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A Crisis for the Ages The European Union and the Migration Crisis

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These topics form part of the pressing agenda of the EU and represent the multifaceted and complex nature of the European integration process. These papers also seek to highlight the internal and external dynamics which influence the workings of the EU and its relationship with the rest of the world.

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A Crisis for the Ages

The European Union and the Migration Crisis

Maxime H. A. Larivé*

Europe is the baker in Kos who gives away his bread to hungry and weary souls. Europe is the students in Munich and in Passau who bring clothes for the new arrivals at the train station. Europe is the policeman in Austria who welcomes exhausted refugees upon crossing the border. This is the Europe I want to live in. – President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker during the 2015 State of the Union before the European Parliament.

Five months ago most European citizens were unaware of the number of refugees seeking to reach the richest EU Member States like Germany, France, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The first wake up call for Europe was after the Lampedusa tragedy costing the lives of more than 300 refugees on October 3rd, 2013.¹ Europeans were shocked, as the world was, to wake up to hear about such tragedy taking place at their doorstep. From 2013 to 2015, the issue of mass-migration from Syria, Eritrea, Somalia and other countries in the region left the front pages of newspapers and the minds of Europeans, but had remained extremely present in the world of experts and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) was calling for actions. The second wake-up call, which marked the beginning of the seriousness of the crisis, was the shipwreck where an estimated 900 migrants died on April 19th, 2015 off the coast of Italy.

The migration crisis, aside from geopolitics and economics, is shaking the most basic and fundamental beliefs of the Union: its solidarity among 28 countries, its ethos as a humanitarian power, and its symbols and policies demonstrating its deepening process. It is a question of border control, migratory policies, political unity, normative and ethical behavior, and foreign affairs.

For the last four months, images of misery, death, pain, and innocence have illustrated the failures of European leaders on the international stage, and brought back humanity (which has been missing for too long), and the debate on moral responsibility of all Europeans – leaders and citizens included –.²

This paper seeks to analyze the different dimensions that have emerged due to the migration crisis starting in 2015. In the first part, the root causes of the crisis will be identified and explained. In a shorter second part, the paper will look into the normative and legal limits highlighted by the crisis. In a third section, the questions of narratives and rhetoric by European leaders will be dissected. And, the last section of the paper will look into the recent agreements by EU leaders on addressing the migration crisis.

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¹ Schwartz, Mattathias. 2014. “The Anniversary of the Lampedusa Tragedy.” *The New Yorker*. 3 October.

² Dempsey, Judy. 2015. “Merkel is Europe’s Conscience and Leader, for Now.” *Strategic Europe*. *Carnegie*. September 3.

Root Causes of the Migration Crisis

Europe's Southern Neighborhoods

Since the collapse of the world financial markets, the Europeans, with the exception of France, Poland and the UK to some extent, have become risk-averse. The fact that Europeans have left a power vacuum in their neighborhoods, on the Eastern front and Southern front, by being reluctant to flex muscles when required, plays as an important factor.

The Arab Spring, starting in 2010, brought hope in the Arab and Western worlds. Despite the fact that popular movements got rid of the old dictatorial establishments in countries like Libya, Egypt, Syria and so on, most of these countries have been confronting even dire futures.

In the case of Egypt, the country has shifted from democratic hopes, to a short reign by Mohamed Morsi, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, to go back to a Mubarak-like political system. President Morsi led the country for roughly one year from June 2012 to July 2013, losing his power after a military coup led by the army chief General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. Since then President el-Sisi has reinstated the foundations of a Mubarak-like regime.

In Libya, the West, led by France and the United Kingdom and backed up by the United States, removed Colonel Qaddafi from power in 2011. Qaddafi had ruled Libya for over four decades. But with the popular movement of the Arab Spring, the regime saw a threat to its survival. In response the West launched a military mission in 2011, under the UN Security Resolution 1973 (2011) allowing the coalition to enforce a no-fly zone over Libya.³ This coalition initially created to avoid another civilian massacre led to the fall of the Qaddafi regime.

In Syria, Bashar al-Assad never lost his power. Even though the country is highly divided among a multitude of militias, terrorist networks and the al-Assad forces. What is interesting in the case of Syria is that the West did not see coming the fall of Mubarak and Qaddafi and wanted to be proactive in the fall of al-Assad. In September 2013, the West was trying to build a coalition in order to start bombing Syria and the al-Assad forces after he was found guilty of having used sarin gas against civilians. Two forces played in favor of al-Assad, and still are, avoiding the launch of airstrikes against Syria's al-Assad: Russia and Western public opinion. Vladimir Putin has played an important role in sponsoring the al-Assad regime through military and financial assistance. Putin's rationale is that the Assad regime is a better alternative and protection against radical Islamic groups than rebels.⁴ In the case of western public opinions, they had grown war-worn, especially for the Americans and the Brits both involved in Iraq and Afghanistan. British citizens, through the UK House of Commons rejected to grant authorization to Prime Minister David Cameron to participate in military airstrikes in Syria. The British aversion to use force in Syria was a powerful signal for the Obama administration that refused to intervene despite the fact that al-Assad had crossed the 'red line' in using sarin gas.

Since 2013, the war in Syria has produced a large number of refugees, displaced individuals, rise of ISIS and the continuation of war.

³ United Nations. 2011. "Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions." *Meeting Coverage and Press Release*. SC/10200. March 17. Online: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm> [Accessed on September 28, 2015]

⁴ Russia is such a critical actor in the survival of the Al-Assad regime. Late September, Moscow launched a military offensive, through airstrikes over Syria, in order to bomb the terrorist network ISIS. However, reports have demonstrated that Russia was in fact using his military force in order to protect the forces of the Al-Assad regime. Moscow has been a critical actor in the early days of autumn in Syria and has changed the complexity of the crisis in the Syria. So far, military attacks have increased, which will only continue to fuel, in the short-term, the number of refugees in direction of Europe.

Who Are the Migrants Seeking for Refuge in Europe?

The migrants leaving their countries have changed over the years. They were once the poorest and the most desperate. Today’s migrants are composed of individuals belonging to the middle class with a predominance of women and children. Some come from Middle East countries devastated by war like in Syria, Iraq and others from further South such as Mali, Gambia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Eritrea and Somalia (see Table 1). The price of the trip has increased and costs now between €2,000 and 6,000 per person. Migrants cannot ask for asylum in a European country unless they set foot on European ground. Such law empowers the smugglers. Once in Europe, their lives remain extremely difficult.

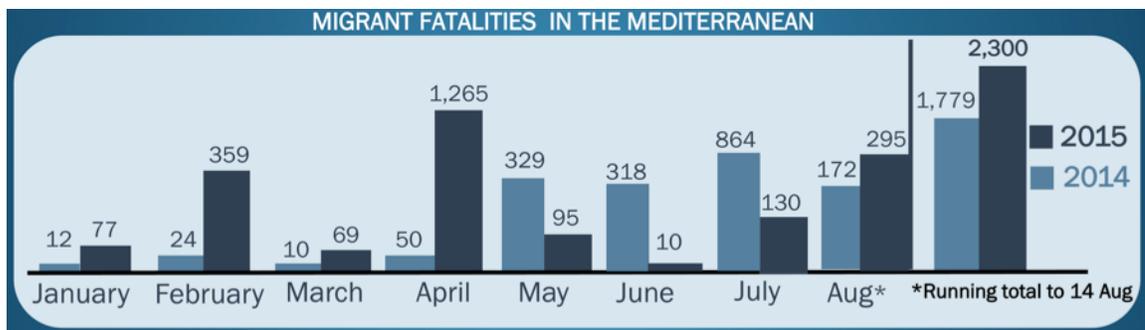
Table 1: Countries of Origin

Origin Country	Destination				
	Greece	Italy	Malta	Spain	Total
Syria	88,204	4,271	0	n.a.	92,475
Eritrea	282	18,676	0	n.a.	18,958
Afghanistan	32,414		0	n.a.	32,414
Nigeria	515	7,897	3	n.a.	8,412
Somalia	1,757	6,344	0	n.a.	8,101

Source: International Organization for Migration. 2015. “Mediterranean Update. Missing Migrants Project.” August 14.

Graph 1, located below, shows the danger of seeking refuge in Europe. The number of deaths has considerably increased these last years.

Graph 1: Migrant Fatalities in the Mediterranean in 2014-15



Source: International Organization for Migration. 2015. “Mediterranean Update. Missing Migrants Project.” August 14.

From 2014 to 2015, the number of migrants losing their lives in the Mediterranean has increased making it, according to the IOM, the most dangerous migratory route in the world. The tragic event in Lampedusa in 2013, and the most recent one off the coast of Italy in April are only examples.

Table 2: Maritime Arrivals of Migrants

MIGRANT MARITIME ARRIVALS 2015	
Total Arrivals: (to date) 239,248	
Italy	102,000
Greece	134,988
Spain	2,166
Malta	94
Total	239,248

Estimates based on data from respective governments and IOM field offices as of 14/8/2015.

Source: International Organization for Migration. 2015. “Mediterranean Update. Missing Migrants Project.” August 14.

Table 3 illustrates the main entry points to Europe. With the current crisis, most Syrians enter through Greece, while migrants from Africa seek to enter through Italy from Libya.

Syrian Refugees

As illustrated in the tables 1 and 2, the bulk of the migrants come from Syria, Eritrea, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Somalia. Each of these countries is facing terrible security, economic and political conditions.

Afghanistan has been a country at war since the Soviet invasion in 1979 (one can argue that violence in Afghanistan started even earlier). Nigeria and Somalia are facing serious political and security issues. Both countries host vicious terrorist networks like Boko-Haram (Nigeria) and some factions of Al-Qaeda (in Somalia) terrorizing the population and underlining the inabilities of their governments to protect their citizens. Eritrea is a police state with vicious policies including “forced labor during conscription, arbitrary arrests, detentions, and enforced disappearances.”⁵ Last but not least, Syria has been destroyed by war starting right after the Arab Spring in 2011. Since then, the regime of Al-Assad has waged war against the opposition. The war has shifted and saw the rise of new powerful non-state actor, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS).

The European Commission wrote that “the Syria conflict has triggered the world’s largest humanitarian crisis since World War II.”⁶ Migrants from Syria usually pass by Turkey and Greece in order to enter into Europe, as it is much shorter than using the Central Mediterranean route and arriving in Italy. “The total number of people in need of humanitarian assistance in Syria” writes the Commission “has

⁵ Human Right Watch. 2015. “Eritrea.” Online: <https://www.hrw.org/africa/eritrea> [Accessed on September 24, 2015].

⁶ European Commission. 2015. “Syrian Crisis. Factsheet.” September. Online: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf [Accessed on September 24, 2015].

reached 12.2 million, approximately 7.6 million of whom are internally displaced.”⁷ And a total of roughly 4 million Syrians have fled Syria. Out of the 4 million Syrian refugees,⁸ 1.8m are located in Turkey (reports demonstrate that the local population have embraced and included the Syrian refugees), 1.1m in Lebanon (a country of 4.4 million inhabitants, so the Syrian refugees represent 25% of the overall population.), 630,000 in Jordan (a population of 6.5 million), and 250,000 in Iraq.

As calculated by the UNHRC, the number of Syrians seeking for security and refugee in Europe has increased by only represent 6% of the overall number of Syrian refugees, or in numbers, around, 240,000. Since January 2015, the numbers of Syrian asylum seekers have certainly increased, but solely represent 90,000. The UNHRC shows that 49% of the asylum applications are being shared between Germany and Sweden, second with 29% for Austria, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, Hungary, and 23% for rest of the EU which includes France, the UK, Denmark, Poland and other powerful EU Member States.

Migratory Routes to Western Europe

According to Frontex, the EU agency in charge of monitoring migration and protecting European borders, there are seven routes, sea and land combined, in order to enter EU:⁹

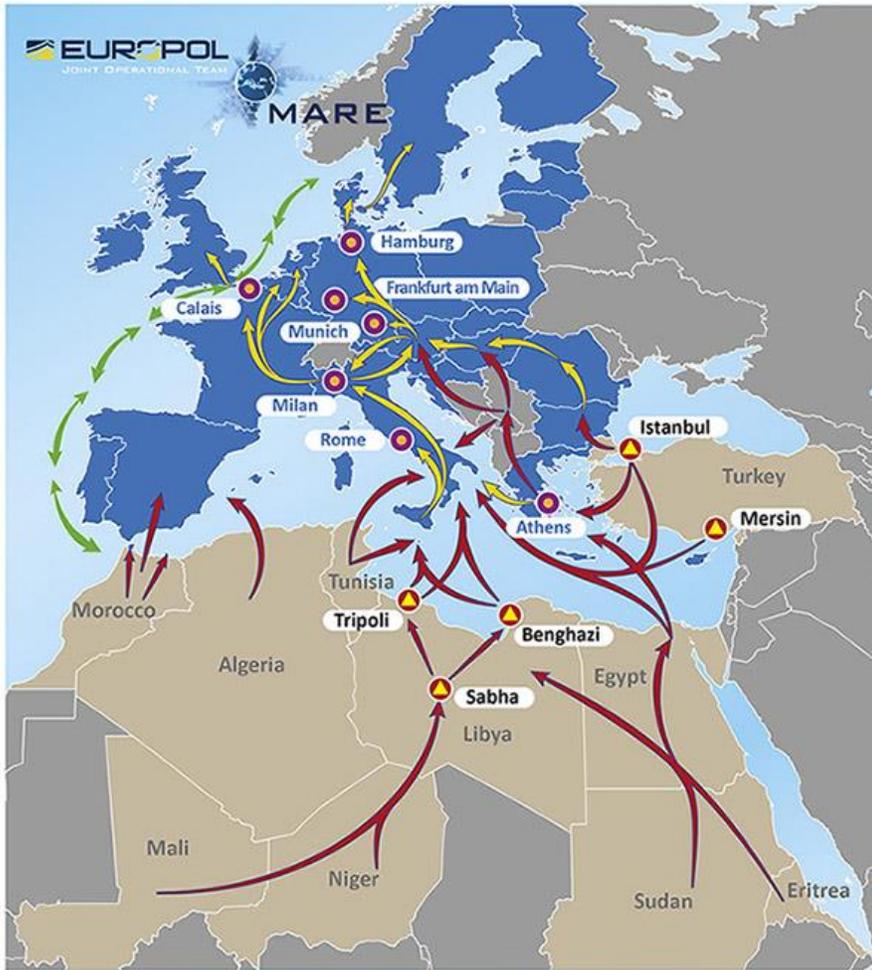
- The Western African route (sea), giving access to the Canary Islands, which are part of the Schengen agreement,
- The Western Mediterranean route (sea), from Morocco to Spain
- The Central Mediterranean route (sea), from Libya to Sicilia
- The Apulia and Calabria route (sea), from the Middle East to South-West of Italy
- The Circular route from Albania to Greece (land), from Greece to the Balkans
- The Western Balkan route (land), from the Balkans to Hungary,
- The Eastern Mediterranean route (land/sea), from Turkey to Greece
- The Eastern Borders route (land), from the Caucasus to Hungary and Czech Republic

⁷ European Commission. 2015. “Syrian Crisis. Factsheet.” September. Online: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf [Accessed on September 24, 2015].

⁸ UNHRC. 2015. “Syrian Regional Refugee Response.” Online: <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php> [Accessed on September 24, 2015]

⁹ Frontex. “Migratory Routes Map.” Online: <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map/> [Accessed on September 24, 2015]

Map 1: Principal Migratory Routes in direction to Europe



Source: Europol

Central Route

The crisis in Libya is serious for two reasons. Since the fall of the Qaddafi regime in 2011, led by a Euro-Atlantic coalition, the country has spiraled into a civil war. The civil war has created a power vacuum in the middle of Northern Africa offering the exit point for many Northern and Central Africans leaving their home countries because of political violence, war, dire economic conditions, terrorism with the hope to reach the European continent for a better life. Libya has become the transit country for most of the illegal migration. In addition to unchecked migration, the civil war and lack of government have offered a new ground to ISIS. The terrorist network has emerged in the country directly threatening neighboring countries, which include Europe.

If Libya is the exit point of Africa, Italy is one of the entry points of Europe. Since the Arab Spring, Italy has been on the front line of illegal mass-migration from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). For years the numbers of migrants seeking asylum in Europe has considerably increased. The Central

Mediterranean Route, from Libya to Italy, has seen a serious increase of illegal migrants from 40,000 in 2008 to 170,000 in 2014.¹⁰

European Symbols and Rules under Stress

Even though the number of refugees coming from Syria are well below the numbers in camps in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan, the European structures are failing to adjust to the pressure of the migrants seeking for asylum in Western European nations. The image of a humanitarian power is losing its veracity, and the basic structures monitoring movements of people within the Union are under stress.

Fortress Europe

Images, pictures and cartoons, have been an important variable in shaping public opinion and creating an emotional reactions to the migration crisis.¹¹ In regards to the migration crisis, the EU has been referred as Fortress Europe. The identification of the EU either as a soft power or as a civilian power falls well behind and demonstrates the irrelevance of such terms. If Fortress Europe implies a huge wall protecting the European territory, borderless Europe is its absolute antonym. Such image of Fortress Europe, which has many definitions, is affecting the overall idea of the EU as a humanitarian and a development power. The EU is regardless of its handling of the current flow of migrants within the Union the largest aid world donors. It has always been an important actor in providing development and financial assistance to developing countries and countries under serious crisis regardless of their geographical locations.

Normative Europe appears to be a construction by the EU to justify its moral behavior implying a certain degree of inaction and risk-averse foreign policies. If the concepts of ‘soft power’ and ‘civilian power’ are heavily used by European diplomats and experts, they are only part of the European dialect.¹² In a recent work, that I participated on, on perceptions of the EU in the US (expected to be published in the Fall or early spring), it was demonstrated than ‘normative Europe’ barely exist outside Europe.

Limits of the Schengen Agreement and Dublin Rules

In addition to affecting the external image of the EU as a normative and ethical power, the migration crisis is directly underlining two internal issues that have become contentious, the Schengen agreement and the Dublin Regulations.

The Schengen agreement of 1985 symbolizes and embodies one of the most sacrosanct dimensions of European success. “The Schengen area represents a territory where the free movement of persons is guaranteed. The signatory states to the agreement have abolished all internal borders in lieu of a single

¹⁰ Frontex. 2015. “Central Mediterranean Route.” Online: <http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/central-mediterranean-route/> [Accessed on September 28th, 2015]

¹¹ Politipond. 2015. “Re-Humanizing the Migration Crisis through Images.” September 8. Online: <https://politipond.wordpress.com/2015/09/08/re-humanizing-the-migration-crisis-through-images/> [Accessed on September 28, 2015]

¹² See: Manners, I. 2002. “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(2): 235–258; Manners, I. 2006. Normative Power Europe Reconsidered: Beyond the Crossroads. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(2), 182–99; Duchêne, F. 1972. Europe’s Role in World Peace, in *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, edited by R. Mayne. London: Collins, 32–47; Sjursen, H. 2006. The EU as a ‘Normative’ Power: How can this be? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(2), 235–51; Sjursen, H. 2006. What Kind of Power? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13(2), 169–81.

external border.”¹³ The Schengen area is composed of most EU Member States, except from Bulgaria, Romania, Cyprus, the UK and Ireland. Norway, Iceland Switzerland and Liechtenstein have joined the Schengen Area.

The Schengen agreement has been an important point of tensions between EU Member States as in order to be efficient it requires deeper integration in terms of border control, police coordination, judiciary legislation and so forth. If the movement people is certainly facilitated, it creates some problems for Member States in fighting terrorist networks and other transnational criminal networks.

In the case of the migration crisis, Syrian refugees once getting in Greece are crossing borders in direction of Germany, the UK and France. For such reasons countries like Bulgaria, Hungary and Croatia have built fences in order to limit the entrance of refugees simply crossing their territories. In addition, countries like Germany have reinstated internal borders with Austria in order to control the flow of migrants. This has caused a snowball effects wherein the EU Member States are following Germany’s decision. German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, has warned about the risks that the migration crisis is causing on the survival of the Schengen agreement.

The second point is the Dublin regulation, which came into force on January 1, 2014, and consists on making Member States responsible for the examination of the asylum application of the refugees. The country wherein the refugees first enter is in charge of registering the asylum request and fingerprinting the individuals. Usually the first EU country is the one that will have to welcome the refugees. For such reasons most refugees refuse to be fingerprinted and registered in the country of arrival, namely Greece and Italy, and rather keep going to Germany or Sweden. With the recent crisis, Germany has decided over the summer to suspend the Dublin rules and process the request of asylum of the Syrians that have reached German territory.

The migration crisis has demonstrated the limits of the Dublin regulation and is forcing EU leaders to rethink the legal process. This ultimately will require an even distribution of migrants across Europe through mandatory quotas. But this solution has been rejected by Eastern European countries, which have as well, at least in the case of Hungary, stopped processing asylum requests.

Both the Schengen agreement and the Dublin regulation are under heavy stress and illustrate the limits of the integration process.

European Narratives regarding the Migration Crisis

European crisis

The crisis for the European Union and Europe is dual. On the one hand, the tone of the debate is extremely divided among the 28 Member States. If Germany and Sweden are welcoming refugees, France and the United Kingdom are much more cautious, while Eastern and Central European members have acted against the refugees. On the other hand, if the tone is quite negative, European leaders have been able to find some common position in order to try to address the problem and root causes.

One of the most vocal criticisms has come from Hungary Prime Minister Viktor Orbán prior the emergency summit on September 23rd, accusing Germany of ‘moral imperialism.’ Hungary under Orbán worked on rejecting the German-back plan of redistribution of refugees across the Union.

¹³ EUR-Lex. “The Schengen area and cooperation.” Online: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV:133020> [Accessed on September 24, 2015].

National Tones

The problem of migration – legal and illegal – is a central one for anyone wanting to understand the current political debates at the national and European levels. Even legal migration between the 28 EU Member States is a cause of domestic tension even though such sort of migration is directly connected to the freedom of movement, one of the four freedoms guaranteed by the common market. So in the case of illegal migration, it is not difficult to imagine the tone of the debate.

Domestically, the radical parties (especially the extreme right) have risen above their former status of opposition parties, to becoming a shaping-force of the national debate. In the case of France, the Front National is now considered as one of the top French parties, with the Socialist Party and the newly-renamed right wing party, Les Républicains. The Front National (FN) has made its name by blaming all France's troubles and decline on Europe, globalization and the immigrants. In the case of the current migration crisis, the FN is associating the refugees with terrorism as well portraying the crisis as a fight between Christian values and the Arab world.

In Great Britain, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), previously led by Nigel Farage, was an important actor as well, in framing Britain's crises on Europe and immigrants. His sudden rise, despite some disappointing results in the May elections, has forced Cameron's government to talk tougher.

Ensuing the June elections in Denmark, the anti-EU and anti-immigrant party, Danish People's Party (DPP), has risen to the second rank of national parties. And these radical parties have only been identified because of the recent elections in each country. But other EU Member States, like the Netherlands, Hungary, Poland, Austria, Italy, Greece, and so forth, are as well dealing with a powerful extreme right political force changing the tone of the debate.

Now, two questions remain to be answered: First, to what extent are these extremist parties throughout Europe influencing the debate on migration? Second, are mainstream right wing parties eventually showing their true colors? For instance, the recent rhetoric emanating from London is quite worrisome. Prime Minister Cameron has had some words about these migrants 'invading' Britain. In July, PM David Cameron compared the migrants stuck in Calais as a "swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean" and has been advocating for stricter immigration rules in Britain.¹⁴ Weeks later, British foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, made comments aligned with his leadership about the current migration crisis and claimed that Europe "can't protect itself." He continued saying that "The gap in standards of living between Europe and Africa means there will always be millions of Africans with the economic motivation to try to get to Europe."¹⁵

In France, under President Nicolas Sarkozy, the tone towards immigrants was very negative and aggressive. Sarkozy and his Minister of Interior, Brice Hortefeux, stole some of the narratives from the Front National either for political gain or by sympathy for such belief. For instance, in June 2010, Brice Hortefeux was fined for making racist comments towards a man of North Africa origins.¹⁶

Ultimately, in Western Europe center-right parties have played a certain role in using xenophobic and anti-EU narratives advanced by extreme-right parties.¹⁷ If their electorates increase, it is not because

¹⁴ Castle, Stephen. 2015. "Cameron to Propose Stricter Immigration Rules in Britain." *The New York Times*. May 20.

¹⁵ Perraudin, Frances. 2015. "'Marauding' migrants threaten standard of living, says foreign secretary." *The Guardian*. August 10.

¹⁶ Davies, Lizzy. 2010. "French interior minister fined €750 for racist comments" *The Guardian*. June 4.

¹⁷ European leaders like British Prime Minister David Cameron, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and other national politicians like Marine Le Pen of the Front National, Nicolas Sarkozy of France (to name a

Europeans are becoming more racist or anti-EU, but that they are tired of a visionless, leaderless, and scared political class. All these radical national parties in Europe share this commonality of stating clearly what they think, even though it is not true (like linking terrorism to immigration; or opposing globalization and returning to a protectionist economy). In addition, the current socio-economic climate in Europe is auspicious to such rise as the center-right and left parties have been unable to real make the required changes in order to launch the economic engine.

European Narratives – Building Solidarity through Courage

If the tone of the debate at the national level tends to be negative vis-à-vis migrants and refugees, it is as well negative at the EU level vis-à-vis the Member States. For instance, during the State of the Union in September 2015, President of the Commission Juncker used a dark and accusative tone during his address was quite dark and accusative.¹⁸ At several occasions, Juncker was very critical, and pretty much started his address by saying that “our European Union is not in a good state.” In order to change the current path, Juncker urged to re-find a common European ground and solidarity among the 28 nations.

The first priority for the Europe as a whole is finding solutions for the refugee crisis. Juncker spent a considerable amount of time, during his address, talking about the crisis and the solutions that can be implemented. Before talking cooperation and coordination, Juncker underlined the shared historical heritage of Europeans and the fact that migrations caused by political persecutions and oppressions have occurred at many occasions on the European continent. Juncker implied that forgetting our European past, or simply selecting moments of history, is not an acceptable approach. Juncker addressed the question of numbers of asylum seekers and correctly put it in perspective saying that they simply represents 0.11% of the overall EU population of 500 millions, when they are representing 25% of the Lebanese population.

Juncker underlined that the Commission has been advocating for more integration on immigration policies in order to create a Common European Asylum System. If Juncker reminded the positive actions implemented by the EU like Frontex, foreign aid to Syria and so forth, he said that “Where Europe has clearly under-delivered, is on common solidarity with regard to the refugees who have arrived on our territory.”

In dealing with rising numbers of refugees arriving in Italy, Greece and Hungary, the Commission is pushing for the adoption by the EU meeting of ministers of September 14th of the “Commission proposals on the emergency relocation of altogether 160,000 refugees.” The last sentences of his part on the refugee crisis was quite a powerful statement as it clearly illustrates Juncker’s vision of what Europe is and should be:

I do not want to create any illusions that the refugee crisis will be over any time soon. It will not. But pushing back boats from piers, setting fire to refugee camps, or turning a blind eye to poor and helpless people: that is not Europe.

Europe is the baker in Kos who gives away his bread to hungry and weary souls. Europe is the students in Munich and in Passau who bring clothes for the new arrivals at

few) share all in common one strategy: dehumanizing the refugees. They all remove the humanity from these refugees in order to appeal to a scared, uneducated and to some degree lazy electorate. The fact that these elected and non-elected officials can receive so much attention and support raises an important problem in European societies. Many experts have been calling for an increase of solidarity among EU Member States, but such solidarity cannot occur if the European citizenry feels no emotional connection with the migrants seeking for a better life in Europe.

¹⁸ Juncker, Jean-Claude. 2015. “State of the Union 2015: Time for Honesty, Unity and Solidarity.” Speech. September 9. Strasbourg.

the train station. Europe is the policeman in Austria who welcomes exhausted refugees upon crossing the border. This is the Europe I want to live in.

The crisis is stark and the journey is still long. I am counting on you, in this House, and on all Member States to show European courage going forward, in line with our common values and our history.¹⁹

Policies and Actions to Addressing the Migration Crisis

Internal Actions

As demonstrated above the national rhetoric and tones have been highly divided and negative. But after months of inactions, European leaders were finally able to seat down and agree on a series of important measures.

On September 23rd, 2015, EU leaders were meeting for an “extraordinary informal” summit on refugees. One of the big question prior the meeting was about the number of refugees that the Union will accept and their distribution across the Union. This has been a highly contentious issue. In June 2015, the Commission was proposing the implementation of mandatory quotas, which was not welcome by a large majority of Member States. The big opposition on quotas have come from Eastern and Central European Member States, namely Slovakia and Hungary.²⁰

In addition of creating hot spots, EU leaders agreed on the relocation of 160,000 refugees across the continent.

In order to assist the EU Member States on the front line, especially for Greece and Italy, the EU will have established by late November a series of ‘hot sports’ in order to assist in the process of welcoming refugees and processing their demand of asylum.²¹ These hot spots will remove some of the heavy lifting to countries like Greece, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria.

External Policies to Protect the Homeland

In terms of external policies, the EU and its Member States have agreed on a series of policies from border control, to foreign aid, and more recently the debate on airstrike campaigns over Syria.

Border Control – CSDP Responses

Aside from dealing with serious economic conditions, Italy and Greece are left alone managing massive influxes of migrants (237,000 combined so far this year). Greece is dealing with a serious economic crisis affecting the basic functioning of its state, and Italy is not in its best economic shape as well. One of the shortcomings in the case of Greece consists in assuring basic border controls, while in Italy it is assisting the Italian coastguards in monitoring miles of sea. Europeans have only agreed on increasing the funding of its two naval missions off the Coast of Italy and Greece. Greece has become a point of transit, while Italy is trying to do what it can with its resources.

¹⁹ Juncker, Jean-Claude. 2015. “State of the Union 2015: Time for Honesty, Unity and Solidarity.” Speech. September 9. Strasbourg.

²⁰ As reported by Politico, European Commission Vice President Frans Timmermans was not shy saying that Central European countries had ‘no experience with diversity.’ Their lack of diversity has created visceral fear within their societies. See: Chadwick, Vince. 2015. “Timmermans: Central Europe has ‘no experience with diversity’” *Politico*. 24 September.

²¹ In these hot spots primarily located in Greece and Italy, the migrants will be registered and fingerprinted. Then they assigned to one of the 25 EU Member States that have agreed to host refugees.

In order to control this illegal migration, but mostly in reaction to the Lampedusa catastrophe costing the lives to 232 migrants in October 2013, the Italian government launched a program in October 2013, Operation Mare Nostrum, in which the Italian navy was used in order to stop boats transporting illegal migrants. Because of the continuous rise of migrants and an increase in the cost of the operation (around \$9.7 million per month), the Italians have been calling for support from their European counterparts in sharing the burden on costs and materials as all European nations are directly or indirectly confronting the problems of illegal migrations. Ultimately, the Italian government cancelled Mare Nostrum because of financial constraints considered too costly within the dire Italian economic context.

In November 2014, Mare Nostrum ended and let the spotlight to a small European program, Triton, under the supervision of Frontex, the European immigration agency, was put into action. Triton is much smaller in scope, in geographical coverage (operates only within 30 nautical miles of European shores), and in financial terms (represents 1/3 of Mare Nostrum's budget). Additionally, Frontex depends on the supports and contributions of Member States in order to receive material and human capabilities. Last but not least Triton's mission is not to replace Italy's work on protection of its territory but assists it when needed. As per the European Commission's memo of October 2014 "Triton is intended to support the Italian efforts, and does not replace or substitute Italian obligations in monitoring and surveying the Schengen external borders and in guaranteeing full respect of EU and international obligations, in particular when it comes to search and rescue at sea."²² Frontex coordinates, Italy leads (see Table 3 for comparison).

²² European Commission. 2014. "Memo. Frontex Joint Operation 'Triton' – Concerted efforts to manage migration in the Central Mediterranean." October 7. Brussels. Online at: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-14-566_en.htm [Accessed on September 30, 2015]

Table 3: Comparative Analysis of the Mare Nostrum with Triton

	Operation Mare Nostrum (OMN)	Joint Operation Triton
Member State	Italy	N/A
Agency	N/A	Frontex
Timeframe	October 2013 – November 2014	1 st November 2014-End of 2015
Aim	Search-and-rescue mandate	Border management – surveillance and border protection (not search and rescue)
Geographical area	Wide area in the Straits of Sicily; about 70,000 sq. km, three times Region of Sicily	Covers a 30-mile area near Italy’s coast
Budget	€9 million per month	€3million a month – became €9million a month ensuing April 23 rd , 2015 summit meeting
Naval Capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1 amphibious vessel with specific command and control features, medical and shelter facilities for the would-be migrants; • One/two frigates and two second line high seas units – either patrollers or corvettes – with wide range and medical care capabilities; • A Coastal radar network and Italian Navy AIS (Automatic Identification System) shore stations; • One Forward Logistic Site (FLS) in Lampedusa for logistics support to the units deployed to Mare Nostrum. 	<p>Depend on MS contributions</p> <p>coordinates the deployment of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 3 patrol vessels - 2 coastal patrol vessels - 2 coastal patrol boats
Aerial capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One ATLANTIC 1 Maritime Patrol Aircraft (MPA) based in Sigonella for maritime patrol; • One Air Force PREDATOR A+ based in Sigonella for maritime patrol; • One MM P180 aircraft equipped with Forward Looking Infrared (FLIR), based in Catania; • Two Camcopter S-100 unmanned aerial vehicles onboard ITS San Giusto; • Helicopters onboard (to be readily deployed to Lampedusa or Catania); 	<p>Depend on MS contributions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • coordinates the deployment of 2 fixed wing surveillance aircrafts, • coordinates the deployment of 1 helicopter in order to assist Italy in coping with the on-going migratory flows.
Human capabilities	A SAN MARCO Marine Brigade team in charge of vessels inspections and the safety of migrants onboard;	<p>Depend on MS contributions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five debriefing teams
Results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 330 smugglers have been brought to justice • rescued 150,810 migrants • 5 mother ships were seized 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dealt with 130 incidents of which 109 were search and rescue cases. • 16,402 people were detected, including 15,325 persons found on boats in distress. • 57 facilitators were arrested.

Sources: Ministero della difesa. Mare Nostrum Operation. Accessed online at <http://www.marina.difesa.it/EN/operations/Pagine/MareNostrum.aspx> [accessed on April 21st, 2015]; Yardley, Jim and Bilefsky, Dan. 2015. "Migrants Blame Captain of Capsized Boat." New York Times. April 22. ; European Council on Refugees and Exiles. 2014. "Mare Nostrum to End – Frontex operation will not ensure of migrants in International waters." ECRE Weekly Bulletin. October 10. European Commission. 2014. "Statement by EU Commissioner Cecilia Malmström on operation Triton." Brussels. October 7.; European Commission. 2015. "Fact Sheet – Questions and Answers: Smuggling of Migrants in Europe and the EU Response." Brussels. January 13.

As Table 3 clearly demonstrates, the fundamental distinction between Mare Nostrum and Triton in terms of mandate. Triton's mandate does not make the operation a search and rescue mission, but simply a border management operation. Additionally, the capabilities provided to Frontex are based on the contribution of the willing Member States. Frontex facilitates the work of the Italian navy, but the agency's hands are clearly tied.

On September 29, 2015, the EUNAVFOR Med will be beginning in early October the second phase of its mission, which allows to board, search, seize and divert vessels suspected of being used for human smuggling or trafficking on the high seas.²³ In addition, the EUNAVFOR Med is changing code name to 'Operation Sophia.'²⁴ So EUNAVFOR Med is shifting from surveillance and intelligence-gathering to a much more active role in targeting human smugglers.

Foreign Aid and Airstrikes

In addition to the border missions conducted by Frontex, the EU is seeking to increase its foreign aid and some of its Member States will increase their military intervention in Syria.

The European leaders has announced on September 23rd, 2015 that the EU will be providing an additional €1 billion in humanitarian aid. This additional pledge is a response to the high number of displaced Syrian refugees in the neighboring countries like Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan. These three countries have seen the rise a real humanitarian crisis in their camps. The European pledge will go directly to providing assistance to these neighboring countries through the networks of the UNHCR and the World Food Programme.²⁵

In terms of military intervention, France has been active in its air campaign against ISIS in Iraq and has started days ago its airstrike campaign over Syria. Even though the airstrikes are directly targeting ISIS fighters and capabilities, there are indirectly related to the migration crisis facing the EU. The war in Syria is becoming even more complex with the recent airstrikes conducted by Russia. Russia is seeking for eventual Western cooperation in attacking ISIS and keeping the Bashar al-Assad regime in power. The United States and France have both announced their commitment to airstrikes over Syria against ISIS, but categorically rejected to maintain Bashar al-Assad in power. With the escalation of Western and Russian bombings over Syria, it is unclear about the impacts they will have on either increasing the numbers of refugees towards Europe, or either stabilizing the situation in Syria and ultimately limiting the numbers of refugees.

²³ EU Neighborhood Info Center. 2015. "EUNAVFOR Med: EU to launch active phase of the operation against human smugglers." News Service. September 29.

²⁴ The name 'Sophia' is after the name given to the baby born on board a ship of the operation.

²⁵ European Council. 2015. "Remarks by President Donald Tusk after the informal meeting of heads of state or government." Press Release. 23 September.

The End of the European Dream?

The reinstatement of border control by Germany on the segment shared with Austria has led to a snowball effect with now Slovakia, the Netherlands and Austria announcing similar measures. Such political decision made by Berlin and now other EU Member States is a direct attack on a core principle of the EU, the Schengen agreement, which guarantees the free movement of people across the Union. Even though the Treaties offer the possibility for EU Member States to lift the open borders in case of emergency or national security, it is always a controversial move. In the case of the migration crisis, a lifting of the Schengen agreement, demonstrates the obvious:

- Inability to protect European borders and the neighborhoods,
- Inability to enforce the Dublin Regulations, which demonstrates the weakness of the integration process;
- Lack of solidarity among the 28 EU Member States,

The migration crisis underlined all the weaknesses of the EU, which have been underlined by experts for decades, of the EU all at once. It shows that the EU and its Member States have lived in this perpetual belief of post-sovereignty world and denial of the world shaped by hard power. In some ways, it seems that EU Member States and the EU have incorporated all the components described and advanced by Francis Fukuyama in his 1992 book of *The End of History and the Last Man*. Today, the refugees, seeking for a better world and a chance to raise their kids in a stable and secure environment, have brought the EU to the brink of failure, tear down the concept of European solidarity, and brought the worst of European societies with the continuous rise of nationalism and xenophobia.

To the defense of the EU, it has one element in its favor, ability to adjust and reform in the worst of the storm. After over 60 years of existence, the EU has gone through several deep internal crises, like the period of the empty chair, the end of the Cold War and reunification of Germany, the divide over the Iraq crisis, the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty, the Euro crisis, and now the migration crisis. In each crisis, the Member States have been able to adjust and advance. But will this time be another example of Europe's ability to adapt? Or, will it break? The migration crisis is overwhelming and stretching the European unity and structures to a level the Union never experienced before.