

Turkey, Germany and the Syrian Refugee crisis

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What is the nature of the current crisis?



The cliché: New York Times (31 October 2015)

“There are more displaced people and refugees now than at any other time in recorded history — 60 million in all — and they are on the march in numbers not seen since World War II ... not just from Syria, but from an array of countries and regions, including **Afghanistan, Iraq, Gaza**, even **Haiti** ... dozen or so nations in sub-Saharan and North Africa.”

“The global north must be prepared that **the global south is on the move**, the entire global south.“

The fear: Muslim invasion by the world's poor (Orban)



The facts: EU border security (2009-2013)

All detections at EU external borders:

2009: 104,600

2010: 104,000

2011: 141,100

2012: 72,400

2013: 107,400

THEN something changed

The facts: global displacement end 2014

- 38.2 million internally displaced persons
- 5.1 million registered with UNRWA
- 1.8 million asylum applications had not yet adjudicated
- **14.4 million refugees** under UNHCR's mandate

THIS adds up to 59.5 million

14.4 million under UNHCR mandate

$\frac{1}{4}$ of these Syrians!

Nationalities of refugees in 2014 (UNHCR)

1. Syria	3.88 million
2. Afghanistan	2.59 million
3. Somalia	1.11 million
4. Sudan	666,000
5. South Sudan	616,200
6. D.R. Congo	516,800
7. Myanmar/Burma	479,000
8. Central African Rep.	412,000
9. Iraq	369,900
10. Eritrea	363,100

I

THIS IS REALLY ABOUT SYRIA

II

**THIS IS REALLY ABOUT TURKEY
(and Lebanon and Jordan ...)**

End of 2014 (UNHCR)

Turkey the country with *most refugees in the world*
(mainly Syrians)

Lebanon/Jordan countries with *most refugees per capita*
(mainly Syrians)

UNHCR: Countries hosting refugees - end of 2014

1.	Turkey	1.6 million
2.	Pakistan	1.5 million
3.	Lebanon	1.2 million
4.	Iran	982,000
5.	Ethiopia	659,500
6.	Jordan	654,000
7.	Kenya	551,400
8.	Chad	452,000
9.	Uganda	385,500
10.	China	301,000
11.	Others	6.1 million
	TOTAL	14.4 million

III

**THIS IS REALLY ABOUT GERMANY
(and Sweden and Austria ...)**

Asylum claims - 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	

Asylum applications in the world - 2014

Total: **1.7 million** (274,000 from Ukraine in Russia)

Germany: **173,000** (10 percent)

Australia: **9,000**

Arrivals in Germany in Sep-October

More than 10,000 registered arrivals each day

IV

THIS IS ABOUT GEOGRAPHY

Aegean islands: 10-15 km to cross



Transit costs low
Riska: rising, but 99.95 percent make it across



EU: Arrivals and deaths 1 Jan.–12 Oct. 2015 (IOM)

	Arrivals	Deaths
Central Mediterranean route		
Italy	136,408	2,814
Malta	105	
Eastern Mediterranean route		
Greece	453,912	264
Western Med. and Western African routes		
Spain	3,007	25
TOTAL:	593,432	3,103

Dangers of passage

Central Mediterranean route:
2 percent of those who tried died this year

Aegean route:
0.05 percent of those who tried died

The Aegean route is 40 times safer

V

**MERKEL AND RONALDO DID NOT *CAUSE* THIS
CRISIS**

2013-2014: this was not sustainable



First half 2015: record numbers

EU asylum claims: 499,000 (Jan-June)

EU detections: 540,000 (Jan-Aug)



Late August – early September:

**„Wir schaffen das“ – „We can do this“
„No competition to treat refugees badly“**



Public reactions



The Ronaldo-Zaid effect?



VI

GREECE/EU CANNOT CONTROL THE BORDER

Borders and neighbours



In the Aegean: no Australian solution possible (Nauru)



VII

WHY THE AEGEAN CRISIS IS SET TO CONTINUE

3.9 million Syrian refugees abroad (end 2014)

7.6 million Syrians displaced in the country

1.2 million in Lebanon with no perspective

October new records: 12,000 a day



An irresistible pull for many non-Syrians, too



Merkel: „Fences do not work“ – or rather: to work at all they would need to be deadly



Turkey cannot push against this pull



VIII

POLITICAL DYNAMITE?

Europe's liberal axis



Criminalising refugees – language of invasion



The most dangerous man in the EU



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)

"They want lives like the ones which we live ... Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, for years we have taught them and told them that in fact this world is a global village ... **We told them that there are universal human rights** which apply equally to everyone, whatever corner of the Earth they may be in..." Viktor Orban

If Germany fails, no one else will try



This would be the end of the refugee convention



IX

What can be done?

5 Points

1. This is an **emergency**
2. This is about *sharing the burden* of the Syrian crisis
3. The Aegean border will be **controlled with Turkey**
4. Germany needs to take a lead
5. It is in Turkey's interest to help Germany and Sweden

Key players



4 Steps

1. Greece declares Turkey a **safe country of origin**
2. Turkey commits to **fully implement the readmission agreement** with Greece from date X
3. Germany commits to **resettle 500,000 registered Syrian refugees** directly from Turkey from date X within a year
4. The EU **lifts visa requirement** for Turkish citizens in early 2016.

Alternative vision: combine control and compassion But how?



Merkel – 7 October 2015 (Anne Will)

"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, which has many expenses because of the refugees. 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**, this will also mean that we fulfil certain wishes of Turkey concerning the **visa issue**. One needs to speak about this now, in order to then arrive at a common will to **control the borders**."

Resettlement and global asylum policy

Total in the world: less than 100,000 a year on average

Total EU 2014: 6,525 (half to Sweden and Finland)

X

Is this in Turkey's interest?

**Think through all alternatives ... why the status quo is dangerous
for Turkey**



www.esiweb.org



Germany has to try again



XX

NO ONE COUNTRY DESTROYED DUBLIN

Hypocrisy: Article 33 Refugee Convention ...

"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."

... the reality

Preventing people from being in a position to submit an application

Carrier decision