

Refugee crisis – 26 Feb 2016

Where are we?

(Gerald Knaus, Tepav, Ankara)



A December 2015 trip to Izmir





Samsom – 28 January 2016

“For me it was clear: we do not have years. This should be **put on track before** the new refugee season, **this spring**. On the Turkish coast, a kind of highway to Europe has been built ... The refugee stream **will double** easily.”

Samsom told Prime Minister Mark Rutte:

“The height of the waves at sea determines how many people cross, not our action plans. We need to move towards a system where the crossing becomes **pointless**.”

Samsom

“The asylum request of everybody that arrives on Chios, Lesvos, Kos or any other Greek islands is **declared inadmissible** because [the refugees] come from Turkey, which is a safe country for refugees. They will be **returned** back there by ferry. However, Turkey will accept them only if large numbers of recognized refugees can go to Europe from Turkey in a legal manner. A **legal asylum route** for a couple of hundred thousand refugees per year. Of this [Samsom] convinced Mark [Rutte].”

I

Sansom

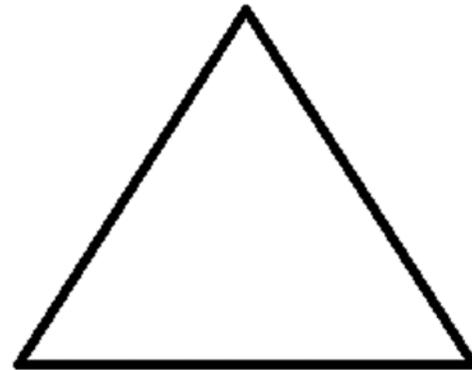
“Germany is convinced that a leading group has to **step forward**, this is how the EU makes progress. Gabriel (leader of German Social Democrats and Vice PM) said to me: ‘Imagine that we **take 300,000 refugees** from Turkey every year and we Germans are the only crazy ones to do this – we will still be better off than with the more than one million last year.’”



The key players



TRIANGLE of commitments

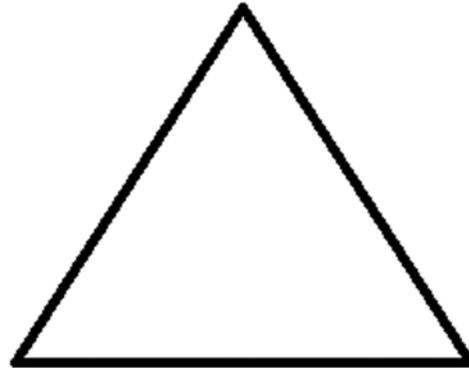


**GREECE: Send back those
who arrive after day X**

**TURKEY: - Safe Third Country
- Take people back**

TRIANGLE of commitments

COALITION: Resettle refugees directly from Turkey

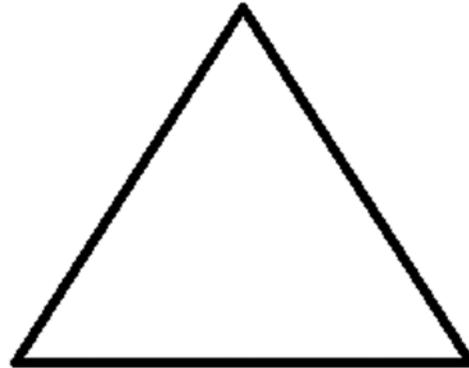


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**EU: visa free
billions for refugees**

**GREECE: Send back those
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Turkey's interests I

Get help from European states with Syrian refugees
(principle of resettlement)

NOT remain major transit country for third country nationals

Keep easy access for tourists from around the world

Obtain visa free travel for Turkish citizens

Step 1: Prepare resettlement from Turkey

Conclude agreement on humanitarian resettlement now
Link only to think Turkey controls (not vague)

Begin process of resettlement

Broaden European coalition of the willing

**Step 2:
Suspend
relocation
from Greece**

**Take refugees
from Turkey
instead**

		Places Available	Relocated from Italy	Relocated from Greece	Places still to be made available
1.	Bulgaria	1,302	0	2	1,300
2.	France	1,100	41	94	19,622
3.	Latvia	481	0	6	475
4.	Romania	315	0	0	4,180
5.	Sweden	300	39	0	3,727
6.	Finland	220	96	44	1,958
7.	Malta	131	0	0	131
8.	Portugal	130	10	20	2,921
9.	Netherlands	100	50	48	5,849
10.	Lithuania	100	0	4	667
17.	Czech Rep.	30	0	0	2,691
18.	Estonia	16	0	0	329
19.	Austria, Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia	0	0	0	5,684
	Total so far	4,628	288	295	

Step 3: Commission to launch process to lift visa requirement – visa free possible by summer

Key conditions:

Readmission with Greece
Remain safe third country

Step 4: Prepare Greek-Turkey Readmission

	requested	accepted	readmitted
2012	20,464	823	113
2013	3,741	370	35
2014	9,691	470	6
Jan-Sept 2015	8,727	2,395	8

(source: Hellenic Police)

Desirable results:

Save lives in the Aegean

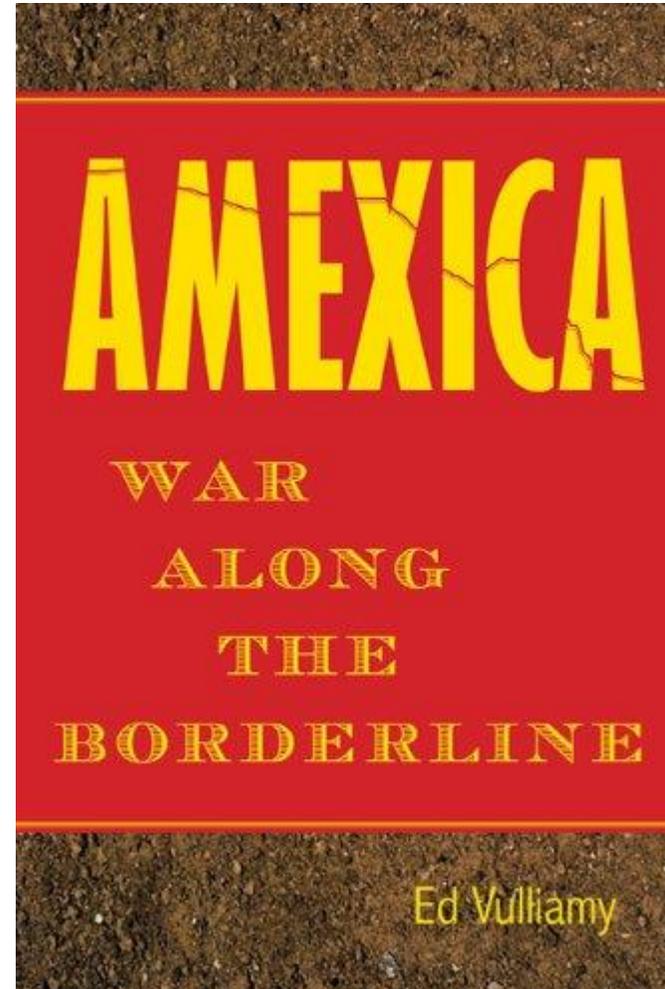
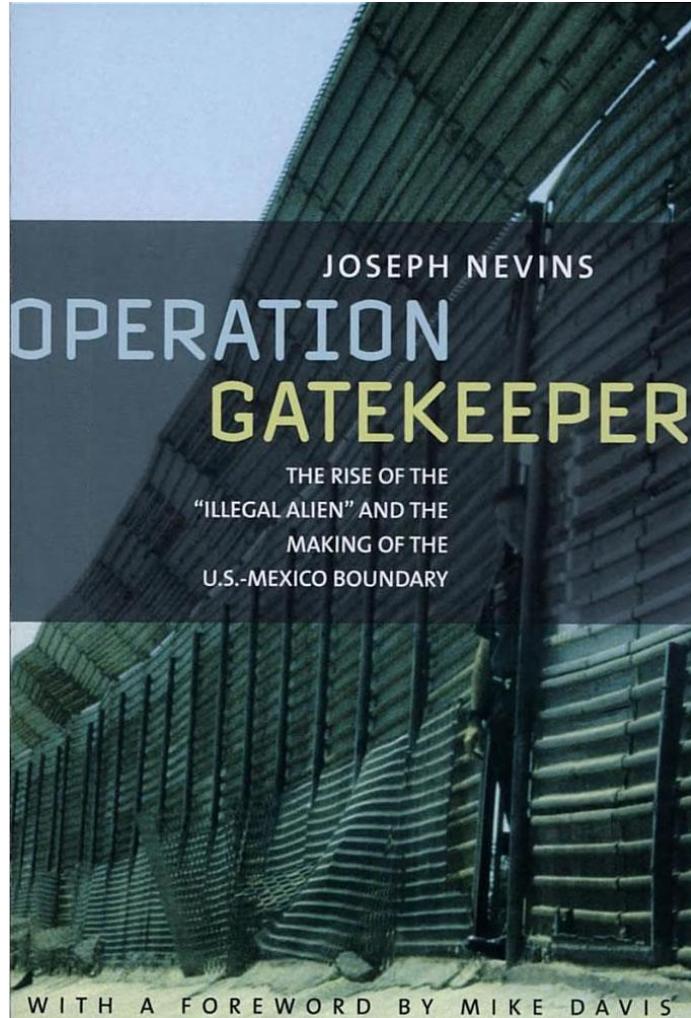
Share responsibility for Syrian refugees

Orderly, not chaotic movements to EU

EU help to refugees who remain in Turkey

Preserve the refugee convention

Avoid criminalisation of border regions



Stability in the Aegean



Stability in the Balkans: Albania – Macedonia – Bulgaria



**There is a real threat
to the future of the refugee
convention**

Who actually gives asylum?

Claims in 44 industrialised countries in 2014 (UNHCR)

TOTAL: 866,020

1.	Germany	173,070	20 %
2.	US	121,160	14 %
3.	Turkey*	87,820	10 %
4.	Sweden	75,090	9 %
5.	Italy	63,660	7 %
6.	France	59,030	7 %
7.	Hungary	41,370	5 %
8.	United Kingdom	31,260	4 %
9.	Austria	28,060	3 %
10.	Netherlands	23,850	3 %

Many opted out of global asylum policy

Others:

15. Canada	13,450	2 %
19. Australia	8,960	1 %
22. Japan	5,000	0.6 %
24. South Korea	2,900	0.3 %
39. New Zealand	290	0 %
TOTAL	866,020	

If Germany would opt out too ... what remains?



„No competition to treat refugees badly“



Recognition of Turkey's dilemmas

2,627 km:	<u>Syria</u>	822 km
	<u>Iran</u>	499 km
	<u>Iraq</u>	331 km
	<u>Armenia</u>	268 km
	<u>Georgia</u>	252 km
	<u>Bulgaria</u>	240 km
	<u>Greece</u>	206 km
	<u>Azerbaijan</u>	9 km

Germany: 3,714 km

The region in 2016 More dangerous than ever





New bloc: anti-refugees, anti-liberal, pro-Putin?



**The illiberal axis:
For some the refugee crisis is an
„opportunity“**



The „end of the liberal era“

"If we step back from the whole issue and its specific features and conceptually reflect on what is happening, then **we see that we have a huge opportunity**, if we fight well in this debate, to restore the prestige and appeal of national identity and Christian identity, **in opposition to the liberal identity.**"
(5 Sep 2015)

Self-defence and the future of asylum

"... we are faced with a question. Which approach is more humane: to close the borders in order to stop illegal immigration, **or to put at risk the lives of innocent European citizens?** The right to life takes **precedence over all other rights**, as does the right to self-defence ..."

Seizing control

7 March: EU – Turkey summit

COLWILL takes 900 registered refugees directly
every day (330,000)

COMMISSION launches visa liberalisation now

GREECE – TURKEY prepare for gradual readmission

TURKEY accepts some of those who leave after 1 March



Can they save liberal Europe?



Or: Europe sleepwalking into deeper crisis?



www.esiweb.org/refugees

