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By Boaventura de Sousa Santos 22.02.2023

Can Europe survive this moment?



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Right and far-right forces dominate the discourse on Ukraine. As in the 1930s, the apology of fascism is made in the name of democracy and the apology of war is made in the name of peace.

A new-old ghost hangs over Europe: war. The most violent continent in the world in terms of the number of deaths caused by wars over the past 100 years (to go no further back and include the deaths suffered by Europe during religious wars and the deaths inflicted by Europeans on peoples subjected to colonialism) is heading for a new war.

Almost 80 years after the Second World War, the most violent conflict so far, which caused the death of between 70 and 85 million people, The coming war may be even deadlier. All Previous conflicts apparently began without a compelling reason and They were supposed to last a short time. At the beginning of these conflicts, the majority of the well-to-do population went on with their lives Normal: buying and going to the theater, reading newspapers, drinking holidays and enjoying idle talks about politics.

Whenever a localized violent conflict arose, belief that it would be resolved locally. For example, very few people (including politicians) thought the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), which caused the death of more than 500,000 people, it would be the harbinger of a wider war, the Second World War, although the conditions on the ground indicated so. Even Knowing that history does not repeat itself, it is legitimate to ask whether the The current war between Russia and Ukraine is not the harbinger of a new Much wider war.

Signs are accumulating that a greater danger may lie in the horizon. At the level of public opinion and political discourse dominant, the presence of this danger manifests itself in two symptoms Conflicting. On the one hand, conservative political forces are not only They control ideological initiatives, but also enjoy a Privileged reception in the media. They are enemies polarizers of complexity and calm argumentation, which use extremely aggressive words and make appeals incendiaries to hatred.

These conservative political forces are not bothered by double standards. with which they comment on conflict and death (for example, the difference between deaths resulting from conflicts in Ukraine and Palestine), nor the hypocrisy of appealing to values that deny with their practices (expose the corruption of their opponents to hide the own).

In this current of conservative opinion, they are increasingly intermingled. More right-wing and far-right positions, and greater dynamism (tolerated aggressiveness) comes from the latter. This device It aims to inculcate the idea of the need to eliminate the enemy. The Elimination by words leads to a predisposition of opinion public towards elimination by facts.

While in a democracy there are no internal enemies, only adversaries, The logic of war is insidiously transposed to assume the presence of internal enemies, whose voices must first be Silenced. In parliaments, conservative forces dominate the political initiative; while the forces of the left, disoriented or lost in ideological labyrinths or calculations Incomprehensible elections, return to a defense as paralyzing as incomprehensible. As in the 1930s, the apologia for fascism was does in the name of democracy; The apology of war is made in Name of La Paz.

But this political-ideological climate is marked by a symptom. opposite. The most attentive observers or commentators are aware of the ghost that haunts Europe and surprisingly have converged expressing their concerns in this regard. In recent times, I have identified with commentator analysis I've always recognized As belonging to a political family different from mine: Conservative, moderate-right commentators. What we have in Common is the distinction we make between the themes of war and peace. and the issues of democracy. We can diverge in the first and converge on the latter. We all agree that only the strengthening democracy in Europe can lead to containment of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and, ideally, lead to its peaceful solution. Without a vigorous democracy, Europe will continue sleepwalking towards a new war and towards her own destruction.

Is there time to avoid catastrophe? I would like to say yes, but I can't. The signs are very worrying. First, the extreme Right is growing globally, driven and financed by the same stakeholders meeting in Davos to deal with their affairs. In the 1930s they were much more afraid of communism than of communism. fascism; Today, without the communist threat, they are afraid of the revolt of the masses impoverished and propose police and military repression violent as the only response. Its parliamentary voice is that of the extreme Right. Internal war and external war are the two faces of the same monster, and the arms industry wins equally with both Wars.

Second, the war in Ukraine seems more confined than it is. It is actually. The current scourge, which ravages the continent, where it makes 80 years died so many thousands of innocents (mostly Jews), It looks a lot like self-flagellation. Russia to the Urals is so European like Ukraine, and with this illegal war, in addition to the loss of life innocent, many of whom will be Russian-speaking, Russia is destroying the infrastructures that she herself built under the former Soviet Union.

History and ethno-cultural identities between Russia and Ukraine They are much more intertwined than with other countries they once occupied. Ukraine and now they support it. Both Ukraine and Russia must guarantee a greater emphasis on their democratic processes to end the war and ensure peace.

Europe is much bigger than the eyes of Europe can reach. Brussels. At the headquarters of the European Commission (or NATO headquarters, which is the same) dominates the logic of peace according to the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, and not the one established under the Congress of Vienna of 1815. The first humiliated the defeated power (Germany) after World War I World and humiliation led to a new war 20 years later; the second

honored the defeated power (Napoleonic France) and guaranteed a century of peace in Europe.

The peace proposed today is that of the Treaty of Versailles. Presupposes the total defeat of Russia, as imagined by Adolf Hitler when invaded the Soviet Union in 1941. Even assuming this happens At the level of a conventional war, it is easy to predict that if the Losing power has nuclear weapons, it will not hesitate to use them. There will be a Nuclear holocaust. American neoconservatives already include This eventuality in their calculations, convinced in their blindness that everything It will happen thousands of miles from its borders. America first... and last. It is quite possible that they are already thinking about a new Marshall Plan. This time to store the atomic waste accumulated in the ruins of Europe.

Without Russia, Europe is half of itself, economically and culturally. The greatest illusion instilled in Europeans by the war of the information during the last year is that Europe, once amputated of Russia will be able to recover its integrity with the help of the United States, which He takes very good care of their interests. History shows that an empire in Decline always tries to drag its areas of influence to slow down its decline. If only Europe knew how to look after its own interests.

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