



# **MIGRATION IN EUROPE: IN NEED OF SOLIDARITY**

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## **SPEAKERS:**

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## **MODERATOR:**

**Judy Dempsey**, nonresident senior associate at Carnegie Europe and editor in chief of the Strategic Europe blog

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**JUDY DEMPSEY:** The whole point of this discussion is to really try to tackle some of the really complicated issues, and my first interlocutor will be Pierre who will speak for three or four minutes on his central thesis, if and how Europe can deal with this crisis. Thank you, Pierre.

**PIERRE VIMONT:** Thank you, Judy, and thank you all for coming. It's a great pleasure to have you all here. I'll be very short, Judy, because I don't want to repeat what I have written. I will try even to some extent to update it.

I think at the moment we are facing a rather interesting situation here in Brussels where you have a mixture of relief that member states have more or less managed to stop the inflow that went through the West Balkan routes and that to a large extent things have come under control. And at the same time this deep concern, that is still there somewhere at the bottom of our minds, that the problem is still there and that we haven't really solved it, and therefore we are relying at the same time on the quick fix that we have set up to give a response to this urgent matter that we were facing the whole of last year, more than one million migrants knocking at the door, a huge amount of asylum requests that we couldn't handle and that we still have difficulty in handling.

I was discussing that with Judy, I think in Germany they still have some sort of backlog of more than 550,000 asylum requests that are still being processed in Germany, which tells a lot about what this means. So relying on this short-term fix and taking it for granted that the recipe that was invented at the time of this crisis could serve in the long term, the agreement we've had with Turkey could be a template for what we want to do with the other countries and third country partners around the world.

My point is to say that of course, and we should all be grateful for what has been done and we shouldn't blame our leaders for having found a solution, but this is only part of the problem and we still have a lot of problems to be faced. One is that first of all if you look at figures, the inflow is still there. It's maybe not as massive as it was last year, maybe half of it, but it's still there. If you look at what's going on with Italy at the moment where you are still having numbers around 400,000 or maybe even more that have so far landed in Sicily or on the Italian coast, what is more important is you are still facing, when you're looking at our land borders, a lot of people coming in asking for asylum requests which are more numerous than the ones who have appeared on the coast of Italy or Greece.

So there's a lot of what some people call covered immigration that is taking place, people who are coming with a tourist visa but who are overstaying, people coming with vehicles through land or other ways, or even people from the middle-class in some of these countries of origin that managed to take a plane and to arrive in our country and then after that ask for asylum. So the inflow is still there.

Secondly, the administrative process is slow because these things, looking at asylum requests and going through the whole process, takes time. And therefore, as I was saying, the backlog in Germany is very impressive. Thirdly, the problems that are at the origin of this migration flow are still there. The Syrian crisis for instance is very much there. Yemen, Libya are still hot, intensive crises that we don't know how to solve. And of course the other main source of migration, which is usually called economic migration coming out of Africa, is still there and will remain so for many years, and this one we haven't dealt with.

So I think we have to be aware that we still have this problem there, and I could add many others, the fact that this is costly and I'm not so sure that we have the necessary financial resources to pay for these schemes as we have done with Turkey. After all, Turkey is a huge amount of money that we are

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pouring in that scheme that we have agreed with Turkey. If we have to do the same thing with some of the African countries on the same scale, this will start being very costly and we will need to look at reallocating some of the money we have at the moment in our budget, and we know that this never goes down very easily with the member states.

How to bridge the gap, and there I will go very quickly. I think first of all we need to monitor very clearly the situation and very narrowly the situation and very closely the situation as it is going on. We are finding new, how could I put it, hotspots that are appearing now in... Bulgaria is becoming another country where the pressure is growing. Egypt is slowly appearing as one country of transit or even of origin that is growing in our radar screen more and more, and I could detect other African countries - Uganda among others, Somalia, maybe Djibouti which are becoming countries where more and more migrants are stepping in.

The second point, and this is one point I have very much underlined in my article, is that we have to recreate some sort of trust between the member states and some sort of solidarity otherwise we are going to be facing a phenomenon of freed riders which is some member states staying out of this whole scheme we have set up in terms of relocation and resettlement and therefore creating a lot of fragmentation, tension among member states and something that will look more and more as a European Union where you can accept what you want here and refuse what you don't like there; in other words enjoy the benefit of structural funds, agricultural subsidies but refusing to take your part in the burden of taking refugees on-board. And I think this is something that won't go easily with member states as we move along and something where we definitely need to work on as we go along.

The third point is about the external dimension of migration policy. I think if we really want to set up new arrangements with many of the third countries which we need to work, and I'm not talking about Turkey there, I'm talking not only about Jordan or Lebanon, and I think that Maha may come back on this, but I'm thinking about most of the African countries we need to work with, the ones in the Sahel, Egypt may be another one. We have to take on-board how they perceive migration which is a totally different way of looking at migration from us.

Let me just give you one figure which I always find very telling; the money those countries of origin get from the financial remittances sent by the migrants who manage to get to Europe or elsewhere is three times more than the public or official development assistance you get from governments. So for them it's a very simple question. If we don't want to take any more migrants from these countries, how are we going to support the economic development of these countries? It's at the end a question of figures. It's 600 billion remitted in terms of remittances, it's 200 billion in terms of official development assistance, and that's the difference which is there. The was this meeting in Valletta and time and again the African countries came back to this - how are you going to help us if we don't have the financial sources which are so important?

So in other words, Judy, and I will end with this, we have bought some time with the Western Balkan deal but let's not waste it and let's look at the long-term perspective and the long-term problems we have there in order to build some strategy. Of course this is going to come with a political price and I remember discussing that with Christine at some point when I used to come and see her. This has a political price because the whole issue of migration is not very popular at the moment in Europe. The whole issue of accepting migrants through the relocation scheme or even through resettlement, which means a legal safe pathway, it's not something that goes down very well with public opinion today because at the end of the day it will bring in the problem of quotas, of numbers, and secondly it brings in the whole issue of integration in our society.

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But I think if leaders try to avoid that discussion, I think it will be at their expense and I think that the problem is that the problem would not go away, it will still be there. It will feed more populist movements and I think we'd better be brave enough to look at this all together. Let's do it in a flexible way, as I was saying, let's do it in a peaceful way, let's try to get away from the kind of recrimination, tension and frustration that has appeared in the public debate so far. Let's try to find the right way to discuss this but let's try to come back to some of the recipes we have been proud of in the past which were about solidarity, about staying united and finding ways and arrangements to find a way through. This is really what it's all about.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thank you very much, Pierre, for talking us through a very complicated overview of your paper. Christine, this is not a very optimistic scenario that Pierre gave and he keeps stressing the short-term plastering, no long-term strategy. How do you see from the council point of view, lack of solidarity, lack of long-term; do you see any way out of this disunity and lack of solidarity?

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Well, my first point would be that 2016 is not 2015 as we all know; this is different. Last year was crisis, acute, caught us unprepared, we had no real plan to deal with this; the structures were not in place. The agencies that we have were not meant to deal with such crises. Frontex was basically an agency that gave money to other people to police waters or land borders but was not an operational agency. EASO is not an operational agency; it's not even an agency by the way, it's called a support office. So we were very, very weak in our structures.

So I think it compares a little bit to what happened with the Euro crisis. We haven't gone all the way in thinking through what sharing a common external border means in a control free space, which is a Schengen space. So this has not really been thought through which means that we were absolutely unprepared. And the commission came with some ideas that I personally... By the way, let me introduce a disclaimer here. I'm not speaking on behalf of the council and this does not represent in any way the views of the council or the European Council. I am speaking in a personal capacity.

So now that it's been said, I think the commission came with some solutions which make a lot of sense intellectually. Solidarity, it cannot be only for those member states that receive asylum seekers in the first instance. It cannot be just Greece and Italy. This is something that we have all to share and to acknowledge and to give answers to. Unfortunately the proposal was not, as we all know, well received and has created the problems that Pierre was really alluding to. So I would say that 2015 was really a meltdown of political leadership in Europe on these issues. We were unprepared and unable to give the right answer.

I think 2016 has seen a lot of improvement actually in the way we look at this crisis and the way we try to find solutions. We are building up our structures, we have this arrangement with Turkey that not everybody likes but at least gives us some hope. We have some time to organise ourselves and to try to devise more longer-term solutions. So I would certainly concur with Pierre saying that we need to use this time that we are buying, at a very high price by the way, to think about the future.

I think the limit of this whole exercise is really that it tests the fabric of our societies as we know. Whether there's a responsibility for leaders to guide a population in the right direction, whether they use this or whether they're being caught by this unpopulist wave is of course a matter for discussion. But at least it's there and if we continue to have these difficulties internally it will really upset our societies in a big way, which then of course will lead to more closures, more walls. If you look at the number of walls that we've erected, there's an industrial niche here and people are really building a lot of walls these days. I think if we try to go too much in the direction of 2015 you'll see more walls and you'll see more difficulties and you'll see less refugees.

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So that's really my point. We have to address this situation gradually with some flexible, perhaps, solidarity as Pierre was alluding to, not going too far but certainly going somewhere.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Well Christine, I don't know about you but I think the political leadership is still in meltdown phase and 2016 is probably worse than 2015 given Brexit which has fed off of this as well, but we can go back to this later and it's a very important issue, this leadership crisis that we're facing. Arjan, you well know about the leadership crisis but can we have a look at the ground and how you reconcile the work the Medecins Frontieres has to do with the political realities?

**ARJAN HEHENCAMP:** This is typically an area of work for MSF where the needs of the people that we're trying to help are exacerbated by policy failure and political failure, and I will maybe give a few practical operational examples before I generalise a little bit.

First of all, as many of you may know, we are working not only on the Mediterranean; we have boats on the Mediterranean in order to be able to save people from drowning and bringing them in connection with the Italian authorities to Italy, but we are also working in the detention centres. Now, the fact that these people are detained in the way that they are detained, the conditions are horrific and horrible and it's a real problem for our teams to be able to find a space and the ability to be able to work there, these detention centres are by and large a result of historic European policy which has been trying to deter migration and has been trying to pay Gaddafi in the past, through Italy, and nowadays trying to work with the Libyans in order to be able to keep the population over there.

And so a vast industry has erupted over time and this consists of Libyan authorities, in whatever guise, in whatever form, trying to make the most out of the commodity of people that are coming through the territory. But this is basically as a result of the tourist policies of the European Union which make it impossible for people to come here in a legal fashion and therefore make it profitable for people to start making money out of the misery of people and the hopes and the destitution of people. So that's one operational example where there is a clear intersection of policy and politics of Europe and it creates human need to which we then have to respond as a humanitarian organisation.

Further afield in Syria, and probably as an almost direct result of, on the one hand, security concerns but also the example of the European Union shutting down its borders to refugees through the EU-Turkey deal, Jordan has said that it is no longer willing to host more refugees and they refer directly to the EU-Turkey deal saying that they are legitimate in closing down the border. And so therefore there are now 70-80,000 people stuck on the other side of the border called the berm where our teams can no longer access these populations as they could do before. And these are people that are therefore stuck in a horrific conflict of no limits which the international community, including the EU, is doing very little to resolve and to stop. And now Jordan is copying the example of the EU saying no more, we are up to here with having... They have, I think, a much more convincing case of 25% of the population, so they have closed the border and there is no longer access to this population. People are not coming in.

And the last example is in Kenya. Again, there's a long-term refugee camp, people are staying there for years and growing up and having been born there with no ability to be able to integrate within local communities or local societies and so an integration problem. And most recently, as a result of security concerns and also as a result of the example, the sharing example of the EU-Turkey deal, the Kenyan government is referring directly to the EU-Turkey deal saying these people constitute a security risk and they have to go back to Somalia which is still a country in war.

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So those are three examples where policy and politics, and I would argue in policy and politics the politics is a primary motivation rather than humanity as the primary motivation, exacerbating the human need to which we then have to respond as a humanitarian organisation.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thanks very much for that, Arjan, on this relationship between the politics and, indeed the lack of the relationship. Maha, you've heard now the institution view, the humanitarian view, the policy recommendations that Pierre would... Do you see now, your view, what is lacking? Is it the synergy or this real concrete long term dialogue that is needed, or how do you see the situation from the Middle East?

**MAHA YAHYA:** I think Pierre mentions at one point in his paper the need to reconnect narratives, to connect the narrative of migration in Europe to the one in Africa, I think he mentioned. But I think also we need to connect the narrative of the fallout of the migration crisis in Europe to what's happening in the region. Just to give a bit of figures, there are 27 million Arabs today that have been displaced from their homes, not just in Syria. Syria alone it's 12 million, four of them are outside the country. We're talking about a population that, Arabs in general make up 5% of the global population but yet they are 50% of the global refugee population. And today one in five refugees globally is Syrian, so just to give a sense of the kind of figures we're talking about.

We cannot address the migration crisis in Europe without looking at and connecting it to what is going on in the region itself, not only from a humanitarian perspective but also from a security perspective as well. What I hear a lot and what we see a lot in Europe, the migration crisis is causing an identity crisis in Europe, it's causing questions around socioeconomics, it's also generating questions around security. It's the same story in the region. The migration crisis in Lebanon and in Jordan, Lebanon today has a population of four million people; there are more than 1.1 million refugees, so one in four people is a refugee in the country. It's causing an amazing and an incredible existential crisis around the identity of the country that potentially changes to the social contract.

The same is happening in Jordan and we can go into details around this. Socioeconomics, there is a race to the bottom in the search for jobs, we have a massive population that is now entering the labour market, there's a lot of concern that they're replacing people, particularly the World Bank came out with a report at one point that said 25% of the youth don't have jobs, partly as a result or as a fallback from this crisis. So there is significant angst. This is also not to mention that the country had structural problems that are being exacerbated. You have large refugee communities in areas that are infrastructurally not prepared. I won't go into details. Security is the same issue as well.

To come back to what it is, I think also the forced displacement is not just tragic for the coast countries but for a place like Syria it's not just about the loss of life and people who have left but it's the brains that are also leaving. There was a study recently that 43% of those that came to Europe are actually university and secondary education levels. So perhaps when looking at possible policy options in this region, in Europe, one also needs to look at what the implications of these policies are on the countries that people are coming from. There is a need obviously to push, and I don't know how, but there is a real need to push for an end and resolution to the Syrian conflict. Europe is not stepping up to its responsibilities on this front in a way that is viable, and perhaps the issue of temporary protection that we were talking about is something that should be put back on the table.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Pierre, can you pick up this point about temporary protection perhaps? Maybe not all of you are aware of this but it's out there but it's not used. Would it help?

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**PIERRE VIMONT:** Yes, it could help. One of the ways out in what is at the moment a strong division between member states, namely that some member states don't want to accept refugees or migrants in their own country, therefore criticising the relocation scheme or even the possibility of accepting refugees going through the resettlement process, maybe one way of getting out of this would be to accept the fact that those refugees could come on the temporary position and stay. This is something that, since the West Balkan conflict in the 90s, has been set up in a European directive that hasn't been very much used because, from what I understand and we were discussing that with Christine a few minutes ago, so member states found this possibility rather cumbersome. It brings in a number of administrative processes and administrative monitoring. If you're allowed in on a temporary basis you need to be checked and monitored on a regular basis, and administration don't like this too much.

But at the same time, coming back to what Maha was saying with the risk of a brain-drain, we're all discussing already about the possibility, if ever we have a deal that lasts and a peace agreement in Syria, then what are we going to do with all these brains that have left Syria for the last three or four years? Will they come back or will they not come back? One way maybe of keeping the door open and the hope that these people will come back would be precisely to give them only temporary protection. It will help bring a solution to the reconstruction of Syria and maybe it will be a way of alleviating some of the concern here inside Europe with some of the member states.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Arjan, do you want to come in here quickly?

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** Yes, I have this overwhelming sense of complete inadequacy of policy which cannot be resolved by an issue of temporary protection. There was a report out of ODI the other day and basically it's calculating the expense of the policy or the non-policy response of the EU at the moment. It counted that same thing, a billion, and increasing. It's saying it's ineffective because what doesn't come in through overt migration anymore is coming in through covert migration and we know there's a significant human cost related to repressive policies that are currently being used by the European Union in order to be able to keep people as much as possible away.

So, the policy is expensive, it's ineffective and it's creating human need which is preventable and which is in the hands of states and politicians. And so I think we really ought to start, and there's a complete absence of policy and an absence of proactive management of any form of migration into the European Union. As long as the European Union doesn't tackle that and starts dealing proactively in upstream, then I think we'll be facing this policy failure and humanitarian need as a result.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Christine, ineffective and expensive.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** I don't know, exaggerated. No, I think we're doing a lot in fact. I think we are taking the point on working with countries of origin and transit in rather... okay, in our own way. We're 28 member states. We're not the US, we're not a single country, we're 28 member states and we're 28 populations, so it's always going to be a bit muddle-through, not clear. Okay, that's the EU, I'm sorry; this is the way we are so we have to adjust to this.

Beyond that, we've done the Turkey deal. Some may not like it. What we tried to achieve actually was to deter people from drowning. If you look at the facts, the way the smugglers, as you mentioned, are using this particular commodity, human distress, this is something that has got to stop and the only way to stop it is to deter people from doing it. Of course the other side of the coin is not closing the borders, it's really going where people are and doing resettlement. Many countries have pointed out that this was the orderly and safest way of bringing some people into Europe that are in need of

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protection. I know we're doing this on a very small scale. Our resettlement figures are not what they should be, but we also have the possibility for expansion because we were thinking in terms of 50,000, 100,000, okay, not to the scale that it's needed but at least this is the objective.

So I'm really trying to say that we are doing this. The other thing we're trying to do is secure the borders. What cannot be accepted is people just coming through open borders in Europe without any kind of assistance and by the way without any kind of support for underage migrants and all this? This is not; from a humanitarian point of view this is not satisfactory. So securing the border is also a possibility to help these people to come to people in need. Avoiding secondary movements within the European Union, that's the whole point about relocation. So we also want to try to tell these people that if they go to Slovenia they will stay in Slovenia and if they go to Estonia they will stay in Estonia. So this is also an avenue which we've been very active at.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Without much success.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Okay. It's the start of a policy. Look at the figures. The problems we have is always that we expect instant results. And by the way, our leaders also seem to expect instant results - just go and fix this. Well, no, we can't fix this. It takes time. It's building a policy, it's capacity building, it's asylum systems, it's all sorts of things that have to be in place before we can process this situation in an orderly manner. I wouldn't be so pessimistic. I think the general goal behind this is to deal with this in a humane way, also addressing the cause of the crisis. So I think the negative impression that as citizens we may have, which I understand, but you have to look at the trend, you have to look at the way we're going and I think there is cause for some glimmer of hope at least that we will do better in the future than we've done in the past.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Maha, are you convinced of this? These root causes are just not going to disappear. We've discussed this before and whatever we say about securing the external borders, we are left with a Europe without a political strategy to even deal with trying to deal with the conflict in Syria. And we see now what's happening in Egypt and it seems to be just proactive the whole time. How do you see this from Beirut, this inadequacy of the EU?

**MAHA YAHA:** No, absolutely. It's incredibly frustrating in the sense that we see the region unravelling. This is a place where everything is in flux today, ideas, borders, identities, everything is up for grabs and everything is up for question. This is the space where the ISIs of this world emerge and grow and flourish. So the longer this continues, the worse it's going to become for all of us. Today we're talking about Syria; next year we're going to be talking about Iraq because this whole push against ISIS is also going to create a huge problem in Iraq without the proper mechanisms for peace-building and reconciliation in Iraq itself. The whole area under ISIS, there's a lot of concern and I think Iraq will be the big story next year. So yes, and Yemen is the same story.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** One thing, Christine, Maha mentions the identity; do you think when you look at it from a council point of view and the member states, do you think the problem with the member states is precisely mirroring what Maha says, this fear of identity of the other?

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** I'm sure there is an element of this. This is something that President Tusk alludes to quite often. What he's basically saying is that you shouldn't deny that people are different. You shouldn't deny that there are borders; you should not deny that this is a reality. Of course we have to go beyond that, but if you just dilute everybody's identity you no longer know where you are. I think this is a fair point. I think knowing where you are helps you to open to others, so this confusion is not leading to anything very positive.



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**JUDY DEMPSEY:** To pick up on this identity, Pierre, you mentioned, this flexible solidarity pitch is one of your core arguments in your paper. In practical terms, what would this mean?

**PIERRE VIMONT:** It's... at least I would like it to be very simple, this simple idea first of all that when each one of us committed to become a member of the European Union it was about solidarity and this is what we have been doing since the beginning. It was about the agricultural policy, it's about structural funds, it's about whatever, fisheries, so on and so forth. Why should the whole migration policy be left out of this principle of solidarity, which is what some of the member states are asking for?

Now, if you go along with that then you start disentangling the whole thing that we have, the whole idea of European solidarity that we have been building up. So we need to stick to solidarity but we understand at the same time the sensitivity of the issue of migration because it has to deal not only with matters of sovereignty, external borders, but matters related to human rights with the way we need to treat refugees and migrants in a dignified way etc. But it has to deal with societies, with our society, with the cohesion of society, with the international integration as Christine was saying. And we all have different experiences. We are not coming from the same history.

Never forget that a country like Ireland during many years, Spain, Portugal, 60 years ago used to have many of their citizens leaving their own countries. I belong to a generation - I'm very old, I apologise - but when I was young in Paris the first foreign community in Paris, in France, was Spanish citizens. There were 700,000. The Portuguese came afterwards. This has changed since then but this is really what we have been going through. And we have to accept that reality, that if we want to deal with this matter we have to take on-board the different sensitivities of each of the member states. So we have to find flexible rules in the framework of that solidarity.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Give me an example.

**PIERRE VIMONT:** To give you an example, a very simple one, with regard to relocation, if some of the member states, the Visegrad countries, not to name them, are asking to be left aside, let's try to find a system where they show solidarity. I think the commission will find a way. I would like to pay tribute to the work of the commission; they have come out with a lot of very interesting proposals on asylum, on relocation, on resettlement. They have done their homework and now member states have to deal with this and try to find a way through. The commission was proposing financial solidarity if you don't want to take on-board refugees or migrants.

Is that the right way to proceed? Maybe not. Maybe we could find another way of showing financial solidarity be reallocating some of the sums that are at the moment in the budget and to reallocate them for precisely migration policy. That may have some consequences from some member states but so be it. I don't know. We could find ways and we could try to find bilateral agreements and other ways. We could have a progressive gradual approach where we ask countries to start with very few numbers of migrants and if they find that after all this is not all that difficult, maybe they will go for more.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thank you, Pierre. Before I open this out to the audience, which I would really like to do in just one minute, I want to ask Arjan and Maha, both coming from different perspectives, what does this crisis mean to the perception of Europe?

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** I think it's incredibly damaging. I was in Moscow the other day and people are making jokes about Europe and its inability to be able to protect itself from risks coming from the

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outside. So they are looking at it really in terms of power politics and the inability of controlling your own house. But if I look further afield and if I look at the operational context where we're working then people are basically taking their cue from Europe. Europe used to be a promoter, a defender of human rights and promoter of humanitarian law and a promoter of the principle of non-refoulement and a promoter of refugee rights and so forth. And that is now a thing of the past to the extent that basically, what I see is that in Russia, but also in Kenya as well as in the Middle East, people are saying if Europe with all its capacities, with all its institutions, with 500 million people, cannot deal with the influx of less than what we get into one country, then why should we be taking that responsibility for ourselves?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Indeed. That's a very good point. Maha, the perception issue of...?

**MAHA YAHYA:** I agree. It has been incredibly damaging and people see it as the old man of Europe. They like the Europeans but they just see Europe as being completely untouchable and unable to address... I think the moral high ground I think was very important, the sense that the bastion of human rights, all of this has now gone, particularly after the EU-Turkey deal I think.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Christine?

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** If I may just add one thing that we haven't touched upon yet, it's the fact that not all these people coming to Europe are refugees or potential refugees. About half of them are economic migrants coming from Africa and looking for a better future which is understandable, but they are not refugees. So we should be a bit careful about not saying that there is this human rights problem; well, in some case that might be but it's not the overwhelming majority, not for the time being. These people come and are mainly economic migrants.

**MAHA YAHYA:** Just very quickly on this, I agree that... I don't know the percentages but definitely I think we need to also think here that not one policy fits all. We actually need to understand the difference between people who are fleeing a severe conflict, a brutal conflict, barrel bombs, and those that are economic migrants - not to privilege one over the other but I think you need different sets of policies to address these.

**ARJAN HEHENCAMP:** There is a tendency to say the good refugee and the bad migrant, or within refugees you have the good refugee, who is principally white and Christian ideally, and the bad refugee. This has always been the case but I think what is important is first of all that there are different situations that people are moving from and that requires a different policy response and different political response on the other hand. I think what Europe must do, and this is about the moral high ground and the influence of Europe in the world, is basically put the human being at the centre of its policies, whether it's somebody who's coming from an incredibly corrupted country with bad governance or whether it's somebody coming from a complex situation.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Yes, Pierre, I was about to ask you.

**PIERRE VIMONT:** Could I add just one point to what Christine was saying that is adding confusion to the whole political debate in Europe, and we have seen that with the UK referendum, the whole Brexit, is when in UK they were talking about migration, they were not talking about political refugees or economic migrants. They were talking about the Polish community and the free circulation of EU citizens. So you have now come to a level of confusion on this whole debate, which is fascinating, with political leaders, let's be honest, that are just not helping in trying to dispel that

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confusion. And I think this is really one issue that we really need to discuss more at the European level, how to dispel the confusion there and to be brave enough to face...

**MAHA YAHYA:** Some of the leadership is propagating this confusion.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Pierre brings this up in his report, the confusion and intellectual dishonesty about the issue. Thank you, all four of you, so far. I'd like to open up this discussion now to the public. I have quite strict procedures. You're allowed one question at a time. I really don't encourage statements, and I'll take three questions at a time, not three from one person. So please first of all identify yourself and ask your question and if you want to direct it at one of the panellists, please. There's a lady there at the back, that's number one. Please stand up. There's a mic there. And the lady over here, number two, and then we'll get one more to get this round of questions over. Thank you.

**JENNIFER RANKIN:** Thank you. I'm Jennifer Rankin from The Guardian and I'd like to direct my question to Pierre Vimont. I wanted to ask a bit more about solidarity, flexible solidarity because it does seem that what you're arguing for is, well you've said very clearly that you supported what the commission had done on their proposal with fines, but do you think there is the political will for this to actually happen because it does seem that many member states are extremely reluctant to push the Visegrad in that direction?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Pierre, can we deal with this later? Thanks Jennifer. A question over here, please.

**IRIS WEBER:** Yes, I'm Iris Weber. I'm involved with Amnesty International so I'm really with MSF on many or actually all points. Actually I'm an economic migrant from Germany living in the UK. That said, I know, but it's just the perception of migration, we also have this kind of perception on migration that we can migrate anywhere we want to, right? And not just in the European Union; we think we might go to the US or wherever. But my question is about Frontex because there will be another widened mandate; I think the launch is next week, so I'm just wondering about the control, who is controlling politically Frontex? The European parliament isn't doing it right now, so what's your view on that?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Okay, time for another third question or I'll go straight in... Please, yes.

**MERETE BILDE:** My name is Merete Bilde and I have a question on solidarity. Pierre Vimont, you said we are still in a crisis. Do you see the crisis as being in the numbers or has it been a crisis in the political handling? Have we reached the lowest point? Christine seemed to suggest that it's getting better. In 2017 we'll see elections in important countries. And we've seen Viktor Orban, a suggestion of creating a refugee city in Libya. So where does this all lead?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Great questions. Thank you very much, the three of you. Pierre, I'll leave the solidarity questions up to you.

**PIERRE VIMONT:** The most difficult ones. Is there political will for solidarity? I'll be very honest with you; I don't think so at the moment. And I don't think, as Judy alluded to at the beginning that the Hungarian referendum next Sunday will help to create that kind of solidarity. But I think it doesn't mean that we should immediately despair and not try to move ahead. We didn't have much solidarity a few years ago when we started discussing, and rightly so in my opinion, when we started discussing the British check and rebate. We were all very much against and at the end of the day we managed to get an arrangement. So this is the kind of situation we know rather well in Europe.

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We started very much divided but we manage in the end to agree. And this is where we need to maybe change a little bit the habits we are witnessing at the moment where political leaders are speaking openly and publicly before really coming into a room and discussing with their counterparts. I think at some stage you need to look for what we used to do in previous times in Europe which was bilateral discussions, informal discussion, trying to understand the other side's point of view better and trying to move ahead. I think this is really a time to cool minds, cool tempers and try to find a way out.

On Marete's point, I think really the refugee crisis is part of a much more real overall problem today. I think we haven't handled very well, as Christine was saying, in 2015 this refugee crisis as Europe hasn't handled very well the Euro crisis in 2008 and onwards, thus giving the impression that we didn't know how to deal with those hot crises when they appear. But I think the real issue with our population and why populist movements are creeping in and gaining ground is that it is much more a general crisis that we are facing at the moment of which Europe is only part of, which is about democracy and democratic representation, the elite giving the impression that they are doing everything on their own and not talking anymore and not understanding anymore what public concern is all about. And I think this has started a long time ago.

Mind you, here again this will show my age, but in 1992 when, with difficulty, the French government managed to get through with the Maastricht Treaty on its referendum, it was 51%, not even there, I remember discussing afterwards with many of my colleagues and we all agreed that this was a change, times were changing. Something new was coming in and we'd better reflect quickly on this and try to find a solution for this division growing into the population. Mind you, if you look at the figures at that time of the 1992 referendum in France, you will see exactly the same figures as we have witnessed with the Brexit referendum, non-educated people, poor people, lower scale of salaries voting against Europe. So the trend was already there and it has only increased because we haven't found a solution to what is an increasing discrepancy between what is called the elite, maybe to over-summarise, but what we could call the elite and the middle-classes and growing population there.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** And perhaps income differentiation or the fear of this globalisation, of being left behind. Just one tiny thing on the Brexit, Pierre, which is very important, there's a lot of young people who were pro-EU that didn't vote. There's that aspect as well, this lack of...

**PIERRE VIMONT:** But it was the same thing in France in 1992.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** I wanted to just pick up, Jennifer, the political, are you happy with that answer, was it political leadership or the numbers issue, you wanted to...? Both are so linked really which Pierre was getting at.

**MERETE BILDE:** The numbers issue goes a little bit according to, is the crisis the number of the migrants or is it also who the migrants are? I think there it was interesting to see the case at the height of the Ukraine crisis, there was no degree or shortage to the solidarity of Ukrainian displaced people coming to Poland but all of a sudden it changed when this flow of migrants came. They're not all Muslims, we should not say that, but it's also important to name things by their name; is this part playing into the rise of populism, far right, that Islam is not part of Europe and we should wash it out?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Islam is not part of Europe and we should wash it out.

**PIERRE VIMONT:** I may come back on this; I think you're right to some extent on the Muslim component, and you hear that even from some leaders in central or eastern European countries, saying that their societies are not used to get that kind of integration, but I would like to come back on

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the numbers because I think it's a very interesting point; we had already those important waves, inflows of migrants, Spain with Western Africa, but the numbers, precisely, were quite different from the ones we are facing, and what came with this huge number, more than a million refugees in less than one year, it was in fact the last six months of 2015, is that it forced us to look at a collective answer. When it was Spain dealing with an important wave, but certainly not of the magnitude of what we have seen, the trend and the tendency inside the European Union was to say well, let Spain deal with this; we'll give money if they need to but it's for Spain to find a solution. And we started 2015 exactly in the same way with Italy, remember? It was let Italy face it and try to find and answer, and we will try to help if we can. But as the numbers grew then it became obvious that Italy couldn't cope with it alone and that it needed help, and the same thing happened with Greece. And this is where suddenly Europe had to face an issue and a challenge that they were not used to face, let's be open about this. As Christine was saying, we were not prepared for this so we had to invent answers as we were working, and that's why it was so difficult.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Arjan, you wanted to come in here.

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** I think in fact in percentages there hasn't been a real change in terms of people who migrate, globally, or people who are refugees globally; 15 years ago it was exactly the same percentage as around now for migrants, about three per cent of the total population, for refugees, about one per cent. Of course the global population has grown so the numbers are bigger, but proportionally it hasn't really changed. I think there's always been a tendency of the good versus the bad refugee; Europe has been very welcoming. You score political brownie points with refugees, in the past it was in the Cold War; we were receiving lots of Eastern Europeans as a way of demonstrating that Western Europe was on the good side, and the same applied to the Vietnamese boat refugees. There was a confluence of political, geopolitical interests and humanity that basically creates the situation where societies are willing to be able to host large numbers of refugees; Bosnia the same thing, Europe really having to demonstrate that it was capable of doing something by its own. And so this has always been the case so let's not be overly romantic about the generosity that we've shown to people who were different from us. And this you see playing out very clearly in the current crisis because arguably the only thing that was different in terms of last year was the Syrian refugee crisis, and that we should have seen coming already a long time ago.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Indeed, and the Jordanians did warn us. Christine, would you pick up the Frontex issue if you could? Thank you.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Yes, normally the member states control Frontex because we have a Conseil d'Administration, so we have a management board, with member states represented. So they think they control Frontex but the Commission thinks they control Frontex because they give them resources, personnel and budget. So it's a little bit of both, I should think.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Yes, but I think the member states are coming round to the idea that Frontex could be more communautaire, my impression.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** I think generally, to be more serious, I think we all do; I mean we control our policy. The policy is being implemented by the agency; we give them means to do so, we have calls for people putting resources in Frontex, and agencies in general for ASO, so it's really a common endeavour and they follow, they apply the common policy that's been decided by the Council and endorsed by the European Council.

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**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thanks, Christine, for this. Now the second round of questions. I have a question here; you're first, you're second, and you're third. Please identify yourself, and your question, who you want to direct it to. Thank you. First, second, and third.

**MOHAMED RAJA'I BARAKAT:** Thank you. My name is Mohamed Raja'i Barakat.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** One question. I know where this is going.

**MOHAMMED RAJID BARAKAT:** One question? Well I will not ask a question; I understand that we have not enough money so as to face this refugee crisis but don't you think that Libyan civilian funds in Europe, some experts are speaking about more than €60 or €70 billion Libyan funds. These funds are in European and American banks; why don't we ask Mrs Mogherini to raid this money, these funds, and use it for saving people who are dying when they try to go from Libya to Europe?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Ghaddafi's funds? Oh yes, okay. That's really interesting.

**MOHAMMED RAJID BARAKAT:** These Libyans, when I discuss with them, they will not say that Médecins sans Frontières are doing nothing for our refugees who are still in Libya, they have more than one million refugees who are waiting, coming over here. And what do they think about that?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** So repatriation of the Libyan funds.

**MOHAMMED RAJID BARAKAT:** And the people of Médecins san Frontières.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Second question back here, thank you.

**SILVIO GONZATO:** I am Silvio Gonzato, I work at the European External Action Service. Hi, Pierre; I just wanted to say that don't you think that the whole migration crisis happens in a broader context, and don't you think it's a bit shocking to quote Russia as if we had to feel ashamed to compare with Russia when it's Russia with its disinformation war that has been contributing to the confusion and the fears that prevail in European audiences with a deliberate hybrid war? And that it is Russia as well that is playing a very cynical game in the whole negotiations around Syria; so I think it's all very good and well to blame the EU for not doing enough, but let's stop this bashing and let's also look at the other factors.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thank you very much for that. And we've a third question over here, yes please.

**INGE VAN DER SPEK:** Thank you. My name is Inge Van der Spek. I'm a student at the Brussels School of International Studies. I have a question for Christine; you were talking about the issue of secondary movements before, to me the fact that this is happening is not a big surprise, especially as we see that the EU is trying to very much align the asylum policies while there are a lot of other social policies that are not so much aligned, such as to talk about minimum wages, just to name one thing. So my question is to what extent are member states realising this and trying to work with this?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** To work towards a common asylum policy?

**INGE VAN DER SPEK:** To make it a more inter-disciplinary approach...

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Oh, I see.

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**INGE VAN DER SPEK:**...in order to prevent the secondary movements.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Oh, okay, thank you. Okay, so three big questions. Who wants to answer the Libyan funds? Maha.

**MAHA YAHYA:** The short answer is the Libyan funds belong to the Libyan people; these are the funds of Ghaddafi, they belong to Libyan people so the idea that we just go in and take them and use them for something else I think is....

**MOHAMED RAJA'I BARAKAT:** Repeat that?

**MAHA YAHYA:** It's up to the Libyans to decide what to do with money that Ghaddafi had siphoned off from them to start with. So I think we're getting to sovereign territory here. Just another question, she said Europe bashing; I think it's not so much about Europe bashing, obviously there are lots of questions around Europe's approach to the migration crisis because the big flow came here but the culpability of Russia, no-one's questioning the culpability of Russia in this process at all and it's role in promulgating the conflict in Syria and elsewhere.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** It's very interesting on the Russia issue; remember the refugees going across the Russian border to Norway, and that created a huge problem between Russia and Norway, plus the disinformation campaign in Germany by Russia.

**MAHA YAHYA:** It is massive.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** It is very huge, apart from its huge bombing campaign in Syria. Arjan, you wanted to come in on Russia here?

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** Yes, I just want to say that just like Jordan and Turkey and Lebanon shouldn't be condemned to host the vast majority of Syrians just because they're geographically close to Syria, neither should the same apply for Europe. To me it was very interesting and very disappointing to see that Europe, or European countries, didn't have any propositions when they went to New York in order to be able to attend the summit on refugees and migrants, organised especially for this, because at the end of the day it is not only Europe that can solve this. The refugee issue is a classic distribution issue; it's a classic distribution issue where there are very many countries in Europe, but also beyond Europe, that are not pulling their weight. The United States are not pulling their weight, the BRIC countries are not pulling their weight, in Asia most of the countries do not even accept the label of refugee and therefore they don't have any asylum policy. So I think Europe should have gone to Washington with a real concerted idea of we want to do our bit, we want to do more; we don't want to just say press and push them away etc. etc. , we want to do something positive but you need to do that too, and even that was absent. So I get your point about this not being a European issue only but I think there's a real absence of vision on the part of Europe to make this a global affair in order to be able to convince others to do more too.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Can I have the microphone here? Yes, you're looking very unhappy down there.

**SILVIO GONZATO:** I'm sorry to be polemic but I really disagree fundamentally; it's not true that the EU went to the UN summit on migration and refugees without a message, it went with a very clear message that migration is a global issue, that we need a compact approach. I'm sorry, either you follow what the EU leaders say and they said in a very systematic way, or you don't make these kinds of statements, it's really not helpful.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thank you for that.

**ARJAN HEHENCAMP:** Just one come-back; in terms of resettlement, for instance, there was no country that was coming with any positive message, including European countries. It is, you say, a compact, a general approach, but in terms of a positive message saying resettlement, ten per cent of the refugee population needs to be resettled in the world and we are going to do our bit, the US needs to do more, that hasn't come from Europe. I'm sorry.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Please, please?

**PIERRE VIMONT:** But I think maybe to try to bridge the gap between the two sides, what was really interesting at the two summits that took place in New York on Monday and Tuesday is that in both cases what was very obvious is that there wasn't a lot of eagerness on behalf of the international community to be much more resolute in its support for migration. In other words there was a clear call for contributions by the different members of the international community. And the result, among other things, of the second summit, the Obama summit, was below expectation. And this is one of the problems we are facing; I think where Silvio is right when he's saying we're looking too much at ourselves, as usual, this Brussels bubble, and enjoying bashing ourselves on this, it is that if you look around the world the trend at the moment in many countries, look about Australia and other places, the trend is to close the borders. And what struck me at the time of the Valletta summit is when you were looking at the figures inside Africa, 90 per cent of migrants circulating in Africa are moving from one African country to another, they're not going to Europe. Only ten per cent are going to Europe, so I think you're right, Arjan, in saying that the burden is not as much on Europe as on many other countries, but the truth is that all the other countries are not playing the game either and this is becoming really a problem for all of us.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Why not? Why aren't they playing? What has changed?

**PIERRE VIMONT:** I think, personally, and I may be wrong, I think it's the economic crisis. It was much easier to allow refugees or migrants to step in, whether we think they are good or bad migrants, when you are prosperous. When you are not prosperous, when you have a huge, high rate of unemployment in many of our countries, to some extent I understand that those people, the average citizen is saying listen, why are you making such effort? We were talking about social benefits a few minutes ago, why are we giving them all this money when we're not even giving it to our own citizens? It is a real political issue, let's face it, we have to understand why some of these political leaders are behaving with such resistance. My point is to say let's look at this and let's try to find a way out rather than putting this under the carpet and refusing to look at this whole issue.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thank you, Pierre, for this. I hope that answered your secondary discipline issue as well, the lady down there. Yes? Thank you. So we have time for another round of questions. I hope you're happy with the Libyan funds as well; you're clearly not though. We have time for another round of questions; so you're first, second, third, four, five. Those three along there, thank you. So please identify yourself and your question, who it should be directed to.

**ANNABELLE LAFERRERE:** Hi, I'm Annabelle Laferrere, I work for the European Centre for Development and Policy Management. I have a question for Pierre on the external dimension of migration; since you've been leading the negotiations at the Valletta summit with African partners, in your paper I found interesting the fact that you are calling for a new approach, a new partnership approach, between the EU and its partner countries when there is a basis of mutual interest and



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respect, and not only on the European agenda of return and readmission. So my question is what conditions would need to be in place to reach such a new approach, and what was lacking at the Valletta summit?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Okay, thank you. Next I think the gentleman behind you. Just there, yes. And then the gentleman behind.

**EFREM GARLANDO:** Thank you. My name is Efrem Garlando. I work at UNESCO. My question is related to the role of the European member states and do you think that they are using somehow the European Union and the European External Action Service as a way to avoid power, to not take the responsibility of their action?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Oh, I see.

**EFREM GARLANDO:** Thank you very much.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Are the member states using the EU, the EEAS, sort of hiding behind it?

**EPHRAIM GARLANDER:** Yes, as a way to not take the responsibility, to avoid the power and the lead. Thank you.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thanks. And right behind you. Thank you.

**SALVATORE SOFIA:** Hello, my name is Salvatore Sofia; my question is related to costs and policy options. I would like to know, considering the cost of repatriation of migrants in the Frontex operations may go up to €9000 per person, considering the staff and the costs related, and also that rescue operations of course have a high cost in terms of all the instruments and stuff that we know; I was wondering if we could use this money to finance, to fund some humanitarian corridors? It was an option that was discussed a few years ago, and in particular an option could be to replicate at EU level the model of the Mediterranean Hope Project. It's a project run by three churches in Italy where refugees are selected in third countries, based on when their ability and criteria and they are directly transferred to the member state. And I wonder if this could be done maybe in the European two-speed solution given that some European Union countries do not want to receive refugees. Thanks.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Interesting, we've mentioned two-speed Europe in a different context. So three important questions, coalitions, hiding behind the EEAS and not taking responsibility, and the costs of repatriation; coalitions, Pierre, that's for you.

**PIERRE VIMONT:** Coalition; I don't think that it is about coalition, it's about all member states trying to have another mind-set when they look at the whole issue of the external dimension in relation to the migration policy. In other words at the moment, in my opinion, migration policy with third country is very much inspired by home ministers. It's all about pushing back, it's about return and readmission, it's about setting up transit centres in third countries, it's about even, you may have heard about this, rather than have rescue operations and bringing the migrants to the European territory, it's rescuing them people but bringing them back from where they came from. And of course this never goes down very well with countries of transit, or even countries of origin, for all the reasons I have given. And if you're not able to match the two narratives you go nowhere, you know. You can even return some of those migrants to those countries, even adding a little bit of money so that they come back. They will come back and then they will try again a few years later. So it seems to me that you really have to go to the core issue, and to the causes of all this. And this is where we need to

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discuss. And mind you, this is what the Commission has put in its proposal, what the EEAS is supporting; if you look at the communication it's there. But the problem, it's very much about the narrative and the public statements that are being made; if you look at the conclusions on the European Council about this you have return and readmission all over the place. And as soon as you're discussing about this the doors close, the ears are shut on the other side because what they think is that that's Europe all over again, asking us to take back those migrants, whoever they come from, and whatever the reasons are for them to come in. So I'm looking for a more genuine and open dialogue between the two; that's between all the member states on one side and our partners or third countries on the other side, and building up a better understanding. And it seems to me that if we're able to do that then return and readmission may find a better way of being successful, rather than doing it the way we're trying to do it at the moment. I could go into many more details but I'll stop there, but.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Maha, do you think this could work? This kind of much, much closer cooperation with the countries from where these people are leaving? Trying to build up infrastructures, and getting out of this mind-set of just making the problem that that the Europeans per se can deal with the problems?

**MAHA YAHYA:** I think it works in the context of economic migration, when we're talking about people leaving for economic reasons. In the context of conflict, in places like Syria who are you going to be talking to? For host countries like Lebanon and Jordan it's a different ball game, at least there a conversation can, addressing global. It's not a one policy fits all.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Indeed. Christine, hiding behind the EEAS, or not taking responsibility; we've seen an awful lot of this in the last year.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Have we? I don't know.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Oh, you don't think so? No?

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** No, honestly I don't think this is really the issue; I think it's really defining the policy which is the more difficult thing, and I don't think they're shying away from using the responsibility, I think they just don't know exactly what their responsibility is and how we organise it.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** From the member states' point of view?

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Yes, from the member states, yes.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Okay. Arjan, the cost of repatriation

**ARJAN HEHINKAMP:** This is the point I was alluding to for New York, the Obama summit too; there is an existing mechanism under UNHCR of resettlement. It's one of the pillars of the strategy of UNHCR, and there's an existing mechanism which is that five, ten per cent of the global refugee population is needing to be resettled to a third country. The trouble is that there is very little willingness of member states to be able to participate within this. It's a voluntary mechanism, to participate within this to a number that really reaches the ten per cent and thereby you can offload some of these countries that are really having to cope with massive refugee caseloads. So this should be it, and basically it's not something that Europe, in a concerted and powerful fashion, brought to the summits in New York, and I think it's a real missed opportunity because that was an opportunity to be able to galvanise much more international support around resettlement and around the ten per cent.

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**JUDY DEMPSEY:** I see how you see the outcome of these two summits. Briefly, last round if anybody wants to. One, two, three, please. Direct question, we have only three or four minutes left. Thank you.

**ALAIN SCRIBAN:** Alain Scriban from the European Commission; so I'm going to be very straight and non-politically correct; 2015 was not a very good one, 2016 was better in terms of leadership, 2017, a lot of elections all around; what's it going to be?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Okay, what's it going to be? Commission asking a question, what's it going to be? And we have here the second question. That was a very direct question, thank you.

**JOACHIM LOMMELEN:** My name is Joachim Lommelen from the Nationale Commissie voor de Rechten van het Kind. I've a question for Ambassador Vimont; this leadership failure that we are currently going through, how do we prevent that this leads to a long term change of the role that Europe plays in the world, a Europe that is less in favour of human rights promotion or international law, and more a short term realist actor?

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Thank you, a good question. And the third one. No, you've had your turn. There's a hand over there waiting. Sorry. There was somebody back there that wanted to ask.

**UNIDENTIFIED MALE SPEAKER:** Nobody.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Okay, please, a direct question; we're running out of time.

**MOHAMED RAJA'I BARAKAT:** But I would like to...

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** A question; we're short on time here.

**MOHAMED RAJA'I BARAKAT:** A question; Pierre Vimont, many years ago you used to speak about the same history in the Mediterranean between the Europeans and Arab countries, democracy, human rights, and now we are forgetting all these things; what do you think about that? Thank you.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** That really ties in with the second question, thank you very much. That is very important. So 2017. I'm not going to answer this, thankfully I have to moderate. So we've got the German elections, we've got the French Presidential elections, we have Dutch elections, don't forget Renzi's referendum in December; I think we have a President being elected who will come to the White House in January, Spain, going to be a government there. Any takers on this or do we just let this fly? Maybe you'd like to answer it?

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** I could answer it I think.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Please, Christine.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** I think we have to be very confident; we have to.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Good for you, good for you.

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**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Why? Because I think if we indulge in a lack of confidence, euro-bashing, we're not very good, our leadership is very weak, we are never able to face this crisis. It's self-fulfilling. So there's an element of wir schaffen das.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** It must.

**CHRISTINE ROGER:** Perhaps in another context than 2015, August, famous phrase, but I think we're capable of handling this, really we are. We have the tools, we're building them; why should we always say we're never going to be able to fix it? Frankly I know we have elections, but okay, let's continue and let's hope and let's work at it frankly.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** And that's exactly what Merkel's position would be; she doesn't want to look back, we have to do this together, it's possible.

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** I don't want to be all negative and critical...

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** You're not, though.

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** ...of the EU, I think there are some basic mistakes they've made and they haven't given positive messages in terms of policies and politics, but I think there's a significant part of the population that has shown a real interest and a real commitment towards helping people that are in severe distress.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Absolutely.

**ARJAN HEHENKAMP:** And I would hope that within these elections those are the people that are being talked to and that are being encouraged to be able to also take the responsibility in voting, and getting the right people with the right policies in the seats of power.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Yes, and also the unspoken heroes of the civil society movements, particularly in Germany, but in other countries, who have helped enormously with refugees. The values issue, Maha, this maybe touches on you; is Europe disowning its values? Has it just become tired and losing its core identity? Is it a leadership issue? You're sitting from the outside where you've enough crisis of leadership and crisis of other issues.

**MAHA YAHYA:** I think what Pierre said earlier is that the crisis of leadership is worldwide; I mean there's a global anti-establishment movement that we see everywhere. Seeing from the outside, like I said earlier, people like the Europeans don't like what the EU is doing in the sense of not being able to help push for some sort of a solution to the ...but, no, there is a recognition of the EU, as an EU, there was a stepping from its values, particularly again the Turkey deal did considerable harm on that front. But there's also recognition of the way civil society, the way Europeans have actually welcomed refugees into their homes, and they have got a lot of courage, a lot, a lot of courage. Put some people in the region also to shame. Look at how well the refugees are being treated elsewhere.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** Pierre, since it's your paper you can have the last word. Christine mentioned the idea of self-confidence, but are you a little bit optimistic that a kind of flexible solidarity will come into play which would actually strengthen the EU rather than keep us divided?

**PIERRE VIMONT:** I think so; as I was saying earlier on, as Christine was saying, we're having most of the tools that are needed. Those that we still need to adopt are there on the table with proposals from the Commission. Now it's about sitting all together and trying to move along. But, and I would

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add this, it's about also having the right state of mind for this. The question was put to me about human rights; I think to be honest to you I think we have to stick to our values and to what we are protecting, but we have to be a little bit more humbled in the way we're trying to promote them because precisely after 15 or 20 years of Mediterranean dialogue about human rights we have seen the result, and we have seen that even on our side the European model, in other words, is being put under pressure at the moment. So I think it's not about lecturing any more our partners, it's about trying to explain what democracy is about, what human rights is about, and getting it through in a much more realistic way than we have done in the past. But yes, as Christine was saying, we shouldn't hide away from what we are and what we would be. But through all the difficulties we have been facing in the last eight or ten years, I think we have to take a much different profile than we have done in the past. And there I think there is still some work to be done, to be honest with you.

**JUDY DEMPSEY:** I wanted to thank a terrific panel; Pierre Vimont, thank you, Pierre, Maha Yahya, Christine Roger, and Arjan Hehenkamp, and of course we couldn't survive this without a terrific audience, and lots of very trenchant questions. Thank you very, very much for coming. And thanks, Pierre, for the paper.