

MIGRANETZ dankt

Gerald Knaus (ESI - *European Stability Initiative*),
Autor dieser Präsentation, für die Erlaubnis, diese zum
Thüringer Europafest am 13. Mai 2017 in Arnstadt zu zeigen.

Video des Vortrags von Gerald Knaus
Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Refugee Protection
<https://vimeo.com/205026672>

Mehr Informationen
<http://www.esiweb.org/refugees>

Germany, Europe and the politics of refugee protection

An extraordinary moment in 2015

2015 on Lesbos: 500,000 arrivals



Unprecedented

Irregular Mediterranean arrivals

	Greece	Italy	Total
2011	57,000	64,300	121,300
2012	37,200	15,200	52,400
2013	24,800	45,300	70,100
2014	50,800	170,700	221,500
2015	885,400	154,000	1,039,400

September 2015





**NATIONAL
DEMONSTRATION
12 SEPTEMBER
Refugees Welcome**

**Assemble 12 Noon
Marble Arch | London
March to Downing Street**

The rise of anti-refugee parties



The European politics of this crisis

Is the EU capable of controlling its external borders?

Will 2017 see the end of EU support for the refugee convention?

Can border regimes combine **empathy with control**?

Reflections on borders and asylum

A reflection on borders in Finland



Why no push back? Article 33

1. No Contracting State shall expel or return (“refouler”) a refugee in **any manner whatsoever** to the frontiers of territories **where his life or freedom** would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

A reflection on borders in Switzerland



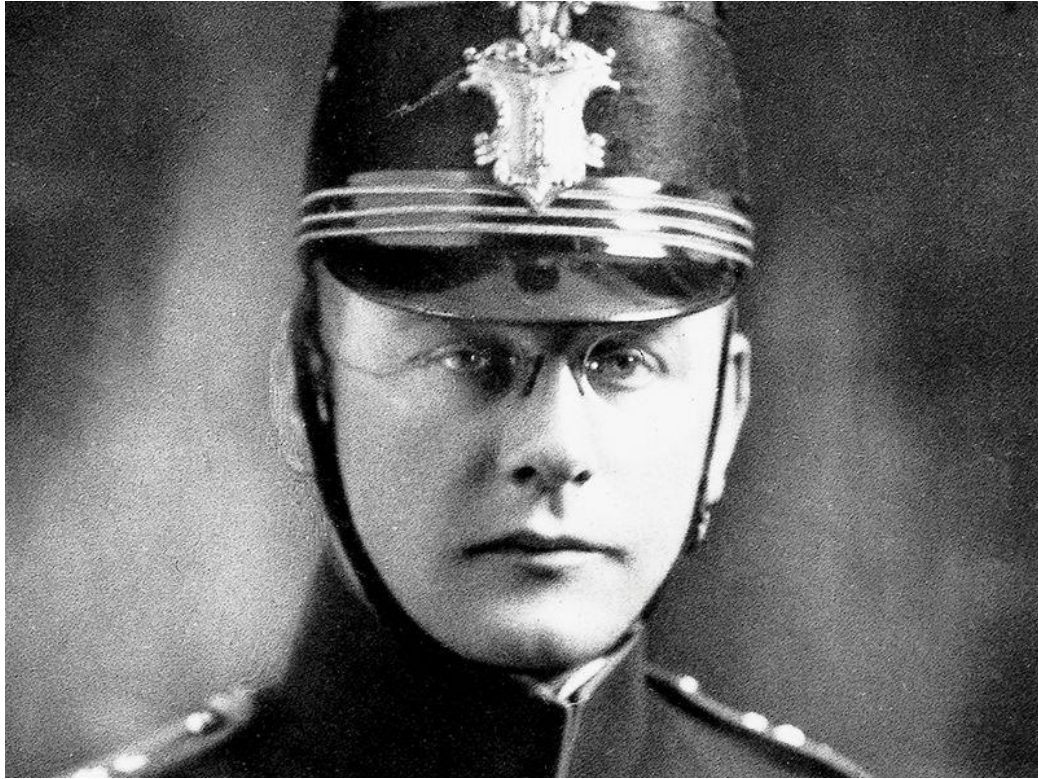
After 1938: this was a deadly border for thousands

Swiss government, 28 March 1938

„If we do not want to give **justified grounds** to an antisemitic movement unworthy of our country, we must, with all force and if required all ruthlessness, oppose the immigration of foreign Jews.“



Paul Grüninger



„To push back refugees is not possible **for reasons of humanity.**“

Then, a few years later ...



Since 1951: border protection requires asylum case workers



The politics of the crisis in Europe
Orban vs. Merkel

Viktor Orbán - 5 September 2015



"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.**"



On Paris, November 2015

"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 ..." (Orban)

On migration as an invasion



“Mass migration ... appears in the guise of humanitarian action, but its true nature is the **occupation of territory; and their gain in territory is our loss of territory.**”

[Glory to the heroes, honour to the brave 15 März 2016](#)

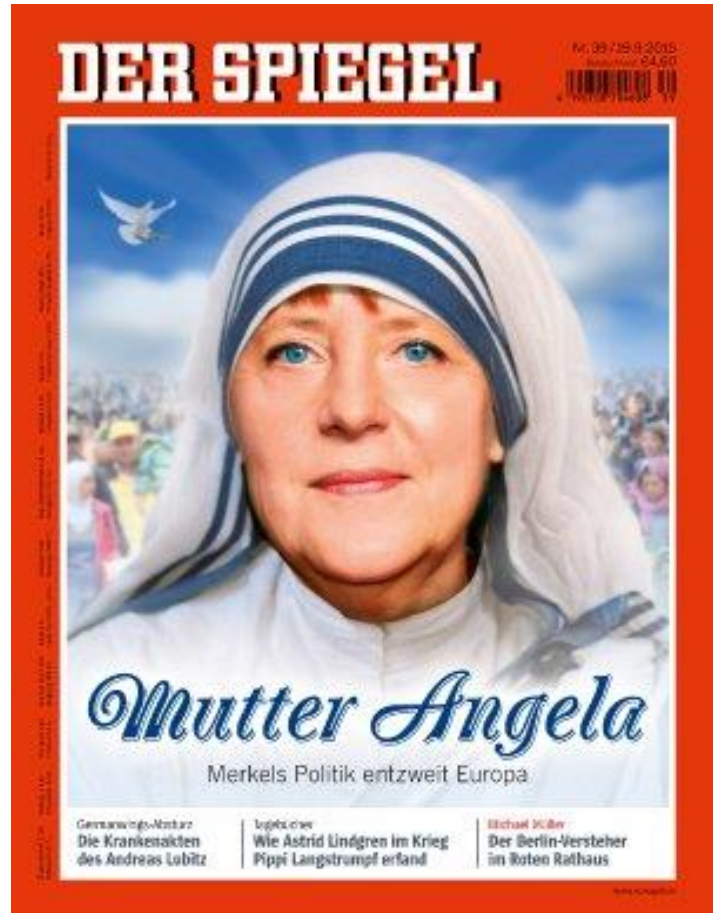
Building an alliance to „defend Europe“



Challenging Merkel



„Wir schaffen das“ – „We can do this“



„Merkel Plan“: Agreement with Turkey

Push-back is **unacceptable** - loosing control of borders is **unsustainable**

Reduce irregular arrivals: fast return of everyone safe in Turkey

Resettle refugees from Turkey

Support Turkey hosting refugees



October 2015

"We must better protect our external borders, but this is only possible if we **reach agreements with our neighbours**, for example with Turkey, on how to better share the task of dealing with the refugees. And this will mean more money for Turkey ... This will mean that we will **accept a set number** of refugees, in a way so that the human traffickers and smugglers in the Aegean will not earn money, but **in an orderly way ...** "

Breakthrough in March 2016



Effects

**Crossings: 115,000 in January and February 2016
3,300 in June and July 2016**

**Drownings: 366 in months January-March
7 in months May-July**

Push-backs: None

Does this agreement work *well*? No.

**Bad conditions on Greek islands, slow asylum,
few returns and resettlements**

But does it work? Yes.

Compare Italy vs. Greece

Greece

Italy

April – Oct (6 months) 2015

584,000

131,000

April – Oct (6 months) 2016

18,000

141,000

2016 – a major humanitarian crisis



Who arrives?

Arrivals – January to September 2016

Italy

Nigeria	20%
Eritrea	12%
The Gambia	7%
Ivory Coast	7%
Guinea	7%
Sudan	7%
Somalia	5%
Senegal	5%
Mali	5%
Other	4%
Total	124,475

Australia an inspiration, again?



“The message is simple: if you come to Australia illegally by boat, there is no way you will ever make Australia home.”

“Let the European marine patrol in front of the North African coast and *return all immigrants without exceptions.*”



Where will rescue boats go?



Why Nauru is a fantasy



**Expose populist proposals:
They are immoral *and* they do not work**



Challenge:

Convince majorities of proposals to protect the right to asylum, save lives and control borders humanely.

Find allies!

Is the crisis over? No



www.esiweb.org/refugees



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