

Crises, migration, national security...

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The University of Public Services organized a very interesting and actual conference on May 6, 2015 under the title „The United Nations in a turbulent world - 70 years in building peace and security. I had the pleasure for being also invited to deliver a lecture about the burden sharing and collaboration with regional organizations, namely with the African Union. The subject of this lecture – naturally – couldn't have been other than the crisis situations in Africa, the peace-keeping and the numerous consequences the whole world has to face. Definitely, the bloody crises in different parts of Africa and the Arab World have a direct link to the national security, the economic, political and social environment of Europe. Europe witnesses the most serious impacts of the crisis migration from the conflict zones.

At the same time all we see that the situation in the Mediterranean is a tragedy. It is an utmost responsibility of – mostly – the European countries to prevent further loss of life at sea and to tackle the root causes of the human emergency that we face, in cooperation with the countries of origin and transit.

Since the beginning of 2015, more than 35,000 refugees and migrants have crossed the Mediterranean Sea -- 23,500 have landed in Italy and more than 12,000 in Greece, according to the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights. While those numbers sound high, they were even higher the previous year. In 2014, approximately 219,000 refugees and migrants sailed across the Mediterranean, with most having to be rescued by the Italian Navy, Coast Guard or merchant ships, the UNCHR said. It is estimated that 3,500 people in 2014 died at sea. It is now feared that the 2014 total migrant deaths may be surpassed this year in a matter of weeks.

The European Council held its special meeting on April 23, 2015. Donald Tusk, the President of the EC underlined: “Europe did not cause this tragedy. But that does not mean we can be indifferent. We are facing a difficult summer and we need to be ready to act”.¹ The European leaders agreed that they need to limit irregular migration flows and to discourage people from putting their lives at risk. This means better co-operation with the countries of origin and transit,

¹ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/04/23-final-remarks-tusk-european-council-migration/>

especially the countries around Libya. Europe will do more on refugee protection. The European Union will help front-line Member States under pressure and co-ordinate the resettlement of more people to Europe on a voluntary basis, and with an option for emergency relocation. For those who do not qualify as refugees, we will operate an effective returns policy.²

Of course there is no chance for illusions that this international human emergency could be solved quickly. We already witness that there is a great difference in the position of the various EU-member countries concerning the migration issues. Minister of State for EU Affairs Szabolcs Takács has said – in an interview published at the Prime Minister’s Office’s website - that in Hungary’s opinion a distinction should be made between immigrants and refugees; furthermore, Hungary rejects the quota system proposed by the European Commission, and in this respect it is not alone among EU Member States.

According to the Hungarian position the issue of immigration is a complex one. It is clear that European countries have certain moral and humanitarian obligations towards those entitled to political refugee status. Hungary has to and wants to comply with these obligations. It is also clear that a European crisis management is needed where the special situations of individual Member States must be taken into consideration. Hungary is one of those countries which think that a distinction should be made between immigrants and refugees: those entitled to political refugee status must be given international protection and all assistance necessary, especially if their lives are threatened. However, all available methods should be used to restrict immigration which aims to abuse European policies; migration for economic reasons must be subject to different considerations.³ So, the migration and refugee issue will be a long and complicated discussion in the EU. But, we have to come back to the University of Public Services` conference. I have stated there that although the number of conflicts on the African continent has declined compared to the 1990s, the post-colonial African state continues to be prone to violent clashes, which often results in complex emergency situations. I am sure that Africa will in the short to medium term continue to experience violent conflicts which tend to be complicated and give rise to the said complex emergency situations. That is what we all witness presently, too. Since 1990, about 44 percent of the United Nations Security Council meetings have dealt with situations in Africa. From 1990 to 2015, the Council mandated 27 operations in Africa.

² <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/04/23-special-euco-statement/>

³ <http://www.kormany.hu/hu/miniszterelnokseg/europai-unios-ugyekert-felelos-allamtitkar/hirek/magyarorszag-nem-log-ki-az-unios-tagallamok-kozul-a-bevanderolasrol-szolo-nezetevel>

Cooperation between the African Union and UN on peace operations has been ad hoc and turbulent. The AU's mission in Sudan (AMIS) struggled mightily, and was eventually replaced by the AU-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) in 2008. More recently, the AU-led intervention in the Central African Republic, known by the acronym MISCA, was succeeded last September by a UN mission, MINUSCA. Because the AU has a higher tolerance for casualties than the UN, it's tempting to contemplate a sequential model, whereby a robust initial AU intervention force yields to a longer-term peacekeeping operation.

The longest-running and largest AU operation to date has been the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). AMISOM has succeeded at heavy cost in clearing al-Shabab from Mogadishu and other parts of the country. These achievements would have been impossible, however, without the logistical support provided by the UN Support Office for AMISOM (UNSOA), established in 2009, and most importantly, an unprecedented decision by the UN Security Council (UNSC) to support AMISOM with assessed UN peacekeeping contributions. Going forward, the AU-UN partnership needs to shift to more regularized cooperation. A sounder strategic as well as financial footing should be created.

Today, complex conflicts — involving extremism, transnational crime, and asymmetrical tactics — require the AU, sub-regional bodies and the UN, together with partners such as the EU, to field robust, agile and decisive operations based on an integrated system of response among multiple actors. They should also invest greater effort in prevention, as the best means of effective conflict management is for conflicts not to break out. Deploying troops may sometimes be important to avert a crisis, but this can only be a temporary measure and cannot replace the essential need to focus more on governance, development, institution-building and appropriate management of natural resources to enable sustained peace.

So, we have already stated that African crises result in complex emergency situations. And these situations need a response mechanism. But the implication is not just that there is a need for a response mechanism, but rather that the nature and effect of these conflicts necessitate the development of a mechanism that is capable of deploying effective responses to contain and eventually address these situations. This mechanism should also be flexible enough to handle different kinds of situations. If the mechanism is also to be effective in preventing host societies from relapsing back to conflicts, it should not stop short of addressing the factors that triggered the conflict. It needs to engage the underlying political and socio-economic factors. The nature of African conflicts is such that conflict management should go beyond silencing the guns and also involve peace-building and reconstruction activities covering the whole range of political, economic, humanitarian, human rights and security issues that led to and were occasioned by the conflict. The very roots of the crises should be tre-

ated first of all. Otherwise, all the conflicts will be only temporarily solved and always new and new problems will arise. The conflicts' implications on European national security, political, economic and social issues will be more and more present on the agenda of the daily considerations in our lives.

When talking about complex approach to solutions to crises we should take into consideration the issue of development aid, population growth, economy, education, health-care. These issues lay in the roots of the problems. If they are not properly taken care, no real chance for the improvement of the situation. Africa faces a major population explosion in the near future. An unprecedented projected increase in Africa's child population size is going to be a reality. According to different estimates over the next 35 years, almost two billion babies will be born in Africa. The continent's population will double in size and its under-18 population will increase by two-thirds to reach almost a billion children. Projections indicate that by 2050, around 40 per cent of all births, and about 40 per cent of all children, will be in Africa, up from about 10 per cent in 1950. By investing in children now – in their health, education and protection – Africa together with the help of the international community could realize the economic benefits experienced previously in other regions and countries that have undergone similar demographic shifts. However, if investment in Africa's children is not prioritized, the continent will not be able to take full advantage of its demographic transition in the coming decades. Without equitable and inclusive policies, the pace of population growth could potentially undermine attempts to eradicate poverty and increase disparities. The contemporary population situation in many African countries contribute to or detract from their chances of realizing the goals of development, not only for the current generation but also for the future generations.

The costs of rapid population growth are cumulative: food supplies and agricultural production must be greatly increased to meet the needs of a rapidly growing population, this limits the allocation of resources to other economic and social sectors, The rapid increase in population means that there will be an increase in the dependency ratio. This implies that the states will have to allocate increasing resources to feed, clothe, house, health and educate the useful component of the population which consumes but does not produce goods and services. A rapidly growing population has serious implications for the provision of productive employment. The number of people seeking employment increases more rapidly than the number of available jobs. This kind of situation. poses a menacing problem for society The large proportions of young people, particularly those unemployed or have little hope for a satisfactory future, might form disruptive and potentially explosive political force. So, the rapid population

growth rates also have ramifications for political and social conflicts among different ethnic, religious, linguistic and social groups.

A major issue for the future lies in the interrelation between population and education. It was already noted by plenty of researchers that the fertility rate is negatively correlated with the number of girls registered in primary school showing that education of women is a crucial element in the explanation of the fertility tendency observed in African countries and accordingly constitutes an important factor of the relation between demographic growth and development. The African countries with lower fertility are the countries where the girls' enrollment in primary schools are higher, and as a result of the education the use of contraceptives is also higher. Therefore increase of general education of the population specially for girls and favorable socio-economic situation constitute the important elements in the use of contraception, family planning, consequently control of the fertility and better quality of life. Every country should have the responsibilities to tackle prevailing population problems according to its development policy based on the local cultural, religious, political, ethnic and demographic diversity.

So, complex emergency situations require a complex approach. 2015 is the time for global action. 2015 presents a historic and unprecedented opportunity to bring the countries and citizens of the world together to decide and embark on new paths to improve the lives of people everywhere. These decisions will determine the global course of action to end poverty, promote prosperity and well-being for all, protect the environment and address climate change. In 2015, countries have the opportunity to adopt a new sustainable development agenda and reach a global agreement on climate change. The actions taken in 2015 are expected to result in new sustainable development goals that build on the eight Millennium Development Goals. The UN is working with governments, civil society and other partners to build on the momentum generated by the MDGs and carry on with an ambitious post-2015 development agenda.

It is still a long way to go. The African crises, the tragic situation, the migration risks, their challenges for the European national security will still be long on the top of the political agenda. While hoping for the better, and looking for a common and joint action of all countries of the world, including of course those of Africa, we should concentrate at our neighborhood and the implications of these problems here. Therefore, the European Union's approach, the ongoing discussion on migration should be taken very seriously. The statement agreed upon by the European leaders at their April 23 meeting contained among others the reinforcement of internal solidarity and responsibility. This is a crucial point. A rapid and full transposition and effective implementation of the Common European

Asylum System by all participating Member States is needed, thereby ensuring common European standards under existing legislation.⁴ To prevent illegal migration flows is not only to increase support to Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Sudan, Mali and Niger among others, to monitor and control the land borders and routes, but to step up dialogue with the African Union at all levels. The EU should reinforce the political cooperation with African partners in order to tackle the cause of illegal migration and combat the smuggling and trafficking of human beings. A proposed European Union – African Union summit with other key countries involved in the coming months in Malta will be very much helpful. Though I have personally participated at the last EU-AU summit last May in Brussels and witnessed how difficult is to reach any consensus or common understanding between the countries of the two continents, still I think that now there must be a hope to find the mutual interests of our mutual future. Of course, in the meantime – as the EU statement defined it – there is a need “to mobilise all tools, including through development cooperation and the implementation of EU and national readmission agreements with third countries, to promote readmission of unauthorised economic migrants to countries of origin and transit, working closely with the International Organisation for Migration, and while respecting the right to seek asylum, set up a new return programme for the rapid return of illegal migrants from frontline Member States”.

⁴ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/04/23-special-euco-statement/>