

At the borders of “fortress Europe”,
the *wretched refuse of their teeming
shore...*

Free-circulation /borderless space/common
visa inside (Schengen, 1985)

Hard external border vs. the outside (Dublin,
1990)

- Thanks!

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Ceuta and Melilla, European Outposts in Morocco, Africa...



Evros River, EU (Greece)-Turkey Border, 2011...

The EU's dirty Hands, Human Rights Watch Report, 2011

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2011/09/21/eu-s-dirty-hands-0>



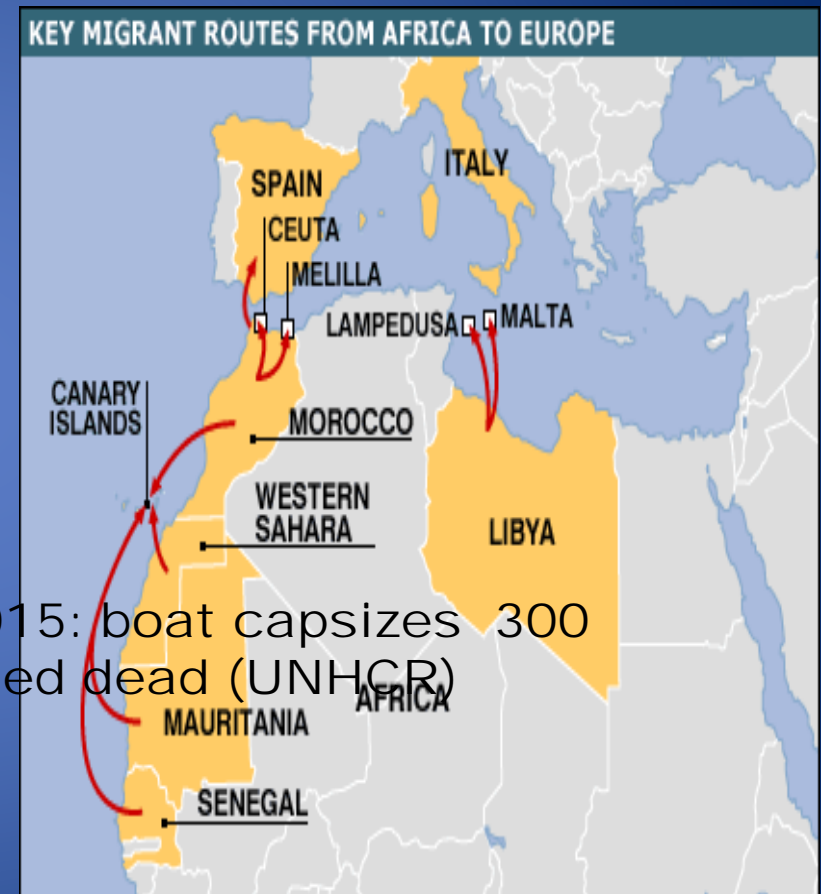
Muriel Rouyer Ash Center Panel on The Migration crisis in the EU-6 oct. 2015

Lampedusa, Italian Island on the road from Africa (+10000 migrants since Jan, 2015)



• 3 oct. 2013: 366 deaths at sea

• Italy decrees a day of national mourning and launches "Mare Nostrum"



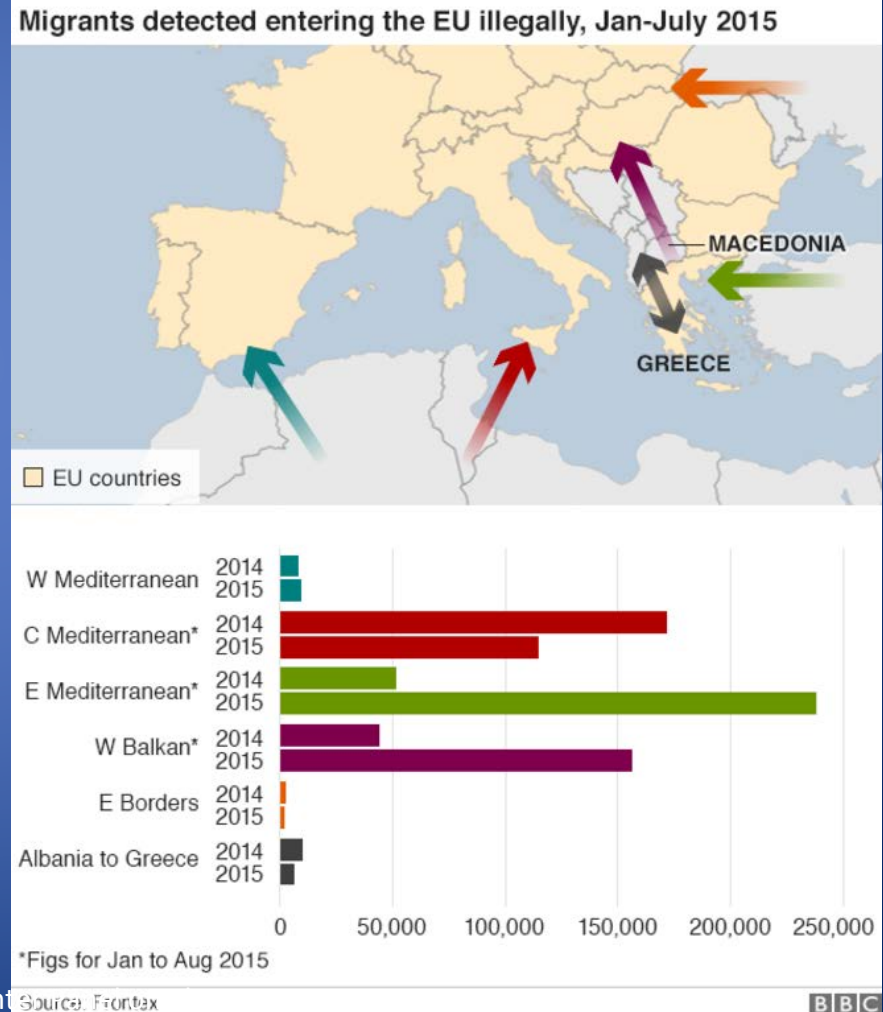
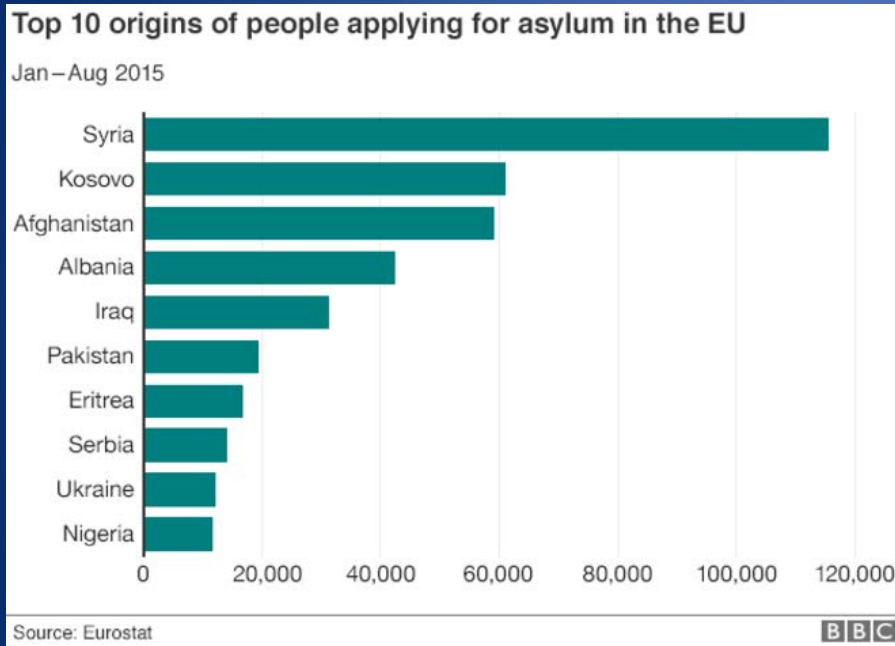
FEB. 2015: boat capsizes 300 estimated dead (UNHCR)

Migrants Upsurge in 2014-2015

- Migrants arriving to Europe in 2014: x 3/2013 (Frontex)
- 2015: 630 000 refugees have reached Europe (Frontex)
- Asylum applications rise: +85% in the second quarter 2015/ 2014 +15% / first quarter (Eurostat)
- Death toll at sea: 3500 in 2014, 900 in 2015 (UNHCR)
- Daily arrivals: Peaks at 5000 /day (Italy, Lampedusa spring 2015; Greece (Lesbo. Kos) summer 2015, Hungary)

- Fleeing from war in Syria, the terror of the Islamic State in Lybia or disctorship in Eritrea...
 - **Syrians = 21% of asylum applicants**, Afghans 13% Albanians (8%) Iraq (6%)...
 - Going North to Germany (38% of applications) Hungary (15%), Austria, Italy France, Sweden, UK...

Migrants origin and routes 2015



Alternative data UNHCR

<http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/regional.php>

Policy crisis: unraveling of Dublin and Schengen

- **Frontline States** unable to manage flows and maintain Europe's external border (their responsibility per EU law) lack of solidarity of other States
- ITALY : 170 000 migrants in 2014- *Mare Nostrum national rescue- Renzi threatens Europe with Plan B to let migrants pass through "unstamped"*
-
- GREECE has replaced Italy as the main frontline state, located on the "Eastern Mediterranean route" and where 416 245 PEOPLE HAVE LANDED (88 000 people in August alone) causing tensions in ISLANDS of THE AEGEAN SEA facing very near Turkey: LESBOS: 20.000 REFUGEES /local population = 27000)
- More recently **Hungary** became a Transit state on the Western Balkan route to Germany rapidly (+250 000 entries, in 2015, 70 000 for September alone (UNHCR) <http://data.unhcr.org/mediterranean/regional.php>

Europe's emergency Plan

European Commission (May & September 2015):

- Emergency + Solidarity
- Reallocation mechanism of 160 000 people in clear need of international protection:
 - Mandatory mechanism (“Quota”) factoring population (40%), GDP (40%)past asylum applications (10%)
Unemployment rate (10%)
 - 780 Bn euros budget support for participating MS
 - Solidarity clause allowing financial off-setting of relocation (0.02% GDP)
 - Creation of *Hotspots* to help frontline states proceed asylum claims
 - Common list of safe countries where to return applicants

Tensions revealed *between* and *within* Member-States

- The pros (Germany, France, NDL, Lux, Romania, Austria)...
- Germany's pragmatic generous leadership (opens borders mid-September, pledges 6Bn euros to welcome up to 1 M refugees in 2015, and 500 000 refugees/year then) calls for European, negotiated solution and appeals to European ideals: fundamental rights, humanity and hospitality across borders...
- The Cons: Visegrad group
- (Poland who then changed her mind)+ Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia), Spain, Bulgaria...
- Victor Orban's nationalist overbid
- - "Germany's Problem"
- - Threat to Europe's "Christian identity"
- Germany's "moral imperialism"...
- Criminalizing Illegal immigration with a new law
- Building fence on Borders w/ Serbia, Croatia

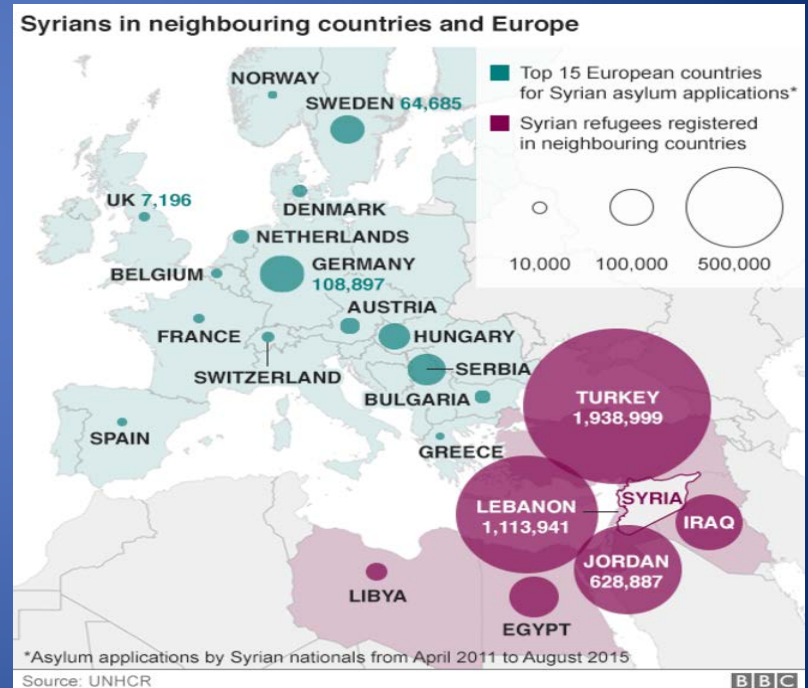
European Strategy ahead...

- **Emergency Plan passed outvoting opponents in Council of Ministers on Sept 22, 2015 (Hungary, UK, Irl and DK opted out)**
- **Larger migration strategy (more of the same)**
- Europe set to harden external border, externalize the risk “Migration”
- Pledged 1 bn euros to help Turkey manage Syrian refugees , Erdogan listens and ask for 8 bn to cover actual costs
- Stem the flow of migrants and help Turkey patrol w/ Grece and create new camps, but Turkey refuses to be a “concentration camp” for refugees
- Visegrad countries helping Hungary to patrol its southern border which has become an external border of the EU
- Valetta Summit 11/12 November 2015: migration = “shared responsibility” destination/origin and transit country+ legal migration+ Protection asylum+ root causes and fight against smuggling+ return and readmission

A Syrian Refugee Camp in Jordan



Co-managing the migration risk: European Neighborhood



Europe's political identity crisis

- Borders closing, contrary to the spirit (not the letter) of Schengen *but for how long?*
- Debates about integration of refugees creates internal tensions and bitter trade-offs (New refugees vs old poors in France. Muslim/Christians)
- “Normative Europe” reneging its ideals and principles in refugees camps:
- “Encampment”: criminalization and detention of migrants, Humanitarian disaster (Ex: Bela Jezova in Czech Republic, Calais in France, Hotspots...), losing the “rights to have rights...” (H. Arendt)
- Engaging New geopolitics in the Middle-East