



Migration into Europe: What Must be Done?

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Migration a megatrend

- UNHCR estimates that 60 million people are on the move
- Globalisation allows comparison – The West will **always be more attractive** economically and politically than the rest
- Migrants can only be returned if home states accept them, an unacceptable fact and means of extortion
- Many elope in Europe; 49% of returnees in Germany never return
- **Every citizen has a duty to build own country** – baseline of democracy and state system



Migration (Europol/Interpol data):

- More than 90% of migrants use human traffickers, paying between 3 and 6000 euros each
- False documents extremely common
- Migrant trafficking main source of income for crime gangs and terrorist groups. Polycriminal networks
- More than 800 000 waiting to be sent from Libya
- Terrorists among migrants, human trafficking
- Business turnover 5-6 billion USD in 2015
- (unique data base in Europol/Interpol report «Migrant Smuggling Networks», May, 2016)



Immigration and refugee policy are national prerogatives

- Every state is sovereign in determining who enters its territory and who is to be granted citizenship
- In the 70s, Europe/Norway needed workers and had labour immigration from e.g Pakistan, later to be halted («immigrasjonsstopp»)
- Canada, US, and Australia keep a certain level of immigration each year, determine age, education, etc.
- States determine whether to accept refugees (quotas, UNHCR) and how many to take



No need for labour migrants today

- Europe suffers from economic no-growth and massive youth unemployment
- Only 492 out of 160 000 migrants/refugees into Sweden in 2015 got a job (Migrationsverket)
- In Norway, only 50% of refugees have jobs after 10 years here (SSB), it takes 6 yrs. before one works
- The cost of migration/refugees a major one, and Europe cannot afford large influx every year
- Moreover, this money is spent much more cost-effectively in region



Terrorism requires border control

- Foreign fighters travel very freely due to open borders
- Each state determines states of emergency (France)
- Terrorists that are trained in Syria, Afghanistan, etc. are professionals
- Every state's first duty is to protect its own citizens and its territory, trumps other issues
- US travel warning on Europe, more attacks likely
- More than 200 attacks averted in Europe in recent times



Borders

- Every state upholds its sovereignty by policing its own border
- In Europe, such border control abandoned under the Schengen obligation of protecting the outer border of Europe (against *inter alia* illegal migration), however, only Storskog and Ceuta/Melilla seem to have been guarded well
- Visa required for all non-EU/EES travellers; the norm in the world
- Security measures, e.g. emergency powers suspend Schengen



Supranational EU in JHA?

- JHA included in majority area in Lisbon treaty 2010
- JHA was predominantly intergovernmental, both Dublin and Schengen were intergovernmental
- The EU has had a majority procedure since 1985 (internal market) but never imposed ‘tyranny of the majority’, always seeking consensus
- Imposing refugee redistribution is drastic and results in major conflict, as today in the EU
- ECJ and Commission take active roles when ‘allowed to’ – states *Herren der Verträge*



Russia and Turkey as ‘allies’

- Outsourcing the problem to these states creates major vulnerabilities for Europe
- Both state leaders are strategic realists who can use migration as a means of pressure and destabilisation (Norwegian, Finnish cases; Erdogan’s threats)
- Europe cannot solve the problem of war and of failed states in the world, and must therefore control its own borders
- European states are the main humanitarian actors in regional refugee policy, do a lot and will do more



Regional, temporary solutions

- Migration has no 'solution' other than the duty to build one's own country – unwanted migration must be stopped
- Also Europeans migrated in hard times, but to states that needed labour (US)
- The traffickers must definitely be stopped
- **The pull factor is that Europe allows asylum application rights to everyone that reaches its soil – this is unsustainable** (as UDI's Forfang has pointed out)



(War) refugees

- The Bosnian war led to ‘**safe havens**’ which would have been safe if the required military protection had been deployed (need of 30 000 soldiers, while 8000 were sent to all 7 Bosnian cities)
- The ‘safe haven’ concept is a solution, and Europe can do much, but regional powers **have primary responsibility** for refugees and for ending wars
- Refugees have a duty to return home to rebuild their states – and most want to
- Europe cannot stabilise and develop MENA, only assist in so doing – UN **global** policy needed



Asylum right is not 'absolute'

- Europe's states' first obligation to own citizens and their security
- If the right to seek asylum is a human right, so is the right to political stability and security for own citizens
- Human rights are not absolute (only torture ban is non-derogable) and must always be weighted against each other
- The current situation in Europe implies that states prioritize security (terror problem, mass influx) and stability (only controlled refugee quotas)



Conclusions

- Terrorism and the need for stability in Europe implies that illegal migration must be stopped
- Trafficking must be stopped, endanger lives and brings polycriminal activity to Europe
- This is done by engagement in the region (MENA), but borders of Europe must also be controlled
- The 'pull factor' - asylum application right for everyone who makes it to a European border - must be changed, the asylum regime must be practised differently