religious and political ideologies had already defended their own “universal motivations”, like christianity and nationalism (both having well known and painful results), and they had also attracted many people with no “bad intentions” at all, especially in their initial stages. The idealist, interclass and abstract basis of humanitarianism is what in the end puts it directly into systemic ideologies.

On an institutional basis, the great change takes place in the end of 1860 with the foundation of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The history of the biggest and most popular Non-Governmental Organization lays out clearly the character of the humanitarian management of war as an integral part of the war process under capitalism. In 1859, a Swiss businessman, named Henry Dynant, goes to an

appointment with the leader of a great state, Napoleon III, in order to discuss problems concerning business activities in one of the colonies of the french state. Passing through the battlefield of a bloody conflict with 40,000 dead and injured, the bourgeois businessman conceives the idea of the potentially profitable healing of war destruction and along with noble humanitarians of the bourgeois class he founds the Red Cross a little later. Its foundation takes place with the participation and assistance of 16 countries, without the consent of which history may have never been the same. So, in a vivid representation of the capitalist modus operandi, state authorities, military leaders, businessmen and noble humanitarians of the bourgeois class work closely in order to create an institution on the side of their armies which will beautify the real and unquestionable barbarity forced by power. The goals of this institution, even in their contemporary internet description, are indicative of their complementary role to war and not of their opposition to it<sup>33</sup>. Consequently, what is deemed "unacceptable" in the bourgeois civilization is not the creation and the existence of dead bodies, injuries, poverty, hunger, famine, migration and concentration camps by a system of enclosures and plundering of land and humans. What is "unacceptable" is for all these things to occur without a "fellow man" nearby taking care of them, so that the war machine can keep on its

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33. As mentioned in the official page of the Red Cross: "...it acts always aiming at the relief of human pain in periods of war and peace... The basic purposes and aims in a war period is to help and assist the work of the Military Health Services, hospital care of the wounded and the sick, as well as the protection of war prisoners, noncombatant populations and victims of war".

humanitarian work undisturbed<sup>34</sup>.

As time passed and, to be precise, capitalism evolved, the action and scope of the Red Cross extended, multiplied and was institutionalized until it took its present form<sup>35</sup>.

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34. The relationship between humanitarianism and militarism is also recognized from the part of the military. “Civil-Military coordination” is a basic sector for managing humanitarian crises which, just like warfare, has been relativized. NATO, EU and many other states have incorporated it and enacted it as a basic modern mode of operation. This coordination has to do with the smooth cooperation between states, armies, police forces, various institutions and humanitarian organizations in the form of NGOs. In forthcoming sections, we describe how a “state of emergency that requires military intervention” involves, not just armed conflicts, but also natural disasters and disruption of the social peace inside states.

35. The most recent reference by D. Vitsas, the current deputy greek minister of defense, in his salutation on 9<sup>th</sup> of May 2016 is indicative: *“The history of the Red Cross demonstrates us, teaches us, that even under the most critical circumstances, what seems impossible can become possible, when the basic principle is right, when there is will and when an adequate number of people makes it its own and supports it with passion. The action of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent and their cooperation is in my opinion a conquest of human civilization, because it promotes values which are linked through time with the process of humanization of the human. Under war conditions, but also in times of peace, care, relief of human pain and compassion without borders, without cultural, national, religious discriminations, are great conquests which must always be in the center of our attention, protected and expanded. Relief of vulnerable population groups and solidarity with respect to human dignity, are in essence a political action in the true meaning of the word. You all know that the country, the greek people face and try to manage a huge refugee*

At the same time, a series of other similar organizations appeared either as branches of supranational, international and national organizations or independently as private organizations. With the advent of neoliberalism and globalization (and the escalating privatization of sectors that used to be considered as state affairs), the burden of humanitarian management follows the customs of the era. Functions and procedures that used to concern the political structures of a state, a municipality or a prefecture, are more and more channeled to private organizations, which in the form of Non-Governmental Organizations possess the organizational/financial flexibility and versatility to appear everywhere there is a profitable or, in the worst-case scenario, a financially guaranteed opportunity. This new form of organization is often perceived as a “new form of state management” or as “state transformation” on a capitalist basis<sup>36</sup>. However,

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*crisis. Our planning and every-day practice are guided by the Geneva Convention and the 7 Principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, which, I remind you, are: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity and universality”.*

36. The matching of political and humanitarian management is not coincidental: David Miliband, manager of the NGO International Rescue Committee –one of the biggest of its kind– and important historical figure of charity organizations, was, in the recent past, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain. In the same NGO, another prominent figure is Condoleezza Rice, the former United States Secretary of State – during Bush presidency. In the greek state, since 2015, the crucial Ministry of Migration is run by Yiannis Mouzalas, an internationally recognized and founding figure of Doctors Without Borders.

what is more important than deciding which analysis is more pertinent, is the fact that NGOs are an explicit field of “civil society” and assimilation of entire social groups in a process of division in roles and classes.

In this specific interconnection between state, capital and society, NGOs are tightly correlated with the concepts of “healthy” or “alternative” entrepreneurship, “social contribution” as well as voluntarism<sup>37</sup>, regardless of the fact that working in an NGO may fall, many times, under the category of wage labor. Voluntarism includes and presupposes the concept of unpaid work which, in conjunction with the restructuring of labor relations, reshapes and validates modern relations of exploitation, exacerbating wage slavery. The lofty feelings of “contribution”, “aid” and “selflessness” –being the focal points of voluntarism– constitute the principal ingredients of a dominant ideology that wishes to embed itself in social consciousness. Ideology meets morality –and vice versa– so as to keep the existing social relations of exploitation, inequality and subordination unaltered. And this is because voluntarism not only does not void the existing model of operation of state and market, but it supports and supplements it. In essence, it establishes a strategy to exploit the so called “free time” (of the employed

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37. Voluntarism was broadly established in the greek reality during the 2004 Olympic games period, while the welfare state was shrinking and new neoliberal models of state management were emerging, to fill the gap between state and society, but also to contribute to the establishment of new models of labor relations. During the transition to the period of crisis, voluntarism re-emerges as an institutionalized practice of class exploitation which thrives within the widening context of the accelerating capitalistic looting.

or unemployed) and to manipulate social sensitivity by assimilating and simultaneously decompressing social discontent caused by human pain and social problems. In this context, extensive social integration and acceptance already achieved by the –state-promoted and controlled<sup>38</sup>– action of the NGOs regarding migration, reveals the new plans of the powers to reproduce social fragmentation and institutional assimilation of solidarity. This process is founded and mainly spread through the ideology of humanitarianism: despite the obvious state/capitalist causes of migration, the millions of people displaced and murdered by the choices and commands of the ruling barbarism are called “humanitarian crisis” and transformed to “results” of a “natural” (and of course classless) disaster.

Having migrants experiencing such lethal and unsafe conditions, and in conjunction with the visible effectiveness of direct action or of helping someone in danger, NGOs have managed –with funding and direct control from states, armies and corporations– to integrate many individuals involved in social movements and self-organization. The same also applies to individuals not involved in social movements who could however consider liberating/self-organized struggles more persuasive than charity organizations in order to oppose oppression, repression and exploitation. Thus, as a parallel achievement of

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38. Statement of N. Toskas, minister of Public Order, on 27<sup>th</sup> of May 2016: *“The role of the NGOs should be supportive, they should not hold the first role, but the secondary one and this is what will happen in the organized infrastructure from now on. Only in torn countries, i.e. in Syria and Iraq, the state holds the secondary role concerning the handling of humanitarian crisis”*.

the system, emancipatory social processes become more weakened and a series of various vanities of the ruling class ("against such magnitudes only the authority machine can drastically be a lifesaver") and new divisions are reproduced, since the systematization of the victim-volunteer relation entrenches social divisions, prioritizes unidirectional solidarity and intensifies mediations, being unable to restore a horizontal and mutual conductive relationship.

The examples of various –critical for the migration issue– regions within the greek state are revealing concerning the state-capital strategy. The systematic and pretentious absence of both state and private "initiatives" in the face of hundreds of thousands of people crossing the eastern borders of the Aegean Sea from autumn 2014 until spring 2015 (at least 45,000 people in accordance with official records) made the need for such "initiatives" imperative in the social consciousness; however, it also caused the immediate mobilization of those who did not intend to stay idle while migrants were struggling for survival. During summer 2015 –when a rapid, and unprecedented until then, rise on migrants' arrivals was taking place at Aegean islands (around 350,000 people until September)– the operation of innumerable –considering the size of an island– NGOs was instituted and the first prominent state interventions took place. In Piraeus port, as well as in Idomeni, right after the border closures and the settling of migrants in makeshift camps, state and capitalist management followed exactly the same sequence, until the official and final militarization of migrants' management<sup>39</sup>. Following this management, a

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39. The transit nature of these two places (Piraeus as a central transition

ruling enforcement on the operation, type and organization of the NGOs centralized their actions (favoring the most

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point from eastern Aegean Sea islands to the northern borders of the greek state and Idomeni as the passage from the greek state to the european inland); the relationships and dynamics shaped in those places among migrants as well as between migrants and people standing in solidarity; the need for the left-wing state management to have a charitable and progressive pretext when it brutally repressed migrants; all these are various reasons that justify the deliberate decision of the political management for a siege, deprivation and exhaustion strategy against migrants rather than one of a direct, straight attack. Public spaces such as a big port or a plain next to a highway and a village cannot easily become battlefields or areas of extended repression; let alone be transformed to spaces of exception by the state itself.

As stated, word for word by the – ex-serviceman and “professor of strategy” – minister of Public Order Nikos Toskas in a radio interview on 19<sup>th</sup> of April 2016 regarding migrants’ resistance and reactions in Idomeni: “...we have our tactic also, training them in tension... they can see that the countdown has started”. This “countdown” did not only refer to the repression of migrants’ mobilizations in Piraeus and Idomeni, but also to their gradual suffocation (by the deliberate and scheduled lack of food, water and minimum hygiene as well as medical care from the part of the state, by threats concerning withholding legal papers or withholding the possibility to apply for asylum and of course the constant surveillance and control by all kinds of uniformed personnel), so as to gain migrants’ consent –through extortion and exhaustion– for settling in the semi-prison conditions of the military camps; which structurally as well as legally can very easily be transformed to closed type concentration camps. State planning, as of this writing, is getting deeper and deeper: Piraeus is since April under quarantine and the majority of the migrants have been transferred to camps, whereas in Idomeni an extensive “evacuation” operation was launched by police forces on 15<sup>th</sup> of May 2016, which was completed a few days later.

systemic ones and repressing those being “less organized” or “disobedient”) and systematized them according to its imperatives. And finally, after such structural interventions, a defamatory propaganda campaign started, voiding and criminalizing self-organized or “disobedient” boarding, nursing and hosting infrastructure for migrants, as well as those in solidarity who denied to join the anti-migration policy front.

Creation of the state of emergency; resounding absence of state management; privatization and NGOization of solidarity; emphatic state presence and militarization; rearrangement and repression of the disobedient, undisciplined, solidarity infrastructures and subjects; repression of the “enemy” in terms of exception. This sequence is not just a simple political management of an isolated condition. It is a military inspired sovereign management of emergencies and war fields which has been imprinted in doctrines and manuals for confronting “asymmetric threats” for many years now. Doctrines based on the militarization of humanitarianism on one hand and on the “humanitarian war” of capitalism on the other.



## Section 2

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[Initiative for total army objection]

Ideological artifacts of security and war doctrines: constant alarm and its imprints in Europe, Mediterranean, Greece

### **Ideological artifacts of security and war doctrines**

**T**he question of military management of migrant flows in our days, as presented in this publication, cannot be examined separately from the wider context of allied armies' war. The increasingly "barbaric" measures that are adopted in our days for the "major european problem" in order to become manageable (militarization-closing of borders, militarization of migrants' management within the european territory) do not come out of nowhere, but derive from ideological artifacts of security and war doctrines. Besides, military management of flows (which includes concentration camps, land and "floating" fences, deportations, military actions etc.) is a part of security doctrines, not just of NATO, but of most military formations. A common line connects the, occasionally, lachrymose humanitarianism of western countries concerning the "refugee crises" –produced by their war invasions– with the very legitimization of their wars; which are sometimes called humanitarian, sometimes wars for democratization, sometimes wars for modernization, sometimes counter-terrorist and sometimes interventions

for political stability in unstable, as far as the planetary alliances are concerned, areas. In many occasions those wars can be a combination of the above definitions.

It is indicative that the war in Afghanistan (2001) for the extermination of Taliban and Al-Qaeda was called a "counter-terrorist" and "democratization" war at the same time. A war that continues to this day with the training of local police and army, so they can meet the demands of the alliance for regime control in the region and to provide "geopolitical security". In the same direction, the war in Iraq (since March 2003) was called "counter-terrorist" (Saddam Hussein had been declared a "terrorist"), at the same time war for "democratization" (the goal was the establishment of a controllable regime and the creation of iraqi security forces trained by NATO) and finally "war for modernization" (besides the reconstruction of political structures, the parallel goal of the allies was the reconstruction of economic structures in Iraq that had been military destroyed, since the area is rich in oil and other kinds of revenue).

Long before we reach today's "migrant flows crisis", western allied countries themselves had predicted those "humanitarian crises", because moving is a structural element and a consequence of their constantly refuelled war aims. These aims are imprinted in the revised and new security doctrines of allied countries, mainly since the 90s and the end of the Cold War. Top moments for carving out this new dominant conception of security (that is a crucial factor concerning allied wars and the management of their results) are the summit meetings of NATO since 1991, with the NATO Summit in Lisbon in November 2010 being the most important one. "NATO's new strategic concept" and the alliance's

new doctrine up to 2020 were ratified there. The new concept of the alliance focuses on two basic issues: a) The defence and export of western culture<sup>40</sup> and western values<sup>41</sup> in countries characterized as unstable, and b) their enforcement within the western world, wherever there are conditions of “rupturing” or questioning them.

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40. At the NATO Summit in Bucharest in 2008, a plan titled *“Towards a new strategy in an unsafe world”* was adopted, that suggested the expansion of the so-called “preventive wars” of NATO against potential enemies of “western life style”.

41. In the official script of NATO’s strategic review at the Summit in Lisbon in November 2010, it is explicitly stated that: «NATO is an incomparable community of freedom, peace, safety, common values. [...] The Alliance is based on the common values of liberty of individuals, democracy, human rights and prevalence of the law».

## New perils and threats in a new era of fear and imperilment

**D**angers that derive from the predicted destabilization<sup>42</sup> of various geographical zones outside western societies or from the crises within western societies, as well as from confronting the “internal enemy”, are at the focal point of new security doctrines. These doctrines are asked to manage the following “threats” around the planet: *social, nationalist and religious conflicts; demographic outbreak and economic recession; migration outbreak and bad governance in third countries; trafficking of weaponry, people and drugs; environmental and energy threats*. Whilst the new classification of contemporary “perils” that mostly concern the interior of western countries are “terrorism”, “asymmetrical threats”, “extremism” and “humanitarian crisis”.

In the above new classifications of perils, a crafty widening of the concepts of peril and threat can be observed. The new perils (therefore new enemies) for the powers that be seem to be too many since they are vague, confusing, invisible enough. The construction of this new context of threats is obviously aiming to eliminate the clear

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42. At this point, we must note that the concept of stability is related to the way western countries conceive of not only political/regime stability, but also economic stability. Therefore, in a certain area, even the economic dysfunction of a state can be considered as a lack of stability. States like these are characterized as “weak” or “states in crisis” etc. Such states are considered those that received “shock treatments” and supervision from the IMF and the World Bank, and those that face conditions of “humanitarian crisis” as a result of their structural dysfunctions and have been placed under “economic custody” or international assistance.

distinction between internal and external enemies and the distinction between the way (and means) of confronting them; that is, between police or military management. Last but not least: to create a permanent and constant sense of fear and insecurity.

### **State of emergency, national commitment, “axes of good and evil”**

**A** common factor of current security doctrines is the establishment of a generalized and persistent state of insecurity, imperilment and fear that legitimates and activates counter-terrorist legislations and military operations (internal as well as external) as a normality of another kind: a constant state of emergency<sup>43</sup>.

The persistence observed in the european area, in recent years, concerning the function of states under a constant state of emergency, is neither a setback nor a condition outside bourgeois-democratic civilization (deviation). And it's exactly the adoption, counting years now, of this “model of domination”, both by many european countries and by economically gasping Greece –from the entire political spectrum– as the only model that can provide safe solutions –for state and capitalism– that confirms the systemic need for increasing the assimilation of all different voices. From progressives, who defend “democratic rights” and invoke their humanitarian sensitivities, up to conservatives and the extreme right, who defend in neo-racial terms the western civilization and invoke enlightenment and rationalism.

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43. More in the chapter “*Exception and emergency, security state and militarism*” of Section 01.

This condition of constant insecurity and constant alarm, legitimizes and enforces not just military interventions in countries like Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Pakistan, Somalia, but also the armies in the streets of western metropolitan areas. Besides, the model of police-military occupation and siege of cities or entire geographical areas in the name of world security is a model that has been tested in almost the entire planet after World War II. In our days, this model increasingly covers the everyday life of the western world. The state of emergency is now a generalized reality: from occupied Palestine to the streets of Brussels and Paris; from military operations of allied and Russian forces in Iraq and Syria to the militarized and fenced borders of Greece, Europe and the Balkans.

Additionally, another common factor of current security doctrines is that they presuppose the constant fuelling of the public sphere with nationalist and patriotic speech. "Threats" cannot be experienced as such from society, if they are not presented as national and are not able to activate the necessary national commitment<sup>44</sup> against the "enemies". Doctrines of "world security" constantly seek the way to their "universalization" in the social field. This need to be "universalized" not only requires the construction or introduction of an "enemy". It requires a war formation that includes all classes and the "entire society"; a general commitment in national and, on many occasions, supranational terms and the diffusion of militarization in everyday life, manipulating at the same time the personal and social "senses". That is why a rise of nationalist speech at the level of state management

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44. Patriot Act that was enforced after September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, was an indicative and leading dominant model for social commitment.

has been noticed in recent years (in Greece and other countries<sup>45</sup> as well); a situation that has an impact not just on the style of the entire set of state policies (and the function of state mechanisms) but also to the general deepening of politics, economy and part of social conscience in the national and nationalist context. Actually, in Greece this persistence of governments in the use of national(ist) speech, a call for more nation-state, is playing the role of a constant to pursue the sought-after social cohesion of our times; since, in periods of economic crises, it is getting harder and harder for authority to draw upon social consent, due to profound class changes in the spheres of economy and labour, but also due to the “freezing” of welfare policies etc. This entire attempt to re-establish nationalisms (in Greece as well as the entire European Union) cannot be viewed strictly and exclusively as an attempt of the European construction to regain “cohesion”, but as a deep process of reconstruction of the nation-state within the crisis environment. A powerful nation-state does not only guarantee security to its citizens, but it is also the vehicle with which to overcome the crisis.

Finally, another common factor of modern security doctrines is their ability to form and create “sides” and

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45. National commitment of most European countries in an era of a constantly refueled imperilment is, on one hand, setting at its center the defense of “EU acquires”, and on the other it is, to this moment, nothing but a clumsy and blurry attempt to find a meaning in the centrifugal european construction, which in an environment of capitalistic crisis, has begun to experience its own heightened internal antagonisms (strengthening of extreme right voices and political parties that oppose the continuance of the prospect for the european fulfillment).

trenches. The constantly developing and refuelling formation of an international and planetary alliance between the “axis of good” against the “axis of evil”, that began in the era after the Cold War and reaches up to the present<sup>46</sup>, is no accident at all. The new “sides” shaped even since the 90s –beginning with the ethnic cleansing of “Muslims” in the Balkans by the allies and intensifying since September 11<sup>th</sup> with the targeting of “terrorists of radical Islam” which continues to our days– are “western world”, “western democracies of humanism and enlightenment” on the one side and “islamic world” (certain arabic states as well as religious, political and national movements of islam) on the other. Actually, after the bomb attacks and executions in Paris (November 2015) by the “Islamic Caliphate”, there is a crafty persistence from the part of the western world to incorporate “radicalism” in the frame that composes the “axis of evil”, meaning in general (and vaguely as always) the people that embrace radical ideas and practices. And here exactly is where a deliberate attempt takes place of lumping together practices, views or even social movements. From the islamists up to subversive

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46. It is indicative that a few hours after the events in Paris on 13<sup>rd</sup> of November 2015, French prime minister Manuel Valls stated: *“France was attacked also not because of what it does in Iraq or Sub-Saharan Africa, but for what it is”*. Likewise, D. Vitsas, deputy minister of National Defense, commenting on the same attacks, stated: *“We have an attack against humanity, against human rights. We have an attack against democracy and against the european idea”* (newspaper FREESUNDAY 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 2016). This is about a rhetoric of polarization in which every analysis is located, from the systemic left to the extreme right wing: the cultural gap between a european-cosmic Us and an obscurantist-theocratic Them.

social violence, a total attack by the ruling power against the concept of radicalism<sup>47</sup> is conducted.

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47. On 25<sup>th</sup> of November 2015, the European Parliament approved a resolution about the “*prevention of radicalization and recruitment of european citizens by terrorist organizations*”. It includes “*suggestions for a complete strategy of fighting extremism, that should be mainly implemented on the internet, in prisons and through education and social integration*”. Among other things, it appeals to the bodies of EU in charge, for an “*adoption of a common definition for incriminating individuals considered as “foreign warriors” so the legal procedure against them can be easier*”; to define a method in which “*open contact lines will allow families [...] to get support or report easily and fast any sudden change of behavior that could mean terrorist radicalization...*”; to take measures for “*the separation of prisoners when it has been established that they have joined violent extremism or have already been recruited by terrorist organizations, from the rest of their inmates, in order to limit radicalization within the prisons*”; as well as measures for the “*timely deletion of illegal content that spreads violent extremism, always respecting the fundamental rights... state-members must examine the possibility of raising legal procedures, including criminal prosecutions, against internet service providers and companies as well as social media that deny to respond to the demands of administrative or judicial authorities regarding the deletion of illegal content or content that praises terrorism from their online platforms*”.

More on <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/portal/el>.

## **The greek case**

### ***Old tested eras of security***

**T**he harmonization of the greek state to the security doctrines has its own history. It is worth mentioning some crucial points that contributed in the acceleration of implementing these doctrines in the domestic environment. To begin with, the global fear instilled from September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 was also projected in Greece at all levels, from spreading fear through the media to a wider systemic rearrangement. It is no accident that the new counter-terrorism law, which was reflecting global "common" views on "terrorism", was passed in December 2001. At the same time, special conditions of detention, special courts of justice and special interrogation methods were introduced and generally a concept of an "emergency situation" was adopted, whose aim was to be institutionalized. Concomitantly, the greek presidency of the EU (2003) and the Olympic games (2004) came to intensify the restructuring around security issues; to modernize the logistics of prosecuting and repressive mechanisms; to make permanent the doctrine of preventive-repressing action and of zero tolerance; to consolidate eventually the emergency situation in the public space. At the same time, in this period (2001-2007), the internal repressive reality is attuned to the ratification and legal adoption of various international conventions and agreements, under the spirit of international security like the euro-warrant; the euro-antiterrorism law; the agreement for extradition and judicial cooperation between EU and USA; as well as interstate agreements such as the "Treaty of Prim" (2007) that includes exchange of data (biometric, genetic etc.) from databases located in EU states; interstate

cooperation between police services of EU states etc. Finally, the period of the “counterinsurgency” that followed the events of December 2008 and the period of “memorandum treatments” of greek economy was/is another period in which the greek state was inspired by (and applied) the security doctrines; starting in the level of biopolitical exercise of power and the enforcement of a constant state of emergency, restructuring of repression mechanisms, police militarization, intensification of the use of migrant concentration camps etc.

### ***The intertemporal geopolitical value in the Mediterranean (devil’s) triangle<sup>48</sup>***

**B**esides all the above, the greek state features as a top destination for the ideology of security for one more basic reason: its coordinates on the global maps. The geographical location of Greece has been from time to time –but maybe in a more intense way today– a pivotal factor for the implementation of military planning (NATO bases in the greek territory constitute a bridgehead for missions in Middle East and Africa, while contributing

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48. According to the “theory” of the new greek minister of Foreign Affairs, Kotzias, Greece is located at the center of a triangle of turbulence that is notionally shaped on the maps between Black Sea, North Africa and Middle East. This “theory” was refueled in the public discourse in January 2015 and has been used since under the various pursues of government policy. According to that same theory, Greece is a “lighthouse of stability” in this triangle; an argument that has even been articulated by prime-minister himself, Alexis Tsipras, during his speech at the grant opening of the construction of the TAP pipeline in Thessaloniki (May of 2016).

to the military defence of the european territory), to the establishment of regional and international security<sup>49</sup>, as well as to its emergence as a border–boundary<sup>50</sup> for the reproduction of the ideology of security and social commitment between the “axis of good” and “the axis of evil”. At the same time, the geopolitical significance of Greece has intertemporally been used for the occasional improvement of interstate relations (Greece-Israel-Egypt-Cyprus) and sometimes for making interstate competition fiercer (Greece-Turkey etc.) but also for

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49. In the debate on the programmatic statements of the new coalition government between SYRIZA and ANEL parties on 6<sup>th</sup> of October 2015, the minister of National Defense, Panos Kammenos, mentioned in a characteristic way: *“In our days, we are experiencing shifts that have an effect on geostrategy and geoeconomy. The cosmogonic changes that took place and still do during the last years have created a series of new conditions which create a turbulent environment that immediately affects Greece and Cyprus. Hostility and instability that prevail mandate that we stay focused and ready in the maximum degree. Faced with these new challenges and needs, Greece reinforces its position as a factor of security and stability in the modern international environment”*.

50. The deputy minister of National Defense, D. Vitsas, during a visit at the Hellenic Airforce General Staff (HAFGS) in Larisa on November 2015, said, in an attempt to simultaneously respond to accusations raised by the Visegrad Group concerning the inability of the greek state to defend the european borders: *“We are capable of guarding our borders on our own, as the last boundary of Europe”*. Three months later, on 28<sup>th</sup> of February 2016, and occasioned by the fear of imminent exit of Greece from the Schengen Agreement, he stated, in the same pattern: *“Today Greece is the fortress, the more advanced bastion of Europe, a Europe of peace and solidarity”*.

reasons of domestic political consumption<sup>51</sup>.

In the **White Bible of the Greek Armed Forces**, a text of the Ministry of National Defence (January 2015) with military directions, that confirms the perception of the allies about the geostrategic significance of the greek territory, the references are indicative. In this text, it is mentioned that: “Greece has enormous geopolitical and geostrategic significance for Europe, the Balkans and East Mediterranean, as its position is a contact point, a “bastion” of Europe for Asia and Africa, and a natural border”. It is therefore emphasized that Greece will have to contribute to the establishment of the much-needed regional security and stability for the capitalist world<sup>52</sup>.

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51. On 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 2015, Rania Svigkou, the spokesperson of SYRIZA, referred to the “benefits” obtained by the foreign affairs policy of the government: *“I think what we see also in the international Press is the confirmation and recognition of the effort that has been made by the governance of SYRIZA, since its very first seven months, to enhance the international contacts of the country in the context of a multidimensional foreign policy, in an unusual for the previous governments way. There is a clear upgrade of the country in the international context and actually we see our country stand in the international forums not as a ... “problematic” country, I’d say, that seeks international solidarity; but more as a critical factor of the european scene which, given its geostrategic position, is capable of contributing to the stabilization of the broader region. And this, I think, is now accepted by the other european forces as well”*.

52. This much-desired aim was ratified in the recent Summit of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), held in Belgrade on 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 2015, where the greek deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, Yiannis Amanatidis, stated: *“Greece, being in the center of a triangle of destabilization between Ukraine, Middle East*

And that Greece is an “*anchor of stability for the international community*”, particularly during the last years that an “*arc of turbulence*”, as mentioned, encircles Europe.

In the White Bible, a special reference is also made to the long-lasting crisis in Syria and Iraq which, in conjunction with the “*rise of radical religious and ethnic fundamentalism*” (as it is distinctively mentioned), “*threaten to cause the collapse of a great part of the Middle East, which jeopardizes the security of the EU*”. At this point, it is important to note the extent of similarity between the rhetoric of Ministry of National Defense regarding the threat to Europe from radical fundamentalism and the corresponding rhetoric of certain ministers of the coalition government<sup>53</sup>, who have publicly stated the connection of migration waves with “*medieval or anachronistic perceptions*”, which, according to them, are expressed by jihadists. It is all about a recent dominant rhetoric which systematically fosters a western anti-islamism, which is in turn imprinted in broader security policies as well as the new EU anti-migration policies.

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*and Libya*”, is making intense and sincere efforts for strengthening regional security.

53. “*When there are such large flows of migrants from Turkey to Greece, it is inevitable that among migrants there will be people with extreme viewpoints who could pose risks*”, interview quote of deputy minister of Citizen Protection, Nikos Toskas, in *Kathimerini* (8<sup>th</sup> of November 2015).

## ***The “greek lighthouse”<sup>54</sup> and the war partnerships with NATO & EU***

**T**he great amount of investment in the geographic and military importance of Greece from the military alliances of NATO and EU, can be seen by the recent demand the greek ports and airports have by the allied military forces and missions. The military bases in Suda, Aktio, Kalamata, Larisa –and this is not an exhaustive list– have been used in the last 15 years for the main war operations and missions of the allies in Africa and Middle East. The infrastructure of Ministry of National Defense, military camps, warplanes, warships, scientific and military staff have all been proved equally valuable for international war partnerships.

The great importance of the greek territory is also confirmed by the recent request of NATO to construct a new allies’ base for UAVs (war drones), which are being used at an accelerating rate in police and military operations. Huge deals of benefits and trade-offs are taking place during the last year between Greece and the allies, so as to conclude where this new base will be constructed, with the most likely destination being Kasteli of Crete (Kalamata and Karpathos are two more proposed places).

Similarly, the huge importance of the greek territory is confirmed by the decision of the Security Council of the UN (15<sup>th</sup> of January 2014) to use the allied headquarters in Larisa as Operations and Coordination Center for the

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54. Refer to footnote 48.

intervention of EU forces to Central African Republic, an operation that continues to this day.

Due to the economic crisis, the greek army's missions in the context of its alliances in war zones or zones of military occupation outside the greek borders, have been limited. The last and rather expensive mission was the one in Afghanistan. From 2010 until 2012, Greece actively participated in the Operational Mentoring Liaison Team (a military formation responsible for the training of the local army) in Kabul under the leadership of NATO and ISAF (International Security Assistance Force). Several years ago (2002-2010), Greece participated with the Combined Joint Special Operations Task Force in Afghanistan (military formation responsible for territory occupation). The participation of the greek forces in Afghanistan reached up to 3.295 military personnel with a duration of stay from 3 to 6 months.

Currently (beginning of summer 2016), Greece participates with a rather weak military mission in Mali, where, since 19<sup>th</sup> February 2014 an allied operation for the "democratization" of the local regime is in progress that also includes training of local armed forces. Hellenic Army General Staff provided, since the beginning of the mission, four officers and non-commissioned officers, who formed the Intelligence Trainers Team.

Moreover, Greece maintains a limited military participation in the international supervision military forces and in NATO offices in the Balkans (90 persons in the KFOR Headquarters guard unit in Kosovo, executives of said Headquarters in Kosovo, one officer in NATO Headquarters in Skopje, military personnel in NATO offices in Skopje and Belgrade).

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning the greek participation in the EU naval mission to deter migration flows from using sea passages in the international waters between Libya and Italy. Greece participates with submarines and frigates in the EUNAVFOR MED European force, to which has been assigned (as per the decision of the European Council taken on April 2015) the implementation of operation "Sophia"<sup>55</sup> charged to preclude migrants' movement<sup>56</sup> towards the southern part of central Mediterranean from 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 2015 onwards. In fact, the head of this operation is the greek president of the EU Military Committee (since autumn 2015), former Chief of Hellenic National Defense General Staff M. Kostarakos, who had formerly proposed NATO Headquarters in Larisa as the most ideal for the EU intervention in Central African Republic. Operation "Sophia" is still active to this day and works as the "safety valve" for the western states in case migrants' movement routes shift to the south of central Mediterranean, after sealing the eastern Aegean passage through the presence of NATO naval forces there. However, the so called need, both by the EU and NATO, for further and better control of Libyan Sea and libyan territories<sup>57</sup>, has

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55. More about this operation in Section 4: *"Military-police units for the application of security, surveillance and repression doctrines"*.

56. Initially, EU claimed that the intention for the said operation was to fight trafficking.

57. On February 2016, French press revealed "limited scale" military

led to almost foregone decisions, waiting to be ratified in NATO Summit in Italy on 7<sup>th</sup> of July 2016; these decisions concern the more direct –latest– involvement of NATO allies in libyan territories, which shall include air (and maybe land) raids against “jihadist” targets (mainly in the area of Sirte) as well as sealing the libyan coasts (beyond international waters) to deter migration flows. Apparently, in this mission, adjacent allied countries (including Greece) will undertake or will be asked to undertake a more active or auxiliary role.

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operations, launched there against “Islamic State” by partnerships of allied states since November 2015. USA, French and U.K. forces participated in mainly air raids against “terrorist” hideouts targets.



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