

Brussels Forum

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Plenary #5: The Refugee Crisis: Implications for Economies and Societies

Unidentified Female: Ladies and gentleman in the coffee break area, please proceed to the ballroom. We will begin the next session momentarily. Ladies and gentleman, please take your seats. The program will begin momentarily. Ladies and gentleman, please welcome back to the stage Mr. Max Hofmann.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Thank you. Welcome back to the second part of this panel, which is of course, again, the refugee crisis, the topic that we live and work for at the moment here in Brussels. This time though with a different aspect of it, the implications for economies and societies. I'll introduce our panel in a second, but I would ask you to get out [audio gap 01:06:30] your cell phones one more time and the apps because we would like to do something before we start the panel, which is go on word cloud and type one word, just one word, it has to be together, what you think is the biggest thing, concern for impediment to integration. Meaning, what's the biggest obstacle to integration of refugees in the European Union, one word. It can be anything. It could be religious. It could education, whatever. Word Cloud, right. And while you do that I would like to introduce our panel. Thank you very much for making it here. Today we have Irena Krasnicka here. She's a special envoy for migration at the Foreign--Ministry for Foreign Affairs in the Czech Republic. Thank you very much for coming.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Thanks.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Then on my left Jean-Marie Guehenno who is a very experienced French Diplomat, but now he is the President of the International Crisis Group so he knows what's going in the people that are trying to make their here to the US. Thank you very much for coming as well. Mr. Ivan Krastev is here as well. Krastev, sorry, Chairman for the Center for Liberal Studies, which is in Sofia, Bulgaria. So we have our--I can't say Eastern Block, but we have two people from those countries we've been talking about a lot lately for different reasons in the refugee crisis.

Thank you very much for being here as well. And from Stuttgart Baden-Wurttemberg we have, from Daimler-Benz of course, the man who works at the Human Resources Department, the Director of Human Resources, Mr. Wilfried Porth. Very interesting company in this respect, of course we'll talk about it later, but thank you very much for coming as well. So I think we're ready for the word cloud. This is the result, very good. Okay, you can see it: xenophobia, fear, identity, culture, inclusion, economy, those are the big ones. Okay.

At a different point with different people doing the same thing we had things also, like, Islam in there for example, things we will talk about, the religious implications in everything, but I think this is a very good basis to talk about it later on. But I would like to start with you Mr. Porth because your boss said when the refugee crisis started, "These are the people--referring to the Syrian refugees--these are exactly the people that we need." And you started a program for internships for refugees. How's that going?

Wilfried Porth: Yeah, the first [audio gap 01:09:31] apprentices in our own company and most of the others in agencies for time working, so we've started very well and we are now launching the next phase. So we will hire another 300 for this program and we are very positive on that that we can take our responsibility and then help those people to integrate not only professionally, but also socially.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Did the things happen you expected? Were those the people you expected them to be?

Mr. Wilfried Porth: I think there's a wide expectation of those people, but the most part of it is they are very energetic. They are very willing to learn. They are really very enthusiastic about having this opportunity and they have a very special history, very personal history of how they arrived in Germany, so there are a lot of young people with traumatic experiences. So they're a very different starting point, but all of them are really very energetic and very motivated to do something very positive with their lives and that's the best you can have as a motivation.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Mr. Krastev, you once said it's now in the refugee crisis only about which country becomes the parking lot for refugees. It would appear that would be Greece, right?

Mr. Ivan Krastev: For the moment. No, but listen when you go to the refugee crisis because I do believe that from time to time we try with one or two words to explain things that are slightly more complicated. Fear is fine, but the story is that for many Europeans what has happened as a result, first Euro-Crisis, and then Ukraine, and now the refugee crisis is that we start to see differently the world in which we are living. Before globalization was perceived as interdependence as something, which is positive and people have been very much now. Now we have two faces of globalization. The good one is a tourist. Everybody likes tourist. By the way, some of these refugees used to be tourists and we all liked that. And then you have the refugees and this type of a story, by the way, in Greece now what they're doing mainly is not to allow the tourists and the refugees to meet. You are basically to divide between the tourist islands and the refugee islands and I don't believe that this major change and fear of the world in which we are living we are not understanding very much is behind this because in many of our countries you have a very strong country refugee sentiments in the absence of refugees. For example, in Slovakia for the 2015, there were 169 refugees that entered the country. At the same time you have the feeling that this is the most important issue, which is shaping the political agenda and I do believe we should talk this. There are

figures, which are not there but were important. For example, demographic fears. Listen, Bulgaria is an aging society. According to the U.N., projections in the next 30 years we're going to lose 27 percent of our population. It's a small country. And you start to have the fear that in a 100 years nobody's going to speak your language, that you're disappearing. For example, in Eastern Europe they fear that you integrate (inaudible). Major part of the fear that we have with the refugees, they think you cannot integrate [audio gap 01:12:56 - 01:14:12]. Many people in [audio gap 01:14:15 - 01:14:28] many people and political leaders believe that if they're going to use a very strong anti-refugee rhetoric this is going to work. And I do believe that last elections in Slovakia shows that when the governments decided to over perform on anti-refugees rhetoric who benefit is an anti-system party. I do believe this is the most positive thing that happens because the difference between the refugee crisis and some of the other crisis that it is very much touching the very political structures of our societies for whom you are voting, basically re-distribution of fear, re-distribution of blame.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Mr. Krasnicka, you're from the same of the neck of the woods, but part of the (inaudible) states. Obviously, Czech Republic because of that lately. I would like to know what's your job as the special envoy for migration. Is it blocking migration? Is it making sure that people are integrated?

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Well, no. Okay. the--that is not my job to integrate people and so on, of course, it is a job of the ministry of interior and education and social affairs and so on and so on. We--well, I see it and we see it a little more from the point of view of foreign policy and a little more global point of view, and this is also something--what we try to bring into the debate--into another debate. But I don't want to speak very much about the Czech Republic only. I--because I would like to see all of the problem more in global perspective. I would probably follow was said by the Commissioner before, and that is that, you know, first of all, we should be a little more calm and maybe the lessons learned from Slovakia might help also. I think, in fact, Europe is not deeply divided. Of course, I mean, there are differences in tactics, but there are not so many differences in strategy, how to deal with migration both regular and irregular migration, how to deal with this actual crisis. Yes, maybe, some accents, but after all I must say the heads of state agreed upon a list of measures.

Mr. Max Hofmann: There's a major difference when it comes to who's going to take in the refugees. (Inaudible)--

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Well, and the redistribution of refugees is one--I know that it sounds very important, but it is one part and not as important. The discussion was not even about resettlement. There was not trouble with resettlement, only with the relocation procedures, and it was there obligatory correct. So even the countries Visegrad, our country--now I can speak for our country. We at the first round we gave higher number than proposed, un--non obligatory because we were a bit afraid how this mechanism

would work. That was our--you know, that was--we said, okay. How should we force the people to come to the country I don't want to? and I must tell you, it's not only because they would know very well that Czech Republic or Bulgaria is less well off than some other country. You know, they didn't want to go to Luxembourg because they would never--they never heard about Luxembourg during the relocations procedures. So this was--they were relevant (inaudible) that we would have to force people. How would we do it? And so on and so on? So we are not deeply divided, but of course it might become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Mr. Guehenno, when you deal as you do as President of the International Crisis Group with the places where these people come from, Syria, mainly in this case, is the discussion in Europe, does it seem off topic? Because what's going in the people's minds who flee from these places, is it--are they--can they be stopped? Can they be channeled, are--when you come from a region like that?

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: Well, I don't think that Europe can be an island of peace and prosperity in an ocean of turmoil. You see that in the world more than 50 percent of refugees, they come from only three countries. They come from Syria, they come from Afghanistan, they come from Somalia. That should be manageable if the Europeans were really focused on addressing those conflicts. It's not the whole world. It's those three countries, and it's a hard decision to leave a country. I know the Syrians we talk to, they would--it's the greatest distress to have to abandon one's place.

They go to Turkey with the hope that it's going to end soon to be close to their place, and when they begin to see it looks hopeless then they go further away. They come to Europe. So it's clear. It's obvious that the real solution is really in addressing the Syrian situation and bringing peace to Syria. So long as you don't do that you are not going to stem the flow of refugees with any deal. And I would want to go one step further because there is the question of refugees and there is a question of migrants. And, of course, legally they are very different.

But Europe has to get used to the idea that the issue of migration is here to stay. We know the figures for a refugee, 60 million refugees and IDP, 60 million also. Migrants 170 million around the world. It's a huge problem. It's a problem that's going to continue to be with us. When you think that in Africa, for instance--well, the working population.

When Africa represents at the moment roughly less than 13 percent of the working age population of the world. In 2100 it will represent 40 more--40--41 percent of the working population of the world. The pressure--the migration pressure is going to be with us. I give--

Mr. Max Hofmann: So what has to change in the minds of people in Europe? We're not talking about compassion here. We're talking about economic chances? What are we talking about?

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: We're talking about, yes, economic opportunities for a continent that creates jobs. We are also talking about mindset. I happen to live between Europe and the United States. And I can say that in the U.S., has its issues with migration. We have seen what Mr. Trump is saying about migrants, but never the less it is part of the American psyche that it is a project for the future, that America is a new beginning from it.

It's partly a myth but it's a very positive myth. Europe is much more dependent on memories. National memories or the memory of the wars that we fought with each other. And so the balance between that contract for the future and memory is much harder. We have to recognize it in Europe. That is what the other panelists were saying when there is a fear of losing one's own past. And Europe has to reconcile its past with a vision of the future where it helped shape the world for centuries. Now it's going to be--to continue to be integrated with the world but with a dialogue with the world, and we will also be shaped by other culture. And it's a source of enrichment. Not just economic enrichment. But for that message to come across you--if you think you can fight populism with populism lines, so to speak. It doesn't work. And that's what Ivan was saying about the Slovak elections.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Let me--

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: You have to convince the Europeans that in reality, and I mean, living here most--I'm in more of my time in America than in Europe. I see that's something obvious. You have to convince them that the rest of the world is an opportunity for Europe. It's not a threat.

Mr. Max Hofmann: We always talk about convincing the Europeans and everything, and it's a very diverse place, obviously, which, as I can tell you, 28 different media systems and--but you have a chance to tell a little bit about your experience because it's sort of a smaller environment, and Swabians (sp?) aren't particularly known to be the greatest optimists in the world, never the less, was it hard to convince--

Mr. Wilfried Porth: We've got the greatest engineers.

Mr. Max Hofmann: You build good cars. Was it hard to build your employees? Did you have a lot of concern coming out saying, listen. These people. They don't speak our language. They don't know what we're doing here. This is not going to work.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: Actually, most of our employees in Germany don't speak Swabian. And when you go to (inaudible), I think we have more than a 100 different nations working in this place, and especially the automotive industry has a huge history when it comes to immigrants, you know. So we have Turkish people, Greece. We have people from all around Europe.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Still, highly specialized in what you do. Down--and for example, in (inaudible).

Mr. Wilfried Porth: Yeah. But what--when they came in the 50's and 60's, actually, they have not had those qualifications we already have--

Mr. Max Hofmann: The production has completely changed. You would agree; right?

Mr. Wilfried Porth: Yes.

Mr. Max Hofmann: More computers. More specializing. More education required.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: Yeah. But still, when you go to the assembly we still have, also, I would say basic work. So the reaction from our employees was just the other way you would expect. They have been very receptive. They donated money. They offered their support in mentoring. We had really a very positive feedback from our people to say yes, we want to help. So what can we do to help as a company? What can we do as the society? We have a lot of initiatives all around the cities and villages around Stuttgart. So there is a very positive reaction from our employees.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Mr. Krastev, do you think this could be example, also, for other countries in Europe. Say, look, this is going well. Look at Germany. Or is that fading? It seems almost like it had the adverse affect.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: Well, listen, I do believe that you is the first shock, which is psychological. Something is happening in the world that you didn't expect. And then people start to adjust. And I do believe this is the chance. And, of course, listen, all over the world there are nice people. And even some of these very strongly speaking country refugee societies, when they see a contrite person with a contrite problem, they are going to help you. They are not going basically to throw him on the street. The problem is that those who because of a very high level of mistrust to the political elites.

A huge part of our population have the fear that they are not heard. You have a new phenomenon in European politics which I am going to call the threat of majorities. By the way, you have it in the United States, too. You see it as the white working class in the States. Basically what these people fear that they are going to be--that the world is going to be reshaped by this coalition between cosmopolitan elites and all of these refuges and there is no place for them. So from this point even for me the real discussion about refugees is not the discussion between European Union and Turkey. This is going to--what is going to happen politically in all our societies.

It's not what is talking on television. It's going to be very much how people vote. How basically they start to adjust. How we are basically going to do as the labor market. And here there is a real choice to be made. In order to integrate these people in a big way, our welfare system is not what helps. Why Turkey

so easily integrates, exactly because of the fact that their labor market is much more flexible. But this type of a welfare state was part of the identity for some of the European Union Countries.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Don't you think also the fact that Syrian refugees have more easily integrated into Turkey as a cultural question--religious question?

Mr. Wilfried Porth: There is. For sure. For sure. and we should be very clear on this, in 1920's, Bulgaria, which was that much poorer than now, managed to deal with the refugee flow, which was around 15 percent of the population. This was after the results of the Balkan Wars and World War I. The problem was that this was basically mostly--I think Bulgarians both speak the same language and all of the country has this type of experience. The problem is also how you are integrating in a society which do not have a colonial experience in a way. For example, French.

They have been traveling through the world. They know people coming. This was kind of a different experience, but the foreigner is not real foreigners. And then you have this much more smaller societies in central and distant Europe, and we said, listen, but we have been not going anywhere. Bulgaria failed to make an empire unfortunately. So why are they coming? What can we do with them? And based on the history and so on. Of course Islam plays differently in different parts, but it's not going to be about re-educating people. It's going to be very much how the political process will go.

And if it goes right, then basically also the business is going to show that some of these people, by the way, are going to be integrated much better than we expect because there are certain groups that have been integrated so well in Germany, like the Iranians, that nobody even discusses it. And this also causes you to be honest. It depends how basically rich these people are. How well educated they are. It's not only ethnicity of culture that matters.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Ms. Krasnicka, you've been writing all of the time, I saw.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: No. Not at all. Not at all.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Do you want to react?

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: No. Yeah. I will--I would like to react on just what you said and also here about migration because we sometimes mix things. And migration is here with us. Has been here with us all the time. And with globalization and development of the many technologies plus end of cold war we could have presumed that it will go up, and it did, and it--we have to understand that forced migration, which is horrible, and 90 percent is outside Europe, is only tiny part of migration as such.

And people do migrate into Europe and within Europe and these are big numbers and we got used to it. We were not used to that, but we got used to it. We got used to four percent of foreigners living in our

country. In 15 years it's from nearly zero. And I remember when the Ukrainians started to come for work mostly, people were a bit. Now everybody is happy because they know it. So the people need a little time to adjust.

Mr. Max Hofmann: So they need more migration to see what it's going to cost.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: They need a little--yes. Yes, to some extent it's true. We need more Europe. We need more migration to solve the crisis. And people are--I have good heart and so I have noticed it. I think that it will work, but we have the regularized migration. That what gives us fear and what is not good for the future integration of all people who come in spite of their status is the fact that they come irregularly. They feed the organized crime. So it's not a problem that they come but how they come. And that is what we should solve. And there I think that we are all on one boat. All Europeans, we believe that we should regularize migration.

Mr. Max Hofmann: By the way, we are ready to open up the floor whenever you are. So if you have a question just indicate it, but you wanted to react.

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: Yeah. I wanted to react to that because I think it's a very important point. We have looked at Central America, and you see how illegal immigration into the United States then becomes a business for criminal networks. And it's self-sustaining because there's a great interest of those criminal networks to keep the illegal immigration going. So it's very important for the Europeans to have legal ways, and not legal ways which are trickle, but legal ways that are commensurate with the size of the challenge for people to get into Europe. Otherwise you criminalize the whole movement of people and that is not good for peace. That is not good for stability. It can get connected to terrorism. Everything is wrong with it. But for that to happen, you need to go beyond the tiny numbers, because then the queue of entering Europe through legal means is so long that it's not a real option.

Mr. Max Hofmann: We have a question in the back. No, it's you. Go ahead.

Jack Janes: Jack Janes from Johns Hopkins in Washington. Mr. Guehenno, I wanted to ask your advice on something. You said that the Americans have a myth, but it's a myth about the way that hundreds of millions of people came to this country and integrated themselves. One of the reasons that we were able to do that is because we had jobs. That's not an issue at the moment. It is more a cultural question at the moment I think. Our myth is breaking down. But I wondered how do you create a myth in Europe that took up decades if not centuries to create that informs the way that we deal with our current debate in the United States about immigration. And how do you create that in Europe at a time when it's a very different set of circumstances? We can't transfer the American experience back to Europe. That's for sure. But how do you create that narrative that allows this process to go along? And by the way, one other

question. Do you think it would help in any way, shape or form if the United States was capable of taking in more of these refugees?

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: Well on your last question I think the refugee problem is a global one, and I think it would be good for the United States to take some refugees just as it is good for Europe to take some refugees. On your first question, I think it has to do with what Ivan was saying on the break between elites and the people. And the challenge is that this is an issue where there has to be a collective European message but the solutions are very local. As was said by other panelists, when it's human being to human being, then the decency of human nature can come back. And that's where it gets very complicated. Because if you have a city, if you have a business like Daimler that responds to it, then it becomes manageable and they can gradually build that new identity. I don't think it can be built just top down. It can be helped if politicians instead going with populism have a different language. But because of that distance that exists now between elites and the people, it has to be also I think very local.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Go ahead.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: It's a very political platform here, but you know we are dealing with reality every single day and with the basics. And I tell you politicians could really help in taking bureaucracy away. I have you have said how many ministries are involved in every country in making things happen. You know, at the end it's about social and professional not integrity, but sorry, integration. Thank you.

Mr. Max Hofmann: But the reality--

Mr. Wilfried Porth: And the reality is, you know, we have still legal regulations which prevent us to give people enough language courses. It's not about the funding. We have enough funding. But then the one location we don't want to have it because we have our own things. We are not able to register all those people correctly. We still have rules wherein the first 15 months they are not allowed to work even if we provide them workplaces or apprenticeships and so on. So there's so many basic things which could be done in order to speed up the integration. Because we will not be able to integrate those people if you build more refugee homes and whatsoever. But we need to integrate those people in our neighborhoods and not in groups of hundreds and 200s and 300s, in groups of families like we want to be integrated when we move somewhere.

Mr. Max Hofmann: But the reality in Baden-Württemberg especially now after the election is also that it seems the people are very confused. At the one hand you have the green president, minister president, prime minister who supports Angela Merkel's policy and wins the election. What's your reading of all that?

Mr. Wilfried Porth: That's a specialty in Baden-Württemberg. Now let me say don't take the eastern party, but the issue is more than 80 percent of all people who went for the election have still voted for solid democratic parties. So it's about a little bit green or red or black or whatsoever. But at the end of the day they have been voting for democratic parties. The issue remains the same. We need to simplify the rules. You know, we need qualified labor so we want to allow those young people to go for apprenticeships. Now in order to enter those apprenticeships, they need to learn perfect German because otherwise they cannot pass the exams. Do you need to speak perfectly German, which no (inaudible) really does?

Mr. Max Hofmann: Speak for yourself.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: I speak for myself, yes. When you want to become a plumber or a butcher or whatsoever. So the issue is we have some kind of rules in place which prevent people to be integrated fast. And those rules we need to break down, and then I'm very sure we will be much more successful much faster.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Cut the red tape. Mr. Krastev.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: But that's also very important because this is what you mean by integration, because labor markets were integrated to a certain level and this is how it works. But this is what you mean by integration. Because labor markets are integrated to a certain level and this is how it works. But we expect these people to become like us. And I do believe--For me the biggest problem is not refugees anymore. It's about migration is probably we should realize that this is the form of the revolution for the 21st century.

Let's give you one date. In 1981 when the first world values survey had been done by Michigan University, it appeared that Nigerians were as happy as West Germans. There were no positive economic correlations between economic well-being and happiness. Twenty years later, Nigerians were as happy as their GDP's going to predict. What was happening meanwhile is that Nigerians got television sets. So they see how the West Germans are living. So these days if you want to change a life, it makes much more sense to change your country than to change your government. It's easier.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: I'd like to take that message back home.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: No, no, but this is very important. And I think as a result of it you're going to have this type of a process which is not refugee connected. It's not about this and that which is very difficult and can't be regulated. And in Europe in a certain way we're not ready for this. And we're not ready for this because our very idea of society is very different. If you believe that this is going to change over spheres and to explain everything in xenophobia in others is wrong. The biggest problem is not what to tell people what is happening in our country. The biggest is to try to push people to be interested in what is

happening in the world. And this is not easy, because normally we're not very much interested in what is happening in the world. This is it.

And I do believe this is a huge problem because everything that worked for Europe to yesterday as an integration is becoming a problem. We're becoming much more the victims of our successes than of our failures and this is why it's so difficult to do it, because how do you part with your successes? By the way on foreign policy issues, this also has consequences. For 20 years the European Union was talking about how we are transforming our neighborhood. Now our neighborhood starts to transform us. Look at our relations with Turkey, our relations with Russia. Do we even have a language to talk about this?

Mr. Max Hofmann: We have a question up there. Gentleman with the red tie.

Muhammed: Thank you very much. My name Muhammed (inaudible). I am a former migrant and thanks to (inaudible) now I am a good European citizen as you see. I am really happy to hear what I heard today. For these migrants or refugees, I think that there are no illegal migrants now who are coming from Syria. Why? Because we know from where they arrive, they don't have visas, but they know they arrive because of war and we know where to receive them. I think they become legal from the moment they arrive to Europe, to the European Union countries. And we have to stop this speak about these migrants as illegal. Those who are illegal are those who arrive here to Belgium and you go to (inaudible) not far from here and you can have hundreds of them who entered and we don't know from where they come.

Mr. Max Hofmann: What's your question?

Muhammed: My question is that don't you think that many people from Syria--I met a lot of them who are masons, who are businessmen, who were businessmen who have farms and factories. Many of them are going to turn back to Syria. We have to speak more to our people here in Europe about these facts. When you go to Dubai do you think that you as a European businessman are integrated in Dubai. You are not integrated in Dubai. You don't see any Dubai citizens there. And you go for business and hundreds of thousands of Europeans and Americans are working in Arab countries and in the third world countries. And we have to speak to people about that.

Mr. Max Hofmann: If I may. If I may, if I may. Let me try to phrase that question. Do you think, and that's for you Ms. Krasnicka, that people are aware, and I'm picking up what you said, that most of these people are planning to go back to their home countries once they can?

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Well first of all I would like to just clarify what I meant by regularization of migration. I've never said the word illegal migrant. I would never use it, because illegal migrant does not exist, you know. It's irregular. They can come an irregular way. There are illegal ways, but not the migrants themselves. I mean once they come, they come and say asylum or you know then it is perfectly

regular. So when I speak about regularization I say that the people should come either with papers or as refugees, but nothing in between.

Not without papers which they throw into the sea. This makes no sense. And we should know who comes, and that would help also the migrants. That would lower down their vulnerability, and that would help. That's what the measures are being done for regularization and also for what we said they can come from their countries. They can come from surge countries immediately, legal and so on.

Mr. Max Hofmann: As I understand you correctly, you're saying we don't even need full integration here because people want to go home at some point, correct?

Muhammed: Well many of them are going to turn back. I know many Syrians who are here and they were in Aleppo and they were businessmen. They had factories. And they say, "We are waiting for the moment when war stops in Syria. We are going to turn back." And the problem here in Europe is that nobody is speaking about stopping war in Syria. We all as Europeans have the moral responsibility in what happens in Syria and Iraq and Afghanistan, in all these Arab countries.

And our values as Europeans now I think we don't have to speak any more about values, because we made Arab Spring in Arab countries so as to have democracy. It failed. We are now in the streets in the cold. And I said to my friend here we became (inaudible). We want to take us from here back.

Mr. Max Hofmann: I think we get that point and I think we should pay it over to Mr. Guehenno.

Muhammed: Where are human rights? Thank you very much.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Because he's exactly the right man to react to that.

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: Well I do think that Europe and not just Europe, but the United States, the international community did not take the Syrian tragedy seriously until it hit Europe. And that was morally wrong and strategically wrong. And of course now after hundreds of thousands of people killed it's much more difficult to bring back Syria together. For the first time in years, there's a little hope because now-- I mean I was with Kofi Annan in 2012 when he was trying to deal with the Syrian crisis.

And at the time the United States and Russia were speaking past each other. Iran and Saudi Arabia were not even in the room. Now Iran and Saudi Arabia are in the room and there is a serious discussion between Russia and the United States. And Russia has acquired real leverage on the Syrian government. So that's what gives some hope. At the same time, I don't think that the negotiations in Geneva, Vienna will go very far between the Syrians so long as there are public negotiations. Because after so much suffering, it's almost impossible to have a serious discussion under the public light. And so it's very

important now to have quiet channels between the various Syrian parties to move forward. And it's not impossible. I think we were all surprised that the cessation of hostilities held. It's very precarious.

It could fall apart any time. But this is the first time there is--it happened in years. So I think that will at some point require real engagement including risk taking by Europeans because I don't think that if a cessation of hostilities is going to hold it will hold just on its own accord. It will require some third party and it may require deployment of international observers who themselves will need protection. A whole series of things that will mean that Europe will have to engage more directly than it has.

Mr. Max Hofmann: More risk taken by Europe is probably going to be something difficult to sell also in the European Union in the current situation. Mr. Porth wanted to add something.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: I think there's no question about that we all want peace in every place in this planet and that should be a huge effort from all related parties to do so. But I would say it's very dangerous if we now go out and spread the message that all those people coming to us will go back because this will be the best excuse for most other people to do nothing and wait for the whatever. If it takes three years, five years, six years, 10 years, whatsoever, we need to act now. And there's no excuse and we should not give any excuse to anybody in this game.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Mr. (inaudible).

Mr. Max Hofmann: We have--I think we have the Arabic translation on the loud speaker.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: I just wanted to say the concerning Syria that is precisely why we have still our embassy in Damascus for the Americans and for the E.U. nations as well because we had a feeling that there will be at one point--we were hoping in peaceful solution of this conflict. And were thinking that to have a post man at least would be useful. Except for of course a counselor, cases and things like that. So we stayed and we have--we are the only E.U. embassy and western embassy in Damascus. So I wanted this small thing. And what concerns integration, we have experienced with the Bosnians, they were many in our country and 90 percent of them came back. But we were not thinking they would come back. We were--we tried to integrate them and now they are--they serve very well to our mutual contacts. And those who stayed enriched our country. So we have some point with the--look to show the public. Look it worked and it worked with Muslims and it worked fine.

Mr. Max Hofmann: But you really don't have a lot of examples in the Czech Republic given that the policy that your government has been following in the last months or so, wouldn't it be--wouldn't you call for a change in what--in the blocking of the Visegrad States, in the relocation of refugees which, I mean if it's working and you're successful with it, why not take more?

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Well, I mean we are waiting. And I think the--we are waiting how it would work but we have already offered some numbers. And I will not want to speak for the whole Visegrad but we tried to find always some position. And we don't find it, we speak for each and every country, you know. But you know, to see those countries as totally not contributing to the solution because of this one particular problem or one particular different view would not be reasonable because Visegrad countries for example, are those who give the most offices to front tech and DSL to hot spots. So we are aware but we have to make the whole thing work. And this was now the most urgent need to have people there to help there. So it's a little more complex than it is presented in the news.

Mr. Max Hofmann: We have a question over there, the gentleman, right, in the blue shirt.

Sven Damoni: Sven Damoni from GMF, is it possible to deal with this influx of immigrants and to integrate immigrants on this scale without a major rethink of the Euro's own economic policy? To put it bluntly, is the solution to the refugee crisis compatible with austerity?

Mr. Max Hofmann: Anyone your addressing the question to?

Sven Damoni: All of them.

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: Germany should answer first.

Mr. Max Hofmann: So we have Germany first and then we have Bulgaria.

Mr. Wilfried Porth: I really believe there is no other solution than to tackle it and we need to find the right policies and politics to do so. And what happened the last days I think it's the first step into the right direction. We need to find a common vision and how to tackle. But we cannot build a wall around Europe and think that some--we can find the solution this way. That we isolate ourselves. And this is why it rather be offensively we'll find solutions which will be different solutions for different countries because we are in different economic situations. And maybe the people we need in our labor market are very different than the ones that Portugal will need or Bulgaria or whatever country. So we need to find a common vision with flexible solutions for each of the European countries. But we need to find solutions.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Go ahead.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: Listen I believe it's extremely important question because in a certain way you have three crisis. You have the Euro zone. You have the refugee and you have Ukraine and Russia. And in certain way for different countries one of them is the shape in Guam. And when I say Germany it was not simply a joke because I can imagine that for Mr. Schauble the biggest problem with the refugees is not that they're coming. But basically this is going to be much more difficult to defend, rigidity of the fiscal system. The problem is that they're going to be a tradeoff and this tradeoff between the three crisis is

mind you it's going to remake your Europeans on the way. To the moment we are just betting on rigidity. On all three we're going to say, "Stay the course." Fiscal stability, stay. Yes, but (inaudible) governments from the south and they're going to push for revision. The same is with the refugees. Stay. Resettlement and of course we're saying we are not so bad as you believe and of course some of our western colleagues are helping us because it was not said to Europeans that they invented this Denmark idea of taking the jewels from the people. So we can have competition and nastiness all over. My idea is that in a certain way it goes with a much more simple message. European Union in the way we know it is not going to be able to deal with these three crisis at the same time. This is very much about the remaking of the European Union. And this is why just going crisis by crisis and believing that we should respond to each of them, for example there was idea, we need a common European response.

Okay. Turkey and Germany, this was interesting story exactly because we failed was the common European response. Germany take the initiative. Got the leadership on this. Simply managed to Europeanize it to the extent that now the relations with Turkey are there. But this is the reality. For the moment we have been betting on rigidity. I'm very much afraid, unlike the colleagues here who are most of them experts on integration and experts on disintegration, I know how things collapse. I was doing the collapse of the Soviet Union. I mean professional Yugoslavia. But I know that things collapse very easily. And I know that in these choices, betting on rigidity is wrong. You need flexibility.

You have kind of a different room for maneuvering for individual countries. The time which going to take to the Bulgarians to do with the refugee issue in general probably is going to be different than one which is going to be needed for I don't know whom, the Swedes. As a result of it, how do you push much more flexibility in the system without reducing the system and destroying system is what in my view is the major challenge. And this is why I do believe it's properly normal to see how the fiscal softening is possible and under what kind of conditions and how this is going to work.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Please go ahead. One question right here.

Jula Selem: Thank you very much. My name is Jula Selem. I'm a member of Parliament in Hungary and my government led by Victor Urban is running an anti-immigrant campaign on government mainly since August continually which is very highly rewarding for him. He grew 8 percent of popularity in the last couple of months. And we saw that in Slovakia, in Poland, the anti-immigrant propaganda campaign was very rewarding. In this panel and in this forum we are discussing how European countries should change their mind and prepare for a new world with a different reality where the international environment is completely different and that we have to adapt.

Well, at the same time in our countries this negative spiral and closing down is a very strong reality. So I wonder what do you think where can be a breakthrough in these societies where no one wants to discuss difficult international situations? No one wants to hear about foreigners, refugees, whoever they are. So I don't really see--and of course a reality speak does not really work in the political arena. So I'm very curious for your answer.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Anyone you would like to answer in particular?

Jula Selem: Well, obviously the central Europeans would be welcomed. Thank you.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Okay, I'm not a member of Parliament. I'm not a member of government. So it is difficult for me. I'm just a diplomat. But what I feel is that we can see to some extent more openly some trends which are in many countries all over Europe. But we can see them more openly in our countries. That what you speak about anti-migrant and so on. It is not so rewarding though, as we have seen in Slovakia because people can turn to tally extremist parties. So each and every country is different. It's not that we should grab as a block and every--each and every country is like this. You can have something in Finland different and so on.

Mr. Max Hofmann: What is your path for work?

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: Well, I have totally out of the box idea but please take it as if someone would come from Mars and not from my own position. I believe that we should work on European integration and all that we don't understand each other. Even if we in fact are Europeans and E.U. citizens and that we do not understand that we are. We have to travel outside Europe to understand that we are Europeans. It's also to some extent our fault. And we could see on the example of India or the United States that people from outside integrate much easier there because they are able to be very diverse and still be--have this positiveness.

And build on this myth and they are integrated through several things. Not too many which make them proud Americans or proud Indians. And--but it was not for free. You have to educate people since very little. You have to have the set of values and myths positiveness and put it. I don't know if our children in Europe know about the fact that they have blue flag with yellow stars and the president of European Union.

But they now own it that they have president of their own country. And they learn, I don't know when, that they have also another president and before we--when we still teach them the 19th century nationals stretch, we will not come out of this. So as somebody who looks at European Union from outside of European Union, where I spent quite some time of my diplomatic life. I must say that I like the E.U. integration and a little more of European is in our education.

Mr. Max Hofmann: So integration, education. You said flexibility. Anything you would like to add?

Mr. Ivan Krastev: Yes I want. First of all talking about marks I'm sure that it's basically a candidate country these days. But I want to make one point because of course when we talk central and Eastern Europe you have this old dreary joke that comes of a husband who sent a telegram, "Start worrying. Full stop details to follow." And obviously there is a political trend. But do you know what is important in politics? In politics, works only what divides.

Unfortunately central and eastern Europe is so unified in its anti-refugee sentiment that it cannot work politically. What divides works and from this point the Hungarian case is very important. For Mr. Urban to stay in power two things are important. One is probably anti-refugee rhetoric. But it's very important E.U. funds. So you can basically try to destabilize the European Union but not the extent that it's not going to perform. And don't forget Bulgarian economy is one of the most open, 90 percent is coming from several German companies. So from this point of view I don't believe that this type of a strong populism based simply on anti-refugee is going to work for too long because everybody's on the train and this is the Slovak example. In Slovakia basically Mr. Fixal betted to keep the government parties to adopt this is going to get the majority. He adopted I and disappeared because everybody was there. You have a competition and the opposition is always going to outvote you in (inaudible) because they're not in office. So from this point of view, probably, we're going to have a sudden shift. You're already seeing this type of a much more pragmatism. This does not solve much bigger problem to which you talk. I don't believe that we are going to see much more cooperation on the level of policies but what we are doing with societies which believes that they are victim of globalization, which perceive that we should defend ourselves--and by the way, as a result of this crisis, the level of mistrust between E.U. member state is very high. And this is a reality which came of this crisis that should not be underestimate.

Mr. Max Hofmann: You wanted to say something? You want to add something, right?

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: I want to add one point. I think it's difficult enough to transform a society so that it sees diversity as a positive and not a threat. But I think the additional difficulty that we have now is the politics of fear generated by terrorism. I've seen in the United States how the post 9/11 world was changed by 9/11 and by the reaction at the time of the Bush Administration to 9/11. And I don't think you would have the Trump phenomenon if there was not--if there had not been terrorist actions. And I find it really depressing to see that in Europe, the reaction to terrorist actions is very similar to the one that we saw in the United States, and that has been very destructive.

The governments have to tell their people that, yes, they have to fight terrorism. Yes, they have to strengthen their intelligence capacities in a variety of things to stop terrorism. But to present it as the

strategic threat is deeply wrong. It's a strategic threat only insofar as it divides our societies. As such, it's a horrible thing but it's not a strategic threat.

But if the public discourse is allowed to go that way, we're going to have more and more difficulties to have a rational approach to movements of population around the world.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: And one more thing. Maybe just this one sentence. The fate of (inaudible) America was going to be critical for this debate. If she survives politically on the base of what she's doing, you can understand that basically taking a position which at a certain moment was vulnerable can pay back. And I do believe this is why, in a certain way, her political fact, which is going to be decided by the general voters (inaudible) is going to have the most important political impact on this crisis.

Mr. Max Hofmann: The impression we have often in the German media corps in Brussels is that (inaudible) has already changed her position, she's just not saying it.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: No, listen, that's not true. And I'm going to say in a certain way, what if (inaudible) changed her position? First of all, the only way--I was listening to people saying why she said this and that. Can you imagine that we start these negotiations with Turkey under the conditions that we didn't get anybody? How we can negotiate with anybody without basically having one million in Europe? So from this point of view, the very possibility of Europe to negotiate with other countries about what they're going to do is due to the fact that she created a certain type of a political crisis making, to the outside world, important to understand what is happening to us.

Because in the United States, it's very difficult to explain why the refugee crisis is so big. They said, "Come on, what are you talking about? It's less than one percent of the population of the European Union. This is jokes." So from this point of view, I do believe she's going to change her position. Probably she's going more pragmatic here and there. It's politics. What she didn't change is that we cannot simply close ourselves. She's not in the business of basically removing the Berlin Wall or another type of a front here. If she survives, this is going to be a very strong message to everybody.

And I do believe, for example, for countries like ours on the periphery, this is critically important because people don't realize to what extent German influence in places like Bulgaria or Serbia or Albania is very much based on her personal popularity and relations with certain political leaders.

So you can end up with a situation which is--if there is going to be a post (inaudible) European Union is going to be a totally different animal.

Mr. Max Hofmann: I think, just one sentence, you can take the if away.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: Yeah, she rules (inaudible).

Mr. Max Hofmann: We've had a question for a long time up there. Go ahead.

Mr. Thanos Dokos: Thank you. Thanos Dokos from ELIAMEP, a think-tank based in Athens. It was mentioned in this panel and the previous that migration is here to stay. It's a long-term problem for Europe, well beyond the end of the Syrian Crisis, whenever that may take place.

And protection of external borders is part of the answer, but integration is perhaps as much, if not more important.

Now, there was an almost jubilant mood in Germany and other places, and that began to change, I think, for three reasons. One was the actual numbers of people that kept coming in. The second was the terrorist attacks in Paris in November. And the third was the sexual attacks in Cologne at the end of the year. And in both cases, these were not committed by newcomers but by citizens of France and Belgium but also people in Germany for some time.

So the question is, what do we need to change in our integration policies? What have we been doing wrong and is there any--

Mr. Max Hofmann: Anyone in particular you'd like just to answer?

Mr. Thanos Dokos: Well (inaudible) first but anyone else.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Well, we've already heard remove red tape from (inaudible) anyone else who would like to add something here?

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: Well, it's clear that the second generation migrants from the Maghreb in France. Their integration has been--it's a massive failure. And I think that is linked to a variety of factors. To a stagnant economy for a number of years with little prospects, that's the macroeconomic that we were discussing earlier, and also structural reforms in France. That's one thing.

Then there is the urban planning. There was a massive building boom with cities which are not cities in the suburbs of Paris and other big French cities. And clearly, that is the worst way to integrate people. So it's a lot of a mix of broader policies and micro policies that can deal with the issue. I think it's quite doable. You see examples, including in France, of very successful integration but clearly, there is a fringe of the population that has not been integrated. Now, there's a belated recognition that this needs to be taken seriously. It has to do also with the way France has to decentralize more so that there is more initiative at the local levels. It's a variety of things.

The lack of integration is always a symptom of a society that's not really working.

Mr. Max Hofmann: But if I may add, everybody is familiar with the problem of the Front National in France which leads the conservatives and the socialists who always have to work together in the end,

which they're not designed to do. And you're seeing similar phenomenon in Germany, for example. Now, in order to have a grand coalition that's already a pretty big deal, they're not supposed to--designed to have that. So you have this problem through many European countries where, in order to counter the right or the populace movements, you need to join big parties together, which, in return, reduces their base. How do you address that? Because it's obviously something that hinders integration.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: Listen, there are two countries which are very interesting to observe. One is Spain. Huge number of migrants as a proportion of, basically, the population. Secondly, the country that went through a major terrorist attack. And now, if you go on the opinion polls, this is one of the most tolerant countries with such high level of youth unemployment.

So obviously, from this point of view, it's not simply this and that. It's also constellations, how we are making this and, by the way, with a very strong protest vote but of course, their protest vote was much more an economic issue than identity politics.

By the way, Greece managed to integrate almost one million Albanians over 20 years. Twenty-five years ago, nobody was going to believe it. Muslims were not famous in the vote, consistently working with each other. So I'm saying that it is the political process. I am very much against the [audio gap 05:39:19 - 05:39:20] but when I say American phenomenon, we are not voting. So from this point of view, this is not an election campaign.

But the worse what can happen is for people to believe that the position which we have now is indefensible, politically. Because this is what happened in Central Europe in the beginning of the refugees. You have a series of political leaders who give the public opinion polls. They said, "Listen, it's either refugees or me." And on this choice, you're not always very clear.

I do believe now when it starts to be much more complicated. And your point about Germany is very important, but it could be also very positive. Germany used to have one major problem with Europe before. Your political system has nothing to do with ours. You were too normal. You were too good. No populist in the parliament. Media is still trusted. Nobody tried to basically hate the big business too much. So you didn't know how we live. So now you're welcome in the real world.

Mr. Max Hofmann: (Inaudible) you're fine.

Ms. Irena Krasnicka: I would just like to say that we shouldn't so easily bind terrorism and migration. That this would be a big mistake and we would overlook the real threats which we might have. And that is the fact that, okay, it's true that some part of societies were less integrated or more, but the people who made these attacks were not people from traditional Muslim families. Not tradition. Those were people who were like normal youth. And we can expect also people from non-Muslim origin to even converge to

become supporters of Islamic State. And 20 years ago, they would be in Red Brigades. This is simply a protest. A protest and we have, in Europe, those generation feeling in some parts of--amongst some parts of young societies. And this is what we should address.

So it is not only about some--an integrated people who can--second generation, no. No. There is some signal, I can't tell you what exactly, but we should really concentrate on this. These are signals about a kind of problem with part of European youth. So this is just my--

Mr. Ivan Krastev: So we should transform the red hats in green.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Brigade.

Mr. Ivan Krastev: I mean, from the red (inaudible) to the green parties.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Well, that has happened in--some would argue that has happened in Baader-Meinhof. Anyway, can we get one reply from Mr. Guehenno, then time for one more question?

Mr. Jean-Marie Guehenno: I completely agree with that. And actually, it's interesting to see how a significant percentage of foreign fighters in France are French-Catholic who convert to Islam because for them, it is the equivalent, as you say, of the Red Brigade or the Baader-Meinhof of yesterday. And the problem of integration is the problem of integration of an unemployed youth of which significant numbers are second-generation migrants but also a number of younger French people, the Sush (sp?) as the French extreme right would say.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Our last question of the day. Madam.

Ms. Sonja Licht: Sonja Licht, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence. Ivan Krastev mentioned the Roma and I don't think we should leave these alone without mentioning the largest European minority, that unfortunately Europe, until now, the E.U. and those in the vicinity have failed to integrate. The Roma are also the group of people who are very reluctantly recognized as victims of holocaust. So, for example, Mr. Yonker has an envoy now for anti-Semitism and it is being promised that in a next stage, there will be also an envoy for Antiziganism.

I am very worried and I know I'm not alone that in this topic that we are discussing now, the refugees in Europe, the Roma might become collateral damage because they are hastily now being sent out of Germany and other countries, for example, back to West Balkan.

I would like to hear Ivan's opinion about it. Are they going to be a collateral damage of a new process?

Mr. Ivan Krastev: At least in my view, this is quite important because this is the integration experience that most of the central European societies--by the way, Czech Republic being one, Bulgaria being the other, Romania have, in practice. And we failed to integrate. Some money was put, European Union was

making priorities, we have decades of the Roma. It didn't work. You have not simply a high level of unemployed people, we have unemployable people.

And when you basically see all these foreigners coming to your border, you said, "Oh, another Roma." And I do believe this is quite important because here it's not so much a cultural issue. These people have been living in our countries forever. They speak the language but you have the failure of educational system, you have the weakness of the state institutions. And this is one of the interesting things that I do believe makes eastern Europe different than Western Europe. In places like Germany or Sweden, even when people are critical, they basically trust the institutions that you can do it. Unfortunately, our idea is that we look at our institutions and we said, "Okay. Probably it's not the problem of these people, but we cannot do it." Our institutions didn't show effectiveness for the last years that they can do things like this.

Mr. Max Hofmann: Okay. Well, that wraps it up. Thank you very much for coming, for the discussion. Thank you very much for being here, as well. I think it's time for lunch now.