ZONE BOOKS MANAGED INHOSPITALITY near futures PERENNIAL AUSTERITY ONLINE **Europe at a Crossroads** TRIALS OF THE LEFT TIMELINE BY AURÉLIE WINDELS 28 JULY The "Convention relating to the Status of Refugees" is 1951 approved by the United Nations in Geneva. The multilateral treaty defines who is a refugee, sets out the rights of individuals who are granted asylum, and sets the responsibilities of nations that grant asylum. 1952 4 DECEMBER Denmark is the first state to ratify the 1951 Refugee Convention. 31 DECEMBER In one year, more than 200,000 Hungarians flee to 1956 Austria in order to escape from Soviet tanks. 25 MARCH The Treaty of Rome, which establishes the European Eco-1957 nomic Community (EEC), is signed by the "Inner Six": Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany. It proposes to create a common market within the EEC member-states to guarantee the so-called "Four Freedoms": free movement of goods, services, capital, and people. 1960 3 MAY Seven non-EEC member-states known as "the Outer Seven" -Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the UK sign the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) convention. EFTA establishes an alternative common market that operates in parallel with, and linked to, the European Community. 12 FEBRUARY The Vice President of the European Commission and 1969 Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs, Raymond Barre, publishes a report in which he appeals to a "greater coordination of economic policies and monetary cooperation." This report will lead to the decision of European heads of states to draw up a plan in order to create an economic and monetary union by the end of the 1970s. 1973 16-17 OCTOBER The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) declares an oil embargo. Also known as the "first oil shock," the embargo impacts the global economy and politics. In Europe, this shock induces the end of the so-called "Golden Age of Social Democracy." 19 SEPTEMBER General elections are held in Sweden. For the first 1976 time since 1932, the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) has to share power. During its longstanding dominance of Swedish politics, the SAP had implemented the so-called "cradle-to-grave" welfare system with the aim of protecting the Swedish citizens throughout their life. Swedish social reforms of 1945 to 1976 are generally portrayed as social democracy's crowning achievements. 27 OCTOBER The British President of the European Commission, Roy 1977 Jenkins, proposes to accelerate the European economic integration by creating a single currency valid in all the member-states of the EEC. 13 MARCH In a period of international monetary instability, Helmut 1979 Schmidt, the German Chancellor, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the French President, and Roy Jenkins, the British President of the European Commission, decide to make a concrete first step towards the economic and monetary union of the EEC member-states: the European Monetary System is created, with the aim of stabilizing European currencies and facilitating the fight against inflation. 10 MAY François Mitterrand wins the presidential elections in France: 1981 he becomes the first socialist President of the 5th Republic. The government of Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy will implement ambitious redistrib utive fiscal programs during the first two years of Mitterrand's first term, along with a wide range of social reforms and a substantial increase in public investments. These policies significantly improved the living standards of the underprivileged populations as well as the rights of trade unions and wage earners. 18 OCTOBER The Greek social democratic party led by Andreas Papandreou wins the general election by a landslide. The PASOK forms the first socialist government in the history of Greece. It will create a national health system, set up reforms in family laws that will improve women's rights, and act to increase low wages. 19 SEPTEMBER After the SAP wins the general election, a new social 1982 democratic government is formed in Sweden. However, the reforms passed by the Minister of Finance, Kjell-Olof Feldt, seem to be directly inspired by the Chicago School of Economics. They include the deregulation of financial markets and the privatization of state-owned companies They result in a considerable redistribution of income from labor to capital. Yet, Feldt's plans to freeze wages and ban trade union strikes will be rejected in the Parliament. 25 MARCH In France, after two years in office, François Mitterrand 25 MARCH In France, after two years in office, François Mitterand 1983 makes a U-turn in terms of economic policies: the so-called "turn toward makes a U-turn in terms of economic policies: the so-called "turn toward fiscal discipline" ("tournant de la rigueur"). Priority is henceforth given to fiscal discipline" ("tournant de la rigueur"). Priority is henceforth given to the fight against inflation in order to remain competitive with regard to the fight against inflation in order to remain competitive with regard to France's European partners. The socialists also join the rest of Europe on France's European partners. The socialists also join the rest of Europe on the path to privatizations and the deregulation of financial markets. the path to privatizations and the deregulation of financial markets. 6 JULY In his maiden speech in the House of Commons, Tony Blair declares: "I am a socialist not through reading a textbook that has caught my intellectual fancy, nor though an unthinking tradition, but because I believe that, at its best, socialism corresponds most closely to an existence that is both rational and moral. It stands for cooperation, not confrontation; for fellowship, not fear. It stands for equality." 14 JUNE Signature of the Schengen Agreement by five of the ten EEC 1985 member-states: Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. This agreement on the gradual abolition of common border controls will lead to the creation of Europe's borderless Schengen 17 FEBRUARY The Single European Act, which set the objective of 1986 establishing a single market within the European Community by 31 December 1992, is signed. The Single Act provides for the adoption of about 300 directives that would remove the physical, fiscal and politica barriers that impede the free movement of goods, services, capital, and 9 NOVEMBER Fall of the Berlin Wall. 9 NOVEMBER Fall of the Berlin Wall. 1989 15 JUNE The Dublin Convention is signed by Belgium, Denmark, 1 JULY The last fetters to the free movement of capital are removed: 1990 exchange controls are abolished. France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the UK. The principal aim of this regulation is to prevent an asylum seeker from submitting applications in multiple member-states within the European Community. 19 JUNE The Schengen Convention proposes the abolition of internal border controls, a common visa policy within the EU and a reinforcement of police and judicial cooperation. Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Austria are the first countries to gradually enter the Schengen Area. 31 DECEMBER After the fall of the Soviet Union, more than one million Eastern Europeans - mainly from Poland, Baltic states and Slovakia emigrate to Western Europe. 31 MARCH Beginning of the Yugoslav Wars, which will result in the 1991 death of at least 140,000 people. 26 SEPTEMBER In France, Prime Minister Edith Cresson amends the law on immigration to limit the number of claims for asylum. Asylum seekers no longer have the right to work. Thirty-five years later, it is still one of the reasons why thousands of asylum seekers endure inhumane living conditions in Calais for months with the hope of reaching UK, where they would have the right to work as soon as they make an application for asylum. 30 NOVEMBER A Council Resolution on "Manifestly Unfounded 7 FEBRUARY The Maastricht Treaty that creates the European Union 1992 is signed. It established the completion of the European Monetary Union Applications for Asylum" is voted in London. as a formal objective and provides for the substitution of national curren-6 DECEMBER After Germany receives about 400,000 refugees in one cies by euro. It also defines the convergence criteria - inflation rates, year (a record up to this point) due to the Balkan Wars, the CDU, the government finance, exchange rate and long-term interest rates – the $\,$ CSU, the SPD, and the FDP reach "a compromise" to amend the law on member-states have to meet for being allowed to adopt euro as their curasylum. Their aim is "to prevent abuse of the right to asylum," while conrency. One of the main obligations stated by the treaty is to keep "sound tinuing "to provide protection for foreigners who really are victims of fiscal policies, with debt limited to 60% of GDP and annual deficits no greater than 3% of the GDP." 26 MAY Huge demonstration in front of the Bundestag in Germany. 1993 More than 10,000 people protest against the Amendment of the Basic Law restricting the right of asylum. Nevertheless, the MPs voted to validate the "compromise on asylum" they settled 6 months earlier. 18 SEPTEMBER The SAP once again returns to power in Sweden, but 1994 1 JANUARY The European Monetary Institute (EMI), the forerunner of the European Central Bank (ECB), is created. It's mission is to oversee the "Swedish social democratic model" is definitely dead. The Ingvar the creation of the monetary union Carlsson's government introduces a new package of neoliberal measures, including the privatization of public services and assets. The welfare state shrinks further: drops in compensation rates for sickness, decreases in unemployment benefits, cuts in benefits for orphans, to name a few. 4 OCTOBER The 50th anniversary of the IMF and the World Bank, celebrated in Madrid, is the scene of a protest by a variety of activist groups that will later go by the name of the "anti-globalization movement." 1995 1 IANUARY Austria, Finland and Sweden enter the European Union. 29 APRIL In the UK, Tony Blair, who has just taken the helm of the Labour Party, initiates his modernization program with the rewriting of the Labour Constitution. The Clause IV, which expressed the Party's commitment to socialism, is revised to give the Party a new statement of aims and values. Nationalizations are no longer part of the agenda and the "New Labour" yows to be more receptive to the free market and the middle classes. OCTOBER In an article entitled Power for a Purpose, Tony Blair writes: "There will inevitably be overlap between right and left in politics in the 21st century. The era of the grand ideologies, all-encompassing, all-pervasive, total in their solutions - and often dangerous - is over. In particular, the battle between market and public sector is over. The value systems and the objectives will, of course, be different but there will be some policy convergence and we should be relaxed not tribal about that." 19 SEPTEMBER Tony Blair declares: "Socialism as a rigid form of 1996 economic determinism has ended, and rightly. The objective - a modern civic society in which all individuals have the ability to develop their potential - places us firmly within the tradition of social democracy and democratic socialism." 1 OCTOBER The Dublin Convention comes into force in Austria and 23 SEPTEMBER Under the pressure of the upcoming deregulation of 2 MAY After (New) Labour wins the general election by a landslide, put-1997 the European telecommunication market, which was decided by the ting an end to 18 years of Conservative governments in the UK, Tony Blair becomes the youngest British Prime minister since 1812. European Commission, the French government opens the capital of the 2 OCTOBER Signature of the Amsterdam Treaty. The EU becomes state-owned company France Telecom to the market. This is the first 2 JUNE In France, Lionel Jospin, leader of the Socialist Party, becomes responsible for legislating on immigration. The Schengen Agreements are step in a wide program of privatizations undertaken by the Minister of Prime Minister. His government focuses on employment, resorting to a incorporated into its legal system. Finance, Dominique Strauss-Kahn. During its term, the Socialist governnumber of neo-Keynesian measures, and succeeds in reducing the rate ment sold about €35 billion of assets, a record in France, and made of unemployment from 12.2% to 8.6% in 5 years. Yet, while railing fre-France the world's second issuer of executive stock-options. quently against the ills of an unregulated globalization, the prime minister hardly strays from the European and international neoliberal framework, especially with regard to privatization and deregulation. 23 SEPTEMBER Under the pressure of the upcoming deregulation of the European telecommunication market, which was decided by the European Commission, the French government opens the capital of the state-owned company France Telecom to the market. This is the first step in a wide program of privatizations undertaken by the Minister of Finance, Dominique Strauss-Kahn. During its term, the Socialist government sold about $\ensuremath{\varepsilon_{35}}$ billion of assets, a record in France, and made France the world's second issuer of executive stock-options. 11 DECEMBER In the UK, Tony Blair's plan to cut benefits to single parents sparks the first major rebellion within Labour's ranks in the 1 JUNE The European Central Bank (ECB) officially replaces the Euro-21 SEPTEMBER Bill Clinton and Tony Blair hold a conference in New 1 JANUARY The Dublin Convention comes into force for Finland. 1998 pean Monetary Institute. The conversion rates between the II participat-York: the Third Way, which aspires to be an alternative to both capitalism Non-member states Norway and Iceland conclude agreements to apply ing national currencies and the euro are established. The Bank was the and traditional forms of socialism, is officially launched. While they don't the provisions of the Convention in their territories final institution needed to settle the European Monetary Union. embrace the neoliberal claim that everything must be left to free markets, its promoters consider that the old social-democratic faith in state 1 JULY The Stability and Growth Pact (SGP) comes into force. This fisinterventionism is now outdated. cal monitoring of member-states' budget deficit and debt is created to ensure and enforce budgetary discipline within the European Union after **OCTOBER** The British sociologist and then director of the London creation of the single currency. This agreement was initially proposed by School of Economics, Anthony Giddens, publishes The Third Way: The German Finance Minister Theo Waigel in the mid-1990s. Renewal of Social Democracy. He argues that the class-based divisions of left and right are now superfluous and that reformist governments can no longer rely on traditional statist programs in the face of powerful global financial forces. 27 OCTOBER Gerhard Schröder, leader of the SPD, becomes Chancellor of Germany. $\ensuremath{\mathbf{SEPTEMBER}}$ After a growing number of refugees were found in the 1 JANUARY The euro is officially introduced in Europe. It will be only 25 APRIL Along with Bill Clinton and Tony Blair, the German Chancel-1999 used for financial dealings until the introduction of its physical form in lor, Gerhard Schröder, the Dutch Prime Minister, Wim Kok, and the Italian streets of Calais and surrounding towns - which became the northern 2002. The national currencies of the Eurozone member-states cease to Prime Minister, Massimo D'Allema attend a round-table discussion in border of Schengen Area and the main crossing point to reach the UK exist independently. All bonds and other forms of government debt are, Washington DC on "The Third Way: Progressive Governance for the 21st the French socialist government creates a humanitarian emergency shelfrom then onwards, denominated in euro. Century." ter in Sangatte. This center, run by the Red Cross, had the capacity to house 700 people. 9 JUNE Gerhard Schröder and Tony Blair publish a joint document, "The Way Forward for Europe's Social Democrats," which calls for radical reforms in the organization of welfare state as well as unhindered economic deregulation and liberalization - a process already very much under way in the UK, but not in Germany. "Product, capital and labour markets must all be flexible," write the two social democratic leaders. 13 SEPTEMBER In France, Lionel Jospin is interviewed on an evening TV news program after the Michelin tire company announces that, regardless of record profits, it plans to lay off 7,500 workers. The giant firm justifies the move by claiming that financial markets are asking for better returns on their investments. In response to the outcry provoked by Michelin's statement, the Socialist Prime Minister admits his powerlessness: "The state can't do everything." "I don't think we can regulate the economy with laws anymore," says Jospin. 23 MARCH The European Council introduces the Lisbon Strategy in 2000 order to deal with the low productivity and stagnation of economic growth within the European Union. The Lisbon Strategy aims to "make Europe the most competitive and the most dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world," by 2010. 18-22 JULY About 200,000 people from the anti-globalization move-25 MARCH The Schengen Area is enlarged to include Denmark, Fin-2001 ment protest at the Genoa G8 Summit. While social democratic leaders land, Iceland, Norway and Sweden. have endorsed the neoliberal doctrine and made their peace with the 27 DECEMBER 1,470 would-be asylum seekers, mainly Afghans and fact that markets dictate economic policies, within civil society, left-lean-Iraqi Kurds, are registered in the Sangatte Refugee camp, living in very ing movements refuse to comply with Margaret Thatcher's contention precarious conditions in a center built to receive a maximum of 700 peothat "there is no alternative." All the future European leaders of the radiple. They paid thousands of dollars to smugglers to travel from their cal left - from Alexis Tsipras to Pablo Iglesias - were among the the demhome country to the UK, but are stuck at the entrance of the Channel onstrators in Genoa. 31 DECEMBER In one year, 7 migrants died when hit by trains during their attempt to reach the UK through the Channel Tunnel. 23 MAY Marc Gentilini, president of the French Red Cross, denounces 1 JANUARY Euro becomes the main currency across Europe. The 21 APRIL Lionel Jospin is severely defeated in the first round of the 2002 United Kingdom, Denmark and Sweden do not participate in the euro French presidential election - by Jacques Chirac but also by Jean-Marie "the untenable and inhuman situation" at Sangatte. He recalls that, regime. The UK and Denmark had asked to opt-out during the negotia-Le Pen, the leader of the French extreme right. before the center was opened, "migrants, including women and children, tions of the Maastricht Treaty. Sweden doesn't meet the convergence were sleeping out in the streets," and warns that it would start again if 22 SEPTEMBER Gerhard Schröder wins a second term as German criteria. After a referendum in 2003 reveals 55.9% of voter were against the Refugee camp were closed down. Chancellor with a narrow majority membership in the Eurozone, Sweden decides not to adopt the European 21 JUNE The Seville European Council strengthens the externalization of asylum. The member states' government leaders urge that "any future cooperation, association or equivalent agreement [...] concluded with any country should include a clause on joint management of migration flows and on compulsory readmission in the event of illegal immigration." 26 SEPTEMBER Nicolas Sarkozy, French Interior Minister, and his British counterpart, David Blunkett, go to Sangatte to announce the closing of the Refugee Center. Responding to a woman who asked him where the migrants will go, Sarkozy answered: "Back home! The future of an Afghan is to participate in the reconstruction of Afghanistan." 16 DECEMBER The Sangatte humanitarian emergency shelter closes its doors. Thousands of people become homeless with no food, shelter, or care provided by the French authorities. 14 MARCH The German Chancellor, head of a Social Demo-15 JANUARY The automated fingerprint identification system, EURO-2003 crat-Greens coalition, announces an in-depth reform of the social wel-DAC, begins operating in all EU member-states, plus in Norway, Iceland fare system and the labor market. The so-called "Agenda 2010" involves and Switzerland. This database has been created to identify asylum seekdrastic cuts in pensions, unemployment benefits and national health $\mbox{\it ers}$ and irregular border-crossers, and to determine whether they have insurance. The new legislation makes it much easier for companies to lay already applied for asylum in another member-state or have illegally tranoff their employees. sited through another state ("principle of first contact"). 18 FEBRUARY Signing of the Dublin II Regulation that aims to rapidly determine the member-state responsible for an asylum claim - the state in which an asylum seeker first enters the EU - and to provide for the transfer of an asylum seeker to that state. 14 MARCH José Luis Zapatero brings the Spanish socialist party to 1 MAY The European Union expands to include Cyprus Estonia Hun-11 JULY Twenty days after rescuing 37 passengers from a dinghy sink-2004 gary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and power 8 years after the defeat of the former social democratic Prime ing in international waters between Libva and Lampedusa, Cap Anamur. Minister Felipe González Slovenia a ship belonging to a German aid agency, is finally authorized "for humanitarian reasons" to dock in Sicily. During these 3 weeks, Italy, Ger-14 OCTOBER At a summit of 13 center-left heads of government in 29 OCTOBER The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe is many and Malta handed over the responsibility to one another, insisting signed by representatives of the then 25 members-states. Ten countries Hungary, Tony Blair warns that a Labour third term in the UK would see a that it was impossible to meet for fear of creating a "dangerous prece-- Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, Luxembourg, Spain, clampdown on people "languishing on benefits." dent which would lead to numerous abuses." Poland, the LIK, Czech Republic, and Portugal - decide to submit the endorsement of this Constitution to their citizens by referendum. 26 OCTOBER The European agency Frontex is created to manage the cooperation between national border guards and to secure the external borders of the EU. The main aim of Frontex operations is to detect and stop illegal immigration. 1 JANUARY Hartz IV, the last of a series of labor market reforms in 29 MAY French voters reject the EU proposed Constitution sending 22 APRIL Tony Blair, British Prime Minister, talks about "the issue of 2005 shockwaves across Europe. The Dutch reject it 3 days later. Although it Germany, takes effect. "Mini-jobs" are created. While these reforms conasylum." He proposes to "tighten the asylum system further" in order to be "fair to those who genuinely need asylum and who use the correct was ratified by a majority of member-states, the project is hence tribute to a gradual reduction in the unemployment rate, they also result abandoned. in a wide increase of part-time work. They also introduce contractual relations, with economic sanctions, between "job-seekers" and 7 OCTOBER In Ceuta, the Spanish enclave in Morocco, the anti-mi-"job-centers" - the idea being that the poor look for work only when they grant border-fence is assaulted by hundreds of people. Caught between are no longer unconditionally assisted by the state. Spanish rubber bullets and Moroccan gunfire, about 15 migrants died and 22 APRIL Tony Blair, British Prime Minister, talks about "the issue of more than 50 are injured. The same day, a group of about 500 men, asylum." He proposes to "tighten the asylum system further" so as to be women and children are found in the Sahara by Doctors Without Borders. "fair to those who genuinely need asylum and who use the correct After being expelled from the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla, they had been brought by the Moroccan police to the desert and abandoned there without food or water. 5 MAY In the UK, the New Labour wins a historic third term at the General Election, albeit with a reduced majority. 7 MAY Spain declares an amnesty for about 700,000 illegal immigrants. On the February 7, Jose Luis Zapatero's government opened a threemonths qualification, during which illegal workers and their employers can apply for residency and work permits. "We can feel very satisfied," says the labor minister, Jesús Caldera. "Almost 700,000 jobs brought out of the black economy - that represents 80% to 90% of all such jobs held by immigrants in Spain." 22 NOVEMBER Angela Merkel, leader of the CDU, succeeds Gerhard Schröder. She becomes the first woman Chancellor of Germany. 15 MARCH Tony Blair's controversial school reform is adopted by MPs, 2006 but only because of Tories' support. Schools are encouraged to "acquire a trust" and thus be funded by private sponsors (businesses, charities, faith groups, etc.). With this law, the state vows to become a less important direct provider of services and, instead, calls for more public-private partnerships. 4 JULY In Slovakia, after the social democratic party (SMER-SD) wins the general election with only 29.1% of the votes, its leader, Robert Fico, forms a coalition government with a nationalist and a right-wing populist party to become the Prime Minister. The Assembly of the Party of European Socialists (PES) reacts by suspending temporarily SMER's application to join the PES. During the campaign, Robert Fico pledges to meet the requirements - spending cuts and market deregulations - that would enable his country to quickly enter the Eurozone. 1 JANUARY Bulgaria and Romania enter the EU. 5 JUNE Three weeks before succeeding Tony Blair as British Prime Min-21 DECEMBER Schengen border-free zone is enlarged to include 2007 ister, Gordon Brown, then British Chancellor of the Exchequer, gives a Estonia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, 16 JULY In the USA, following a major increase in defaults on mortgage speech promising "British Jobs for British Workers." Slovakia and Slovenia. Later they will be joined by Switzerland and payments, the investment bank Bear Stearns announces that two of its Liechtenstein. hedge funds have collapsed. The news produces cascading sales of mortgage-related securities that will eventually lead to the so-called "subprime crisis." 13 DECEMBER The Treaty of Lisbon is signed. For the first time, an accord gives member-states the explicit legal right to leave the European Union, and details the procedure to do so. The treaty includes a great number of reforms that appeared in the Constitution rejected by the French and the Dutch two years earlier. 2008 15 SEPTEMBER The international investment bank Lehman Brothers 7 FEBRUARY Because of the violations of the rights of asylum seekgoes bankrupt. The ECB releases €125 billion in one week in order to preers committed by Athens' government, Norway announces it will stop vent the collapse of the European banks hit by the subprime crisis. transferring any of them to Greece under the Dublin II Regulation. Finland announces a similar move two months later. Germany and Sweden only 29 SEPTEMBER The Irish economy is the first to go in recession. Irestop the transfer of unaccompanied children. land's deficit reaches 7.2% of the GDP, far above the limit of 3% imposed 22 SEPTEMBER French authorities dismantle Calais 'Jungle' camp. by the Maastricht Treaty. The Irish government announces that it will pro-After the closure of Sangatte humanitarian emergency shelter, thouvide an unlimited guarantee on all deposits and loans in order to avoid a sands of asylum seekers remained there, homeless, camping in the woods near the harbor of Calais and waiting for the opportunity to reach 8 OCTOBER Responding to major drops in the stock market during the the UK. first week of October, the government of the United Kingdom puts up a €850 billion package to rescue British banks. 9 OCTOBER The Icelandic government nationalizes the three main banks of the country and warns of the risk of a national bankruptcy. 4 OCTOBER The PASOK wins with an absolute majority in the Greek 23 JULY Faced with a major banking, monetary and fiscal crisis, Ice-2009 land officially files for EU membership in the hope that joining the Eurogeneral election. George Papandreou, the leader of the social democrats, zone will stabilize its economy. becomes the Prime Minister. Just eleven days after taking office, however, he publicly announces that the previous government had hidden 4 OCTOBER The PASOK wins with an absolute majority in the Greek the actual state of his country's finances: the real deficit amounts to general election. George Papandreou, the leader of the social democrats, 12.7% of the GDP. This announcement marks the beginning of what will be becomes prime minister. Just eleven days after taking office, however, he a downward spiral for the Greek economy, caught in the vicious circle of publicly announces that the previous government has hidden the actual recession and austerity. state of his country's finances: the real deficit amounts to 12.7% of the GDP. This announcement marks the beginning of what will be a downward spiral for the Greek economy, caught in the vicious circle of recession and austerity. 8 DECEMBER Financial markets tumble after Fitch downgrades Greece's credit rating. 3 FEBRUARY The European Commission backs Greece's Stability and 11 MAY After Labour loses the General Election, Gordon Brown resigns 17 DECEMBER 2010 Mohamed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old jobless Tuni-2010 Growth Programme and urges it to cut its overall public sector wage bill. as the Prime Minister. The leader of the Conservative Party, David Camsian, burns himself to death after police brutally seized the fruits and vegeron succeeds him. etables he was selling in the street. Two days later, hundreds of young 15 MARCH The financial crisis turns into a European sovereign debt Tunisians gather to protest. The Arab spring begins. crisis. Two weeks after - and only after - the Greek Prime Minister 12 MAY After Zapatero had promised he would "not make workers pay George Papandreou bows to international pressure and announced a for the crisis," his government, under the pressure of the EU and invesfar-reaching austerity programme, European Finance Ministers agree to tors, makes a spectacular political U-turn. The Spanish Prime Minister the technicalities of what will be the first rescue package in the history of takes drastic austerity measures to reduce the deficit. He announces spending cuts of €15 billion over 2 years, including a 5% cut in civil-service the monetary union pay, stagnant pension benefits, and €6 billion reduction in public sector 18 MARCH George Papandreou warns that Greece will not be able to investments. Zapatero expresses his regrets about the "obvious social cut deficit if borrowing costs remain as high as they are - about 10%, and impact" of such measures, while the other leaders of the Eurozone, anxthat the country may have to go to the IMF. ious to avert a Spanish debt crisis, welcome them with relief. 15 APRIL Olli Rehn, the European Commissioner for Economic and Monetary Affairs, says there is no possibility of a Greek default, and no doubt that Germany will participate in the bailout despite serious objections from parts of German society. 27 APRIL Standard and Poor's downgrades Greece's debt ratings below investment grade to junk bond status. The ratings agency also downgrades the Portuguese's debt and issues a negative outlook warning that further downgrade to junk bond status is likely. 3 MAY The first Greek Memorandum of Understanding is finally signed after it was postponed for about two months because of some European leaders' deep reluctance to bail the Greeks out. 9 MAY The 27 EU member-states approve the creation of the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) to "safeguard financial stability in Europe by providing financial assistance" to Eurozone states in economic difficulty. The EFSF is authorized to borrow up to €440 billion that may be combined with loans up to €60 billion from the European Financial Stabilisation Mechanism, and up to €250 billion from the IMF, to obtain a total crisis fund of up to €750 billion. 12 MAY After Zapatero had promised he would "not make workers pay for the crisis", his government, under the pressure of the EU and investors, makes a spectacular political U-turn. The Spanish Prime Minister takes drastic austerity measures to reduce the deficit. He announces spending cuts of €15 billion over 2 years, including a 5% cut in civil-service pay, stagnant pension benefits, and €6 billion reduction in public sector investments. Zapatero expresses his regrets about the "obvious social impact" of such measures, while the other leaders of the Eurozone, anxious to avert a Spanish debt crisis, welcome them with relief. 22 NOVEMBER An emergency session gathering European Finance rescue Greece from a sovereign debt default few months earlier, they agree to bail out Ireland up to €90 billion in order to "safeguard financial stability in the EU and in the euro area." This rescue package will entail a three-year austerity programme in Ireland. 6 APRIL José Sócrates, the resigning Prime Minister, announces that 12 MARCH Portugal is the first European country to develop an "indig-JANUARY Uprising in Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, Yemen and Lebanon. 2011 Portugal, facing a status of bankruptcy, will request financial assistance nant" movement: Geração a rasca ("Generation left behind.") The March 14 JANUARY President Ben Ali flees Tunisia. from the European Union and the IMF. One year earlier, before the coun-12 Movement, organized without political parties or trade unions support, try became a victim of pressure from bond traders, rating agencies, and sees more than 300,000 citizens who define themselves as "non-partisan, 11 FEBRUARY In Egypt, the President Hosni Mubarak stands down speculators, Portugal had one of the best rates of economic recovery in secular, and peaceful," protest against austerity in the Portuguese and hands power to a military council. streets. This demonstration, the biggest since the 1974 Revolution, fur-17 FEBRUARY Protest movement spreads to Libya. ther undermines the already shaky legitimacy of the socialist government **16 MAY** The Eurozone leaders officially approve a three-year €78 billion of José Sócrates who resigns eleven days later. 13 MARCH Human rights activists warn international media that Iran's bailout programme for Portugal, which becomes the third country after Islamic regime is using child soldiers to repress anti-government Greece and Ireland to receive emergency funds. Two months later, the 15 MAY The Indignados movement emerges in Spain. The main motives demonstrations. new Prime Minister, Pedro Passos Coelho, will announce a wide package of the movement are the influence of financial institutions over poliof austerity measures. In the following year, the Portuguese unemploycy-making and the austerity measures adopted as a response to Spain's 18 MARCH Protest movement spreads to Syria. Security forces kill at ment rate will rise from 12.3% to 17.3%. worst economic crisis in decades. The so-called 15-M is launched with least five protesters in the city of Daraa. gatherings of more than 130,000 Spanish citizens throughout the country. 27 MARCH "Left-to-die boat case": 72 migrants on a rubber boat are 6 JULY Moody's downgrades Portugal's credit rating to junk status. It also speculates that the country could request a second bailout just as 20 NOVEMBER A snap election is held in Spain. Reeling from the left to drift for 14 days in the Mediterranean, although Coast Guards and Greece did, but Portugal will not. It will exit the Troika's bailout on May austerity measures taken by the Zapatero government, the PSOE NATO military forces were informed of their distress. Only 9 passengers endures its worst result ever in a general election since the Spanish transition to democracy. The conservative Popular Party receives an absolute 22 APRIL Fearing the incremental arrivals of Libyan and Tunisian majority of seats and Mariano Rajoy becomes Prime Minister. migrants from Italy, France looks to restore border controls within the Schengen area. 28 APRIL At least 500 pro-democracy protesters are believed to have been killed by the Assad government security forces since the beginning of the uprising. Thousands of civilians have been arrested and many have gone missing. A divided UN security council fails to agree on a statement condemning the Assad regime's violence. 29 APRIL In Syria, Hamza al-Khatib, 13, is arrested by the security forces. His mutilated corpse will be released to his family one month 30 APRIL NATO airstrike kills one of Gaddafi's sons and three of his grandsons in Tripoli. 9 MAY EU imposes an arms embargo on Syria, but doesn't penalize Assad personally. Tanks enter Homs. 10 MAY Syrians start to flee to neighboring countries, especially Lebanon. 19 MAY After two months of brutal repression of pro-democracy protesters and civilians, the USA and the EU impose sanctions on Bashar al-Assad for the first time. President Obama urges Assad to lead the democratic transition "or get out of the way." 17 JUNE The Italian government signs a Memorandum of Understanding with the Libyan National Transitional Council. This document focuses on measures to reduce illegal immigration. The two countries commit to cooperate on the repatriation of migrants. 27 JUNE The ICC issues an international arrest warrant for Gaddafi for charges concerning crimes against humanity. 20 OCTOBER After a long manhunt, Muammar Gaddafi is captured by a militia and is beaten and stabbed to death. 17 DECEMBER Greece completes the three-year-long construction of 9 JUNE After the collapse of an enormous housing bubble that plunged 6 MAY In France, François Hollande, leader of the Socialist Party, wins 2012 Spain into a severe crisis, the Eurogroup agrees to provide up to €110 bilthe presidential election. Though elected on the promise that he would a ten-kilometer-long wall along its border with Turkey to stop the lion to the Fund for Orderly Bank Restructuring to the Spanish governrenegotiate the Lisbon Treaty so as to combine growth with fiscal discientrance of migrants. From now on, the only way for migrants to reach ment. Like the rescue packages granted to others member-states facing pline, he rapidly bows to Angela Merkel's refusal to modify her priorities. Greece is the perilous path across the Aegean Sea. economic difficulties, this bailout programme will be subject to stringent Moreover, barely a month after being elected, Hollande visits Athens in order to urge Greek voters to choose the Conservative leader Antónis control from the Troika - austerity measures having to be strictly and rapidly applied. Samarás over Alexis Tsipras, the candidate of the anti-austerity left. "If the impression is given that the Greeks want to move away from the 25 JUNE The Cypriot government requests financial assistance from commitments that were taken $[\dots]$, there will be [European] countries the EU after the ratings agency Fitch downgrades bonds issued by that will want to end the presence of Greece in the Eurozone," warns Cyprus and disqualifies them for being accepted as collateral by the Hollande. Furopean Central Bank. 15 SEPTEMBER In Portugal, after the conservative Prime Minister, 27 SEPTEMBER The European Union establishes the European Sta-Pedro Passos Coelho, announces an increase in workers' social security bility Mechanism (ESM). The objective of this intergovernmental organicontributions amounting to a net monthly wage, the movement of angry zation is to safeguard Eurozone and provide instant access to financial citizens formed the previous year gathers about one million people in a assistance programmes for its member-states burdened with financial demonstration throughout the country. Their motto: "The Troïka can go to difficulties. hell! We want our lives!" 20 JUNE Amnesty International reports the use of torture on asylum 16 MARCH After tough negotiations between Cyprus and the Troika 2013 over the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding, a €10 billion bailseekers and migrants in Libyan detention camps, partly financed by the out is officially accepted by the Eurogroup, the European Commission, EU within its framework against illegal migration policy and border secuthe ECB and the IMF. rity cooperation with third-countries. Libya holds thousands of migrants, including children, indefinitely, without any hope of release. The NGO 15 DECEMBER Ireland is the first country to exit the Eurozone bailout decries the deplorable conditions in these so-called "holding centers." programme. The Minister of Finance Michael Noonan describes the crisis as the "biggest catastrophe" in the country "since The Famine." "The real 3 OCTOBER A boat with about 500 migrants on board sinks near the island of Lampedusa. 366 people die. This is the first in a long list of heroes and heroines are the Irish people," Noonan says. tragic shipwrecks in the Mediterranean Sea. 18 OCTOBER The Italian government launches the Operation Mare Nostrum, a search and rescue operation in the Mediterranean. By rapidly detecting boats in distress and bringing help to their passengers, the Operation saved over 170,000 migrants in one year. 31 OCTOBER After Italy failed to obtain funds from other EU mem-17 JANUARY In Spain, Pablo Iglesias officially launches Podemos, a 2014 political party that claims to be the political translation of the 15-M $\,$ ber-states to continue Operation Mare Nostrum, it put an end to the movement. operation. Italy could not handle the cost of Mare Nostrum beyond its first year, which proved too expensive (9 millions euros per month) for 25 MAY With the European Parliamentary election, the radical, or one country to support by itself. anti-austerity, left becomes visible within the EU political frame. In Spain, 1 NOVEMBER Mare Nostrum is superseded by the Operation Triton, Podemos wins 5 seats, getting a much higher score than what polls had predicted. In Greece, Syriza becomes the largest party with 26% of the a border security operation conducted by the EU agency Frontex. This votes. The same day, Syriza's Réna Doúrou is elected Regional Governor operation, with a budget four times less than the one dedicated to ${\it Mare}$ Nostrum by Italy, is far less effective than the one it replaced. Compared of Attica (the vast metropolitan area of Athens). This victory marks a turning point in Syriza's rise to power. to the same period in 2014, the New York Times reports that early 2015 saw a 1600% increase in the number of migrants who drowned while 26 JUNE In Spain, the manifesto entitled Guanyem Barcelona ("Let's attempting to cross the Mediterranean. Win Barcelona") is published. The first signatories - social activists, university professors, journalists - explain why they decided to move from the ranks of the social movements to the electoral arena: "The hour has come to reclaim the institutions so that they serve the majority of the people and the common good." From Barcelona City Hall, they hope to orchestrate a "democratic rebellion" that would serve as an example for Spain and Europe as a whole. 12 MARCH Iceland announces that it has officially dropped its bid to 2015 25 JANUARY Syriza, the anti-austerity party of the left wins the 12 APRIL More than 400 people died when their boat sank off the join the European Union. "Iceland's interests are better served outside General Election in Greece, just short of an outright majority. Alexis coast of Libya. the European Union," the Foreign Minister Gunnar Bragi Sveinsson writes Tsipras becomes Prime Minister and vows to end the "vicious cycle 18 APRIL 800 migrants die in another tragic boat disaster in the Medion his website terranean Sea between Libya and Italy. Children between the ages of 10 13 MARCH European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker calls 24 MAY Ada Colau, the anti-evictions activist, leader of Barcelona and 12 were on board. on European governments to show solidarity with Greece after the Geren Comú ("Barcelona in Common"), wins the municipal election and 30 APRIL 1,300 migrants die at the external EU borders in the period of man Minister of Finance, Wolgang Schäuble, warns of "an accidental" becomes the Mayor of Barcelona, the second largest city of Spain. only a month. Across the country, leftist candidates stemming from the 15-M movement Grexit from the Eurozone - a Grexident: "As the responsibility, the possi-11 MAY Amnesty International reports abduction, torture and rape of bility to decide what happens only lies with Greece, and because we win 5 City Councils elections. Manuela Carmena, a former judge and don't exactly know what those in charge in Greece are doing, we can't an indignada leader of the coalition Ahora Madrid, becomes the Mayor migrants in Libya. rule it out," savs Schäuble. of the capital, Madrid. 23 JUNE In opposition to the Dublin Regulation, Hungary stops receiv-5 JULY The Greek government organizes a referendum to decide 5 IULY The Greek government organizes a referendum to decide ing the asylum applicants who were fingerprinted in its territory and later crossed the border to another EU country. whether Greek people have to accept the bailout conditions - a new whether Greek people have to accept the bailout conditions - a new package of austerity measures - dictated by the country's creditors. package of austerity measures - dictated by the country's creditors. 13 JULY Hungary begins erecting a 175-kilometers razor-wire fence More than 60% of the voters answer Oxi ("No"). Describing the vote More than 60% of the voters answer Oxi ("No"). Describing the vote as a along its border with Serbia. as a "historic decision," Alexis Tspiras says the rejected package "historic decision," Alexis Tsipras says the rejected package amounted to "blackmail for the acceptance on our part of severe and humiliating amounted to "blackmail for the acceptance on our part of severe and 4 AUGUST Bulgaria builds the final part of a large razor-wire fence, humiliating austerity without an end and without the prospect of ever austerity without end and without the prospect of ever prospering begun in November 2013, along its border with Turkey. The country used socially and economically." However, barely a week later, the prime minprospering socially and economically." However, barely a week later, the 15 millions euros it received from the EU for border protection to ister will stun his constituents by agreeing to the even harsher program the prime minister will stun his constituents by agreeing to the even erect this wall adorned with watchtowers and thermic cameras, with a that Athens' European partners have devised in the wake of - and in harsher program that Athens' European partners devised in the wake total cost of 46 millions euros. Bulgaria is one of the poorest countries in retaliation against - the referendum. of - and in a retaliation against - the referendum. 5 AUGUST France erects new razor-wire fences and installs extra 11 JULY During a meeting of the Eurogroup, Wolfgang Schäuble, the 28 AUGUST Ada Colau, Mayor of Barcelona, proposes to create a security cameras at Calais to prevent migrants from trying to reach Brit-German Minister of Finance, proposes a plan that would require Greece "network of refuge cities" in Europe. In the first 24 hours after Barceloto transfer €50 billion state assets into a trust fund in Luxembourg in na's City Hall published an email address for citizens who want to help. ain. More than 3,000 refugees live in the so-called "Jungle." order to pay down its debt and stay in the Eurozone. The yields of the priabout 1,200 offers of assistance will be registered, from housing to lan-20 AUGUST Slovakia announces that it will only accept 200 Christian vatizations should not pass through Athens but directly go to the Greece guage lessons. creditors. 12 SEPTEMBER In the UK, Jeremy Corbyn, the candidate of the left 24 AUGUST Germany decides to suspend the Dublin Regulation wing of the Labour party wins the leadership contest with an overwhelmregarding the processing of Syrian refugees' asylum applications, even if ing majority of votes. During the campaign, he has claimed that the party this is not the country where they entered the EU. needed to break with the New Labour era of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. People are "fed up with the injustice and the inequality" of Britain, proclaims Corbyn after his victory. 27 AUGUST. The bodies of 71 refugees are found in the back of a truck 20 SEPTEMBER After Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras agrees to a crushing Eurozone-led austerity program, the so-called Third Memoranthat was abandoned on a highway in Austria. dum of Agreement, and announces his resignation on the 20th of August 28 AUGUST Ada Colau, Mayor of Barcelona, proposes to create a a snap general election is held in Greece. It results in a new and unextwork of refuge cities" in Europe. In the first 24 hours after Barcelo pectedly large victory for Syriza. na's city hall published an email address for citizens who want to help, it receives 1,200 offers of assistance, from housing to language lessons. 25 OCTOBER In Poland, the right and the far right win all the parliamentary seats in the General Election. The left totally disappears from 2 SEPTEMBER The shocking image of a drowned three-year-old Syrthe Parliament. ian migrant, Aylan Kurdi, upsets Europe. The young boy lying facedown 26 NOVEMBER In Portugal, António Costa, leader of the Partido on a Turkish beach brings visibility to the desperate plight of refugees. Socialista, becomes the Prime Minister. Although his party came second 3 SEPTEMBER A wave of sympathy for refugees in civil society, trigin the General Election, Costa succeeded, much to everyone's surprise, gered by Aylan's picture, compels responses from governments in Westin forming an alliance with the other parties of the left (the Communist. ern Europe. The slogan "Refugees Welcome" goes viral, especially in the Green and the Left Bloc): while these parties did not enter Costa's cabinet, they committed to support the new Prime Minister in the Parlia-4 SEPTEMBER The Hungarian government sets a trap for hundreds of ment, and thereby granting his government the majority. As for his refugees stuck in Budapest for days. Police officers make the migrants agenda, the new Prime Minister has cautiously pledged to tamper with the austerity programs imposed on Portugal by its EU partners. believe that a train is going to take them to Austria, but the convoy stops a few kilometers further near a refugee camp where all the passengers 20 DECEMBER The Spanish General Election marks the end of the are locked up by force. hegemony of the two establishment parties over the political landscape. Together, the ruling conservative party, Partido Popular, and the PSOE, 5 SEPTEMBER Hundreds of German citizens welcome - with friendly its socialist opponent, gather barely 50% of the votes. Podemos ranks messages, applause, food, clothes, and gifts - thousands of refugees in Munich and Frankfurt train stations third and receives over 5 million votes. 6 SEPTEMBER In one weekend, 18,000 refugees arrive in Germany. 7 SEPTEMBER In France, François Hollande agrees to admit an extra 24,000 refugees over two years, but requires a stricter distinction between asylum seekers and economic migrants at the external EU borders. Regarding economic migrants, the socialist French President says: "We can understand them, but not welcome them." 11 SEPTEMBER A video, filmed by an Austrian volunteer, shows migrants being fed "like animals in a pen" in a refugee camp in Hungary. The refugees scramble to grab food thrown above a fence by police officers wearing helmets and hygiene masks. 14 SEPTEMBER Greece and Italy agree to the installation of hotspots on their external borders. The aim of these centers is to identify and fingerprint asylum seekers, and to filter out migrants who have crossed the Mediterranean in search of better economic circumstances. 22 SEPTEMBER EU interior ministers approve a controversial plan to relocate 120,000 migrants across the continent over the next two years. Slovakia, Romania, Hungary and the Czech Republic vote against these mandatory quotas. Finland abstains from the vote. 20 OCTOBER The German Bundestag enacts the Act on the Acceleration of Asylum Procedures. This new law substitutes benefits in kind for cash benefits during the asylum process and deportation procedures are sped up for those who have been disallowed. Albania, Montenegro and Kosovo are added to the list of safe countries of origin, which means that their citizens no longer have a chance to obtain asylum in Germany. 11 NOVEMBER Slovenia erects razor-wire fence along its border with Croatia. 15 NOVEMBER Witold Waszczykowski, the foreign minister of the new Poland's right wing government, says that Syrian refugees arriving in Europe should form an army to "liberate" their home country instead of "drinking coffee in the cafes of Berlin" while western soldiers face ISIS. 18 NOVEMBER Macedonia starts to erect a razor-wire fence at its border with Greece. 25 NOVEMBER Following the Paris terror attacks, Poland's new Prime minister announces his country will refuse to take in its EU compulsory quota of 4,500 refugees. 29 NOVEMBER To stem the flow of refugee leaving the Turkish coasts to reach Europe, the EU offers Turkey 3 billion euros and the resumption of negotiations on its membership. In return, Ankara promises to tighten controls on its maritime border. 8 DECEMBER Finland's government announces that it will require asylum seekers to work for free and to acknowledge a "national curriculum" on Finnish culture and society, highlighting women and children's rights. It will also reassess living conditions in the refugees' home countries twice a year and possibly cancel residence permits if it decides that the situation has improved. 15 DECEMBER The European Commission presents its proposal for a new European Border and Coast Guard Agency that would replace Frontex. 24 DECEMBER In Germany, arsonists burn down a brand new asylum hostel that provided for housing 120 people. In 2015, the country witnessed more than 220 far-right attacks against refugees. 31 DECEMBER In her New Year address, Angela Merkel urges Germans to see refugee arrivals as "an opportunity"; "Countries have always benefited from successful immigration, both economically and socially," the German chancellor says. Germany welcomed 1.09 million refugees in 18 FEBRUARY The Organization for Economic Co-operation and 17 FEBRUARY While the Portuguese and Spanish socialist respec-1 JANUARY On New Year's Eve, a wave of sex attacks and robberies 2016 Development (OECD) calls for its affluent members to ease up on austercommitted by migrants in Cologne and other German cities shocks Gertively govern with popular support and enter into negotiations with the anti-austerity left in their respective countries, in France, Manuel Valls' ity and spend more on public investments to boost growth. many. More than 1,000 complaints will be filed. nominally socialist government presents a blueprint for a labor law 4 JANUARY Sweden imposes identity controls at its border with Denreform that proves far more socially regressive than any project ever mark to restrict migrants. Denmark does the same at its border with elaborated by the French right. Coupled with the open-ended state of emergency imposed by François Hollande after the November attacks on Paris - and the suppression of civil liberties that it entails - the French 21 JANUARY The Dutch Prime Minister, Mark Rutte, warns that the refugee crisis could put a definitive end to Schengen in the short-term. government's new efforts to make the country more "competitive" signal that for some European socialists, breaking with the spirit of the "third 22 JANUARY Sebastian Kurz, Austrian Foreign Minister, says that refway" is not part of the agenda. ugees who refuse to attend special integration training courses may see their social benefits cut. The day before, the Chancellor said that Austria would take measures to reduce the number of refugees. 25 JANUARY The EU threatens Greece with expulsion from Schengen Area if Athens doesn't do more to halt the influx of refugees from Turkey. 26 JANUARY The Danish Parliament enacts a bill that allows police to seize refugees' assets. The migrants will only be allowed to keep their items of sentimental value and 10,000 kroner (\$1,465). Anything above this will be confiscated to cover the cost of asylum seekers' treatment by 28 JANUARY Anders Ygeman, Sweden's Interior Minister, announces that his country is going to expel 80,000 asylum seekers. 1 FEBRUARY In Belgium, for the first time ever, a European government charters a plane with some one hundred asylum seekers on board. The passengers are all volunteers for repatriation to Baghdad. A few days earlier, one of them said on a TV report: "I'd rather die in Iraq than stay in Belgium." 2 FEBRUARY Controversy in Belgium after Carl Decaluwé, governor of West Flanders, fearing that the port of Zeebrugge would become a "new Calais", gave people of good will the warning: "Do not feed the migrants, or more will come." 3 FEBRUARY Germany tightens its immigration laws to harden the reception of asylum seekers, facilitate their deportation, and introduce tougher criminal penalties. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia are added to the list of safe countries of origin. 6 FEBRUARY In Prague, a social center that offered Czech language lessons to refugees is firebombed by about 30 anti-Muslims protesters. More than 20 people were inside the building. 11 FEBRUARY After Germany, Greece and Turkey ask for help, NATO deploys ships in the Aegean Sea together with the EU in order to stem the influx of migrants.