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# EUROPEAN EXPRESSION

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 ISSUE 100 • 1st Quarter 2016

## What our Fear of Refugees Says About Europe

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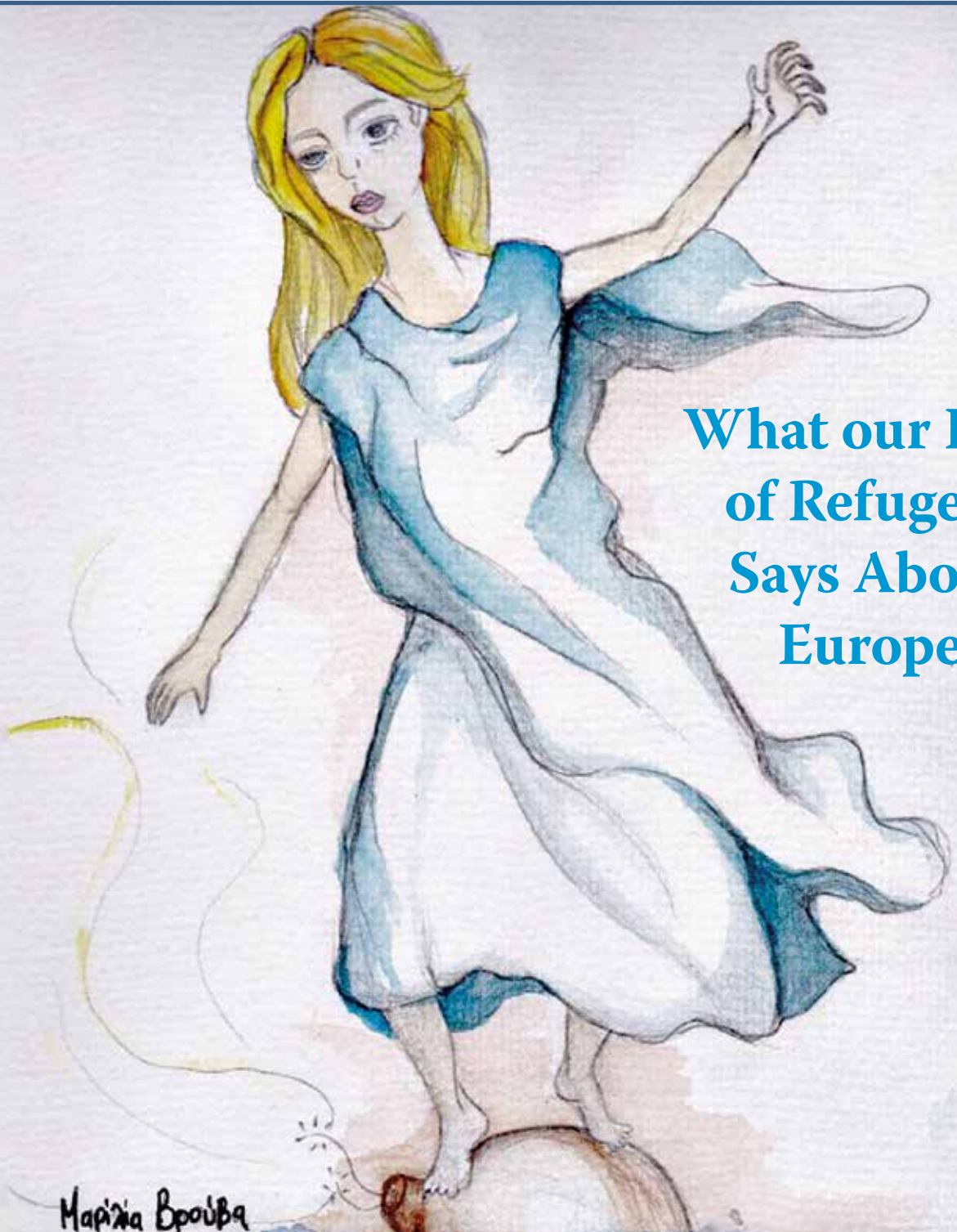
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express solely the views  
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the magazine.*

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The cover benefited from *Marilia Vrouva*. **The figure shows Europe balancing on a bomb that is about to burst. This issue deals with the refugee crisis from the perspective of young people from the Balkans.**

# The Refugee Crisis and what it can teach us about Europe



**Anna  
Triandafyllidou**

*Robert Schuman Chair,  
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The unfolding refugee crisis indeed the largest refugee flow that Europe has experienced on its soil since the Yugoslav wars of the mid-1990s has posed important challenges both at the national and the European level for countries of first arrival like Greece, transit countries along the Balkans and final destinations such as Germany or Sweden. While the crisis has included a de facto or de jure interruption of Dublin III and the first safe country principle, and hence an awareness that we need to create a true common European asylum system, it has also led to the reaffirmation of national borders, discussions over the interruption of Schengen (fortunately avoided) and a renewed emphasis on national sovereignty and border controls.

After several years of Eurozone crisis that had seen the North-South divide in Europe re-emerge, we are now witnessing a re-emergence of the South-West divide. This has had to do with the vocal reactions of government authorities in Hungary and Poland against refugees and their calling upon southeastern countries to guard off their border and do everything possible to stop the flows, paying little if any attention to the fact that people were escaping conditions of war and violence. Indeed this lack of respect for European and international treaties on human rights and asylum, the lack of solidarity towards both asylum seekers and other European states, and the further rise in popularity of far right populist parties in Central Eastern Europe has painfully

reminded all of us the pre-1989 Europe and its political and economic divisions.

One is not necessarily to blame Central Eastern European countries for their lack of empathy with other Member States – they have themselves experienced a sort of neo-colonial approach when qualifying to join the EU – they had to take the EU *acquis* and implement it or forget about accession. However, what is worrying is that Central Eastern European governments seem to have a limited touch with reality, and that can be detrimental for their own citizens. Reactions of the kind: if I close my eyes and keep them hermetically shut, the refugees will go away, magically disappear, go somewhere else, are not helpful. Such reactions remind one those of southern European governments in the early 1990s towards the then rather dramatic economic migration flows from Central Eastern and South Eastern Europe. Those who thought that by voting new stringent expulsion laws they could control their borders were sadly proven wrong – they simply fuelled the ranks of irregular migration and the informal economy. Those who had more realistic approaches and found ways to manage the flows and accept people, had a smoother path towards socio economic change.

As history teaches out single countries cannot shape wider socio-political transformations and governments need to keep in mind the long term perspective: they need to think on how to best govern a phenomenon that they do not control rather than seek to ignore it wishing it will disappear. It won't.



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JOHANNA  
NYMAN

# Youth Organizations & Migration

**Y**oung people and youth organisations across Europe have often been at the forefront of welcoming refugees coming to Europe. Their efforts to receive refugees and to help their integration into society have made a huge difference. Europe must look to the good example set by these young people and youth organisations. And we must also remember that young refugees are no different from any other young person; we all have the same civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights, as well as the right to international protection.

Young refugees are in a particularly vulnerable situation, often deprived of a childhood and youth, they are also at severe risk of their rights being violated and neglected. The EU and our national leaders must ensure that young people's fundamental rights are protected. Now is not the time to build walls, but it is the time to act together, in solidarity, looking for European solutions to this crisis, which reflect our values of diversity and inclusion.

Once in Europe, the struggle for young refugees, unfortunately, does not end: with discrimination, poverty and social exclusion being the norm. We call on European leaders to ensure that young refugees have access to what should be the basics: a good quality education, a decent job, healthcare and social protection. Without these, young refugees will not be able to integrate into the local community.



Johanna  
Nyman

*President of the  
European Youth Forum*

Other initiatives would also help, such as: access to language courses for young refugees so that they can better integrate into society, and "skills matching" for young refugees – i.e. recognising the level of education or qualifications that they have and matching them with suitable employment; and vocational training for young refugees.

However integration is a two-way process that concerns all individuals, not just the newcomers. In this light, further initiatives such as teaching resources for educators, which would help foster understanding and tackle discrimination, are also necessary. These measures would be just a start on the road to helping young refugees feel and be a part of the communities they arrive in and contribute to society as they wish to do.

Many youth organisations are already carrying out projects and initiatives like these on the ground. We would like to see this invaluable role that youth organisations are playing be recognised. We call for governments to acknowledge and to support the work that youth organisations are doing, so that they can go even further in helping to create a better future for our common societies.

---

ULRIKE  
LUNACEK

# Do we pull together Or do we let others deal with it?

“We need more Europe in our Union. We need more Union in our Union.” This was the key message of

Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, in his State of the Union speech last year. I completely agree with this analysis, and I fully support this request. Today, however, we are confronted with existential, external and –as we were reminded in Paris and Brussels– internal threats. We are at a loss, many citizens are fearful, and Europe for too many citizens is no longer the answer.

So let us face this new reality. Europe is amidst a transformational crisis. The question is: Do we pull together or do we let others deal with it?

Today massive migration in the form of flight from the horrific slaughter and systematic brutality of civil war in Syria, mixed with economic migration from poverty and lack of economic opportunity, threatens Europe like never before. We have seen that the European Parliament and the Commission are willing to take responsibility in this crisis and deliver. The European Parliament again and again strongly voiced its disappointment that member states time and again fail to follow-up on their promises and pledges.



Ulrike  
Lunacek

*Vice President of the  
European Parliament*

Now, that reality has rendered the Dublin system obsolete, we have the choice between stumbling from one crisis to the next and patching together short-term remedies for individual aspects – or to come up with a comprehensive solution anchoring permanent solidarity. With political will and leadership we can manage this crisis, minimizing the risks and capitalizing on the opportunities.

The European Parliament is prepared to do what is needed to provide Europe with a migration and asylum policy for the 21st century. So far, the Council until today is not cooperating. But it is not acceptable to repeat the same mistakes.

Now it's high time to revise Dublin and develop a genuine EU Asylum System. On many occasions the European Parliament has urged the Council to progress on legal migration. What Europe needs is an ambitious immigration law, not a limited review of our already limited instruments.

If we fail to address migration on any of these fronts, if we let ourselves be distracted by those who spread fear, then we also fail to uphold the idea of a united Europe based on common values and solidarity. The main challenges confronting us today show it very clear: whether it is the refugee crisis we are talking about, the economy or foreign policy: we can only succeed as a Union.



---

NAWEL RAFIK-ELMRINI

# How can host societies improve the integration of new citizens?

**T**he reluctance of European societies to welcome and integrate refugees is quite often- and wrongly- stated in the public sphere as a kind of unquestionable data. In a recent debate taking place in the European Parliament, during the European Youth Event organised in Strasbourg, this affirmation was presented to me by a person in the audience as an argument not to undertake further actions in favour of the integration of new citizens within our societies.

Though, even before the tragic image of the young Aylan had been broadcast by all international media, various members of the civil society had proved their capacity to make newcomers- refugees, migrants and asylum seekers- feel at home.

We all remember that «Refugees Welcome» has become during the summer months of 2015 the motto of citizens profoundly committed to undertaking concrete actions of solidarity. All across Europe, and most remarkably in countries where national governments had expressed an opposite opinion, people of all social backgrounds, young and old people, boys and girls, men and women, have shown their strong will to defend the very central European value: the promotion of human rights, among which the universal and fundamental right to asylum.

Either through the engagement in NGOs, through the definition of spontaneous initiatives, through the use of the social networks, host societies have demonstrated their capacity to make the right to asylum concrete and vivid. Many of our partner cities, especially members of the Strasbourg Club network, are fully engaged to accompany and sometimes even am-



**Nawel  
Rafik-Elmrini**

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plify these actions implemented by field actors.

I am particularly proud of the strong mobilisation of the civil society in my own city. However, I do not neglect the part of the European population who has expressed in various ways its reluctance to get more deeply engaged in the issue of reception and integration. The regular but not fatal progression of far-right political parties in different European countries recalls us that there still remains much to do against the ideologies of fear.

In this respect, I am convinced that in addition to the necessary reinforcement of coordination between initiatives of solidarity led at European, national and local levels, great improvements can be done in terms of communication and information sharing. Indeed, many citizens still have misperceptions of the situations of newcomers, their backgrounds and the traumatic experiences they have lived.

In Strasbourg, a local initiative has been designed by one high school, which consists in fostering direct exchanges between refugees and young citizens. Interviews realised among participants have displayed how decisive this experience has been to change people's consideration of this issue.

Being conscious of the traumatic experiences newcomers have lived before their arrival, being conscious of the dramatic situations they are trying to escape, more and more people in Europe will be more likely to change their minds and contribute as a neighbour, as a colleague or as a friend, in the integration of new citizens.

Local authorities should also consider as best practices the various projects implemented to promote social integration through sport and culture. Fostering access to social life and interactions with other citizens contributes to reduce potential resentment within the local population and stress the positive contributions newcomers can bring to the whole society.

From now on, winning greater support of European citizens is in my opinion the key issue to amplify the spectacular movement of solidarity initiated by the civil society and take one step further towards integration.

---

AROLDA ELBASANI

# Religious Extremism and its Hold in the Balkan societies

Most recent acts of violence and other forms of religious extremism unfolding in Europe – from Niece, to Brussels to Paris and other places in between – have long drawn attention to the place of Islam in secular and plural European societies. Similar concerns on Muslims' radicalization have also spilled over across Balkan societies, where Muslims make either the majority or substantial minorities. Given the weakness of the state, contestation of borders, multi-ethnic composition of society and the experience of ethnic conflicts here, any real or assumed allegations of extremism get aggrandized.<sup>1</sup> One should add substantial 'direct foreign investment' from various global Islamic movements, which targeted post-atheist Balkan Muslims in order to diffuse their message and infiltrate related agendas and missionaries adjacent to European borders.<sup>2</sup> Hence, fears of Muslims' loyalty to an exclusive and extraterritorial ummah (supra-national community of Islamic believers) that undermines the very foundations of plural states, on the one hand, and established principles of the global order, on the other, abound.

Indeed, the faithful commonly resort to open channels of information and knowledge to learn about Islam, both texts, ideas and practices. The multiplicity of religious interpretations that crowd internet forums when added to the massive 'direct investment' of foreign networks keen to influence the discoveries of faith among Muslim communities in the Balkans, confront believers with radicalized trends and militant movements. Not all of the Islamic-related ideas, activities and networks that permeated the Balkans during the post-Communist openings, however, were similarly welcomed by Muslim believers. Salafi and other radical interpretations of Islam have achieved very limited gains even amongst believ-



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ers that search for new ideas on what is to be a good Muslim in the post-communist context.<sup>3</sup> In fact, dilemmas perpetrated by incoming movements and their agendas have increasingly pushed local Muslims, state authorities, and centralized religious hierarchies to search for interpretations most appropriate to their plural societies and to take ownership of local practices of faith.

Two factors play out to influence local resistance and halt the appeal of radicalized agendas in the long term. First, both Muslim authorities and lay believers have seemingly resorted to local 'traditional' solutions – the pool of institutional arrangements, interpretations and practices inherited from the past – to juxtapose radical projects and re-cast Islam in line with the new democratic and European aspirations of their polities.<sup>4</sup> That this tradition was moulded along a process of historical engagement with European templates of modernity and a genuine search for accommodation of Islam to multi-religious and multi-ethnic fabric of respective societies facilitated a local reading of religion that contrasts with exclusive and violent streams of interpretation. Second, the fortification of nationalized Islamic hierarchies, which increasingly collaborate with the state to supervise their country's tradition enables official channels for sorting out alternative sources of Islamic knowledge and practice. Specifically, centralized Islamic organizations operating from Sarajevo, Tirana, Prishtina, Skopje and so on are endowed with exclusive privileges as the only official authority in charge of the administrative and spiritual affairs of the community; while benefiting state funds, protection and acknowledgement for their 'public role'.

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DUŠAN RELJIĆ

# Are we Europeans stuck in our own problems or should we assume greater responsibility?

**I**n Germany, the ratio of exports to gross domestic product is 46 per cent. In Japan, the figure is 18 per cent and 13 per cent in the US. Not all economies in the European Union are as extremely open as Germany's. However, on average, much more so than non-European countries, economies in the EU depend on exports to markets all over the world – and on supplies coming from all parts of the earth. It is therefore almost self-explanatory to postulate that Germany's and, indeed, most of the EU's high prosperity can only be sustained and increased if international business and financial systems remain open and continue globalizing. But this is only one side of the coin.

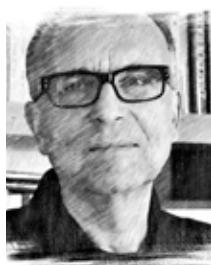
The other side is that in order to import European goods and services, other regions of the globe need prosperity, too. The demand for Europe's merchandise will decrease vastly if in Asia, Africa and Latin America there is no increase in the well-being of most of the people living there. A basic precondition for wealth to spread more evenly than now in the South-Eastern hemisphere is political stability. This is not merely the absence of overt conflict in or between societies – most dictatorships can easily provide the peace of the graveyard – but the creation of socio-economic conditions for human capital (skills, education, health...) to expand.

If there are no proper prospects for jobs and well-being in places where they live, or if they are threatened by wars, famine, climate threats

and other perils, people will try to move to where there are jobs, prosperity and peace. This emigration is mostly to the rich north-western hemisphere. EU countries are physically easier to reach than the US or Canada – in the year 2015 Germany alone received 1,1 million migrants from abroad. Actually Europe needs an influx of new inhabitants from outside because of the aging populations and the low birth-rates in most Member States. For instance, Serbia's population decreases by about thirty to forty thousand people per year just because more people die than are born – and this figure is without the number of people migrating from this candidate country for EU membership to more affluent states.

Yet, in most of Europe, real wages are stagnant, house prices are rising and public services are deteriorating, many people are susceptible to the argument that high immigration is making such problems worse. Over time, triggered by anti-migrant resentments and other retrograde notions, political parties with nationalistic agendas – such as those that already rule in Poland and Hungary, while Austria and Croatia and other states are under peril – might come to power in many countries and attempt to reverse what has been achieved in more than 50 years of European integration. In this case, the unavoidable result will be the return of social disruptions, intra-European conflicts, the decline of prosperity at home and the loss of international clout for the Europeans. In this case, Europe would make the world a more dangerous and poorer place to live in.

Therefore, the EU and European countries have no choice but to engage worldwide if they want to reinforce what has been achieved on the continent since the end of the Second World War. This engagement must start at home by ensuring that wealth is more evenly spread not only in society, but it has to go beyond the borders of the continent: Only by sharing with the world the two principal European achievements – peace and prosperity – can the Europeans themselves become safer and richer.



Dušan Reljić

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and Security Affairs,  
Berlin.*

PIERRE  
MIREL

# Western Balkans' EU integration: from Thessaloniki to Paris

**W**estern Balkans' politicians are lamenting on the slow progress of their countries towards the EU. Thirteen years after Thessaloniki, it appears limited indeed. They blame the EU and its 'enlargement fatigue', whereas member States see the slow reform process as the primary reason. Academics claim that the 'EU transformative power' has weakened. Others plead for a 'big bang' whereby accession negotiations would be opened with all the countries. Most assessments tend to ignore that the context has dramatically changed since May 2004. What made the 2004 enlargement a success was first and foremost the wide societal consensus and the strong political determination to undertake reforms rapidly, at any cost. **The 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement was unique** in that sense: "we were obsessed by joining the EU and did what we were told to do", as acknowledged by the former Polish minister of Foreign affairs<sup>1</sup>.

The WB context contrasts dramatically with the 5<sup>th</sup> enlargement one: small, fragmented markets, in a region marked by bilateral issues, 'unfinished' States and protectorates, not conducive to stability; a political class that prefers its short term privileges to the expected long term benefits of accession, with 'State capture' and corruption and without a strong determination to undertake the reforms. Political culture is still characterised by a high level of polarisation, which limits the transformation, delays socio-economic transition and affects citizens' credibility in the EU process. Albania and Serbia though have recently launched key reforms. However, in general, citizens' trust in judiciary and administration is low, with "administrative corruption being a mass phenomenon"<sup>2</sup>.

**The context has changed in the EU too**, with the economic crisis, a general EU fatigue, and a growing gap between the so-called European elites and the citizens, the Brexit being the latest and most striking sign of this trend. And a new narrative on enlargement would be inaudible, except if Turkey's accession is officially abandoned in favour of a partnership. In brief, no further EU integration without a genuine transformation of

the candidates. Although the EU-WB summit in Paris, on 4 July 2016 (as a follow up to the Berlin and Vienna fora in 2014 and 2015) has reaffirmed the EU perspective, uncertainty prevails.

A new impetus is therefore needed to anchor WB firmly on the EU path, even more so for geopolitical reasons, for there is no vacuum in geopolitics. If EU's attraction decreases further, other power centres will reinforce their influence, including radical Islam. Hence my five **pragmatic suggestions** to complement the 'new approach' adopted by the Council in 2011.

First, each country would adopt **an internal market road map**, whereby key Directives would be transposed. Together with a revitalised CEFTA, this would reinforce investors' confidence and boost investments, FDI in particular. Second, all countries should prepare their **Action plan for chapter 23 (Judiciary and fundamental rights)**, whether in accession negotiations or not. Third, the EU should **facilitate solutions to the bilateral issues**, through well-known personalities, in a transparent manner and with a strong follow up process. Fourth, in the face of weak parliaments, authoritarian regimes and lack of checks and balances, **civil society should be the fourth pillar**<sup>3</sup> to mobilise citizens, press for reforms and be part of the transformation process. Fifth, the EU should finance **a large 'Balkans Fund'** not just to increase connectivity but also for health care and education. Countries would draw from this fund, based on the 'more for more principle' to stimulate reforms competition.



**Pierre Mirel**

*Honorary DG of the  
European Commission.  
These views do not  
engage the EC.*

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DORIAN JANO

# Forward

In 2015, Europe faced the largest and the most challenging refugee crises since the Second World War. The Balkan region was the frontline and the main transit route for thousands of refugee wanting to reach EU. This puts EU and the Balkan countries in the spotlight, increasing cooperation to face the common challenge and to undertake collective responsibility and actions.

Despite high-level meetings dedicated to and with representatives from the Balkans region (the policy-making conference on 8 October followed by the Balkan 'mini summit' on 25 October 2015), a comprehensive fora with young experts from across the region is more than welcome.

EU Policy Hub in cooperation with the European Expression journal initiated this special issue in order to discuss the refugee crisis and Europe's response from the perspectives of young experts from across South East Europe. The refugee crisis was a highly sensitive issue all over the region, generating intense political and public debates, although its causes and consequences were not quit unique. Most of the discussion have been driven out of fear and insecurities. In order to deal with our fears of refugees crises we need a more comprehensive and reasonable discussion on collective sharing experiences on a range of policy areas and a common long-term European vision, taking into account not only the past experience of refugee crises but also the current political, humanitarian and organizational challenges the countries from the region are facing with.

The policy memo of this issue, presented by the young experts from across South East Europe, develops piecemeal responses to the increased interest over migration issues to Europe. It explores the different arguments



**Dorian Jano**

*Jean Monnet Professor  
and Director of the EU  
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*Pozanco/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels (2015)*

surrounding a handful of key policy areas relating to refugee crisis through either a normative or an interest based approach. Their perspectives contribute to deliver a more context and effective policy recommendations, by making full use of their insights to deliver on the EU objectives and generate a vision and an adequate plan for European collective action. The Balkan young experts' contributions are putting forward ten main solutions on how Europe can deal with the refugee crisis.

It is therefore with great pleasure that we present this special issue on *What our fear of refugees says about Europe and the way forward in European policy approach* as it has been perceived from the young experts' perspectives from across South East Europe.

The policy memos in this special issue are critical and analytical in their logic; they provide deep and bold thoughts; they sound sincere enough and are forward looking to truly inspire and support the efforts of those who have the decision-making power to make a difference. We hope you enjoy reading it.

BLEDAR FETA

# What our fear of refugees says about Europe and the way forward for European policy approach

**T**his special edition looks into the ways that the refugee crisis and Europe's response to it have been perceived, observed, presented and interpreted by young people in Europe's near neighborhood. Through small analysis this special edition sheds light on the question of how young leaders from South Eastern Europe have seen the refugee crisis, which issues have dominated the internal discourse in their countries, as well as on their views on and expectations of Europe's leadership, with special emphasis on the policy area.

All analyses have revealed an unusually high interest in the refugee crisis and where it is going. Europe's response dominated all papers – especially the decision making incoherence of the Union in terms of shaping a precise and viable response towards the extensive refugee flows. Region's young people believe that by seeking the philosopher's stone, by adopting the policy of eyes wide shut and by playing the blame game Europe lost the opportunity to transmit the crisis into challenge and to revise its internal structural forms. For them, the core problem is located in the decentralization of the decision making process within the Union which undermines its ability to act collectively and to transcend conflicting national interests. The way that Europe responded to the refugee flows is presented as one other illustration of EU's perpetual dilemma between supra-nationality and national sovereignty of the individual states. They argue that the lack of political will has transformed a fairly manageable humanitarian emergency into another political crisis, which tests the foundations of the Union itself.

Region's young people are very concerned about the future of Europe. They are asking from EU leadership to remain faithful to Union's core democratic values, maintaining an area of



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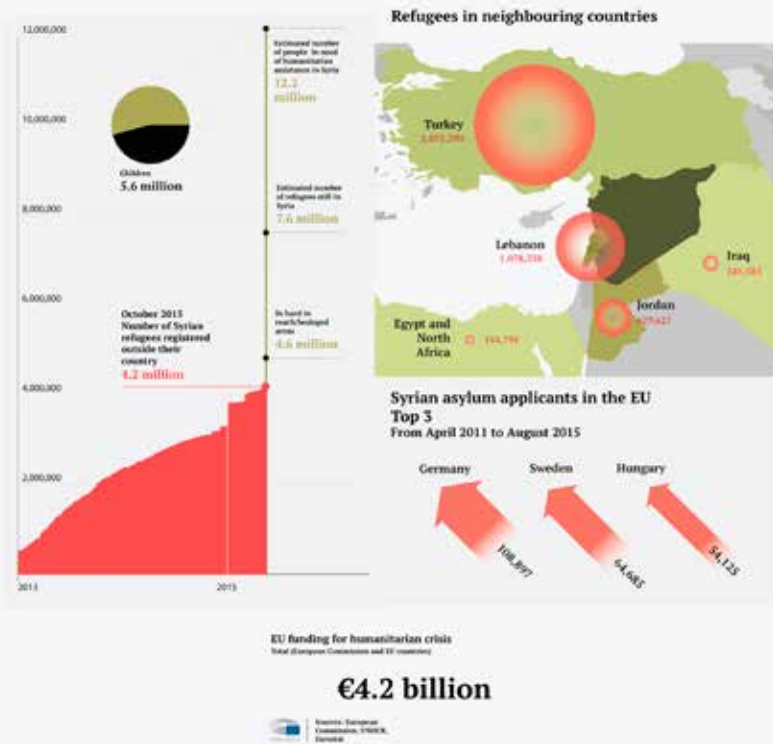
freedom, equality and justice, and protecting its citizens against the new terrorism and the rise of nationalist leaders and parties that requires less Europe and more power back to the nation states. In that perspective, they argue that the policy of building borders or fences adopted by many European countries is not in the appropriate direction especially when EU is considering herself as the regional peace-keeper. Although the strong critic, Balkan Young Leaders believe that the EU has all capacities to build the necessary mechanisms for providing the human rights response to the plights of Syrian asylum seekers. According to them, in Europe, solidarity stands and it will probably stand one more despite the half-European behavior used by some within the EU.

The relationship between migrants and destination societies was a top story analyzed in many articles, bringing to the fora the possibility of adopting multiculturalism policies. Here, the opinions and expectations have been uniform. The adoption and implementation of new policy tools were considered crucial for the combination of ethnic and cultural diversity, social and political cohesion as well as for the creation of equal opportunities in a very diverse Europe. Bearing in mind, the fact that the fear of uncontrolled migration has given space and a false air of legitimacy, to those who promote the politics of fear and separation in Europe, the main solution expressed by region's young leaders was the adoption of a twofold approach to this problem. First of all, the full integration of refugees into host societies will create the necessary conditions for reception countries' economies to benefit from migrants and help them support themselves on their own means. Secondly, the familiarization of Europeans



## The Syrian crisis

updated in October 2015



Source: European Parliament (2015)

with the smooth functioning of multi-ethnic societies is considered by them a necessary process in the direction of combating far-right nationalism in order to vouchsafe the acceptance of refugees into European societies as well as in order to eradicate racism and xenophobia and the manipulation from populist politicians and media propaganda.

The global dimension of the refugee crisis could not go unnoticed by region's Young Leaders who support that the influx of migration is by no means a European problem only. It is rather a phenomenon with global repercussion and a result of protracted conflict and war: therefore it requires a global solution. Considering the Western-centric way of global governance as the main cause of the crisis, they argue over the establishment of a new type of

inclusive diversity governance. This type of governance is in position to create a wide, global and publicly open platform for common intercultural, interreligious, interregional, interstate and political dialogue. However, that can only be done by rebuilding the international community's credibility and institutions, including a far greater attention to peace-making. This requires also the initiation of a process that will create the new type of future leaders since when politicians play an active role in all mechanisms then positive effects can be anticipated. Additionally, transformational leaders with new distinctive ethos of global solidarity, cosmopolitan integrity and burning passion can inspire and guide humanity to its final goal – the WORLD UNITY. They argue that only a unified world can successfully cope with today's global and complex challenges.

Overall, the refugee crisis has attracted huge attention among region's young people who believe that the real crisis is in the nature of Europe's response, which has been unable to solve the long-term

nature of a world-wide threat. There were somewhat higher expectations from the EU to look at the core of the problem and to conduct some reflection instead of just assigning blame. However, Europe's management of the crisis which allowed member states to build walls and to erect bureaucratic obstacles of every kind lowered young people's expectation but does not stopped them to believe in Europe's founding values. Therefore, they expect from EU's policy makers to play an active role in the mechanism of migration, to take immediate measures to speed-up asylum processing, to improve burden-sharing and to develop flexible strategies to integrate refugees into their host communities as an expression of their willingness for more Europe.

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# Migration

## as a Global Challenge.

### A Call for a New Type of Leadership

Standing at the shores of the transformational river Rubicon, we, the humanity, are facing one of the greatest challenges in our human history. The world as we used to know it and the international world order based on national states is turning into shadows (Brzezinski and Scowcroft 2008). We are surrounded by all sorts of bad conditions, from increasing poverty, unemployment to environmental disasters, and global warming, from inequality to irrational fanatic terrorism, wars, and unrest in different parts of the world (Gnesotto and Grevi 2007). All these complex challenges exceed the borders of national states and regional organizations. In this turbulent time massive migrations represent a challenging issue. A new global goal for humanity is not only to achieve, but more importantly to maintain **WORLD UNITY**.

We must establish a new type of **inclusive diversity governance** that would be able to create a wide, global and publicly open platform for common intercultural, interreligious, interregional, interstate and political dialogue. Cosmopolitanism is a must (Held 2010). We must also start a process of creation of the new type of a leader.

Ideas have the power to unite people. Only human beings have the divine capacity to turn ideas into action (Fuller 1981). Transformational leaders with **a new distinctive ethos** of global solidarity, cosmopolitan integrity and burning passion can inspire and guide humanity to its final goal - World Unity. In a new normal state of the world, a new kind of leaders will be needed. Transformational leaders have to create a new image of the world and afterwards step back for the **leaders of the New-normal**. New-normal leaders with a vision for maintaining the world united and with a new ethos of global security, cosmopolitan stability, social justice and high-level of organizing and implementing skills will be needed. They should on one hand be able to maintain a new reality of the united world and on the

other hand be aware that even such a world must naturally change and evolve.

North, South, East, and West must join hands. Our generation possesses the energy for leading the humanity to cross the Rubicon, but we must be deeply aware that only **fraternal concord** among all generations, peoples and nations will bring us to a desired state of perpetual peace and sustainable development. Massive migrations in different parts of the world should be a realistic and final call for world leaders to recognize the end of the national state and to build efficient global governance. Only a united world can successfully cope with today's global and complex challenges.

Every one of us is a unique human being. Every one of us has a unique opportunity to change and participate in the transformation of human history. Every one of us is **a citizen of the world**. But only together we can implement a grand strategy for illuminating our world with hope of peace, social justice and World Unity. So let the humanity shine in **a global world order**.



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## Beyond Humanitarian Relief:

# Educating Refugee Children

**E**mbedded within the refugee crisis another kind of crisis, an educational one, unfolds. Millions of refugee children remain for years without access to formal or informal education. Low enrolment rates incubate grave dangers for key stakeholders, including the refugee population, host states, as well as states of origin. Despite the international community's pledge to prevent 'a lost generation', refugee education remains a peripheral issue in the EU's rhetoric and practice on the refugee crisis. By drawing on past experience in emergency education and migrant integration, a clear set of priorities to help the EU accelerate progress towards educating refugee children has emerged.

### The education crisis and why it matters

**O**ver 1 million asylum seekers reached the EU in 2015<sup>1</sup>. Children and young adults figure prominently among the most sizeable refugee groups - the Syrians, the Afghans and the Iraqis. While systematic data remain scarce, the UNHCR estimates that half of the refugees are under the age of 18<sup>2</sup>. Many school-aged refugee children have received little, if any, formal or informal education in the several years that preceded their arrival in Europe, prevented by violence



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and displacement<sup>3</sup>. According to UNICEF<sup>4</sup>, out of 6.8 million Syrian children in need of educational support 2.8 million receive none, either in Syria or in host states.

For refugees, the lack of access to education often results in a lifetime of vulnerability, poverty and social exclusion<sup>5</sup>. In states of origin, where many of the refugees eventually return, low stocks of human capital undermine economic development. Save the Children, has estimated that the cost of Syrian children not returning to school could be 5.4% of Syria's post-war GDP<sup>6</sup>. Given the well-established correlation between under-development and violence, low levels of education could trigger a poverty trap, endangering future peace sustainability. Finally, refugee education has a critical role to play in host states as an indispensable integration tool. Education empowers refugees

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1 Eurostat, [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum\\_statistics](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics)

2 UNHCR, <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>

3 The Overseas Development Institute (ODI), Research report, 2014, Living on Hope, Hoping for Education: the Failed Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis

4 Syria Crisis Education Strategic Paper, London 2016 Conference

5 Salam Kawakibi, The Syrian Crisis and its Repercussions: Internally Displaced Persons and Refugees, Migration Policy Centre Research Report 2013/03

6 Save the Children, 2015, The Cost of War: Calculating the Impact of the Collapse of Syria's Education System on Syria's Future



Pozanco/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels (2015)

to fully participate in their host communities' economic, social, political and cultural life, boosting aggregate levels of wealth and building resilience to extremism.

Despite the well-recognized benefits of refugee education only a small proportion of the EU's effort to manage the refugee crisis focuses on education. While providing humanitarian relief and deciding on the distribution of refugees within its territory are essential parts of the EU's response, the duration and the extent of the crisis means that relief must go beyond aid, to educational interventions that will produce a lasting impact.

### A dual role for the EU: policy recommendations

The unique position of the EU as the desired final destination of the majority of refugees, and a key international development actor, means that it can promote refugee education through two courses of action. *First*, by ensuring the access of refugee children currently in its territory to the member states' public education systems, and *secondly* by joining forces with international partners in order to assist education provision in host states beyond the EU, as well as in countries of origin. Drawing on the EU member states' past experience with migrant integration and the international state of play in emergency education, six interrelated policy priorities are identified:

### Refugee education within EU borders

- Develop a coordination strategy to streamline refugee education across member states. Favour access to national curricula over alternative forms of education

provision by relaxing requirements to public school enrolment (e.g. proof of education received in country of origin, asylum status granted, etc).

- Build the capacity of member states' educational systems to address the specific needs of refugees. Recruit and train education professionals, provide language training and psychological support, extend classrooms, improve accessibility of school buildings (e.g. wheelchair ramps), and introduce campaigns against bullying.
- Engage in communicating education opportunities among the refugee population. Raise awareness about the eligibility of refugee children to attend formal schooling.

### Refugee education beyond EU borders

- Support the inclusion of education as a routine part of humanitarian aid. Engage with the provision of education services in each stage of the intervention, consistently with the 'relief – development continuum'.
- Develop strong working partnerships with children's organizations, NGOs, ministries of education in host states and countries of origin. Engage in strengthening partners' capacities, avoid duplication of effort, collect and manage data to monitor results.
- Engage in innovative use of information and communication technology to expand education opportunities, increase coverage of target population and overcome resource scarcity.



Pozanco/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels (2015)



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## Between Global Developments and Internal Political Considerations

# How does the Refugee Crisis Resonate in Montenegro?

**R**efugee route has so far circumvented Montenegro, but it can be easily redirected. The Government thus adopted a plan regarding the handling of the potential flows of refugees. Its details, however, are unknown to the public and it was not followed by a substantial policy debate.

Overall, with regards to Montenegro, there are several aspects which have to be taken into account while discussing the crisis which evolves literally on the country's doorstep.

### Internal Politics and Foreign Policy

**M**ontenegro has not been a part of the refugee route. In the first nine months of 2015, the total number of asylum seekers in the country was 1543, with significant drops in certain months when just quite a few requests were submitted.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, 2016 is the election year. Internal disagreements on how to conduct free and fair elections have thus heavily overshadowed debate on potential domestic implications of refugee crisis.

Political disputes also intensified over some foreign policy issues. Montenegrin public has



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<sup>1</sup> In July and August 2015, there were only 4 and 5 asylum requests. See more: Information on actions of competent authorities and institutions in the case of larger influx of refugees and migrants into Montenegro, Government of Montenegro, September 2015, Available in Montenegrin at: [http://www.gov.me/sjednice\\_vlade/128](http://www.gov.me/sjednice_vlade/128) [last accessed on 19 June 2016].

been traditionally very supportive of EU accession, but less inclined towards the NATO. This got partly mirrored in the discussions on refugee crisis.

Montenegro received invitation to join the alliance in December 2015. Many alleged that the radicalization of the political scene was a result of the anti-NATO campaign. Curiously enough, even when the refugee crisis reached the agenda of party politics – it did so in the context of the NATO invitation. The New Serbian Democracy, a pro-Russian opposition party, claimed that Montenegro does not have a genuine plan on how to treat “migrants” but that it will act in accordance with the orders of NATO which asks the country to accept the large number of them.

### Policy versus Politics

**W**hat Governments said with regards to the crisis, on the other hand, was ambivalent.

Prime minister has not ruled out the closure of the country's borders if other countries opt for this move. Previously, however, in September 2015, Government adopted information, which pledged to improve capacities of asylum seekers centers and shelters in the country, in order to prepare them for influx of up to 2000 refugees on daily basis. Subsequently, in November last year, Government



Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)

adopted the plan for refugees. Its details, however, remain unknown.

### Beyond Current Debates

The decision on whether to accept the refugees is, in final instance, purely political. This was reiterated at the February 2016 parliamentary control hearing of minister of labour and social care: the plan is set in place, but Government decides whether to accept refugees.<sup>2</sup>

Nonetheless, one should bear in mind that Montenegro is in the midst of the membership talks with the EU<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Committee for human rights and freedoms, Parliament of Montenegro, Report on the control hearing of Zorica Kovačević, the minister of labour and social care and of coordinator of the Coordinating Committee for following the implementation of Strategy for finding durable solutions of internally displaced and disabled persons, with special focus on Konik Camp II

<sup>3</sup> Montenegro opened 22 chapters under negotiations, and provisionally closed 2 chapters.

Chapter 24 (Justice, Freedom and Security), which deals with migration, is one of the milestones of the country's eventual EU accession. In addition to this, the EU aims to apply a new financial aid mechanism, a direct budget support, in a total amount of 20 million euro, precisely based on the progress made in integrated border management.<sup>4</sup>

Potential implications of refugee flows to Montenegro thus could be greater than it is currently assumed, especially given that by advancing in the membership talks, the country is more exposed to the EU conditionality and assistance than its neighbors. Nonetheless, despite efforts to bring EU accession negotiations closer to public, Government fails to deliver effective messages on key aspects of the process. Technicalities of pre-accession assistance and of specific sector strategies, on one hand, and the ongoing un-orchestrated EU response to the crisis, on the other, leave Montenegrin public uninformed, political elites deprived of evidence-based policy agendas and Government empowered to send imprecise and conflicting signals as to the manner in which it would manage the potential refugee influxes.

<sup>4</sup> The tranches will be further distributed based on the progress made in implementation of the 2014-2018 Integrated Border Management Strategy, which, among other things, aims to improve Montenegro's capacity to deal with the influx of refugees.



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# & Migration Multiculturalism Policies

In the last decades, international migration has become a major issue. While the number of persons living outside their country of birth worldwide was estimated at 'more than 105 million' in 1985 this number had nearly doubled to approximately 200 million 20 years later<sup>1</sup>. According to UN Population Facts, in 2013, 232 million international migrants – 3 per cent of the world's population – are living abroad worldwide<sup>2</sup>. This makes international migration a key feature of globalization and a central issue on the national and international agenda. A key issue of migration concerns the relationship between migrants and destination societies: how members of receiving societies react to the increased and diversified immigrant presence in their societies<sup>3</sup>; and the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity, commonly termed as "multiculturalism"<sup>4</sup>. The



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case of immigrant multiculturalism is just one aspect of a larger ethnic issue across the Western European democracies, in which different types of minorities have struggled for new forms of multicultural citizenship that combine both antidiscrimination measures and positive forms of recognition and accommodation<sup>5</sup>. The diversity that characterizes the migration flows, the variety of languages and cultures, can represent a potential source of divisions and conflicts: the minorities seek political

universe of large-scale problems, and involves a number of references to various fields of social sciences, within which it is used in the most diverse meanings. Multiculturalism should not be confused with the multicultural society. If the latter indicates the new form that our societies are assuming, that is a fact concerning cultural diversity, multiculturalism should be seen instead as a normative response to this change in our society. For more information about multiculturalism: Kymlicka W., *Multicultural citizenship. A liberal theory of minority rights*, Clarendon press, Oxford, 1995; Habermas J., Taylor Ch., *Multiculturalismo. Lotte per il riconoscimento*, Feltrinelli, Milano, 1998; PAREKH B., *Rethinking multiculturalism. Cultural diversity and political theory*, Basingstoke, 2000; Modood T., Triandafyllidou A., Zapata-Barrero R. (eds), *Multiculturalism, Muslim and Citizenship*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006.

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1 Penninx R., Berger M., Kraal K. (eds), *The dynamics of international migration and settlement in Europe*, AUP, 2006, Amsterdam, p. 7.

2 UN, *Population Facts*, No. 2013/2 September 2013

3 Green, E.G.T., & Staerklé, C., *Migration and multiculturalism* in L. Huddy, D.O. Sears, & J.S. Levy (Eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 852-889), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013.

4 The term «multiculturalism» conjures up a

## EU MIGRATION SUMMIT FELL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS



Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)

recognition and the fight for recognition of their identities collides with the majority of issues that are inherent in the law and policy of a state. To avoid conflicts, which can take place on issues such as language rights, regional autonomy, political representation, educational programs, territorial claims, and national symbols, etc<sup>6</sup>, the public authorities should recognize the equal value of different cultures and take note that they are valuable for the country<sup>7</sup>. The European states should have rules that protect, ensure and promote the cultural diversity of individual migrants, thereby precluding the imposition of policies of assimilation majoritarian context<sup>8</sup>. On other hand, traditional practices that produce violations of individual rights, cannot be tolerated: all countries must seek a balance with respect to potential conflicts that may arise between the group rights and other fundamental principles in democratic societies and cultural and religious identity finds its fundamental limit in the rights of the others, the fundamental principles of the State and international standards of human rights<sup>9</sup>. In fact, wherever multiculturalism has been adopted, it has been tied to larger human-rights norms: no Western democracy has exempted immigrant groups from constitutional norms of human rights in order to maintain practices such as forced marriage, criminalization of apostasy, or cliterodectomy<sup>10</sup>.

Regarding the results of multiculturalism policies, on the one hand is emphasized the positive role that they have, and on the other hand is underlined the failure of the multiculturalism, especially in Europe, where we can find the proliferation of civic integration policies. Civic integration emphasizes the importance of immigrants' integrating more fully into mainstream society and advances a number of core principles, including the key role of employment in integration, the respect for basic liberal-democratic values and the basic knowledge of the

host society's language, history, and institutions.

However, independently of the retreat of multiculturalism in many European democratic countries, destinations of migrants, a good way to ensure both the legal and political recognition of minorities and the need to guarantee the respect of internationally recognized fundamental principles it appears to be the combination of multiculturalism with a moderate civic integration policies. Thus, the cultural pluralism can have success only if accompanied by a public policy that addresses the social and economic integration of members of other traditions and cultures, and at the same time guaranteeing them to preserve their identity. Through this combination of policies, european countries can support equality, respect, dignity, access to services, participation and inclusion of its individuals and communities providing opportunities for everyone to contribute positively to the social, cultural, economic and political life without discrimination or prejudice.

Moreover, we must not forget that scarcity of economic resources and the severe financial crisis now seem in fact lead to a kind of regression of social benefits especially to the latest arrivals. Direct consequence of this is the mixture of identity conflicts with distributive conflicts: the cultural integration of new minorities made up of groups of immigrants and successive generations, forces us to reflect above all on social and redistributive policies that a country must implement in order to enable all peoples to participate equally in the benefits offered by the state. Hence, it is crucial to implement new policy tools in order to combine ethnic and cultural diversity, social and political cohesion and equal opportunities in a very diverse Europe. One could in that context advocate the emergence of a new model of multicultural citizenship.

6 VIDA S., *Il concetto di multiculturalismo: le prospettive del dibattito contemporaneo*, p. 2, in [http://www2.cirsfid.unibo.it/didattica/upload/148\\_MULTICok1.pdf](http://www2.cirsfid.unibo.it/didattica/upload/148_MULTICok1.pdf), 8.07.2014 [last accessed on 19 June 2016].

7 TAYLOR Ch., *La politica del riconoscimento*, in HABERMAS J., TAYLOR Ch., *Il multiculturalismo*, Milano, 2003, p. 52.

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9 DEGANI P., *Diritti umani, multiculturalismo, e dimensione del genere*, in MASCIA M. (a cura di), *Dialogo interulturale, diritti umani e cittadinanza plurale*, Venezia, 2007, p.150.

10 Kymlicka W., *Multiculturalism...*, p.

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# New selection procedures of refugees, factors of illegality and precarity

**A**fter the implementation of new selection procedures at the borders of the EU, refugees and migrants who are blocked in Serbia have seen their conditions worsen, strengthening their sidelining of the official channels, trapping them into smugglers networks and pushing them more deeply into illegality, precarity and petty crimes. This phenomenon is not about to stop as the EU countries have gradually restored border controls and tightened the requirements to obtain asylum. If no measures to limit the flow of refugees are taken at the European and Serbian levels, it is likely that the situation in Serbia will worsen in the coming months. When the weather conditions to cross the Mediterranean sea will be more favourable, more migrants will find themselves stranded in Belgrade waiting to go further as the borders remain closed.

Therefore, not to let the conditions of migrants degrade indefinitely and to reduce the abuses generated by this situation, some adjustments would improve the overall situation. Once in Serbia, migrants and refugees can register at the police station where they express their intention to seek asylum in the country. They receive a certificate of registration on the basis of which the person has an obligation to report to the designated asylum centre within 72 hours, during which they must either seek asylum in Serbia or leave the country. During those 72 hours, they can stay legally on the Serbian territory and are entitled to certain rights: free movement within Serbian territory, no deportation from the country or access an accommodation. If they do not leave the country or do not apply for asylum during this period of 72 hours, they dive into illegality and no longer have that status which



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ensures them a minimum of protection and assistance to survive in Serbia (Article 22, § 2 of the Asylum Act of Serbia). Extending the duration of authorization on the Serbian territory or create a special registration document which would permit refugees to legally receive money via transfer and to pay for accommodation would be a high improvement, since many could afford an accommodation but are blocked by the actual legislation.

It also appears that many refugees and migrants would be willing to turn back to their native country instead of being blocked in Serbia, but they cannot afford the price of a flight back. Some of them reported that they are hoping to reach Slovenia where they have the possibility to go back home for free on a voluntary basis. Finding a financial agreement with the EU in order to finance voluntary returns would be of interest for both Serbia and the EU as it would reduce the number of migrants blocked in Serbia. However, these measures would be limited if the number of refugees and non-SIA blocked in Serbia would significantly increase in the coming months, since the country is absolutely not ready for such a migration influx. Fighting smuggling networks should appear as a priority for Serbian authorities if they wish to avoid an escalating trend of precarity and criminality on their territory.

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# EU Policy's impact on the co-operation between Greece and FYROM during the EU Refugee Crisis

European Union does not only have preponderant role in modeling the administration of refugees and asylum-seekers in member and candidate states at the Balkan Corridor,<sup>1</sup> but it is dictating the very dynamics of their bilateral relations and the closer Regional Co-operation at the time of current EU Refugee Crisis<sup>2</sup>. This article focuses on the relation between Greece and FYROM, as they are an exceptionally paradoxical case of member state "exporting" the refugees into the candidate state,<sup>3</sup> which is vetoed by the first over the name dispute, and as such disabled from opening the accession negotiations and excluded from the financial aid, data exchange and security support (FRONTEX) by the EU.

The overall image that emerges from the literature is mismanagement of Refugee Crisis by the EU, which is in parallel with straggling to enhance Common Asylum and Refugee Policies, causing the mutual dependence of Greece and FYROM over the amelioration of their bilateral co-operation and a variety of



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*Bredsdorff/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels (2015)*

internal developments. On one hand, Greece is in need of finding a relieve in burden-sharing with other member states through Refugees using the common border with FYROM to depart (heading to other member states) and on the other hand FYROM needs to keep the border closed in order to restrict its migrant inflows for instate security reasons, showing a switch in their Refugee politics after the negative experiences with Kosovo Refugees in 1999. Contradicting needs of this two bordering countries have not only emerged into a ping-pong alike gaming with the lives of Refugees who were used on daily agenda bases, but have also deepened a Crisis as Refugees trying to cross the borders in April and May have caused multiple clashes with police forces on both sides. Moreover they have triggered the local criminals what gave rise to smuggling and human trafficking. All this chaos caused

1 [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication\\_on\\_the\\_european\\_agenda\\_on\\_migration\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf) [last accessed on 19 June 2016].

2 [https://www.ceps.eu/system/files/CEPS%20PB332%20Refugee%20Crisis%20in%20EU\\_0.pdf](https://www.ceps.eu/system/files/CEPS%20PB332%20Refugee%20Crisis%20in%20EU_0.pdf) [last accessed on 19 June 2016].

3 In contrast to the common case of migrants coming from and through candidate states to the member states.





## 71 DEAD MIGRANTS FOUND IN AN ABANDONED TRUCK IN AUSTRIA

*Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)*

by accumulation of Refugees on Greek-FYROM border as a repercussion of decisions of other members and candidate states border closures, had transformed the borderline into a hot spot treating to destabilize their neighborly relations further.

These developments were deliberately countering the right on asylum determinate by EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, but the two countries succeed to temporary de-escalate the border crisis by the Greek decision of moving Refugees from Eidomeni Camp into a heartland of Greece as the relief expected from the Agreement for returning illegal Refugees to Turkey and a relocations of the legal asylum seekers to other EU member states have been displayed as very slow<sup>4</sup>.

Practically, EU decision making centers were just focused on stopping the waves of Refugees entering from Turkey into EU. Turkey was "lucky" to be in a position allowing it to black mail the EU with a re-acceptance of Refugees

in exchange for free visas and a return on the accession track. Whereas FYROM could not use the same argument to gain more funds or accelerate the accession negotiations simply because it was silenced by the criticism on police violence against Refugees, failed rule of law, corruption, ruling nomenclature scandals etc. Unlike FYROM, Greece had gained some funds for relocation of Refugees and sheltering them as they are waiting for relocation into another member state.

All in all, EU Asylum and Enlargement policies are instead of bestowing an effective and impartial conceptual framework for asylum and refugees in states of Balkan Corridor enhancing the non co-operation among Greece (member) and FYROM (candidate) and the overall deterioration of their neighborly relations through its decision making mechanisms. They are not only discriminating members over candidate states, but also one candidate over the others by favoring those that serve EU daily interests better then it serves its very core values while forcing the neighbors find a common language by themselves.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.dw.com/en/greece-deports-migrants-to-turkey-thousands-stranded-on-balkan-route/a-19109936> [last accessed on 19 June 2016].

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VASILEIOS MAMALOUKAS

On Refugees  
and the  
EU Member States

# Refugees as our future fellow citizens

**W**e claim to have achieved a high level of prosperity and long lasting peace as citizens of the EU and its Member States. Indeed, we have achieved that. We also claim for ourselves to be some sort of pioneers whose acts and political way of organising society exemplify the way forward for other regions of this world like Africa or areas even closer to us like Western Balkans. We, just like our ancestors, are proud for our legal culture and development of what we call rule of law. Indeed, we have achieved all these and we are right to be proud about these achievements. But, let us not foul ourselves because there are many steps forward before reaching that very high lands where our deeds shall match our aspirations; our well polished and illustrious European values.

In the public debate, we tend to omit that addressing the refugee crisis is not just a moral obligation. We have committed ourselves to provide shelter to asylum seekers and to enable them to apply for the respective status of protection. It is a legal obligation that we have imposed on ourselves and that we have incorporated in our treaties<sup>1</sup>. It is at least disappointing that we pay little tribute to this legal duty and more importantly to the content of that obligation. The critique to the recent European Commission initiatives<sup>2</sup> lies on its unwillingness to change fundamental flaws of the European asylum system; the unfairness in the share of burden among the national admin-



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istrations; the differentiation in the protection granted within each Member State; the idea of borders as an impenetrable shield towards both irregular migrants and asylum seekers; the use of any possible means to prevent asylum seekers from reaching our lands.<sup>3</sup>

Let us not be confused. Member States have a crucial influence in the formation of the EU's asylum policy as well as in the Commission's reaction to the present situation. We have experienced the rise of fences between the EU's internal borders and the unwillingness of many central and eastern European states to participate in allocation plans in relation to refugees. Governments invest their political prosperity on neglecting their obligations towards asylum seekers and on the premise that any provided solution should at the same time discourage others from travelling towards Europe. We need a shift in our perspective. Providing shelter to these people apart from basic social security and labour rights entails also the opportunity for them to restart their lives. It is highly unrealistic to expect that these people will move back to their State of origin in the near future or even after a decade. It would be much more wise to organise ourselves in order to integrate these people. Let us welcome these people as our future fellow citizens.

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1 Article 18 EU Charter.

2 European Commission's communication for a new migration agenda (COM(2015) 240final); European Union and Turkey agreement for readmission of irregular migrants and asylum seekers; European Commission plan to overhaul the Common European Asylum System (COM(2016) 197final) which culminated to a first set of proposed amendments on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2016.

3 Maarten den Heijer, Jorrit Rijpma and Thomas Spijkerboer; 'Coercion, Prohibition and Great Expectations', to be published in Common Market Law Review on May/June 2016. Available at: <http://thomasspijkerboer.eu/migrant-deaths-academic/coercion-prohibition-and-great-expectations-the-continuing-failure-of-the-common-european-asylum-system-with-maarten-den-heijer-and-jorrit-rijpma-2016/>. [last accesses on 19 June 2016].



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# An EU candidate cannot be focused solely in managing the flows

Macedonia declared “situation of crisis” in its southern and northern borders due to an increased number of migrants and refugees last year in August 2015. This measure was more of an administrative step that would allow the Army to assist the border police in managing the high numbers of migrants crossing the Balkan Route. Furthermore, it made the utilization of public and private resources, public transportation and medical staff possible for the purpose of soothing the migrants’ journey from one border to the next. It was a necessary step since Macedonia hadn’t adopted any strategy for managing the migrant crisis, even though it had been warned since 2013 by the civil society about the bigger waves of Syrian refugees to be expected in the territories of Western Balkan countries (Lembovska 2013). Furthermore, Macedonia does not have an established institution responsible solely for managing the migration crisis, such as, the example of the Migration Directorate that Bulgaria has, which is an additional directorate established within the Bulgarian Ministry of Interior. (Ministry of Interior, Bulgaria 2007).

During 2015 the Macedonian authorities often failed to register the refugees timely and lacked capacities in offering sufficient means of transportation to the next border. This often resulted in the closing of the borders and caused a lot of tension at the borders between the migrants and the police (BBC 2015).

Currently, as the Balkan Route has been officially closed, the Army is still deployed at the border with Greece to control the refugee influx. The closing of the border combined with the Turkey deal that shut off the southern routes has resulted in raising the numbers on illegal crossings and smugglers who take advantage of the desperate migrants.

The Balkan states, including Macedonia, should understand that any initiative towards closing borders or building fences will result in negative consequences for their own states as it opens up ways for illegal migration and smuggling criminal groups to flourish.

On the other hand, operating in “situation

of crisis” almost for a year is not a sustainable solution. This emphasizes the need of adopting a national strategy on how the issue to be dealt in the future, aiming a long-term solution.

Since it is not expected for the situation in Syria or the other turbulent places to change anytime soon, any solution that could be applied to prevent migrants from entering would not be preferable. The 1951 Refugee Convention outlines the basic rights that States should afford to refugees. As a signatory state of all the conventions, Macedonia should maximize its effort in providing the most basic human rights to everyone. Solutions should not be focused solely in managing the flow of the migrants. Macedonia, as an EU candidate country aspiring to be future member state of the EU, should consider being part of the global solution to the migrant crisis by taking part in the EU migrant quota plan.

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# Europe's new identity: the refugee crisis and the rise of nationalism

Europe is now at a crossroad, divided between the need to remain faithful to its core democratic values, maintaining an area of freedom, equality and justice and the need to protect its citizens against the new terrorism and the rise of nationalist leaders and parties that require less Europe and more power back to the nation states. We are witnessing a return of the politics of fear; in Hobbes terms, a determination to convince people that there is no other alternative, that politics has been exhausted and all that is left is fear (Furedi, 2005). In the age of the war on terror, fear was a necessary argument to be brought on for justifying the US foreign policy in the Middle East (Robin, 2004).

Nowadays, the radical Islamism in the Middle East is justifying the war on the West through its faceless jihadist warriors spread across Europe, on the new hybrid terrorism that replaced wars on the ground. Hence, the enemy is becoming present and imminent and demands protection against and determines a certain language or public choices. The rise of extremism, radicalization and populism are facets of the same politics of fear. It uses the figure of the other as the enemy. When the refugees arrived, the protectors against the identified enemy emerged.

Europe has always struggled with conflicting visions of its identity, of a unifying idea that will erase national particularities, a generous idea with such irreducible values (Hazard, 1989). We are witnessing again, after a long process of integration, a return to instinctive national sentiments. In the face of fear, people want to be safe, hence a leader who can promise security and protection is gathering the popular support: we see that in the recent European elections, the extreme-right parties are gaining support; recently, in the Austrian elections, considered to be the mark upon the whole Europe, the only barometer given its history, the far-right party of Norbert Hofer determined the resignation of the Chancellor amid huge debates over the refugee crisis and a win in the first round of elections.

Nationalism is a crisis of identity (Smith,

2003), the response to the irregularities of modernity by taking pride in your own nation. The exhaustion of politics and modernity re-fuels the seduction of a puritan ideology, ready to sacrifice anything for an idea; the so-called Islamic State with its political religion in the name of a certain purity opposed to modernity proved to have a terrible impact on the European youngsters joining by hundreds a foreign jihad. Puritanism and politics are not new in Islam and fundamentalist Wahhabism is the weapon against modernity and the West, a deadly one, using religion as the community aggregator against the identified enemy. However, marginal youth and a romantic version of nationalism appeared first in Europe in the creation of the nation states and later were exported as such in the European colonies (Kedourie, 1960); from the clash between cultures and the shattered sense of self emerged the first generations of immigrants in Europe. Nonetheless we are seeing now the same divided self and confused identity in the third generation of immigrants and, at the same time, a divided vision about what it means to be European.

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# Towards a comprehensive EU migration policy

**T**he refugee crisis is another illustration of the EU's perpetual dilemma between supranationality and national sovereignty of the individual states. It has yet another time verified the inability of the Union to act collectively and transcend conflicting national interests. The lack of political will has transformed a fairly manageable humanitarian emergency into another political crisis, which tests the foundations of the EU. But what is the alternative to individual state responses to the influx of migration and how could the problem be handled on a unified basis?

There is a twofold approach to the problem, covering the stages before and after the refugees' arrival to Europe; since it has been proven that the measures already tried in order to stop the migrants from entering Europe have failed. The fences, the border controls, the Frontex operations, the deportations, not only do they not achieve their goals, but in many cases they also violate international laws and EU treaties, i.e. the Geneva Convention on refugee rights and the Schengen Agreement on free movement.

The fundamental solution to stopping migrants before they even leave their countries is the eradication of the factors that lead them to move, namely the civil wars and the uncertainty in their homelands. Moreover, they should be realistically informed about the conditions they will face in Europe, so



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that they do not expect the "promised land" and become disillusioned when they realise that this is not the case. Many refugees would prefer to stay in their region, if they knew that normality would be soon restored domestically and that the future awaiting them in Europe is not as ideal as they imagined. Let's not forget, however, that these people are fleeing war. It is utopian, therefore, to expect them to stay put and show patience until the war is over. An effective alternative strategy to this end would be encouraging them to stay in the region, rather than move further away to Europe. Incentives should be given, not only to Turkey, but also to Jordan and Lebanon, which also accommodate large numbers of migrants, but do not benefit from European financial and political aid.

After their arrival to Europe, refugees should be proportionately distributed among member-states, so that the countries of first entry are not overly burdened. Nevertheless, the influx of migration is neither a Middle-Eastern, nor a European problem only. It is rather a phenomenon with global repercussions; as a result it ought to be dealt with globally. The UN should not only mediate the Syrian peace talks, but the relocation of the refugees should also be carried out under UN auspices. It is disappointing, for example, that fellow Arab countries, apart from Jordan and Lebanon, have refused to take in any refugees. Moreover, there is an urgent need for a unified EU



*Pozanco/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels (2015)*

asylum and migration policy, since the current situation of 28 different asylum systems frustrates the authorities. A uniform asylum system would also contribute to the eradication of smugglers networks, since the asylum application processes would be straightforward and could be initiated even before the refugees' arrival to Europe, so there would be no need for their illegal transportation.

As far as European societies are concerned, it is crucial to combat far-right nationalism in order to vouchsafe the acceptance of the refugees into them. The fear towards the refugees centres on Islam, birth rates, crime and the collapse of the social systems. The truth is, however, that even if the EU had to accept all four million Syrian refugees and even if they all were Muslims, which they are not, the percentage of Muslims in Europe would only rise from 4% to 5%, a change that does not transform Europe into a Muslim continent. Regarding birth rates, studies have shown that they adjust to the European standards, as living conditions and education levels rise. Furthermore, the majority of the Syrian refugees hold university degrees and they tend to start businesses once they are integrated into European societies, bringing in more to the social systems than they extract. Thus, they are not a financial burden to the societies that accept them, nor do they need to turn to crime in order to survive.

It is obvious, therefore, that full integration of the refugees is required, in order for the economies of the reception countries to benefit from the labour of the refugees and help them support themselves on their own means, not depending on community budget, which has been estimated to amount to 15.000 Euros per refugee annually, in order to provide housing, food, education and

health services. At the same time, it is crucial to familiarize the population of the EU with the smooth functioning of multi-ethnic societies, so as to eradicate racism and xenophobia as well as manipulation from populist politicians.

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# Croatia's response to the refugee crisis

**T**he first refugee arrived in Croatia on 16 September 2015 after Hungary sealed off its border with Serbia and the immigration wave was redirected. It ended as of 8 March 2016 when the countries along the so-called Western Balkan route started to fully apply the Schengen Border Code, effectively closing the route for transit. During this period, over 700.000 people transited through Croatia, out of which 178 intentions to seek asylum were registered.

The refugee crisis has been in the center of political debate in Croatia, further amplified by the fact that in the fall of 2015 the country was preparing for general elections. However, despite the fact that the issues surrounding the refugee crisis featured strongly in election campaigns, in the end the crisis did not have a major effect on the outcome of elections. The government was not punished by the voters in terms of its handling of the refugee crisis, nor did the opposition gain significantly more votes for criticizing the government for its approach to tackling the crisis.

How did Croatia respond? There is an overall impression, both domestically and abroad, that Croatia handled the crisis well. It was the first country along the route to organize a full logistical support, which included the construction of a winter reception and transit center (WRTC) in Slavonski Brod and the organization of a free-of-charge transit over its territory. The WRTC was built in a matter of weeks, was fully equipped with the necessary services and could offer accommodation to as much as 5000 people at a single time.<sup>1</sup> It was opened at the beginning of November, while the free train service from Serbia to Croatia was being introduced. This contributed to better organization, more efficiency and a general sense of the crisis being under control.



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On the other hand, the refugee crisis led to disagreements with neighbors on the Western Balkan route, especially in the first months. On 20 September 2015, Croatia closed all borders with Serbia, an action to which Serbia immediately responded with countermeasures.<sup>2</sup> Croatia requested improved information sharing. The dispute lasted a couple of days during which cargo traffic was halted, goods were stopped at the border and cars with Serbian license plates were prohibited from crossing the border. Hungary sealed off its border with Croatia by erecting a wall in October, and Slovenia erected a fence along its border with Croatia in November. However, as the crisis evolved, the countries started to cooperate to mitigate a crisis for which none assumed responsibility or believed to be solvable. At the Austrian initiative, the countries along the route introduced a series of coordinative measures aimed to control the transit along the route until its closure on 8 March 2016.

Since the beginning of the crisis, Croatia advocated a comprehensive and effective European solution. Yet, everybody also understood that this was easier said than done. Croatia proved that it would be a team player, by accepting the quota within relocation schemes proposed by the Commission.

<sup>1</sup> UNHCR. Regional Refugee and Migrant Response Plan for Europe: Eastern Mediterranean and Western Balkans Route. January-December 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Erdelja, A., Kristović, I. Protumjere Srbije: Zabrana uvoza hrvatske hrane, zatvaranje granica i prestanak komunikacije. Vecernji list. 24 September 2015. Available at: <http://www.vecernji.hr/svijet/ivica-dacic-srbija-je-napadnuta-hrvatska-vodi-trgovinski-rat-1026400>

JOVANA SAVIC

# More development, less migration?

The EU migration crisis has brought to light the questionable perception of immigration as undesirable and therefore as a problem that has to be solved. There seems to be a myth that the EU is able to prevent, control or even stop migration flows by providing development aid, imposing restrictive immigration and return migration policies, and intensifying border control and building fences. However, the current political and media focus distorts the view on the realities of migration processes, including the associated causes and threats, but also benefits.

Of the 232 million international migrants worldwide in 2014<sup>1</sup>, only 33.5 million lived in the EU (born outside EU-28)<sup>2</sup>. In 2015 there were in total 1.321.560 asylum claims in Europe, and only 292.540 approved<sup>3</sup>. Their countries of origin were Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, but also Kosovo, Albania, Pakistan, Eritrea, Nigeria, Iran and Ukraine. Many people are forced to migrate due to armed conflicts, repression, natural disasters, and climate change, but many also choose to do so in search for a better life – in 2014 there were almost half as many people migrating within the EU member states as the number of incoming international



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Unfortunately, there has been a rise in the idea that development aid can and should be instrumentalized for migration management.

migrants (17.9 million)<sup>4</sup>. In both cases, according to EU values, human dignity, liberty, democracy and equality should be put at the center of creating better migration and mobility policies.

Unfortunately, there has been a rise in the idea that development aid can and should be instrumentalized for migration management. It is problematic to assume that increased development and poverty reduction will prevent, control and reduce mass migrations – a fact that is often disregarded in political discourses and strategies.

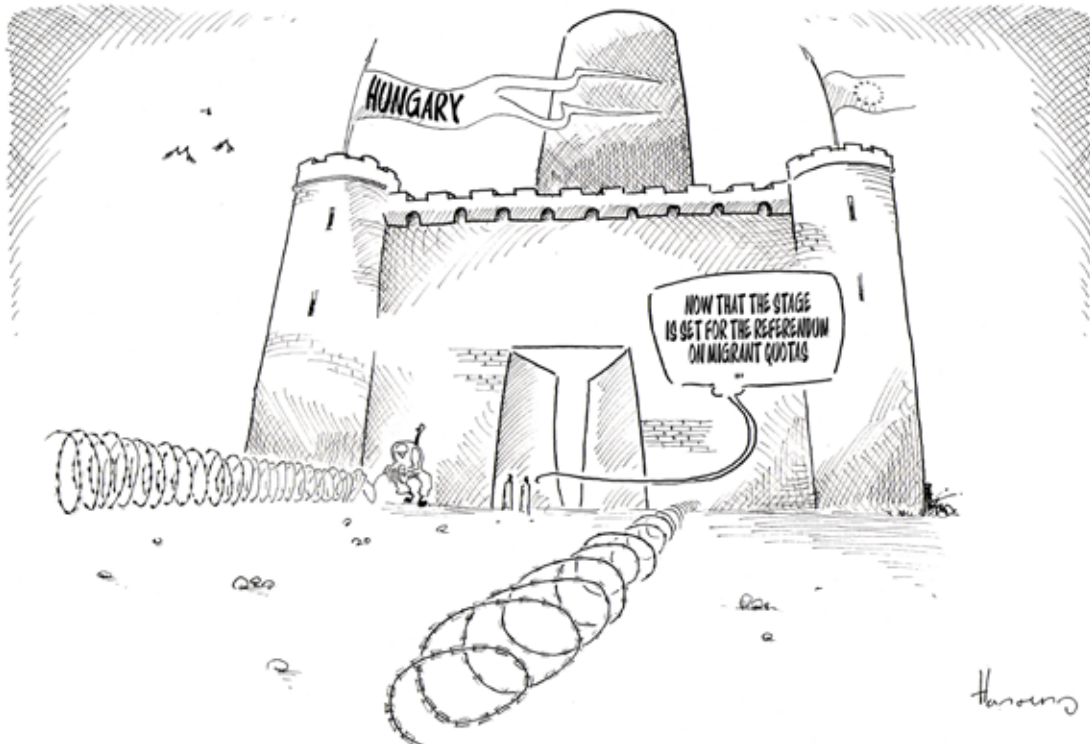
According to the Article 208 of the Lisbon Treaty, “development cooperation policy has as a primary objective the reduc-

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## ORBAN TO BUILD SECOND FENCE TO STOP MIGRANTS



Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)

tion and, in the long term, the eradication of poverty”<sup>5</sup>, and therefore since the beginning the goal was not to prevent migration. Still, in September 2015, Mr. Francois Hollande stated that “The idea is to keep people where they are by making a considerable effort for development and education of young people so they do not intend to leave”<sup>6</sup>. However, paradoxically, more development tends to stimulate international migrations. The so-called “migration hump” is interrelated with the level of human development, which means that in the short and medium term the percentage of people moving abroad is higher in countries with a medium level of human development. In the long term, development does produce societies that are more prosperous and just and where people are not forced to move. That is why investing in the sustainable development goals by 2030 is so important and can, in fact, help the situation. As the studies of Skeldon, Zalinsky, Martin and Taylor and later Hein de

Haas, show, “more development, an increase in wealth tends to lead to a rise in migration, since a certain threshold of wealth is necessary to enable people to assume the costs and risks of migrating”<sup>7</sup>. Only at the later stages of development does emigration tend to decrease (once the socio-economic development standard is the same in countries of destination and origin). Therefore, development actually goes hand-in-hand with migration.

Believing that development is a sufficient condition to prevent migration at a time when the EU is faced with a migration crisis can also be counter-productive. The EU should certainly continue to provide development aid and encourage development cooperation, but at the same time, equal stress must be put on human rights as the center of migration policies, addressing the root causes of both migration and refugee crisis and acknowledging migration’s positive contribution to international development (such as economic growth, contributions to labour market balances, etc.). The greatest challenge in EU migration policies is thus changing the focus from preventing and/or stopping to fostering and easing migration processes.

5 The Lisbon Treaty, *Article 208*. Available from: <<http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-the-functioning-of-the-european-union-and-comments/part-5-external-action-by-the-union/title-3-cooperation-with-third-countries-and-humanitarian-aid/chapter-1-development-cooperation/496-article-208.html>>

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# European Union's “visible” refugee crisis

In a statement given on the occasion of Europe Day, High Representative Federica Mogherini stressed that *“Our Union is at risk when we behave as part time Europeans: we call for help when we need it but we are not ready to help”*<sup>1</sup>. The status quo in Europe is shaded in grey with EU's cohesion put at risk as solidarity does no longer function, walls being built and extreme right parties growing in the majority of EU countries.

Despite these shades of grey, the flow of refugees in the European Union, estimated in 2015 at over 1 million, is comparable with the ones in Jordan or Lebanon, and you don't need much information to understand that the pressure on countries of 4-6 million people is much higher than on a Union of 500 millions. However, the European mechanism seems to malfunction as the half measures taken so far are not having the wanted effects. The relocation plan is not working and the gap between countries opposing or accepting relocation procedures is widening.

Seeking the philosopher's stone is not the answer to the refugee crisis, as nor is the agreement with a Turkey deepening in an authoritarian regime that EU seems willingly to close eyes to. And this policy of eyes wide shut was the one that malfunctioned the mechanism.



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The refugee crisis did not appear in 2015 and did not appear at the borders of the European Union, as even nowadays “invisible” refugee crisis of worse proportions is taking place in South Sudan, Nigeria or Democratic Republic of Congo.

European countries should stop playing the blame game and try to fix their internal mechanism. Nevertheless, it seems difficult to fix 28 internal mechanisms and also to harmonize and put them into practice. Asylum policy, followed by policies of integration, seems the easiest example nowadays and this is the key challenge for EU's leaders, as the current flow of refugees will not change the core of Europe or Europe itself as stated in various circles. Rise of extreme right as a direct result of populism is a more probable consequence.

Europe, especially, Eastern Europe or the Balkans, should not forget their own refugee crisis and citizens desperately trying to reach what they considered to be better places. Closed borders or high walls never stopped flows of people, as new ways or methods will be found if people leave an actual grey place. Years ago, a famous rock band, Phoenix, left Romania in their Marshall speakers.

Solidarity among European countries is tested once more after the Ukrainian crisis and the sanctions imposed to the Russian Federation. Tested every six months. For now, solidarity stands. And it will probably stand once more despite the half European behavior used by some within the EU.

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1 Statement by Federica Mogherini, EU High Representative, 09 May 2016, full statement available at: [http://eeas.europa.eu/top\\_stories/2016/090516\\_europe-day-message\\_en.htm](http://eeas.europa.eu/top_stories/2016/090516_europe-day-message_en.htm) [last accessed on 30 May 2016].

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# Foreign Fighters

## Disguised Danger in the Background of the Migration Crisis in Europe

**T**he entanglement of foreign fighters in armed conflicts on the territory of a country is as old as conflicts in the society. The interests of the EU members differentiate, especially regarding the so-called higher politics. The individuals from numerous EU countries go to war as hirelings or volunteers, out of either their personal benefits or the ideas they believe in.

The events that started in 2010 with the so-called “Arab spring” are still ongoing, being the protests against Bashar al-Assad’s government in Syria, which turned into a civil war, one of those. The formation of the Islamic State has complicated the situation even more. This conflict is unique because of the large number of people who are coming and going to the battlefield, but also because of the biggest wave of refugees from conflicted areas to Europe since the end of World War II. In a crushing number of cases, foreign fighters from the battlefield are viewed as a danger to their native country out of fear that they might commit terrorist attacks or other criminal acts. The possibility that foreign fighters might recruit potential executors of criminal acts, who are feared to be hiding among the refugees crossing the EU borders daily, represents a special threat. Experience shows that an enormous number of the recent terrorist attacks was actually carried out by organized groups of foreign fighters



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The possibility that foreign fighters might recruit potential executors of criminal acts, who are feared to be hiding among the refugees crossing the EU borders daily, represents a special threat.



Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)

from the battlefield and the people who came to Europe hidden among refugees.

This phenomenon is not limited to a specific social group and therefore the solution to it cannot be one-dimensional. Of course, there are other ways to radicalize and recruit terrorists that may not include direct contact with foreign fighters. Some of these are secret terrorist organizations (il) legally present on the EU grounds, and which are a perfect mechanism of ideological and religious indoctrination of the youth, who are imbued with fundamentalist outlooks of life, foreign fighters and those who used their refugee status as a cover for their terrorist activities.

As this phenomenon is rather new, our goal is to give recommendations that will serve as a starting point for further dealing with this complex issue. The **preventive measures** should be our major concern. First of all, those are the measures taken to lessen or prevent fighters from going to the conflicted area. Criminal prosecution of foreign fighters, practiced by a large number of countries, represents a very effective deterrence mechanism, which should be combined with the re-socialization and social reintegration of former fighters.

It is essential to put stress on the limited movement after serving the sentence, intensified coordination between intelligence services and legal authorities of the EU members and closer cooperation on all the levels.

Hence, the refugee crisis carries with itself a number of hidden problems. We believe that the problem of foreign fighters should be of greatest concern, bearing in mind that its negligence leaves room for more terrorist attacks in Europe.

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RADU  
MAGDIN

# The Refugee Wave and the issue of Strategic Communications

In 2015, Europe experienced its highest number of refugees since the Second World War with Syria as the number one "supplier", due to the country's inner conflict. A high number of Syrians gave up on the idea of going back to their normal life. So they decided to seek asylum in Europe, as tragedies continued. Even if the EU has pumped a lot of money in border security technology, it still fell short when it comes to being prepared to receive such an influx of refugees. A refugee normally has to stay in the first country that he or she arrives into, a phenomenon that puts a lot of pressure on the countries that are already in economic trouble such as Greece; refugee



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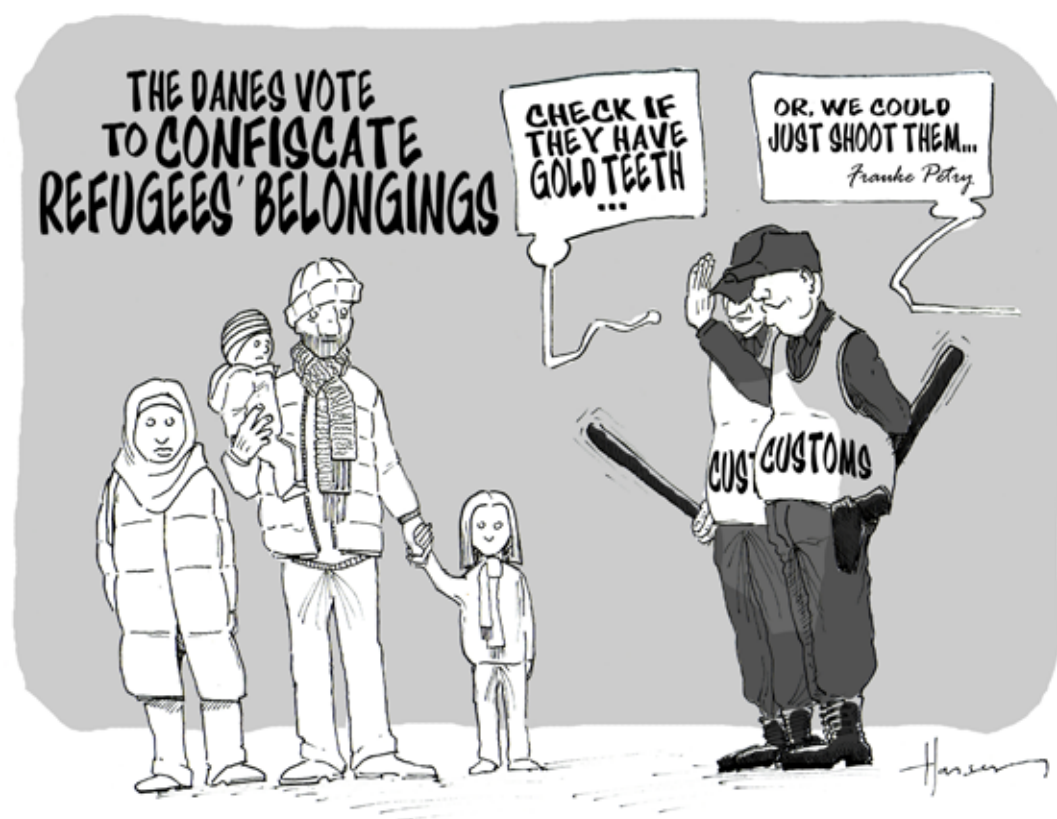
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One of the main concerns that the Europeans have is the propagandistic idea that the immigrants will increase the birth rates and that new comers might end up overtaking the natives in a matter of decades.

routes targeted directly the Schengen space, and the idea of mandatory quota was brought up. But the EU has the economical means needed to manage this crisis. The problem is more related to the social integration of a large wave of refugees. This is where perceptions and strategic communications come in, and so does foreign propaganda: a fear game on refugees, their integration and their possible motives to commit crimes came in the public arena the past few months.

For example, in an interconnected global media space, the main idea stressed out by the media - particularly in countries such as Russia, but also in other EU countries- is the focus on crime and religion, as well as the collapse of the social systems. However, statistics say that even if the EU were to bring in 4 million refugees, the percentage of Muslims would only rise from 4% to 5% in the European population: so no "Islamisation of Europe" is happening. One of the main concerns that the Europeans have is the propagandistic idea that the immigrants will increase the birth rates and that new comers might end up overtaking the natives in a matter of decades. Contrary to popular belief, statistics show that even if the Muslim population is prone to have more children than non-Muslims, this trend decreases as the standard of living and education rises. So, integration is always key, and so are living



Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)

conditions. Not to mention that young people need less social security help: the workforce the refugees will provide will not only boost the economy but will also fill in the gaps and sustain Europe's ageing population. Not all immigrants joining the wave are actual refugees, so Europe will not be and cannot be everyone's refugee: where there is no case for a refugee status, a person will have to go back.

The portrait of the "dangerous and violent" refugee enjoyed some of the headlines, with a particularly media frenzy as regards the fake case of the Russian girl in Germany. Indeed, one of the main sources of propaganda is Russia. The latter is said to be seeking to "sow the seeds of discord in Europe by weakening Germany and Angela Merkel", according to German intelligence sources quoted by *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* as well as the NDR and WDR television networks. Judy Dempsey, an analyst with the Carnegie Foundation Europe, has, in our view, a good case saying that "*Putin is using the refugee crisis to weaken Merkel*" and that there is a "direct correlation" between the support of the Kremlin chief to its Syrian ally Bashar al-Assad and the declining

popularity German Chancellor home. Moreover, the hostile approach towards the refugees is really popular with, and is making popular, the right-wing parties in a number of EU member states (surprise: parties partly funded by Russia) and their agenda is definitely saying a big "NO!" to opening up the borders. They, in fact, deny most of Europe's achievements, and the refugee crisis is a good excuse.

What can be done against negative media spinning? A lot of things, starting from consistent and careful journalist reporting - to avoid propaganda or misleading information, to myth-busting as regards refugees. Helping people that are fleeing a war they did not start nor seek is not only our moral duty but it is also the right and humanitarian thing to do. Of course, if some of these people commit crimes in our States, they should be punished according to our laws, but that does not mean that the refugee wave should be viewed as a threat, but as an opportunity. History will make its case for the humane solution and a diverse Europe.

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# Refugee/migration crisis: Quo Vadis (Europe)?

**T**he overwhelming magnitude of migration Europe has faced in 2015 and 2016 showed all the agony of the European leaders to find a sustainable model and proper policies for dealing with migrants pressure on their borders, asylum, health care and social systems. All their attempts to find a solution for over a million of migrants in 2015 and almost 200,000 in 2016 (IOM, 6 May 2016)<sup>1</sup> turned out to be futile, too late and uncreative, with a weak perspective to become fruitful in such form in a long run. Even though the causality of such intense migration lies deeply rooted in deteriorating global living conditions (security situation, poverty, climate change etc.) in many of the world's regions, requiring a global political action to be solved, the inability to find a comprehensive European (regional) response clearly than ever brought to the surface deep cracks in proclaimed EU unity and solidarity. It made space for short-sighted multipolar (subregional) and nationalistic politics, often sodden with the populist tendencies based on the cleavage of "us and them".

A partial justification for such "clumsiness" in reaction of the EU countries one may look for in the lack of experience with the "new type" migrants. Their determinance to come to Europe (event at the cost of their lives) is stronger than ever, asking for a specific EU country to settle in. Along with their strong will, they showed surprising ability to communicate among each other through social networks, sharing valuable information and creating a "pull factor" for new waves. Such nature of migration is in many aspects different than migration phenomenon so far and is far less predictable than economic migrations in 1960s or 1970s. Having in mind its characteristics, the "new type" migration is not manageable in the EU or at a European level solely. Global political action for improving living conditions in the



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Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions stricken by poverty along with political and security instability is required for a long-lasting solution.

Still, situation in which Europe is today must be tackled urgently, but its course will determine the future of the EU itself. Either the focus can be given to thorough protection of human rights through implementation of clear, operational and sustainable asylum policy agreed by all Member States or to, what realist theorists might propose, retreat to national frameworks and leave each Member State to decide about its approach. I do believe that crucial moment and turning point in assessing what path to take will be the implementation of the arrangement with Turkey, whose failure might trigger the perception that comprehensive European response is finally dead and that chance of managing migratory flows should be fully transferred to national capacities. Such scenario would show further regression of the "EU project" (already started by BREXIT initiative), resulting in lack of its attractiveness for Western Balkans membership aspirations and overall influence of the EU as a global player.

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# The Meaning and the Use of Identity Papers

## Reflections on Syrian Experience

**T**he Syrian civil war is an on-going 5 year war that not only has claimed the lives of many Syrians but has also sparked the largest human mass migration wave in recent decades. In relation to this, all focus has shifted to Europe and the United States of America in the last few months where millions of Syrian refugees are attempting to cross borders either legally or illegally in efforts to seek asylum in these foreign lands trying to escape war and restart their lives.

Identity can be viewed as a possession that one obtains as a birth right and builds it along the course of his life. However, when war strips everything away, identity may just be the only possession one may possibly own. Identity through the means of identity papers may just be the very last option for Syrian refugees escaping war to rebuild their lives abroad. It is then that identity papers become a symbol of nationality and residence to these refugees and may just be the most important papers they hold till asylum is granted (Bakewell 2007).

While sceptics may debate the authenticity of these identity papers, the undisputed use and purpose of the papers is to primarily establish the identity of these Syrian refugees both on local and foreign grounds. Additionally, identity papers also identify the personal background and criminal history of the asylum seekers. Not only is this crucial in granting one asylum but it has also become more important in the recent wake of terrorism in Europe. As Hoffman (2013) says, "If you don't enforce the integrity of your identity, you'll lose it". Thus, identity papers do play a significant part in enforcing the identity of the Syrian refugees either by protecting them from being mistakenly accused as terrorists or acting as a vital lead to identifying and affirming possible terror suspects at large.

Apart from establishing identity, the iden-

tity papers allows for the refugees to apply for political asylum in foreign lands. As long as a refugee has applied for political asylum in a specific country, until that application has been fully processed with an outcome, they are not allowed to apply for political asylum in another country (Humans of New York 2015). This then also helps countries grant asylum to manage the inflow of refugees and account for whom political asylum is being granted to and on what basis. This is fundamental for a country's migration policy and state security.

Hence, the meaning and use of identity papers in the Syrian experience may hold various interpretations, but it does reaffirm the importance of identity and the prospects of a safer life for the Syrian refugees escaping war. When a piece of paper defines who someone is and has the capacity to allow them to live a safer life away from war, we can only try to speculate the meaning and the use of the very paper as the actual meaning and use that holds for them is indescribable by anyone other than the persons themselves.

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# New Migration Challenges in the Western Balkans

**T**he economic crisis and armed conflicts in Africa and Asia have triggered new migration trends and challenges for neighbouring, transit and destination countries. The most important pathways have been those of non-EU migration such as asylum, irregular, and temporary. Most of the media, political and academic attention are focused on what is happening in the EU countries with regards to migration while the facts and figures show that the recent migration and refugee flows are located in and transitioning through developing countries which carry the burden of providing for a high number of asylum seekers. While EU countries have a long history of immigration and a developed legislation and infrastructure, other countries through which the majority of migrants transit, or even settle in lack such elements.

Western Balkan countries, among others, are experiencing large waves of out, in and return migrants, transforming from countries of out-migration into immigrant-receiving countries. Macedonia is receiving growing numbers of refugees and more are using Serbia as a transit point to Hungary with the final intention to reach Germany<sup>1</sup>. The unmanageable flows might prompt the closure of the Balkan Route, leaving refugees trapped with increased risks of exploitation and abuse. This puts a threat on Albania which might serve as the next transit pathway for refugees searching to move towards Italy and further. The effects of the economic crisis on migration flows in Western Balkans have also been complex, voiced with initially reduced migration flows and soon after 2010 revitalized emigration mainly in the form of organized asylum seeking, growing numbers of return migration, as well as remigration. In 2015, 40% of the requests for asylum in Germany were from the Western

Balkan nationals, Kosovar ranked second after Syrians<sup>2</sup>. Circular and return migrations are moreover emerging, still marginal and need policy and legal options to address.

These developing issues do challenge the state of affairs on the academic and migration policy agenda and call for new conceptual and policy changes. For Western Balkans, most research has looked at emigration and rarely, if ever, has investigated immigration into this region. The region lacks the adequate institutions, legal and policy framework to manage the flows. Simultaneously, have additional internal economic, social and political constraints while struggles with the pressure to comply with EU laws as part of their EU accession agreements. Solutions cannot be based on unilateral decisions. The situation calls for cooperation, sharing responsibilities, solidarity and collective actions. There is a need to acknowledge the importance of migration journeys and paths and aim to build capacity in a region that is unprepared to manage substantial waves of migrants. EU support should aim at assisting and improving the asylum system of the Balkan countries and not (only) at strengthening the border management. The region's peace, security and democracy are still fragile and should not be taken for granted.



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# Does the Political Orientation of Governments Matter?

**T**he issue of immigration has reached its peak in the last few months, seeking for solutions by the European countries and especially the countries of the South which are the most affected by it.

Governments have tried to deal with this issue implementing economic, humanitarian and political policies. If one is to look at some of the policies, it is pretty evident that they are affected by the political orientation of the governments and the circumstances which surround the country by that specific time.

Let us take Greece for example. As of the previous years, many 'hospitality centres' were used to 'host' refugees in order to give the government the time to deal with the issue of migration more thoroughly. These 'hospitality centres' were used as a political argument by the political party of leftists, Syriza and its leader Alexis Tsipras in order to fulfill their promises. As leftists, they believe that all human lives are equally valuable and their ideology leads to greater commitment to that statement than any other ideology. The common opinion was that it is extremely in-humanitarian to have refugees stacked in places like this.

**Do not get me wrong, the structural problems of these camps and the inhumanitarian conditions there, was a fact,** but history showed that when Syriza became the government, the political arguments of that time were just an act and nothing leftist can be said about them as they did not have a strong alternative policy. The immigrants left the detention/hospitality centers without the government having a plan about them. One thing led to another and here we are today. Every little detail in the migration issue plays a key role in the implementation of



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the policies. That leads us in the fact to believe that the closing of these camps, instead of re-organizing them led to a worse situation and that was a result of a leftist policy and ideology.

As I said in the opening lines the circumstances of the society at one specific time play a key factor in the policy recommendation regarding the immigration. As the problem rose, it became really obvious that there was a rise of the extreme right wing political party of Golden Dawn. If by any unfortunate reason we had to witness this party as the leading one in the government, the policies implemented would be in correlation with the extreme right wing ideology. They already made statements that closing the borders is the only solution to the problem<sup>1</sup>. The same thing happens in Austria, where the Freedom Party's candidate Norbert Hofer won the first round of the presidential election.

To conclude, it is obvious that various policies are affected by the political orientations of the governments and the political parties, but in order to cooperate and solve a part of the migration issue **ideologies should be put aside and implement such policies that are equally fair for everyone** and especially for the countries in the South.

<sup>1</sup> Banking News: Kasidiaris' proposal (Golden Dawn) to close borders for immigrants is absolutely and constitutionally correct. Available at: <https://goo.gl/3Whe3k>.

# Migration & extreme-right

**A**cross Europe far-right wing parties are on the march in the political domain. From Austria to Sweden, Hungary to Germany, and Greece to Italy national movements are shaping policies and influencing political life due to the massive uprising of migration that Europe is experiencing.

During the 70's and 80's far-right parties had extremely low share of votes in general elections but nowadays the percentage is getting remarkably high as voters have expressed strong support for far-right political movements (Guibernau 2010). Jean Marie Le Pen, the leader of the Front National in France, achieved an impressive result in the regional elections of her country. Jorg Haider, the leader of the Freedom Party of Austria, became part of the government in 2000 by achieving a coalition. Furthermore, while the electoral power of the Golden Dawn in Greece in February of 2012 was zero, in the elections of May 2012 their representation raised rapidly, due to the current economic crisis and certainly the emergence of migration, as the major issues of their election campaign. In the elections of May the party succeeded for the first time electing 21 MPs (Mauris 2013).

So far, there is not any unified definition to express the nationalist movements that have sprung over Europe. We can proclaim that far-right parties can be characterized as heterogeneous but they are definitely sharing the same ideological patterns (Mudde 1996). We can describe these parties as movements that were basically formed by radical groups and have no intention to undermine the democratic values by imposing authoritarian regimes. Additionally, they are populists as well as supporters of ethnic nationalism and they oppose immigration, especially non-white migration and Muslim, (Halla 2012).

For far-right parties foreigners are perceived as the main reason for all the problems that their countries are facing including unemployment rates, cases of violence, crime and finally economic crisis. Migrants can be also considered as a potential threat for national identities and cultures by challenging the stability of the country (Lazaridis, Tsagkroni 2015). Especially,

in periods of economic recession, the unemployed and the middle class are those who feel threatened by the presence of immigrants and refugees. Therefore, these people are playing a determinate role in shaping policies due to the fact that poverty and social exclusion start now knocking on the their door.

It's not only the fear towards differentially that affects the political domain. People feel also angry and frustrated by their state and society. Due to their disappointment, the promise of revenge and purity that have shaped such political formations as far-right parties is a convincing promise that gives them exaltation. Under these circumstances, anti-immigrant programs are in the spotlight of far-right parties' electoral campaigns and thinking about the dimensions of migration across Europe nowadays it's not a surprise that far-right parties are becoming a 'successful' story.

Although tailor-made strategies would be more suitable to address the rise of far-right parties, it is important mainstream parties to restore voters' trust in politics by improving efficient government and migration policies; otherwise this phenomenon will not fade away soon.



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ALEXANDROS  
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# Refugee/migration crisis: Quo Vadis?

**D**uring the last two years, we are witnessing an unprecedented crisis which has humanitarian and political aspects. The refugee crisis that was extremely extended due to the civil war in Syria is a milestone in European Union's political history. It is a landmark because it signified the decision-making incoherence of the Union in terms of shaping a precise and viable response towards the extensive refugee flows. From the very first days, Union's stagnation and reluctance to coin an overall plan perpetuated the chaos which the large extent of the influxes in countries such as Italy and Greece, created. (Triandafyllidou, 2015). What the Union actually did; was to screen out trivially a prompt solution which was nonetheless peculiar and fluid. The joint statement between the contracting parties has been considered as the cure that could accommodate an effective strategic plan through which Europeans endowed the burden to Turkey. However, in reality it seems to be more a faithless, over-optimistic political declaration inextricably dependent upon the reciprocal willingness of the parties rather than a normative, legal binding act. Apart from that, building borders or fences is not an appropriate way to respond in a crisis taking place at your threshold especially when you consider yourself as the regional peace-keeper.

As we aforementioned, the core of the problem is located in the decentralization of the decision-making process within the Union. European Council's double-hatted character made easier the conclusion of an international agreement which apart from ambiguous was not European. Members States still keep a firm grip in the European Arena without having the



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willingness to tackle the Union's infirmity in acting as a multipolar player with many voices contradictory goals. Four years after the Nobel Peace Prize reward, Europeans lost a great chance of transmitting a crisis into challenge by revising their internal structural forms. Thereafter, instead of revising the Dublin Regulation which cannot respond any more to the volatility of the circumstances, reconsidering the Schengen Treaty which is one of the greatest assets of the European Union's history drawing up a common standardised asylum policy that could facilitate the massive asylum-applications, they preferred a dubious agreement that it has not even clear benchmarks.

To cut a long story short, European Union did not exploit the chance to adjust its structure and its aims to the new circumstances and challenges. Europeans are going to regret their decisions in a long-term interval in case Jordan, Libya and Lebanon (Fargues, 2015) blow up and create an unprecedented humanitarian crisis that Europe will not have the required mechanisms to cope with.

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# Refugee Crisis and temporary protection mechanism: Ignoring the Solution at Hand

In 2015, the year when the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) was supposed to become operational, the EU was unable to deal with the Syrian refugee crisis. Frequent EU summits have attempted to seal a deal with third parties who would be willing to accommodate refugees and prevent them from reaching European soil. Finally, to the great dismay of human rights organisations, a controversial deal with Turkey was cemented enabling the country to act as a gatekeeper to EU borders.<sup>1</sup>

In times when the EU is openly disregarding its obligations under the 1951 Geneva Convention, it is worth remembering previous European responses to the mass influx of refugees from its own continent – the Bosnian and Kosovo refugee crises, as they can provide useful lessons on how the crisis can be dealt with, in line with the human rights standards.

As a response to the Bosnian war, the worst refugee crisis in Europe after the Second World War, the EU states have established ad hoc temporary protection mechanisms<sup>2</sup>. Since individual processing was not possible, states made the decision to admit refugees on a large scale for a year, providing them with shelter, healthcare and social protection. The protection was extended annually until 1997 when Germany and other countries repatriated 700,000 people back to Bosnia.

In 1999, Kosovo war triggered this temporary protection mechanism again and the EU member states hosted 200,000 people. Their burden sharing efforts extended to a mass airlift operation to evacuate 60,000 persons from Albania and Macedonia. Following the end of hostilities swift repatriation took place in 2000.

Balkan crises are not only striking illustrations of different behaviour that the EU has exhibited towards refugees. They are significant for the legacy they left behind. The



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mass influx and ad hoc temporary protection gave birth to the CEAS which was supposed to unify asylum policies and standards across the EU and institutionalise common rules. Providing protection in cases of mass influx was considered a paramount responsibility and resulted in the adoption of the Temporary Protection Directive, one of the CEAS' core directives.

A comparison between the 2015 and 1990's refugee crisis reveals that problem is not in numbers. If a total of 15 member states could host 700,000 Bosnian refugees in 1995, it should not be impossible for the current 28 states, with an overall population of half a billion, to accept one million Syrian refugees. Especially since, the EU has developed its legal framework with corresponding institutional and financial apparatus in the past fifteen years, pledging its commitment to take in the asylum seekers.

Contrary to popular belief, the EU has all the capacities and mechanisms needed to provide a response in accordance with human rights to the plights of Syrian asylum seekers. However, the EU would need to uphold the directive it has in place since 2001 – the Temporary Protection Directive.

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# The Problem is Media

**A**s immigration in Europe is reaching unseen proportions, it is media that proliferated in the age of globalization that cover immigration, but also disseminate their own perspectives on the phenomenon. By doing this, media frame the debate on immigration, which has been narrowed down to two approaches: one emphasizing the threat for the security of immigrant-bound states and their citizens, and one emphasizing the humanitarian crisis, the plight and the rights of migrants (Thorbjørnsrud 2015).

Research on media framing has shown that its impact on political attitudes cannot be understated. It has also demonstrated that, in general, individual opinions have the tendency to follow the cues given by frames (Schuck 2006). However, in the current migrant crisis, we are witnessing a rise of anti-immigrant sentiments, despite the mainstream media's reluctance to assume a more alarming tone. It seems that traditional media are losing their ability to reinforce among the public the values that liberal democracies stand for, values which are the source of their own existence, even.

The media establishment loss is the new media gain. Today's technological advances offer the opportunity for anyone with a camera and internet skills to be a journalist. This means that the competition for audiences is exponentially larger, and media logic promoting sensationalism and shock value sell has never been a greater threat to media credibility. We no longer know who can be trusted.

For those with ideological or party affiliations, the answer is easy: partisan media. Indeed, this new type of journalism is flourishing, but it is only exacerbating the problem instead of alleviating it, as partisan audiences entrench in their own camps and further polarize society through the refusal of engaging with incongruent arguments (Stroud 2010). What's more, politicians have pounced on the decimation of the traditional news impartiality paradigm, turning opinionated media into their own mouthpieces and propaganda machines serving their goals.



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Partisan media are most effective in combination with emotional appeals, through dramatization of the economic concerns and cultural conflicts in Western society. Paranoid, conspiratorial discourses are a catalyst for right wing xenophobia, instead of encouraging rational analysis of the situation (Sobieraj & Berry 2011). Nationalist-populist politicians exploit this phenomenon with the preface of returning sovereignty back to the people from the elites, while quietly becoming the new elite that rules cynical and anxious citizens.

So we have identified the problem - lack of trust in established media and fear-mongering propaganda under the mask of news reporting facilitated by the possibilities of the internet. The solution is harder to suggest, and even harder to achieve. Regulating outlets on European level through a licensing system that requires fulfilment of stricter criteria in order to be a journalist could be the first step. Greater sanctions for hateful ideologies could be the second. More financial incentives in the shape of subsidies for quality media could be the third. Only with better journalism can European citizens be more informed and counter fear and its political exploitation.

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# The Transatlantic Relations

## and how they can affect the refugee/migrants crisis

The EU-US relations had always been an interesting area of study, mainly because of the significant role of both in the global history. Nevertheless, research on this issue is frequently proved difficult or ineffective.<sup>1</sup>

While attempting to examine the transatlantic relations, realism and neo-realism are the two leading theories that describe the EU and US actions, mainly after the Cold War (Featherstone & Ginsberg, 1996: 58-63).<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, it has been supported that “neo-mercantilism” – “neo-protectionism” – “new economic nationalism” can best describe the nature of their economic relationship (Economides & Wilson, 2001: 66).<sup>3</sup>

1 This is mainly due to the different structure of the two entities; unlike the US federation, the EU is not a unitary state, but a “sui generis” model of governance, a union of countries, a supranational organization of integration, a “confederation” (Hix & Høyland, 2011: 1-4; Naskou-Perraki, 2011: 101; Glavinis, 2009: 106).

2 The coexistence of the two actors in an international system in which the theories of Morgenthau and Waltz predominated, this has absolutely influenced their relationship (Smith, 2013: 4-5).

3 After the collapse of the Bretton Woods system and the burst of the ‘70s oil crises, both sides raised barriers and closed their national markets (Economides & Wilson, 2001: 125). During the



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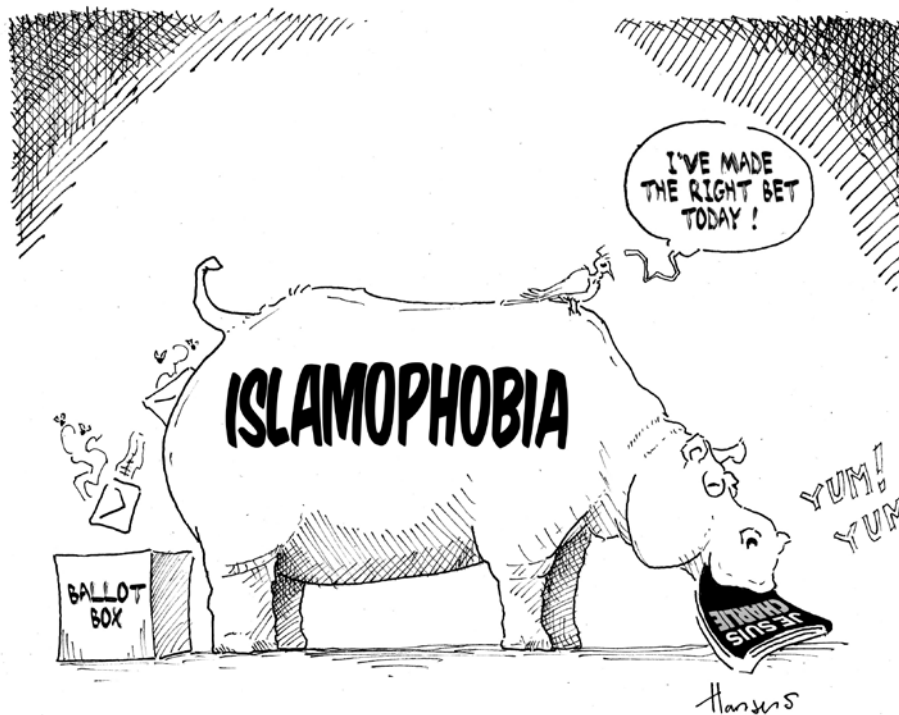
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Even though we have not so far attributed a designation for today’s era, we could characterize it with the term “globalization” (Fukuyama, 1992). Nowadays, new compositions are being developed in the area of the distribution of power, as more actors interact in the international system. Efforts are made to restore the values of the “Washington consensus” theory (Glavinis, 2009: 191), especially through the participation of the countries in intergovernmental organizations.<sup>4</sup>

One of the problems that the two entities are urged to deal with is the today’s Syrian refugee/migrants crisis. The refugee crisis, which started in 2011, is currently a pressuring challenge that affects everyone directly. This humanitarian crisis has recently taken extreme dimensions reaching an unprecedented scale. The demographic change will have a negative impact on the international status quo, the political and economic situation of the countries and the world stability and security. Furthermore, the crisis is an

financial crisis of 2008, both actors implemented again the practice of protectionism, however partially. Today, it is possible that the two actors will raise again barriers, due to the refugee/migrant crisis.

4 The intergovernmental organizations act as international fora of cooperation and problem solving (Glavinis, 2009: 106).



Hansen/Katoikos.eu (2015)

active threat to the western values and the cultural cohesion of the entities. The cultural difference between the western and the eastern world has already begun to cause serious problems to the smooth coexistence between the refugees and the natives, especially considering the increase of terrorism and criminality, as well as the violation of individual rights.<sup>5</sup> Hence, the international community is urged to confront this problem immediately and effectively, in order to prevent the repetition of similar incidents, such as the attacks in Paris and Brussels.

It is strongly believed that Europe and the USA can reduce the bad effects of the crisis only if they act together, collectively. More specifically, a four - level confrontation of the crisis is proposed; the issue can be addressed: a) at a European level, b) through the cooperation of Europe and the USA with Turkey, c) at an international level and d) at a national level. So far, some efforts have been made at a national level, in some European countries; nonetheless, the issue needs to be dealt based on an international plan, with the contribution of all the components.

Despite of the bad effects of the crisis, however it could be used as an opportunity to carry out long - term-oriented reforms and to create the right conditions for Europe's

economic prosperity and societal cohesion, while respecting the international rights, values and commitments. The refugee crisis has the ability to facilitate the creation of a more solid international structure.

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<sup>5</sup> Religion is the biggest cultural difference; fundamentalism is highly supported by eastern countries.



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JAKIMOVSKA

# “Nobody invited you here!”

## A study on the rise of extreme-right movements in Europe in regard to migration and migrant crisis

*“The influx of migrants arriving on the continent would impoverish European nations and kill their civility forever”; “Nobody invited you here. When you’re already here, you have to respect our rules. If you don’t like it, go away.” “Migrants have brought diseases like cholera and dysentery to Europe, as well as all sorts of parasites and protozoa, which ... while not dangerous in the organisms of these people, could be dangerous here.”; “Is it not worrying that Europe’s Christian culture is already barely able to maintain its own set of Christian values?”* All these citations are from politicians and statesmen of EU member states. Negative and cynical formulations, allegations, emphasizing upcoming threats and dissatisfaction are part of the political platforms of right-wing populist rhetoric. These statements are bringing together an increasing number of far right movements throughout Europe; spreading anti-immigrant beliefs, Euroscepticism, xenophobia, racism and chauvinism. As Hartleb (2011) clarifies, the terms right-wing extremism, right-wing radicalism, extreme right, new right, radical right, (right-wing) fundamentalism are indicating to a similar kind of phenomenon alongside with right-wing populism and they all are based on these main mobilization topics.

The ongoing refugee crisis, the catastrophic terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels and Istanbul have only heated the atmosphere of fear and led to significant results of the far right parties at the most recent national elections in the EU member states. An article in BBC Europe by Adler (2016) is mapping the “rise of nationalism in Europe”, showing the Swiss People’s Party, the Danish People’s Party, the Freedom Party in Austria and the Jobbik Movement for a Better Hungary, scoring more than 20% on the national elections. The Freedom Party in the Netherlands, the National Front in France, the Sweden Democrats and the Finns have been voted by more than 10% from their electorate.

The resolution of the refugee crisis is far

behind the horizon and the continent is moving more and more to the right. The extreme-right movements bring more people on the streets in Germany, Poland, France and Belgium. The atmosphere of fear, threat and uncertainty is polluting the air in Europe. The extreme rightists are in the spotlight and they are taking every possible opportunity to spread their beliefs and score more points. The migrant flow will eventually end at some point but will the reclining to the right reach the farthest right as in the 1930s? Will the far right wave take over the Western European ideology and values that have been built up for 70 years? Is Europe capable of managing both the challenges in regard to the migrant/refugee crisis and the change of the ideology image?

With close observation of the theoretical aspects and examples of the correlation between migration and far right ideology, as well as comparing the political platforms of the European far right movements; this paper tried to make a reflection of the extreme right ideology in Europe in regard to migration as one of its mobilization topic.



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ŽAN  
PAJTLER

# European Values under question

## Migration in times of uncertainty

Europe is facing its greatest challenge(s) so far. The whole world is facing problems on an unprecedented scale. Europe, as an entity, is one of the biggest losers in the world. In modern times we are facing a worldwide epidemic, a worldwide financial, political and ecological crisis, - the newest addition being the global humanitarian crisis. Somewhat connected, problems should always be looked at contextually.

These phenomena are just the symptoms of something bigger. If we panic about the situations we face, we will not be able to solve them. Therefore we need a structured approach. Europe is just one of many entities of the world, but historically it holds the most significance as a continent. Of course we can go into questioning the grip that the European culture holds (held) in the world, but it would just get us further away from the solution.

We can actually be glad that this mass scale migration happened to Europe, because it uncovered the deep structural problems that the European Union - and more specifically its members- are facing. We are trying to operate as a collective entity, but we don't even know how to operate as an individual entity.

Coming from a state that has been in the EU for 12 years, I see so many problems in my own country that I don't even have time (or interest) to look at problems facing the collective entity, let alone to correctly analyze the problems of other member states.

The western civilization is currently going through a phase of nihilism, the loss of all principles, and this phase can lead to a war or to a resolution of everything. We only have to choose - the peaceful or violent path.

If we look closely at the history of the

western civilization that started itself on European ground, we see the reasons that brought us to the stand where we currently are. Liberal foundations are the only thing that we can thank for the prosperity of our culture(s). This is the sole reason we, imperialistically speaking, conquered the world. The western values conquered the world themselves. We were just the first to entrench them. These are the things that Europe lost in its essence and therefore we are currently wandering around clueless and hoping for a miracle to salvage us from the doom that is closing down on us. Migrants are people, the same as we are. This is the sole fact that needs to be acknowledged so that we can proceed with a civilized debate.

When will we get to the point where we will deal with this crisis in a civilized matter, we will also be able to solve many other problems that we face. We are sitting on a pile of dusty books, knowledge beyond measurement and yet we do not realize the fact that we can utilize our history for constructing a better future.

The main thing is, the saddest one as well: we forgot that we are People. We forgot that the true liberalism gave us this realization. We forgot our roots.



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HELEN  
ZI

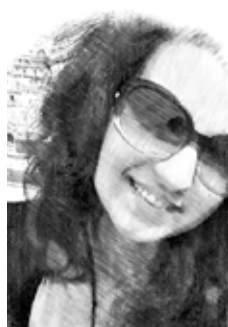
# Migration Crisis

## A General Approach

Nobody is really capable of understanding a situation, unless he gets to live it. Nowadays, many people are expressing their opinion about the migrant crisis. However, the whole truth and the story begin where they arrive at first. Terrorism, city destruction, bad economies, fear for the present and hope for the future is what leads those people to migration. Families travel in every possible way, pay whatever they are asked for and, now, they stay wherever they manage to within the grounds of the host countries. They live worse than homeless people, maybe. They sleep at parks, get sick, feel desperate, sometimes face racism and they try to survive.

Greece was a part of the whole “game”, since the very beginning. Even though the government, NGOs and volunteers have tried and managed to improve the hotspots’ circumstances, the country is unable to afford the rising number of people arriving. Greece is in the middle of a rough economic crisis, which has affected citizens’ lives. Therefore, it lacks the funds to improve accommodations and it is also hard for the country to fully bare the responsibility, due to the increasing number of migrants. Overall, the thousands of people arriving in Greece, coupled with the lack of funds, cooperation and substantial help, make it impossible for Greece to be equal to.

During such periods, the demand of a more unified European Union is more crucial than ever. A single state-member is not able to face the whole problem. The union itself would be. The aim is common and so is the problem. Mutual actions and measures should be taken, so that there would be no distinction between the members. When it



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comes to the borders, no solution would rise, if they were closed. On the other side, police should act without invading citizens’ civil rights. People should feel safe and free.

Despite anything else, migration is a high-importance issue, but only the tip of the iceberg. Behind all those suffering people, there are strong beliefs, terrorism, and hatred. European and international organizations should help host countries both during the entrance and the staying of migrants. It would be more beneficial and proper, if borders were fully equipped and filled with staff trained for such occasions instead of being closed. By doing that, the chances of a terrorist entering the EU are minimized. On top of that, those organizations could also offer important help at hotspots, where migrants are compelled to stay. Assistance in the fields of medicine, food and organization would improve the circumstances and be a contributory factor to the problem’s handling.

Volunteering is not enough, due to the problem’s magnitude. The reasons behind migration are easy to understand and should raise awareness worldwide. It is a phenomenon affecting not only the host countries, but the whole world, the present and the future generations. Shall we be unconcerned this time?

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# EU ban-opticon Policy toward Newcomers: Border Security or Securitization of Borders

Since the beginning of the refugee/migration crisis most of the international media have put special emphasis on the 60 million displaced persons worldwide to indicate the mass migration flows and the number of people on the move. Sometimes, instead of referring to this number, authors and international reporters have chosen to make the inappropriate comparison which argues that this movement of people is the largest one after the Second World War (more on statistics and refugee crisis in Gulid&Carrera 2016).

Furthermore, reports from border crossing points related to the number of arrivals and departures on a daily, monthly and yearly basis were not different (IOM, UNHCR, Frontex)<sup>1</sup>, giving the impression of war zones and *cordon sanitaire*. At the same time we witnessed the construction of new dispensing walls on European Union's outskirts. However, *Fortress Europe* has been with us since 1968 when Regulation 1612/68 established the intra-EU freedom of movement (Ugur 1995). This Council Regulation pointed out the difference between the rights of EU member state's nationals to move freely across Europe and the rights of third countries nationals (Huysmans 2000).



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Securitization which is the central contribution of the Copenhagen School to social construction of security has been created due to 1990s immigration flows in European Union countries (Wæver 1993). During the 2015 Refugee crisis – on European borders, this concept of securitization experienced its full implementation.

Nowadays, migration issues and their management are at the top of EU's external relations priorities (Commission 2016), with border external management standing on the top of agenda. To achieve the effective management of its external borders, the EU has adopted different instruments such as action plans, development aid, capacity building instruments and information exchange. However, all these instruments are often complementary (Balzacq 2008). The treaties adopted after Amsterdam – Schengen, Dublin – have their own implications on the securitization of Union's external borders. On December 15<sup>th</sup> 2015, the European Commission adopted an important set of measures to manage EU's external borders and to protect the Schengen area without internal borders (Commission 2016).<sup>2</sup> During the last of years, the European Border Agency FRONTEX spent millions of Euros on hi-tech surveillance

1 <http://migration.iom.int/europe/> [last accessed in 19 June 2016] <http://data.unhcr.org/> [last accessed in 19 June 2016] <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/> [last accessed in 19 June 2016]

2 Securing EU borders [http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/securing-eu-borders/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/securing-eu-borders/index_en.htm) [last accessed in 19 June 2016]





**Bredsdorff/Friedrich Naumann Stiftung, Brussels (2015)**

systems as well as on systems for deterrence. The idea of securing borders on the assumption of greater control and regimentation will probably increase human trafficking and the illegal crossing of borders. Furthermore, surveillance could also be seen as a disciplinary tool and not as an additional level of border protection (Bigo 2006). Every new treaty enhances the control and tightness boundaries, so it is clear that policy is an instrument to protect the state(s), society and internal market against invasion of (illegal) immigrants – in other words, the problem comes first and the policy is an instrumental reaction to it (Huysmans 2000).

Throughout the current refugee/migration crisis, it became clear that the Schengen area without internal borders is only sustainable if external borders are effectively secured and protected (Commission 2016). European Union's member states established their internal and external border

policy with the Schengen agreement and adopted the free movement of goods, people and services while developing a sustainable strict system of external borders control (Huysmans 2000). In that manner, statism and state-centrism have been reappeared in that discourse and could be both transferred from the national to the supranational level on which the EU is making efforts to protect its borders from the newcomers, creating as a result a solid ground for constantly growing nationalism. The output of this policy would be the disability of migrants and refugees to be integral part of the communities. Therefore we should put veto on those types of exclusionary policies, and insist that temporarily open internal borders should remain open. Instead of the consensus that mass movement of people could raise security issues, we need to introduce dissensus and conduct de-securitization, promoting that people on the move should no longer be viewed as a threat.

In this brief policy paper, we wanted to raise a question on the potentiality of borders in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. EU was on the progressive path by abolishing its internal borders, and temporarily opening its external borders, but unfortunately the policy of open borders proved idle.

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HADZIC ANEL

## The EU and its Migration Policy, Between Borders and Containment

Since the 1990's migration has been a core issue in EU's institutional and political history and taking into account the development of the European security strategy we can ask ourselves how the issue regarding the actual «migration crisis» is considered.

Being framed as a security issue, migration as a threat is then more a built-in resulting from a securization process, politization of a problem, than an objective statement. The EU definition itself appears uncertain, but is surely part of the security spectrum, evocating concomitant concerns such as terrorism or organized crime, among others. Encompassing these various fields under the scope of the Home and Justice affairs reveals of a tendency in the management of migration in Europe: a shift from a more conventional, state-centred model of security, both in its definition and in its framework, towards an individual-oriented European dialectic.

In that, the Schengen space is an analysis frame in itself: a secured free-movement space with defined borders, an inner territory drawing a security complex. Even if such a strategy appears paradox in view of Europe's expansion, it's clear that the EU entered a territorialisation dynamic. Since 2010 the EU started to build a security device based on police cooperation (via EUROPOL) and shared databases (particularly regarding refugees) following a preventive logic within Schengen or its immediate borders.

This framework is a direct manifestation of EU's containment policy: whereas they are concerned with an adhesion agreement, or by the European neighbourhood policy, the «European peripheries» appear as buffer zones. Until then EU's conditionality and «acquis communautaire» have been used to achieve political reform. Now they are mobilized to avoid border shutdown in transit territories, such as Macedonia or Serbia (the «Balkans black spots») which do not benefit from the EU's security apparatus for now but are expected to absorb some of the flow, thus in an asylum externalisation logic, both within and outside Schengen. The recent

talks with Turkey concerning an agreement which includes visa exemption versus change in legislation is a direct manifestation of EU's policy; conditioning the progress to European integration to EU's objectives realisation.

Until now the EU as a whole has welcomed less persons than Canada. We can hardly talk about an European migration strategy understanding a centred framework to properly manage the flow of persons within Schengen, despite some tentative:

- The Dublin convention is still at its first degree definition: preventing migrants to apply in more than one country- however discussions are held to determine a more «fair» dispatch model.
- The building of a new European asylum agency is primarily meant to support member states (on a national basis) and enhance cooperation.

The current migration strategy displays Europe not as a homogenised political space, but as a fragmented cluster. The question focuses less on the migration's threat label than the strategy in itself. With regard to the recent behaviour of Hungary or Greece, is containment a viable strategy?

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# The Land Beyond

## Cosmopolitan Peripatetic Sessions & Gatherings

**The Land Beyond**<sup>1</sup> is about a creative idea, land, time, kairos, a spirit, an attitude. It means the land beyond the mountains (the Zagori mountains) in Epirus, Greece, a land of generosity, exaltation, inspiration, learning. "Beyond" (epekeina, επέκεινα) is the prerequisite or even the unknown, something broader than knowledge or experience. Top down certainties divide people, diversity unites them. The Land Beyond ([www.epekeinahora.gr](http://www.epekeinahora.gr)) is a civil society organization since 2010 under Greek law, undertaking its activities in Vitsa and combining mental, physical and interactive exercise. Vitsa is a traditional settlement with unique, historical cultural and ecological interest.

We believe in (1) liberty (2) sharing (3) one world & federalism. Ecumenical values, mutual understanding,

pluralism, liberties, participation, conflict prevention and resolution, federalism, open society, volunteering, peace, biodiversity. Think more, live more, try more.

The seven actions of The Land Beyond are:

1. Vikos Crossing
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4. Tymphi Hiking
5. Winter Peripatetic Encounters
6. Art & Literature Land Beyond

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<sup>1</sup> <http://thelandbeyond.eu/> (in English) [www.epekeinahora.gr](http://www.epekeinahora.gr) (In Greek) Facebook: επέκεινα χώρα - the land beyond

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