

**CHALLENGES OF THE EU IN THE MIGRANT/REFUGEE CRISIS IN 2015****Maria Costea****Researcher PhD, "Gh. Șincai" Institute for Social Sciences and the Humanities of the  
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*Abstract: This article analyses the impact of the migrant/refugee crisis on the EU and on the multicultural dialogue. The article uses European and Russian sources and takes into account think-tank divergent discourses and public opinion debates. The EU is faced with considerable, even existential challenges. The EU and its Member States should address the root-causes of the problem in an effective way. Ending the Schengen Area would not be a solution. The EU should effectively project stability beyond its borders and develop a result-oriented security policy and crisis-management system.*

Keywords: EU, migration, ENP, Schengen, Russia.

**Introduction**

The migration/refugee crisis in 2015 in the EU is a historic phenomenon and started to have an important impact on the Schengen Area and EU policies, on the political life in several Member States, on European security, on multicultural dialogue. The migration/refugee crisis generated a large debate at all levels of the public opinion, political and intellectual elite, civil society, academia and think tanks. Our article proposes an academic contribution to this debate and presents some considerations on the challenges for the EU in the migrant/refugee crisis in 2015 and on the possible solutions. This can't be and is not an exhaustive analysis. The article uses European and Russian sources and takes into account think-tank divergent discourses and public opinion debates.

**The root-causes of the crisis and its development**

The migrant/refugee crisis has been generated by the war in Syria, Iraq and the instability and poverty from the Middle East and Africa. The UE established its ENP (European Neighbourhood Policy) in 2004, aiming at establishing a ring of stable, well-governed and prosperous states. However, in the period post-Arab Spring, the instability and conflicts in Libya and Syria generated waves of refugees fleeing the war and facilitated the influx of migrants from the Middle East (via Syria) and from Africa (via Libya). Apparently, the moral/humanitarian conscience of many European citizens was awakened by the image of a drowned Syrian child on a Turkish beach and by many other human tragedies. Also Angela

Merkel, the German chancellor, told her citizens to set aside their fear of immigrants and show compassion to the needy. Merkel and many other voices said that Germany and the EU can absorb/welcome/integrate not thousands, but hundreds of thousands of refugees. Thus, hundreds of thousands of asylum-seekers, wave after wave “flowed towards Germany by rail, bus and on foot, chanting “Germany! Germany!” to be welcomed by cheering crowds”.<sup>1</sup> Several EU citizens, NGOs, leaders and media in the EU contributed in 2015 to welcoming the refugees/migrants.<sup>2</sup> They criticized the Hungarian Government for building the fence in front of the migrants' waves.<sup>3</sup> They criticized those EU Member States (Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Estonia, Romania, Cyprus, and Croatia) which in different moments stated that they do not have the capacity to host a large number of refugees and can't accept compulsory quota of refugees. However, in October-November 2015 some other EU Member States (Germany, Austria, Sweden, and France etc.) acknowledged that they do not have the capacity to host so many migrants/refugees and closed their borders.

### **The problem of the number of the migrants/refugees**

**The EU has the legal and moral/humanitarian obligation of helping the refugees.** However, in 2015 the administrative capacity of the European States was over-helmed by the huge and uncontrolled influx of refugees and economic migrants arrived. In October-November 2015 many voices emphasised that the real problem is the large number of the refugees and economic migrants and the incredible chaos created. Think-tanks and media wonder how many refugees/migrants will come. Some say 1 million others say they will be **3 million**<sup>4</sup>, others at least 5 million. According to “The Economist”, “the 4m Syrian refugees compare with 1.2m from the Balkan wars of the 1990s and 15m after the second world war.” **This is the largest migration since the end of the World War II.** It is also considered "the worst humanitarian crisis since World War II". Thomas de Maizière, Germany's interior minister, said in August 2015 that he expected up to 800,000 asylum applications that year alone. (At that moment, Germany already had 289,000 pending asylum seekers on its books, with 40 percent coming from Kosovo, Albania, or Serbia, where there were no war or repression). As a partial solution, the Council decided that all 28 EU member states must share the burden of refugees.<sup>5</sup> Carnegie's expert Marc Pierini consider that the refugee crisis

<sup>1</sup>The Economist, “Refugees in Europe. Exodus. Europe should welcome more refugees and economic migrants—for the sake of the world and itself”, in *The Economist*, 12 September 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> "Hungary rejects EU offer to take refugee", in *EU Observer*, September 2015. "We're convinced that as countries we should keep control over the number of those we are able to accept and then offer them support," Czech Foreign Minister Lubomir Zaoralek told reporters at a joint press conference with his Hungarian, Polish, and Slovak counterparts, AFP reports. “Orban does it again. ALDE urges the Commission to take action”, 11.09.2015. "How many fences does Mr. Orban need to build before the EU Commission reacts? How many times does Hungary need to breach EU values and EU law before the EU Commission reacts? "

<sup>4</sup> Euractiv, “Moscovici: 3 million migrants won't harm EU Economy”, in *Euractiv*, 6 November 2015 <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/euro-finance/moscovici-3-million-migrants-wont-harm-eu-economy-319234> .

<sup>5</sup> Carnegie, “Judy asks : Is Schengen dead?”, Carnegie, 24 August 2015 <http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=61105>

in Europe will continue, because there are millions of refugees unable to return home: from Syria alone, there are 4 million people in neighbouring countries and nearly 8 million internally displaced in Syria. In addition, the fact that Germany stated that expects to receive 800,000 refugees gave hope to asylum seekers.<sup>6</sup> War has forcibly displaced more than 12 million Syrians in the past four years alone (2011-2015). The Gulf Arab States refused to receive refugees from Syria. There were around 2 million Syrian refugees in Turkey in 2015. The expert Marwan Muasher notes that Lebanon, a small country with a native population of less than 5 million, has over 1 million Syrian refugees in 2015. Jordan, with a population of less than 7 million, is host to over 600,000 Syrian refugees, in addition to an estimated 800,000 Syrians that were living in the country before the crisis. Lebanon and Jordan do not have enough financial resources or capacity. Public debt and unemployment levels were both high. Most of the aid efforts the international community has undertaken to by the end of 2015 have focused on humanitarian relief. Food and shelter for refugees is certainly needed, but the EU should invest also in education and integration of the refugees.<sup>7</sup>

### Could the EU integrate so many migrants?

**There are diverse discourses about social integration, economic potential, multicultural ideal and terrorism.**

Some think tanks and publications observe that “**Voters fear that immigrants will not fit in.** An old idea of Christendom still lurks within modern European identity. Since the 9/11 attacks on America, and terrorist murders in Europe, **relations with Muslim minorities** have become strained.” Also, “millions of brutalised Syrians left to fester on Europe’s fringe would be a source of extremism that will not respect any border”.<sup>8</sup> Such **numbers of migrants/refugees rise “many worries: that cultures will be swamped by aliens, economies will be overburdened, social benefits will have to be curbed and even that terrorists will creep in.** Anti-immigrant parties have been on the rise across Europe.”<sup>9</sup>

Jan Techau underlines the importance of the identity issue for the European citizens, in the context of older and new migration influxes, even if that issue is not reflected in the elite's debate. Techau wrote in 2014: “Take a good look at what people really discuss outside the op-ed pages of the larger newspapers, and the chances are you will get entangled in **debates on illegal immigration, Islamization, crimes committed by foreigners, domestic culture changing** beyond recognition, taxpayers’ money being wasted on people far away, and so on. These topics dominate the political discourse in the EU’s three biggest countries—Germany, France, and Britain—and in a large number of other nations as well, including Austria, the Netherlands, and Hungary. Identity-driven debates tend to affect citizens much more directly

<sup>6</sup> Carnegie, “The Roots of Europe’s Refugee Crisis” Q&A, Stefan Lehne, Marwan Muasher, Marc Pierini, Jan Techau, Pierre Vimont, Maha Yahya, in *Carnegie*, October 1, 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>8</sup> “Refugees in Europe. Exodus. Europe should welcome more refugees and economic migrants—for the sake of the world and itself”, in *The Economist*, 12 September 2015.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem.

and emotionally than seemingly abstract issues such as Russia's menace to the European political order"<sup>10</sup> etc.

Some politicians, economists, NGO activists, think tanks said that the refugees and migrants contribute to the economic development of the EU Member States. "The Economist" considers that "**Europe needs economic migrants**. It has too few workers to pay for its citizens' retirement and to provide the services they want. Migrants are net contributors to the public purse. They inject economic dynamism."<sup>11</sup>

By contrary, other voices said that first of all the refugees/migrants are an economic burden for the EU Member States, in many ways. Also, they say that during the economic crisis there is a surplus of local workers and local unemployed in the EU. Most of the EU citizens think that the western national labour markets should be protected against the migrants. It is not easy to effectively integrate the new arrivals and "avoid the emergence of ghettos and parallel societies" (mentioned also by Stefan Lehne).<sup>12</sup> Other authors said that the new migrants would most likely increase the number of those already suffering from social exclusion in the poor suburbs of the Western cities. From such environments are recruited the jihadists who make terrorist attacks in the EU.<sup>13</sup>

A Belgian author, resident in Molenbeek for 9 years, was not surprised to hear that the Islamist terrorist attacks in Paris (13 November 2015) were planned in Molenbeek, a Brussels district which "was hardly multicultural. Rather, with roughly 80 percent of the population of Moroccan origin, it was tragically conformist and homogenous [...] increasingly intolerant".<sup>14</sup> The pro-EU journal "Politico" published an interesting explanation about "How did Molenbeek become Europe's jihadi base? Essentially, it has to do with Belgium's **messy governance and the culture of denial** that pervades the debate about Islam in the country. [...] But the most important factor is Belgium's culture of denial. The country's political debate has been dominated by complacent progressive elite who firmly believes society can be designed and planned. Observers who point to unpleasant truths such as the high incidence of crime among Moroccan youth and violent tendencies in radical Islam are accused of being propagandists of the extreme-right, and are subsequently ignored and ostracized. The debate is paralyzed by a paternalistic discourse in which radical Muslim youths are seen, above all, as victims of social and economic exclusion. They in turn internalize this frame of reference, of course, because it arouses sympathy and frees them from taking responsibility for their actions. [...] Most people in Molenbeek are decent people who want the best for their

<sup>10</sup> Jan Techau, "Four Reasons Why European Foreign Policy Sleeps", in *Carnegie*, 2015.

<http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=56976>

<sup>11</sup> "Refugees in Europe. Exodus. Europe should welcome more refugees and economic migrants—for the sake of the world and itself", in *The Economist*, 12 September 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Stefan Lehne, "The roots of the Europe's refugee crisis", in *Carnegie*, 2015

[http://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/10/01/roots-of-europe-s-refugee-crisis/ie3?mkt\\_tok=3RkMMJWWfF9wsRohuajPZKXonjHpfsX76uQlWaGg38431UFwdcjKpMjr1YUIRMp0aPyQAgoBp515FEIQ7XYTLB2t60MWA%3D%3D](http://carnegieeurope.eu/2015/10/01/roots-of-europe-s-refugee-crisis/ie3?mkt_tok=3RkMMJWWfF9wsRohuajPZKXonjHpfsX76uQlWaGg38431UFwdcjKpMjr1YUIRMp0aPyQAgoBp515FEIQ7XYTLB2t60MWA%3D%3D)

<sup>13</sup> Horia Blidaru, « À la guerre comme à la guerre », in *Adevarul*, 14 November 2015,

[http://m.adevarul.ro/international/europa/A--guerre-comme-guerre-1\\_56471b377d919ed50e373b84/index.html](http://m.adevarul.ro/international/europa/A--guerre-comme-guerre-1_56471b377d919ed50e373b84/index.html)

<sup>14</sup> Teun Voeten, "Molenbeek brok my heart", in *Politico*, 21.11.2015, <http://www.politico.eu/article/molenbeek-broke-my-heart-radicalization-suburb-brussels-gentrification>

families. But we should not close our eyes to the fact that it is also home to a very deep, and very dangerous, undercurrent of radical Islamism.”<sup>15</sup>

Anyway, we think that the opinions are free and diverse, but not compulsory; the responsibilities are individual, not collective; the peaceful Muslim communities are not guilty for the terrorist attacks and for the acts of small radical groups. Many people issued from Muslim communities<sup>16</sup> strongly reject the radical Islamist groups and promote true multicultural concepts.

### The discourse of the far –right parties

European Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker and other EU leaders warned against drawing a link between terrorists and refugees, and they were right.

However, Europe’s far-right and populist politicians used the terrorist attacks in Paris (13 November 2015) to call for an immediate halt to the inflow of refugees and to criticise the EU’s migration policy.<sup>17</sup> They referred to the Syrian passport found near the body of one of the suicide bombers in the Paris attacks that killed 129 people on 13 November. French prosecutors said the bomber’s fingerprints matched those recorded in October 2015 in Greece, the start of the European migrant route for most refugees.<sup>18</sup> It was reported that the terrorist attacks in Paris in 13 November 2015 were organised by Daesh, and were perpetrated by groups of radical Islamists living in France and in Belgium (Molenbeek) together with some “foreign fighters” and radical Islamists coming from Syria and infiltrated in the new refugee influx and registered in Greece, during their travel in 2015.<sup>19</sup>

Many citizens’ true fears in front of terrorism, Daesh and radicalisation, migrant/refugee crisis, limits of some EU Member States administrative/institutional capacities to prevent the all the crisis, insufficient multicultural dialogue **were exploited by the anti-immigration and Eurosceptic parties, groups and leaders. Their popularity considerably increased**, especially in UK, France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Switzerland.<sup>20</sup> Their speeches have greater impact and there is a perspective that more and more populist and Eurosceptic parties will win the elections and will put in danger the very

<sup>15</sup> Teun Voeten, “Molenbeek broek my heart”, in *Politico*, 21.11.2015, <http://www.politico.eu/article/molenbeek-broke-my-heart-radicalization-suburb-brussels-gentrification>

<sup>16</sup> « Déclaration d’intellectuels du monde arabe et musulman suite à l’attaque contre le Charlie Hebdo », 2015, <http://www.maghrebemergent.info/actualite/maghrebine/item/44346?tmpl=component&print=1> ; Hedi Saidi, « Tunisie : le danger intégriste présent », 2012, <http://www.jpriisoan-histoirepolitique.com/articles/8bis-actualites-d-ailleurs/afrique/tunisieledangerintegristepresentparhedisaidi> .

<sup>17</sup> Eszter Zalan, "Europe's populists link terrorism with refugees", in *EU Observer*, 17 November 2015, <https://euobserver.com/migration/131142>

<sup>18</sup> “Revealed: Two of the Jihadis sneaked into Europe via Greece by posing as refugees and being rescued from a sinking migrant boat” <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3318379/Hunt-Isis-killers-Syrian-passport-body-suicide-bomber-Stade-France.html> ; “Fingerprints from Paris bomber match man registered in Greece – prosecutor” <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/11/16/france-shooting-bomber-greece-idUSP6N10I01W20151116#e2OL13MOpg8EUL81.97> ; Eszter Zalan, "Europe's populists link terrorism with refugees", in *EU Observer*, 17 November 2015, <https://euobserver.com/migration/131142>

<sup>19</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>20</sup> Judy Dempsey, “Merkel’s Syria Trap”, in *Carnegie*, October 5, 2015.

existence of the EU (starting with the Schengen area with the free movement of EU workers, with several EU policies).

Thousands of German citizens participated to an anti-Islam, anti-immigrant Pegida movement's rally in Dresden. The demonstrators blamed the Paris terrorist attacks on what they see as Europe's failed immigration policy.<sup>21</sup> Merkel's popularity and approval ratings have fallen nine percentage points to 54 percent in the autumn of 2015, while the popularity of anti-immigration CDU/CSU politicians increased.<sup>22</sup> Dutch anti-immigration leader Geert Wilders said to the government: "Will you listen at last: close the borders!"<sup>23</sup>

In UK, most of the citizens are in favour of the "Brexit" in 2015, because of the fear of immigration, according to the opinion polls.<sup>24</sup>

Marine Le Pen, leader of the far-right Front National, became worryingly popular in 2015. Le Pen called for an "immediate halt" to new arrivals and invoked "the possible presence of jihadists among the migrants entering our country".<sup>25</sup>

In Poland, the right-wing Law and Justice Party gained support from its anti-migrant statements, won the elections in 2015 and formed the government of Prime Minister Beata Szydło. The incoming Foreign Minister Witold Waszczykowski said on state television on 15 October 2015 that migrants should be organized into an army and sent back to Syria to fight. "Can you imagine a situation in which we send our troops to fight for Syria, while hundreds of thousands of Syrians sip coffee on Unter den Linden [a boulevard in Berlin] or at the old town square and watch how we fight for their security?"<sup>26</sup>

Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orbán told the Hungarian Parliament on 16 November 2015: "No one can say how many terrorists have arrived among the migrants so far, how many are already here, and how many are arriving day by day". As the Hungarian Government has been criticized as "inhumane" for building the fences on Hungary's Serbian and Croatian borders to stem the flow of people, Orbán asked: "What is more humane? To close the borders to illegal border-crossers or to put the lives of innocent European citizens at risk?" "In light of this terror attack, Brussels cannot challenge the right of member states to defend themselves." "Mandatory resettlement quotas are dangerous because they would spread terrorism across Europe," Orbán stated.<sup>27</sup>

### **What is Russia's discourse about the migrants/refugee crisis?**

<sup>21</sup>Eszter Zalan, "Europe's populists link terrorism with refugees", in *EU Observer*, 17 November 2015, <https://euobserver.com/migration/131142>

<sup>22</sup>Horst Seehofer: "Mehr geht nicht" 86 %, 192128 votes.

<sup>23</sup>Eszter Zalan, "Europe's populists link terrorism with refugees", in *EU Observer*, 17 November 2015, <https://euobserver.com/migration/131142>

<sup>24</sup>"Britain wants to quit Europe: Shock new poll shows EU 'no' camp ahead for the first time as Cameron prepares to face down Tory rebels" "30/09/15. A majority of British people would vote to leave the European Union in the wake of the migrant crisis engulfing the continent, a shock new Mail on Sunday poll has found.

<sup>25</sup>Eszter Zalan, "Europe's populists link terrorism with refugees", in *EU Observer*, 17 November 2015, <https://euobserver.com/migration/131142>

<sup>26</sup>Ibidem.

<sup>27</sup>Ibidem.

“I think the crisis was absolutely expected,” President Vladimir Putin told journalists at the Eastern Economic Forum in Vladivostok in September 2015. “We in Russia, and me personally a few years ago, said it straight that pervasive problems would emerge, if our so-called Western partners continue maintaining their flawed foreign policy, especially in the regions of the Muslim world, Middle East, North Africa, which they pursue to date,” said Putin.<sup>28</sup> According to the Russian president, the main flaw (mistake) of Western foreign policy is the effort to impose their own standards (of democratic governance) worldwide without taking into account the historical, religious, national and cultural characteristics of particular regions. Putin said that EU has been “blindly following American orders” in its foreign policy, and then the EU suffered more than the USA the impact of the refugee crisis and terrorism.<sup>29</sup> In reality, we think that there are more complex internal and external factors that generated the instability and in some regions and the influx of migrants.

On 19 October 2015, long before the Islamist terrorist attacks in Paris (13 November 2015), the Head of the Russian Presidential Administration Sergei Ivanov publicly warned that among the refugees to Europe from the Middle East may be potential suicide bombers. In a statement to TASS, Ivanov suggested that Daesh has sent to the EU “sleeping agents”, who will wait for the “appointed hour” to come “out of the shadow” and to play their well-known role of “suicide bombers” in terrorist attacks. Ivanov was sure of that, even if “many were hesitant to openly discuss the problem”. Intelligence agencies feared that the uncontrolled flux of migrants and refugees was used by Daesh for its terrorist plans.<sup>30</sup>

## Conclusions

Immediately after the Paris terrorist attacks, France introduced border controls for everybody, took security measures extend the state of emergency for three months, and joined Russia in fighting against Daesh. The European Commission's President Jean-Claude **Juncker has joined to the French President François Hollande in seeking a 'rapprochement' with Russia to fight Daesh**, described by both as the biggest threat to the EU.<sup>31</sup>

Belgian Prime Minister Charles Michel announced plans for new laws “to jail jihadists returning from Syria, shut unregistered mosques, expel hate preachers” and ban anonymous purchases of mobile phone cards.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> “EU refugee crisis ‘absolutely expected’ – Putin”, in *RT*, 4 Sep, 2015, <https://www.rt.com/news/314318-putin-vladivostok-eu-migrants> and <http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1501096>

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>30</sup> “Among the refugees to Europe from the Middle East may be potential suicide bombers, said the head of the Head of the Russian Presidential Administration Sergei Ivanov”, MOSCOW, October 19, in *TASS* (in Russian), <http://tass.ru/politika/2356796> and <http://www.riavv.ru/entry/203262>

<sup>31</sup> “US, Russia and EU should work together to combat ISIS, says Juncker”, in *Euractiv*, 19 Nov 2015, <http://www.euractiv.com/sections/global-europe/juncker-usa-russia-and-eu-should-work-together-combat-isis-319635>

<sup>32</sup> “Spider in web' mastermind of Paris attacks killed in raid, in *Reuters*, 19 November 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/11/20/us-france-shooting-idUSKCN0T22IU20151120#ttAiEvdMbDVVs4AHv.99>

“Paris attacks show flawed use of Schengen rules, ministers confess”.<sup>33</sup> The EU Council in November 2015 decided that all EU travellers will be subject to a stricter scrutiny, including checks against the Schengen Information System (SIS), as is the case for all third country nationals. The ministers agreed on making “maximum use” of the Schengen tools to improve the overall level of information exchange between counter-terrorism authorities in the EU.<sup>34</sup>

On 26 November 2015 the liberal Dutch PM Mark Rutte has said Europe must protect its "way of life" from terrorism and must get Turkey to halt refugees, as The Netherlands prepares for its EU presidency (1 January-1 July 2016). “The first step is to make sure the border is controlled. **As we all know from the history of the Roman Empire, empires fall when borders aren’t well protected,**” said Rutte and he was right.<sup>35</sup>

In the context of the spectacular development of the of the conservative and radical Islamist movements on one side and radical right-wing and radical left-wing groups on the other side, the EU values, the Schengen Area and the EU project are in danger. Schengen is faced with considerable, even existential challenges. However, ending Schengen would only ignore the source of the problem. If the EU can’t project stability beyond its borders, it will be condemned to importing instability within.

Eurosceptic voices said the EU and Schengen are to blame, which is wrong. The migrants crossed the external Schengen border in Greece, but also more than 5 non-Schengen border. At the same time, **most of the terrorists had citizenship and passports of some EU Member States, so they could cross any border legally, if effective counter-terrorist measures are not enforced.** Eurosceptic voices said the EU is part of the problem, which is wrong. The EU is part of the solution, as the EU Member States should work together in dealing with migration/refugee crisis and with the ENP, fight against terrorism, and develop the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

**How should the EU and Member States respond to weak states and economic and political turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa?** The EU Member States should collaborate with the Arab tribes and other stakeholders which now support Daesh and offer them the necessary incentives and prepare a post-Daesh situation. The EU Member States should destroy the military structure of Daesh and its ideology in collaboration with the local tribes and players. Conflict and post-conflict management capacities should be deployed in collaboration with the local tribes and other local stakeholders and a cooperative and integrative state building is needed.

Carnegie's expert Judy Dempsey is right when considers that the European Union’s approach to **crisis management** is reactive, too slow, incapable to anticipate and not effective

<sup>33</sup>Jorge Valero, “Paris attacks show flawed use of Schengen rules, ministers confess”, in *Euractiv*, November 2015. See also Swedish PM: 'We have been naive', in *EU Observer*, 20 November 2015, <https://euobserver.com/tickers/131191> Swedish police arrested a 25-year-old Iraqi man accused of planning terror crimes in Sweden. "We have been naive," Prime Minister Stefan Loefen admitted in a press conference, warning that some of the 120 people who have returned from fighting in Syria and Iraq could be dangerous to society.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>35</sup> Andrew Rettman, "Interview Dutch PM: Islamic State can't change Europe's way of life" (THE HAGUE), in *EU Observer*, 26. Nov 2015, <https://euobserver.com/justice/131277>



enough. EU's crisis management using only soft power tools has severe limitations, as it can't use hard power.<sup>36</sup> That lack of hard power instruments can be compensated by a much-needed collaboration with NATO and involvement of the hard-power of the EU's Member States. There is not possible to create a European Army in short term, **but a there is strong case for an EU-NATO cooperation.**

The EU developed itself during the decades like a **big and soft "herbivorous power"** which now unexpectedly meets hard predators (like Daesh) and has not enough means, political will, expertise and experience to fight successfully. The EU can achieve results if it works together with NATO and other players, **if develops its capacities of conflict and post-conflict management**, if the Member States prove solidarity. In the Foreign Affairs the EU does not exist without the solidarity of its Member States. The power of the EU in Foreign Affairs stays only in its solidarity, prosperity, prestige, respect for rules and values, in smart use of trade and trade treaties, development aid, economic sanctions. The EU has a soft power, as it is still attractive for Enlargement countries and for some neighbours, but not for all. The opportunities for the EU are to learn lessons, to develop expertise and a stronger sense of reality and to develop some hard power instruments.

An effective **EU communication policy is needed**, using simple/accessible language and the local players in the ENP countries and in EU Member States. Somehow the Eurosceptic message, the Daesh and Russian anti-EU propaganda have success in the ENP regions and inside the EU in large parts of the society. This should be an issue of concern and should be effectively addressed.

The migration crisis needs to be addressed especially in the countries of origin and in the ENP regions. The EU should stabilize those countries and **address the root-causes of the migration/refugee crisis, namely the conflicts, human rights violation and poverty.**

**Disclaimer:** The responsibility for the information and views set out in this article lies entirely with the authors. The content of this article does not reflect the official opinion of any institution they work for or they collaborate with. This is true for all the articles published by us.

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<sup>36</sup>Judy Dempsey, "What Europe's Refugee Influx Means for EU Foreign Policy", in *Carnegie*, August 24, 2015, <http://carnegieurope.eu/strategieurope/?fa=61105>

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