

per Concordiam

Journal of European Security and Defense Issues

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A unified approach is needed

■ MARITIME SECURITY QUESTIONS

Making sense of international law

■ INTEGRATING DISPLACED PEOPLE

Education and employment are key

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GEORGE C. MARSHALL
EUROPEAN CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

Welcome to the 32nd issue of *per Concordiam*. In this edition, we revisit the topic of human migration and its impact on national security. Migration that takes place outside the norms and procedures established by states to manage the orderly flow of travelers is a growing trend in international migration and has become a serious security concern across the globe. Many people understandably leave countries mired in conflict, dire economic conditions, or high unemployment to seek safety, work, and better living conditions. The challenge for most countries is to identify and implement security-minded but practical and humane responses to these nonconforming migration flows.

Migration and security are global challenges that no one country can solve on its own. In our “Viewpoint” article, Florian Hahn notes that migration has been a challenge for Germany’s internal domestic policies as well as its foreign and security policies. The strategy most likely to succeed in successfully managing this challenge will require a sensible mix of national, European, and global policies. Katharina Lumpf’s article looks to identify steps that the international community must take in order to mitigate the root causes of mass migration and discusses how the international community can best deal with both the causes and consequences of migration crises. Martin Hofmann argues that most refugees (and many other irregular migrants) will remain in host countries for years, therefore we must critically assess the challenges associated with attempting to integrate migrants into society over the long term and to identify best practices in this area.

Lt. Col. Michael Hagan sees the issue as a one of capacity, where evolving global demographic shifts caused by rapid population growth and urbanization in the developing world are exceeding the developing world’s carrying capacity, thereby increasing both controlled and uncontrolled international migration. These factors are likely to strain the resources and resilience of all states, yet no single state or international entity is responsible for global population management. Finally, Melina Lito examines the responsibility under international law to protect migrants and refugees rescued at sea. She concludes that while the legal and policy discourse is overwhelmed with discussions about the legal protections of migrants and refugees within the contexts of land borders as well as security and counterterrorism policies, not much attention has gone into maritime migration and relevant maritime security considerations.

The Marshall Center recognizes that the challenges posed by migration will require the development of complex solutions involving many actors from all segments of society throughout Europe. I hope this issue increases dialogue on this complicated but important topic. As always, we at the Marshall Center welcome comments and perspective on these topics and will include your responses in future editions. Please feel free to contact us at editor@perconcordiam.org

Sincerely,

Keith W. Dayton
Director



Keith W. Dayton

Director, George C. Marshall
European Center for Security Studies

Keith W. Dayton retired as a Lieutenant General from the U.S. Army in late 2010 after more than 40 years of service. His last assignment on active duty was as U.S. Security Coordinator to Israel and the Palestinian Authority in Jerusalem. An artillery officer by training, he also has served as politico-military staff officer for the Army in Washington, D.C., and U.S. defense attaché in Russia. He worked as director of the Iraqi Survey Group for Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq. He earned a Senior Service College Fellowship to Harvard University and served as the Senior Army Fellow on the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Gen. Dayton has a bachelor’s degree in history from the College of William and Mary, a master’s degree in history from Cambridge University and another in international relations from the University of Southern California.



Lt. Col. Michael Hagan serves in the Strategic Plans and Programs Division, Headquarters, U.S. Air Forces in Europe and Africa. He was a U.S. Air Force senior fellow at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies.



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Martin Hofmann is a migration expert and key advisor to the director general of the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD). He has coordinated ICMPD's programs on legal migration and integration and organized projects related to migration, migration management and integration. His research has produced comparative studies and publications on immigration, integration, irregular migration, human smuggling, asylum and migration policy development in European and global contexts.



Melina Lito is an international human rights attorney with experience in international security, conflict prevention and United States-based immigration law. She has provided strategic guidance to nongovernmental organizations and government stakeholders, and is an expert on nuclear and conventional disarmament, gender issues related to peace and security, genocide prevention, and criminal accountability for sexual exploitation and abuse. Lito has been an advisor with the Permanent Mission of Albania to the United Nations, a legal advisor to the nonprofit Global Action to Prevent War, a teacher at the United Nations-mandated University of Peace, and the founder of an international law advisory and mediation firm specializing in human rights, humanitarian law and international security issues.



Katharina Lumppp is the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Germany. After studying law in Germany, she worked for the UNHCR in Brussels, Belgium, and in Bonn, Germany, followed by assignments in Afghanistan and at the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva. From 2006 to 2014, she was a UNHCR deputy regional representative in Egypt and at the regional office for Southern Europe. In 2014, she headed the Department of International Protection in the UNHCR office for North Africa and the Middle East, before moving to her current position in December 2015. Lumppp has been deployed to emergency operations in Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kosovo and Macedonia, among others.



Demetrios G. Papademetriou is a senior fellow at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), which he co-founded and led as president for its first 13 years. A member of the MPI board of trustees, he is also president of Migration Policy Institute Europe, a nonprofit, independent research institute in Brussels that aims to promote a better understanding of migration trends and effects within Europe. He holds a Ph.D. in comparative public policy and international relations from the University of Maryland and has taught at the universities of Maryland, Duke, American, and New School for Social Research.

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Migration

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The George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies is a German-American partnership founded in 1993. The center promotes dialogue and understanding between European, Eurasian, North American and other nations. The theme of its resident courses and outreach events: Most 21st century security challenges require international, interagency and interdisciplinary response and cooperation.

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New Challenges for **GERMANY**

Meeting the demands of mass migration will take unity across the EU and beyond

By **FLORIAN HAHN**

Migration has been a challenge for Germany on the domestic, security and foreign policy fronts. Migration and security are global challenges that no country can meet on its own. Opting for either a strictly national approach or, in contrast, relying only on global or European solutions will not solve the problem. The strategy most likely to succeed is a sensible mix of national policies and global or European policies. The refugee crisis, with all its consequences, became a litmus test for Europe in the summer of 2015, and it can only be solved at a European level. A coherent response by all European countries is required to find acceptable long-term solutions. A strong Europe is needed — because only a strong Europe can meet the challenges of migration and provide for its security.

The crisis

In late summer 2015, Germany was faced with an unprecedented situation of extreme urgency: Every day up to 8,000 people crossed the Bavarian border. Gyms were turned into reception centers. The Bundeswehr offered shelter in its barracks and provided support. When the wave of refugees reached its peak, more than 9,000 soldiers and thousands of volunteers were there to help.

Much was accomplished, but many things went wrong. Not all of the people who entered Germany were identified because there were no controls. Many municipalities and federal states were overwhelmed and left to their own devices. In some places, refugees in emergency shelters outnumbered the town's population. The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees was not prepared for this onslaught and mistakes were made, such as the case of Franco A., who was admitted under the pretext of being a Syrian refugee, although he did not speak a word of Arabic.



A Somali girl climbs from a compartment under a railway car in Raubling, Germany, after being discovered during a police search for illegal migrants.

AFF/GETTY IMAGES

The Bavarian government reacted quickly and presented a package of measures to de-escalate the situation. It was agreed that such a situation should and would never happen again. Two primary goals became the focus: citizens' security, and effective controls on the number of refugees. The introduction of border controls inside the European Union was a first important step in re-establishing a certain order. One thing is absolutely certain: A state should know who is on its territory. This is a sovereign duty that a state cannot give up. If this duty is delegated, as Germany delegated it to the EU, the borders must still be kept secure. Securing Europe's external



Two women visit a job fair for migrants and refugees in Berlin, Germany. REUTERS



Syrian refugees participate in a training program in Ingolstadt, Germany, aimed at helping them find construction jobs. AFP/GETTY IMAGES

that drastically tightened asylum legislation, the biggest change in asylum legislation since the 1990s. Deportation laws were also tightened, and more countries were defined as safe countries of origin.

borders also implies that the state — not the human traffickers — decides who may come to Europe.

During the 2015 crisis, the future of a Europe without borders was at stake. Now the question that needs to be asked is whether the internal borders within the Schengen area can be kept open. At the moment, Europe's external borders remain porous. To abandon border controls now would send the wrong signals. Guaranteeing security should be the top priority. As long as the EU's external borders are not secure, border controls will have to continue.

Germany has vastly increased the staff of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, which happened more quickly than changes in other government agencies, and the federal states and municipalities now receive much more financial support. Two laws were swiftly passed

European approach

Germany has paved the way for coping with migration. But now is not the time to sit idle. Now is the time to implement a limit on refugees per year. Reception capacities are limited and only a certain number of people can be successfully integrated at one time; therefore, those seeking refuge in Germany from war and oppression would also benefit from a limit.

Asylum procedures must also be expedited. Rejected asylum-seekers need to be deported more quickly. Transit zones need to be established on the border. Procedures are needed to differentiate at the earliest possible stage between people who need protection and those who do not. It is simply wrong to let everybody in and let them stay for several months, only to find out that they do

not qualify for asylum status and need to be sent back at great expense and effort. To allow for careful and fair examination of asylum applications and, where appropriate, repatriation, asylum procedures must be bundled and processed as quickly as possible for all newly arriving asylum-seekers in decision-making and repatriation centers. They could be returned directly from these facilities when an application is rejected. Even the much-discussed family reunification for subsidiary-protected asylum-seekers needs to remain suspended. We must include Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia on the list of safe countries of origin as soon as possible. The migrants from the Maghreb are mostly economic in nature and have no chance of successful asylum applications and, therefore, burden the asylum system unnecessarily.

Those are the tasks that can be solved at the national level. But coping with the refugee crisis in general requires an overall European approach. No country can do this on its own; joint and coherent action is required. Now it is Brussels' turn to reform European asylum legislation. What's needed, and needed fast, is a standardized asylum procedure and harmonized social standards for the entire EU. This is the only way to prevent big refugee rushes into certain target countries.

At the same time, internal border controls need to be extended. An important first step would be to upgrade Frontex and turn this agency into a European coast guard. The EU-Turkey agreement and the closing down of the Balkan route have made an impact. In addition, increased efforts are needed to stem the flow of migrants across the Mediterranean Sea and, in particular, from Libya. All of these efforts need to be maintained while insisting on joint European solutions. This is not only a matter of solidarity, but the only viable approach.

Things are improving. Despite the difficulties, Europe is making progress. The European Court of Justice has clearly rejected waving through migrants and confirmed applicable EU asylum law. The latest judgment of the court is an important step toward a regulated EU asylum policy. This judgment gives hope that things will change for the better.

Security first

Security is a subject that needs to be considered in a larger context. Providing security is, and has always been, the primary responsibility of the nation states that make up the EU. Promoting cross-border cooperation, pooling resources and improving the exchange of information are all needed. Information fragmentation increases vulnerability. Failing to act in time, such as the case of Anis Amri, who carried out a deadly attack on a Christmas market in Berlin in 2016, can have devastating consequences.

To better exchange information at the EU level, the Schengen information system has been adapted and renewed. It includes a system to register entry and exit. The work on creating a legal framework for cross-border

prosecution has started. And at the same time, the fight against the financing of terrorism has become more effective. In 2016, counterterrorism efforts were drastically increased. Nearly 7,500 federal police jobs were created. Funding is expected to increase by more than 2 billion euros by 2020. A counterterrorism unit was created to react to threats.

No doubt, the horrible Islamist terrorist attacks have changed people's sense of security in Europe. We need the European community as well as close ties with our traditional partners — above all, the United States — in the fight against Islamist fundamentalism. Therefore, Germany must fulfill its obligations to NATO. The Bundeswehr must continue its modernization process to meet future challenges. An investment and modernization offensive is required to increase the Armed Forces' capabilities and enable them to meet demands and requirements. Germany should adhere to its self-imposed commitment to NATO partners and significantly increase its medium- and long-term defense spending.

Root causes

When dealing with security and migration issues, it is important to look beyond conflicts and politics and consider the causes of the crises and migration waves that result from a lack of development. Even before the refugee crisis began, it was clear that the war in Syria and the lack of prospects for people in Africa were having a direct impact on Europe.

More effort is needed to fight the root causes of migration. Stagnation and lack of opportunities cause migration waves and the radicalization of young men. That means effective cooperation is needed to create prospects for development. This requires a further increase of the development budget. The target of 0.7 percent gross national product spent on development assistance has been met for just the first time. Now it must remain stable at this level in the coming years. A responsible and comprehensive approach to security policy will only be successful if the budgets for defense and development cooperation are increased simultaneously.

If Europeans don't solve the root problems, migrants will continue to come to Europe. It is in Europe's interest to prevent states from failing or collapsing. Instability leads to war, terror and migration. More must be invested in crisis prevention.

In times of global change and turmoil, challenges such as migration and terrorism provoke an epochal change in security policy and require Germany to take more responsibility in its trans-Atlantic and European partnerships. Germany and Europe are about to adapt their security policies. In this context, broad debate is needed to analyze, categorize and meet the global challenges.

Germany can only fulfill its responsibilities in close cooperation with its partners. Only a strong Europe can provide answers to the urgent questions of our time. Only a strong Europe can provide a solution to the problems relating to migration, security and development cooperation. □

SHARING the Responsibility

Refugee situations require international solutions

By Katharina Lumpp, representative of the United Nations
High Commissioner for Refugees in Germany

PHOTOS BY UNHCR

The thousands of refugees seeking protection in Europe during 2015 and 2016 brought renewed attention to their plight. Men, women and children on the move and in need of protection and assistance — familiar sights in Africa, Southwest Asia and the Middle East — were now arriving at Europe's borders.

Though large movements of refugees are often associated with other parts of the world, the phenomenon is part of Europe's history. Europe is where the global international system to protect refugees was first conceived and where the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was drafted in the wake of World War II. The convention is the foundation of the international refugee protection system and was born of a necessity to provide a principled response to refugee movements. Its drafters drew on principles embedded in cultural and religious traditions and enshrined them in international law.

One of the founding principles of the 1951 Convention is that refugees are an international, shared responsibility. Its preamble notes "that the grant of asylum may place unduly heavy burdens on certain countries, and that a satisfactory solution of a problem of which the United Nations has recognized the international scope and nature cannot therefore be achieved without international cooperation."

The need for international protection arises when people are outside their country and unable to return home without risking their safety. Risks that give rise to a need for international protection include persecution, threats to life, freedom or physical integrity arising from armed conflict, serious public disorder or other threats of violence. With record numbers of people uprooted and displaced as a result of such risks, the challenge lies in achieving the necessary international cooperation to equitably share the responsibility for protecting refugees.

Global Trends

Every year on June 20, World Refugee Day, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) publishes its report on the global trends of forced displacement. Over the past two decades, the global population of forcibly displaced people has grown substantially — to a staggering 65.6 million people in 2016 — and remains at a record high. During that year, 10.3 million people were newly displaced, equivalent to an average of 20 people displaced every minute of every day.

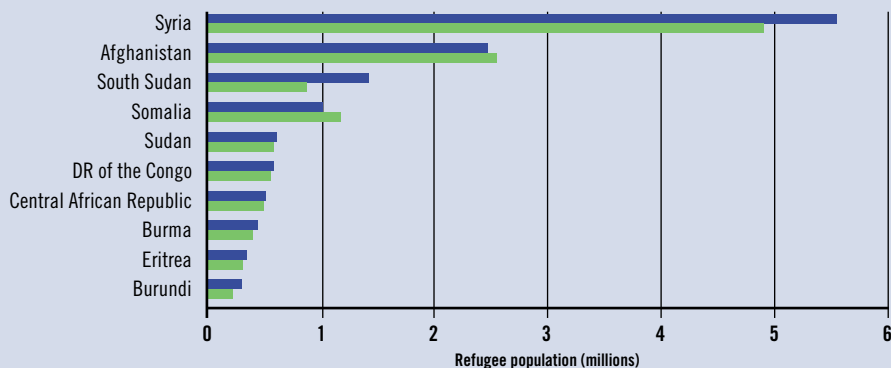
The majority did not cross international borders: Of the 65.6 million people forcibly displaced worldwide, an estimated 40.3 million were internally displaced within their own countries. Some 22.5 million people were refugees, including 17.2 million refugees under a UNHCR mandate, and 5.3 million Palestinian refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency. The global displacement figure also includes 2.8 million asylum-seekers waiting for a decision on their fate.

During 2016, 10.3 million people were newly displaced, the equivalent of 20 people displaced every minute of every day.

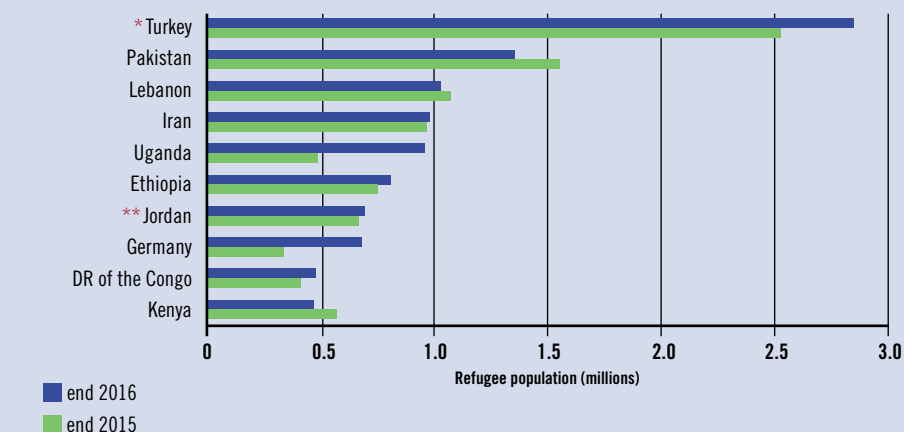




Major source countries of refugees



Major refugee-hosting countries



* REFUGEE FIGURE FOR SYRIANS IN TURKEY IS A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE.

** INCLUDES 33,100 IRAQI REFUGEES REGISTERED WITH UNHCR IN JORDAN. THE GOVERNMENT ESTIMATED THE NUMBER OF IRAQIS AT 400,000 AT THE END OF MARCH 2015. THIS INCLUDES REFUGEES AND OTHER CATEGORIES OF IRAQIS.

Sources: UNHCR, OCHA, Government Partners

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refugees lived in private or individual accommodations, as opposed to camps.

Refugee Situations

The main countries of origin of refugees, accounting for 79 percent of the global refugee population under UNHCR's mandate, are Afghanistan, Burma, Burundi, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Syria.

With more than half its population displaced internally or across international borders, Syria remained the main country of origin of refugees in 2016, with 5.5 million at the end of the year. While Syrian refugees were hosted by 123 countries on six continents, 87 percent remained in the countries neighboring Syria. Turkey hosted the most (2.5 million), while Lebanon (1 million), Jordan (648,800), Iraq (230,800) and Egypt (116,000) also hosted significant numbers.

Beyond the region, countries with large Syrian refugee populations included Germany (375,100) and

Sweden (96,900). With prospects remaining elusive for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, it is important to focus on supporting these refugees and the countries hosting them.

Refugees from Afghanistan comprised the second largest group by country of origin. At the end of 2016, there were 2.5 million Afghan refugees. Pakistan hosted the largest number (1.4 million), with Iran not far behind with 951,100. Afghanistan also experienced record levels of conflict-induced internal displacement during 2016. An estimated 623,200 Afghans were newly displaced that year, exceeding the number of newly displaced in 2015 and adding to an existing caseload of protracted displaced people estimated to total more than 1.2 million. Afghans were displaced from 31 of the country's 34 provinces.

But the fastest-growing displacement crisis is occurring in South Sudan. Armed conflict combined with economic stagnation, disease and food insecurity have plunged the world's youngest country into desperation. By the end of 2016, about 3.3 million South Sudanese had been forced from their homes. In total, about 12.9 million remain internally displaced and 1.4 million have fled to neighboring countries, with Uganda the top destination. One out of every four South Sudanese has been forcibly displaced.

Globally, 51 percent of the world's refugees are children, requiring dedicated and focused efforts to minimize the impact of forced displacement on them. The number of particularly vulnerable unaccompanied or separated children was also significant: an estimated 75,000 unaccompanied or separated children, mainly Afghans and Syrians, applied for asylum in 70 countries, a figure assumed to be an underestimate.

While attention largely focused on the movement of refugees and migrants across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe, a majority of today's refugees, an estimated 84 percent (about 14.5 million people) remain in developing regions. This includes Cameroon, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda, all of which are providing asylum to a growing proportion (28 percent) of global refugees.

By the end of 2016 some 60 percent of refugees were living in urban areas and not in refugee camps or settlements, according to the UNHCR. This highlights the increasingly urban nature of the refugee population and the growing need to support those communities and countries hosting refugees. In particular, the Syrian refugee situation was characterized by a very large urban refugee population: 90 percent of Syrian

In Uganda, the refugee population increased more than threefold to 639,000 during 2016 and continues to grow. Over a 12-month period beginning in the middle of 2016, an average of 1,800 South Sudanese arrived in Uganda every day. By August 2017, the total had reached 1 million. In addition, 1 million or more South Sudanese refugees are being hosted by Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.

Two-thirds of the refugees from South Sudan are children under the age of 18. Women make up 63 percent of the adult refugees. The crisis is overwhelmingly rural in nature, with 91 percent of the refugees forced to move from rural communities in South Sudan to rural locations in their countries of asylum.

Recent arrivals in Uganda continue to speak of barbaric violence, with armed groups reportedly burning down houses with civilians inside, killing people in front of family members, sexually assaulting women and girls and kidnapping boys for forced conscription. The conflict is deepening and there is little hope of a resolution.

Challenges

The scale of forced displacement poses enormous challenges for the international community. Forced displacement has been on the rise since at least the mid-1990s in most regions, but in recent years it has increased at an alarming rate. The reasons are threefold: situations that cause large refugee outflows are lasting longer (for example, conflicts in Somalia and Afghanistan are now into their third and fourth decades, respectively); new or reignited crises are occurring frequently (Burundi, Central African Republic, South Sudan, Syria, Yemen and others); and the rate at which solutions are being found for refugees and internally displaced people has been decreasing since the end of the Cold War.

The staggering number of displaced people presents a monumental challenge for agencies and aid workers attempting to respond to basic assistance and protection needs. As in previous years, the humanitarian needs in 2016 outpaced the funding support for humanitarian assistance. The gap is growing between funding requirements and resources made available by donors.

Uganda is a case in point: As thousands of refugees pour into the country, the amount of humanitarian aid UNHCR and its partners can deliver increasingly falls short. In Uganda, \$674 million was needed for South Sudanese refugees in 2017, but only 21 percent of that total had been received by August.

The shortfall significantly impacts the ability to deliver life-saving aid and basic services. Food rations were cut across settlements in northern Uganda, and health facilities were severely overstretched. Schooling is also impacted. Class sizes

often exceed 200 students, with some lessons held outdoors. This situation is similar in many refugee and displacement camps around the world, despite significant increases in support by donors.

Traditionally, durable solutions include voluntary repatriation, resettlement to a third country and local integration. With little hope for a durable solution, a growing number of refugees remain in precarious situations. While the number of refugees returning to their countries of origin increased in 2016, the total global refugee population that returns home has stagnated at about 5 percent since 2013. That's because the number of new refugees exceeds the number of returnees, a phenomenon attributed mainly to the absence of conditions conducive to a safe and voluntary return.

Resettlement to a third country is sought as a solution for refugees who have specific needs that cannot be met or who face risks where they are. Resettlement is also an important way countries can demonstrate solidarity and a sense

of shared responsibility with countries hosting large refugee populations. During 2016, UNHCR referred 162,600 refugees for resettlement. Syrian refugees were the largest population benefiting from resettlement (63,000 people), followed by those from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq and Somalia. This was the greatest number of resettlements in two decades. And yet, resettlement remains a solution for less than 1 percent of refugees globally. Global resettlement needs in 2017 exceeded 1.19 million people, according to the UNHCR, far outpacing resettlement options.

As a result, an increasing number of refugees remain in protracted situations, which is defined by the UNHCR as 25,000 or more refugees from the same country of origin living in exile a minimum of five consecutive years. Based on this definition, two-thirds of all refugees were in protracted refugee situations at the end of 2016. Of these, about 4.1 million had been refugees for more than 20 years.

Many face obstacles to self-reliance. With limited freedom of movement beyond the camps, and few options for employment, they are left to depend on humanitarian assistance, which is not sustainable. Refugees need opportunities to thrive and to join the communities that host them. A shift toward removing obstacles to self-reliance is required, along with policies that enable refugees to work legally and live among the local population — policies that benefit refugees and host communities alike.

The Way Forward

In recognition of these challenges and the need for comprehensive approaches, in September 2016 the U.N. General Assembly adopted the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, a set of commitments to enhance the

“The protection of refugees is not only the responsibility of neighboring states ... it is a collective responsibility of the international community.”

*~ Antonio Guterres,
U.N. secretary-general*

“The New York Declaration marks a political commitment of unprecedented force and resonance. It fills what has been a perennial gap in the international protection system — that of truly sharing responsibility for refugees.”

*~ Filippo Grandi,
U.N. high commissioner for refugees*

protection of refugees and migrants. The declaration represents a milestone for global solidarity with refugees. The U.N. recognized the unprecedented level of displacement, affirmed the rights of refugees, and committed to enhancing the protections and durable solutions available to them as provided by the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol.

Particularly important in the declaration is the commitment to shared responsibility for refugees, the idea that the countries and communities hosting large refugee populations should be supported by the international community. The declaration makes a strong statement of international commitment to shared responsibility for hosting and supporting the world's refugees: “We underline the centrality of international cooperation to the refugee protection regime,” the declaration states. “We recognize the burdens that large movements of refugees place on national resources, especially in the case of developing countries. To address the needs of refugees and receiving States, we commit to a more equitable sharing of the burden and responsibility for hosting and supporting the world's refugees, while taking account of existing contributions and the differing capacities and resources among States.” This commitment now serves as a basis for mobilizing a more effective — and more predictable — response when large movements of refugees occur.

What's New?

The New York Declaration marks a paradigm shift in how the international community responds to refugees. It calls for a whole-of-society approach to refugee situations that includes national and local authorities, international organizations, international financial institutions, regional organizations, regional coordination, civil society partners, faith-based

Forced Displacement Hits a Record High

Over the past two decades, the global population of forcibly displaced people grew substantially to a staggering 65.6 million in 2016.

Source: UNHCR, data as of December 31, 2016

CANADA

Took in **46,700 resettled refugees** in 2016, over one-third of them through the nation's private-sponsorship program.

UNITED STATES

Admitted **96,900 refugees** for resettlement, 51 percent of the global total.

GUATEMALA / EL SALVADOR / HONDURAS

Gang violence here accounts for many of the **545,296 pending asylum cases** in the United States and Mexico — a 27-fold increase since 2012.

COLOMBIA

Despite the signing of a long-awaited peace agreement, there were still **millions of internally displaced people** at year-end.

NIGERIA

Violence and rights abuses in the northeast left **2.2 million people** internally displaced, and nearly **230,000 refugees** in Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Renewed violence brought the total number of refugees from Central African Republic to **490,900**, with another **411,800** displaced inside the country.

GERMANY

Received **722,400 new asylum claims**, many from Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis who arrived in late 2015. One in 20 came from an unaccompanied or separated child.

UKRAINE

Continued fighting in the east left **1.8 million Ukrainians** internally displaced.

TURKEY

Hosted **2.5 Million refugees**, more than any other country.

ITALY

Over **181,400 refugees and migrants** reached Italy by sea, mostly coming via Libya. One passenger died for every 40 who survived the perilous crossing.

SYRIA

Years of conflict have displaced **12 million Syrians**, more than any other nationality, accounting for 5.5 million refugees worldwide.

IRAQ

Nearly **600,00 people** fled within the country in 2016. At year-end, **4.2 million Iraqis** were displaced, either internally or as refugees or asylum-seekers.

YEMEN

Fighting left **2.1 million Yemenis** displaced, even as refugees and migrants from the Horn of Africa reached or passed through the war-torn country.

AFGHANISTAN

After Syrians and Palestinians, Afghans accounted for the third-largest refugee population, with **2.5 million** still living in exile.

BURMA

Ranked eighth among the world's top refugee-producing countries, with **490,300**.

SOMALIA

Some **2.6 million Somalis** were displaced as Somalia struggled to end decades of conflict.

SOUTH SUDAN

Emerged as the world's fastest-growing displacement crisis – and Africa's largest. By year-end, **3.3 million** of its people had fled their homes.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Ranked ninth among countries hosting the most refugees, but also sixth among refugee source countries and fourth in terms of internal displacement.

BURUNDI

Violence and political uncertainty forced **121,700 people** to flee Burundi in 2016, more than from any other country but Syria and South Sudan.

- EUROPE
- MIDDLE EAST
- AFRICA
- ASIA
- AMERICAS

More than half of the world's refugees are children, requiring dedicated efforts to minimize the impact of their forced displacement.





The arrival in Europe of large numbers of people seeking protection during 2015 and 2016, the majority from Syria, has resulted in renewed attention and awareness for refugees and their plight.



organizations, academia, the private sector, the media and the refugees. It explicitly envisions support for host countries and communities, recommending — in addition to adequate financial resources to cover humanitarian needs — a more robust delivery of essential services and infrastructure for the benefit of host communities and refugees, and greater resources for governments and service providers to relieve the pressure on social services.

At the international level, development actors from the government, the private sector, or from civil society operating at local, district, national and global levels will work side by side with humanitarian agencies from the beginning of a refugee influx. Establishing development funding mechanisms for hosting countries and extending finance lending options to those countries are measures recommended in the declaration.

The declaration also envisions an expanded role for refugee resettlement and complementary pathways for admission. Additionally, it charts new ground for strengthening the international governance of migration and encourages the development of the Global Compact for Safe, Regular and Orderly Migration.

Comprehensive Framework

For large refugee situations, the New York Declaration includes the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), which calls on and serves as a guideline for the UNHCR to “develop and initiate” comprehensive responses in different refugee hosting countries and regions. With governments in the lead, the UNHCR’s role is to act as a catalyst in this process. The lessons learned will feed into the development of the U.N.’s Global Compact on Refugees.

Djibouti, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Uganda have agreed to apply the CRRF. It is also applied in Somalia, requiring the involvement of Somalia’s government and its neighbors in a regional approach. Mexico and countries in northern Central America — Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras — are also implementing a comprehensive regional protection and solutions framework to address forced displacement issues in the region.

The CRRF’s adoption in the roll-out countries is progressing at a good pace. National road maps have been formulated that define short- and long-term priorities, key gap areas in the international response have been identified and additional actors have been recognized, along with novel forms of engagement. Some of these roll-out countries have reviewed and adapted their refugee policies and legal frameworks, and are moving away from encampment and toward policies that allow for greater movement by refugees, paving the way for

greater refugee self-reliance. To maximize results, these countries require additional financial support and innovative partnerships.

The whole-of-society approach is a fundamental element of the CRRF: It means to support governments by bringing a wide range of national and subnational authorities on board. This includes those who plan for and decide on the national and subnational delivery of services in essential sectors, such as health and education.

Beyond government partners, the whole-of-society approach calls for the participation of national and international civil society. That includes faith- and community-based organizations; international, intergovernmental and regional organizations; international financial institutions; development partners; the private sector; academia; and the refugee and host communities. As part of the CRRF, a new partnership has been developed with the World Bank involving a major program for refugees and host communities that will play an important role in collaborating with governments.

A Global Compact

The New York Declaration gave the UNHCR the task of building upon the CRRF to develop the Global Compact on Refugees. The UNHCR will develop this compact in consultation with governments and other stakeholders for presentation to the U.N. General Assembly in 2018.


This compact provides a unique opportunity to strengthen the international response to large movements of refugees, both in protracted and new situations. Its key objectives include easing pressures on countries that welcome and host refugees, investing in and building the self-reliance of refugees, expanding access to resettlement in third countries and other complementary pathways, and fostering conditions that enable refugees to return voluntarily to their home countries.

It is envisioned that the Global Compact on Refugees will have two parts: The already agreed upon CRRF, and an action program that will draw upon lessons learned and good practices from around the world. The action program will provide a blueprint that ensures refugees have better access to health care and education, and that opportunities for a better quality of life are available in their host communities. It will also set out tangible ways host governments can be supported through responsibility-sharing when faced with large movements of refugees.

The New York Declaration provides a “once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to enhance refugee protection,” according to UNHCR Assistant High Commissioner Volker Turk. Now it needs to be seized upon and brought to bear by all stakeholders. □



Europe's Enduring
**MIGRATION
CRISIS**



Seeking answers to evolving dilemmas

By **Demetrios G. Papademetriou**, president, Migration Policy Institute Europe, and **Caitlin Katsiaficas**, research assistant

Three years after the latest European migration crisis erupted with a spike in flows and fatalities in the central Mediterranean Sea, and two years after almost 900,000 migrants and asylum-seekers from the Middle East and beyond arrived in Europe through the eastern Mediterranean, the crisis seems to have subsided. The relative calm, however, is somewhat misleading. While there are no longer seemingly endless numbers of people crossing the Aegean Sea and walking through Greece and the Western Balkans on the way to this century's apparent promised lands — Germany and Sweden — unacceptably large numbers of people continue to die on the way to Libya and other North African countries and drown in the Mediterranean. And reported conditions under which hundreds of thousands of people are waiting in Libya in the dimming hope that they might be able to cross the central Mediterranean and reach Europe (or, more accurately, be rescued by European-flagged ships) shock even the most hardened observers.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) reported that 3,038 people had drowned in the Mediterranean as of November 30, 2017, approximately 64 percent of the total 2016 figure. IOM also noted that Italy received an average of 13,959 migrants per month in the first six months of 2017, while the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that the western Mediterranean (Spain) has, once

more, become increasingly active, recording 21,300 entries in the first 10 months of 2017 — a 150 percent increase over 2016's total. Furthermore, sea arrivals to Greece, which had been reduced to a trickle since the end of the first quarter of 2016, started rising in August 2017, with monthly totals about two times larger than the average crossings the previous 16 months. Crossings through Turkey's land borders with Greece and Bulgaria also have increased.

Overall the migration crisis appears to have morphed into four components: (1) the ongoing challenge of vetting and distributing efficiently and fairly asylum-seekers who entered Europe during the past three years; (2) the simmering political crisis in much of Europe, expressing itself in the growing popularity of populist parties; (3) the humanitarian and political crisis in Greece and, less so, in Italy, the entry points of almost all spontaneous inflows; and (4) over the longer term, a massive integration challenge. And just as the response to the 2015 migration surge was hastily written, in many ways the current situation is unfolding with seemingly few lessons truly learned from the recent past.

The major exception is Italy's controversial, but so far quite effective, initiative to work closely with Libya's internationally recognized (but still not in meaningful control) government, as well as Tunisia and, apparently, several militias operating along Libya's Mediterranean coast, to prevent migrants from using the Libyan and Tunisian coasts as launching points for

A refugee feeds his child an apple at a makeshift camp for migrants and refugees at the Greek-Macedonian border in northern Greece. GETTY IMAGES

crossing the central Mediterranean. Meanwhile, in the handful of European states most affected by the crisis, reception and adjudication systems remain backlogged, while indifference toward those European Union members that bear the brunt of the crisis and recriminations among member states are as strong as ever. More than three years into the crisis, the European Commission remains ill-equipped to address it in a proactive manner, rather than trying to deal, often awkwardly and always with limited success, with its consequences. It remains to be seen

Overall, the migration crisis appears to have morphed into more of an ongoing humanitarian crisis and, over the longer term, a massive integration challenge.

whether the apparent commitment of 44 billion euros to African development at the most recent (November 2017) African Union-EU summit in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, may eventually bear some fruit in reducing unwanted migration by addressing its "root causes," a process that in other settings has taken a generation or longer while increasing illegal emigration pressures in the interim.

Record global displacement

The European migration crisis is but the tip of the iceberg in what is a massive

and long-term set of bloody humanitarian crises around the world — born out of seemingly unresolvable conflicts over ethnic and religious differences, territory and resources. The UNHCR identified a record high of 65.6 million forcibly displaced people around the world at the end of 2016, a number that has seen particularly large annual increases since 2011. These figures reflect the highest level of displacement since World War II (See Figure 1).

The 2016 data include 40.3 million internally displaced people, 22.5 million refugees and 2.8 million asylum-seekers. But the effects of those crises are distributed unevenly, with only a handful of countries hosting or producing most refugees (See Figure 2). Notably, according to UNHCR's "Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2016," three countries — Afghanistan, South Sudan and Syria — were the source of 55 percent of all refugees, with Syria alone accounting for approximately a quarter of the refugee total, or 5.5 million people. Five countries — Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Sudan and Syria — accounted for 54 percent of all internally displaced people. Conversely, Turkey was host to the largest number of refugees in 2016, at 2.9 million, while Pakistan and Lebanon hosted 1.4 million and 1 million, respectively. Of the refugees under UNHCR's mandate, 84 percent were hosted by developing countries, a fact that is glossed over in much of the Western media's reporting about the crisis. And this data does not include three of 2017's largest refugee flows: the nearly 800,000 Rohingyas who fled from Burma to Bangladesh, and the internally displaced people and refugees produced by the conflicts in Yemen and South Sudan.

Europe unprepared

Forced displacement is a permanent feature of the global landscape, and Europe is no stranger to it. In fact, according to the UNHCR's *The State of The World's Refugees 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*, more than 40 million people were displaced within Europe as a result of World War II. Smaller but very substantial numbers of people have also been displaced due to conflict and political upheaval

in the decades since. Failed uprisings against Soviet rule in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Algerian War of Independence, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent return of over 2 million *aussiedler* (ethnic Germans) to Germany between 1991 and 2014, German reunification, and the disintegration of Yugoslavia have all led to large-scale migration and refugee flows.

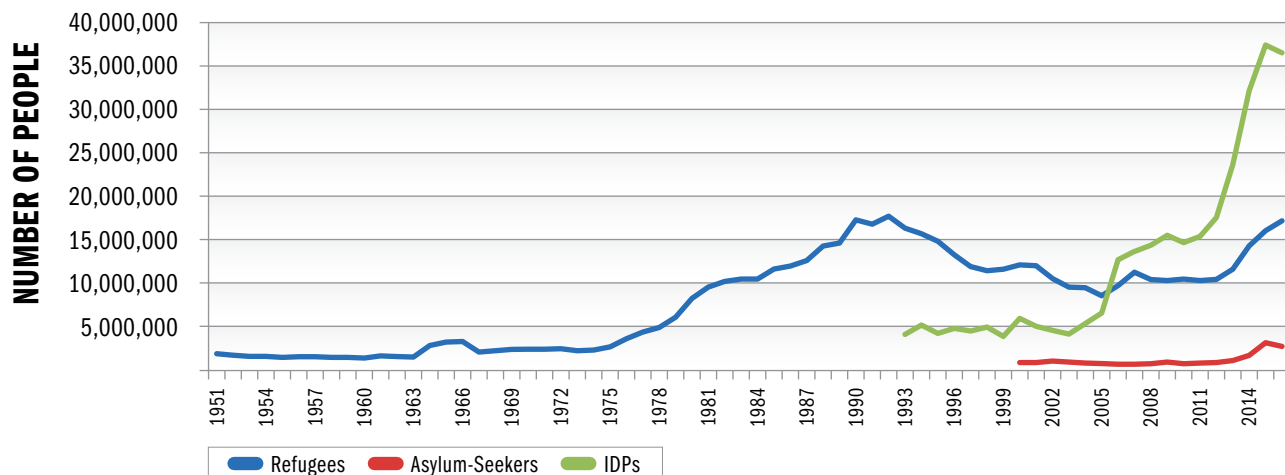
Contemporary flows

While many of the crises that gave rise to the mass migration and refugee flows over the last century were on European soil and dealt with Europe's own unresolved political and ideological issues, the latest migration crisis, which began in earnest in 2014, is a result of another facet of Europe's history: its colonial and post-colonial legacies in the Middle East and Africa. The vast majority of migrants reaching Europe illegally in recent years have entered via three Mediterranean routes (see Figures 3, 4, 5): the western Mediterranean (from the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the Moroccan coast or directly to the Spanish mainland); the central Mediterranean (from Libya and Tunisia to Malta or Italy); and the eastern Mediterranean (from Turkey to Greece, almost exclusively through the Aegean Islands, as well as to northern Greece [Thrace], Bulgaria or Cyprus).

According to Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, flows across the central Mediterranean nearly quadrupled from 2013 to 2014, from 45,000 to more than 170,000, bringing the total number of migrants reaching Europe via all Mediterranean routes that year to 230,000. Flows increased exponentially in 2015, peaking at well over 1 million, including more than 885,000 who crossed the eastern Mediterranean route alone. The numbers decreased dramatically in 2016 due to two mutually reinforcing policy initiatives: the early spring closure of the Western Balkan route to Central Europe, and the EU-Turkey deal. Frontex recorded approximately 375,000 Mediterranean crossings for 2016, with the eastern Mediterranean being most popular in the year's early months and the central Mediterranean becoming dominant the rest of 2016. And data from the

1

Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Internally Displaced People (IDPs) 1951-2016



Statistics on internally displaced people were not reported until 1993, and not on asylum-seekers until 2000. Statistics only include those refugees under UNHCR's mandate, and thus exclude the 5.3 million Palestinians registered by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

2

Top 5 Refugee-Producing and -Hosting Countries

Top Refugee-Producing Countries

2016	2015	2014	2013	2012
Syria (5.5 million)	Syria (4.9 million)	Syria (3.9 million)	Afghanistan (2.6 million)	Afghanistan (2.6 million)
Afghanistan (2.5 million)	Afghanistan (2.7 million)	Afghanistan (2.6 million)	Syria (2.5 million)	Somalia (1.1 million)
South Sudan (1.4 million)	Somalia (1.1 million)	Somalia (1.1 million)	Somalia (1.1 million)	Iraq (750,000)
Somalia (1 million)	South Sudan (780,000)	Sudan (670,000)	Sudan (650,000)	Syria (730,000)
Sudan (650,600)	Sudan (630,000)	South Sudan (620,000)	Democratic Republic of the Congo (500,000)	Sudan (570,000)

Top Refugee-Hosting Countries

2016	2015	2014	2013	2012
Turkey (2.9 million)	Turkey (2.5 million)	Turkey (1.6 million)	Pakistan (1.6 million)	Pakistan (1.6 million)
Pakistan (1.4 million)	Pakistan (1.6 million)	Pakistan (1.5 million)	Iran (860,000)	Iran (870,000)
Lebanon (1 million)	Lebanon (1.1 million)	Lebanon (1.2 million)	Lebanon (860,000)	Germany (590,000)
Iran (979,400)	Iran (980,000)	Iran (980,000)	Jordan (640,000)	Kenya (560,000)
Uganda (940,800)	Ethiopia (740,000)	Ethiopia (660,000)	Turkey (610,000)	Syria (480,000)

Source: UNHCR

UNHCR's "Operational Portal Refugee Situations: Mediterranean Situation," indicate that as of November 30, 2017, more than 160,000 people had reached Europe via all Mediterranean routes. Compared to the other two routes, the western Mediterranean route has been

relatively quiet in recent years, contributing an estimated 63,000 arrivals for the 2014-17.

Over 70 percent of those arriving on Europe's shores in 2017 went to Italy. They were largely single men, hailing from primarily Sub-Saharan African

countries, but also Bangladesh. The UNHCR reported that unaccompanied children constituted about 13 percent of arrivals to Italy (more than 14,600 in the first 10 months of 2017). By contrast, 2017 entries through the eastern Mediterranean included larger shares of

families seeking to reunify with relatives who had already entered Europe. They came from Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and, more recently, countries such as Algeria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, pointing to the constant reorientation of flows.

National asylum systems

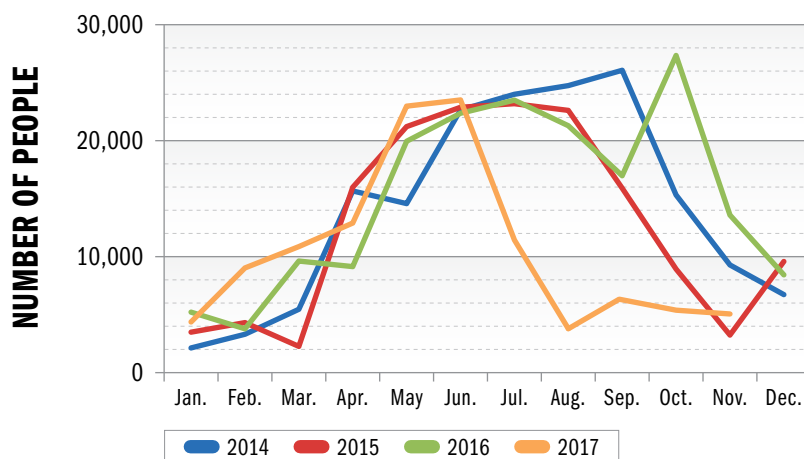
While Italy and Greece have been the entry points for almost all migrants to Europe in recent years, the overwhelming proportion of arrivals intend to move on to other European countries, primarily in Central and Northern Europe and, more specifically, Germany and Sweden. Despite such intentions, the hardening of EU internal borders and the failure of the European Commission-inspired relocation scheme have meant that most migrants and asylum-seekers arriving in Europe post-spring 2016 remain in Italy and Greece, leading to large increases in asylum applications in these countries and even larger adjudication backlogs.

The EU response

A key component of the EU response to the chaotic arrivals through the Aegean during the second half of 2015 and first quarter of 2016 has been the EU-Turkey “statement,” a deal that went into effect in March 2016. The deal was negotiated directly between the Turkish prime minister and the German chancellor and was presented pretty much as a fait accompli to fellow EU heads of government. The deal focused on stemming the flow of migrants arriving via Turkey — the primary route of arrivals at the time — by preventing illegal crossings of the Aegean and promoting a resettlement program from that country. Together with the Austria-led closure of the Western Balkan route, which virtually shut down opportunities for migrants to continue to Central Europe, the EU-Turkey deal reduced entries through the Aegean to between 1,500 and 2,000 people per month until the late summer months of 2017. In return for Turkey’s cooperation, the EU agreed to dramatically scale up its assistance for Syrians in Turkey, focusing on improving their job opportunities and educating their children, thus creating meaningful incentives for them to stay in that country.

3

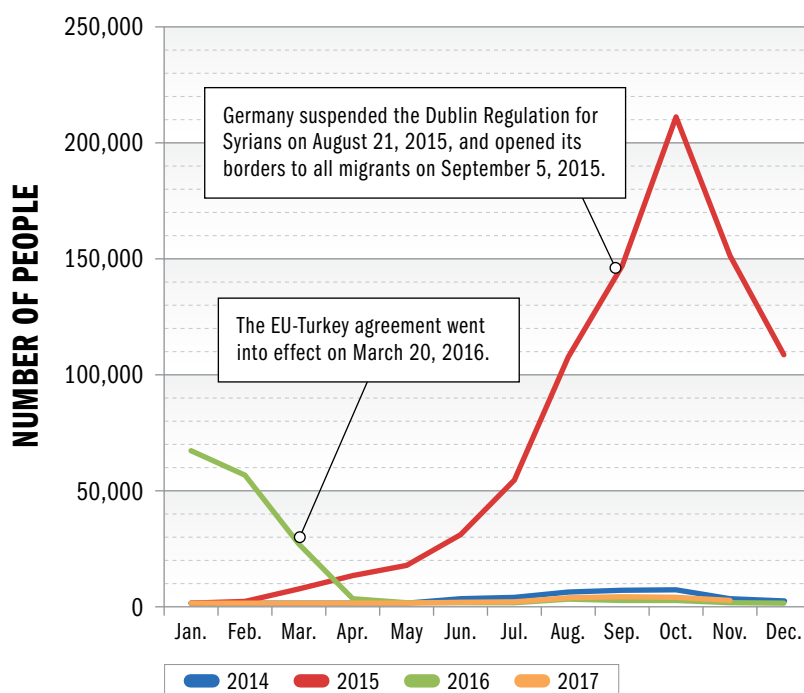
Monthly Arrivals to Italy 2014 - Nov. 2017 (Central Mediterranean)



Source: UNHCR

4

Monthly Arrivals to Greece 2014 - Nov. 2017 (Eastern Mediterranean)

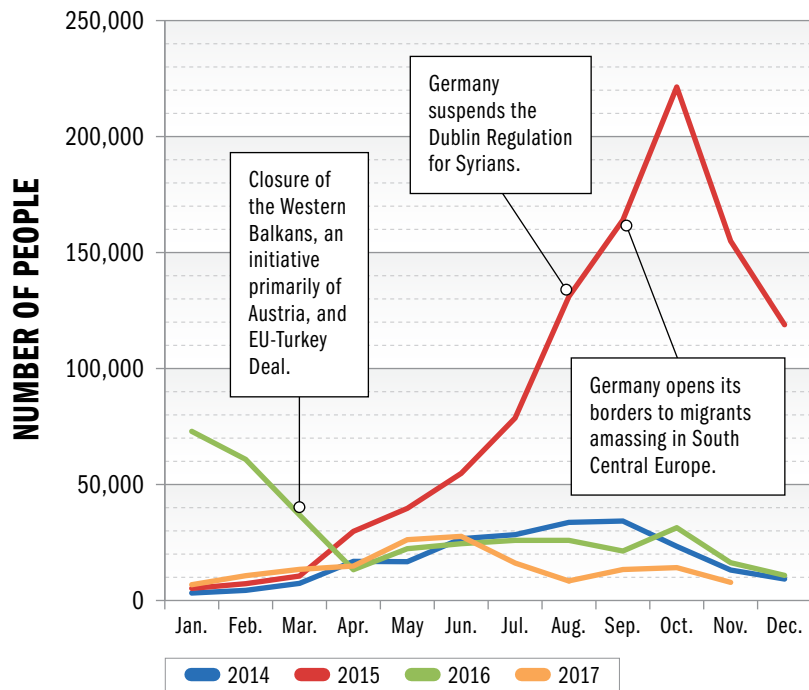


Source: UNHCR

An additional aim of the statement was to persuade reluctant EU members to participate in an expanded refugee resettlement program that would promote “legal, safe, and orderly” migration, a policy area in which the EU has barely participated, and to generate interest in a deeper, global response to resettlement. Moreover, Turkey was offered the opportunity to

realize its long-term objectives of visa-free entry into Europe for its citizens (after meeting certain criteria) and resuming progress toward EU membership (another major policy priority of successive Turkish governments). The deal also created opportunities for Turkey’s President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to advance his ambition to be seen and treated as the indispensable

Monthly Arrivals through the Mediterranean 2014 - Nov. 2017



Source: UNHCR

actor in the region, to advance his policy objectives regarding the Syrian conflict, and to change the Turkish constitution to create a powerful presidential system of government with him at the helm.

The success of the resulting bargain in fulfilling the two parties' major stated and unstated goals has been significant, if mixed. Flows from Turkey to Greece dropped dramatically (meeting the EU's principal aim), and significant progress has been made in improving opportunities for Syrians in Turkey. But relatively few migrants have been returned to or resettled from Turkey, and many nongovernmental organizations and almost all activists claim that key ethical issues remain unresolved. From Turkey's perspective, Erdoğan's personal ambitions have been fully met while his aspirations involving Syria have attained considerable progress, even if aided by Russia and Iran.

Integration challenge

Integration policy is where the rubber meets the road when it comes to all forms of immigration, regardless of the route or regulatory channel through which newcomers arrive. Success in this policy arena bears enormous dividends for

individuals and their families, but also for the communities in which they settle. Failure, however modest or episodic, feeds the narrative of unassimilability of newcomers and fuels political divisions and mistrust toward government.

With the acute phase of the migration crisis behind them, the handful of states most affected by it have moved beyond emergency response mode and are focusing with remarkable vigor on the most unavoidable of the crisis' governance challenges: the integration of newcomers. Beyond the immediate needs of adequate reception services and timely adjudication of claims, integration is — and will remain for the next decade and beyond — the dominant issue for new arrivals and host populations alike.

The reasons are clear. All too often, some migrant groups and their offspring lag behind natives in language ability, educational achievement, access to and settling into the labor market, and social and political engagement, leading to debilitating cumulative disadvantages. Such disadvantages often express themselves in various forms and degrees of economic, social and political marginalization — leading migrant communities

to feel aggrieved and native-born communities to view migrants and their children with impatience, if not wariness and mistrust. Successful integration that is both visible and measurable is thus critical for the well-being of migrants, and community cohesion, and reduces the incidence of anomie that one notices among some immigrants and immigrant-background communities. Successful integration also builds trust in the government's ability to effectively manage migration, something that is in very short supply in most countries.

The need for thoughtful and intense policy activism reflects a simple reality: The massive inflows have created enormous capacity problems that need to be addressed smartly to effectively confront integration challenges and avoid the longer-term pathologies of earlier efforts. And the challenges are enormous. Newcomers' educational levels are uneven and far lower than initially thought, a function of the enthusiastic, if not willful, representations of activists and the press. Furthermore, much of that education is inconsistent with the needs and expectations of employers in Europe's advanced economies. Health needs, particularly mental health issues stemming from trauma, are also massive and need to be adequately addressed. Successful integration into labor markets, a key integration measure, as well as underemployment and brain waste, are ever-present concerns. As a result, the specter of repeating the intergenerational exclusion and disadvantage of some earlier immigrant groups is front and center. Clearly, the scale and scope of the issue necessitate strong investments and an evidence-based, comprehensive approach to integration — a lesson that several of the worst-affected destination countries appear to have internalized. As put forth in a paper co-written by this author and Meghan Benton, "Towards a Whole-of-Society Approach to Receiving and Settling Newcomers in Europe," the key elements of that approach are:

- **Pursuing a comprehensive, whole-of-government strategy that centers on employment:**

Governments must develop systems for identifying employment skills

and needs as early as possible, make it easier for newcomers to gain on-the-job language and work skills, and invest in alternative livelihoods programs, such as voluntary work programs and entrepreneurship.

- ***Building society-wide integration systems:*** Successful integration requires that host communities be engaged organically. This entails brokering new partnerships with a range of stakeholders, including investors, social entrepreneurs and employers, as well as stimulating innovation in the delivery of needed

Restoring borders and guarding against terrorism will continue to be top-tier policy and political issues for Europe, as they are for most advanced democracies.

services. However, in doing so, governments should aim to provide mainstreamed services and make the public feel consulted and be an integral part of the overall effort.

- ***Managing social change and regaining public trust:*** Inclusive national narratives around integration and how to deliver good integration outcomes are essential. Moreover, building the necessary capacity to deliver the needed services is crucial to alleviating concerns that governments are not



A French retiree holds a sign expressing the most important issue to her in advance of the 2017 French elections. "I don't believe we can accept everybody coming to our country," she said. REUTERS

managing migration well and that the asylum system is being abused.

Key observations

Europe's responses to the ongoing migration and asylum crisis continue to be uneven. The August 2017 mini-summit in Paris involving French President Emmanuel Macron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni, Spanish Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy, and the heads of Chad, Niger and the Libyan government only served to punctuate that point despite the rhetoric surrounding it. Such efforts tend to emphasize the EU's disunion and punctuate the fact that its members must make their own way in managing the crisis and its consequences. In this last regard, Italy's recent insistence that nongovernmental organizations engaged in search-and-rescue operations in the central Mediterranean observe a code of conduct designed to discourage migration — and agreements with Libya and Tunisia to prevent migrants from getting onto boats and forcibly return such boats to ports before they leave each nations' waters — appear to be turning that part of the migration tide. Fewer migrants have arrived in Italy since the summer of 2017, and as a result, the number of deaths in transit dropped dramatically — although the share of deaths per arrival has not.

It is clear that the EU members affected most directly by the 2015 flows are determined not to have a repeat of that year, and no European country seems to be more determined than Germany. The Italian deal with the Libyan and Tunisian governments, which clearly has the support of the EU members that met in Paris, could signal significant changes in the EU's approach to controlling cross-Mediterranean flows. It might be another step toward reconsidering the practice of bringing rescued migrants to Europe, and toward testing the idea of establishing multiple offshore asylum processing points where preliminary decisions about asylum claims could be made. It may be too premature, however, to suggest that

the Italian agreements will dramatically reduce flows through the central Mediterranean over the longer term. Accomplishing that would require at least two other politically hard-to-do things: allowing very few people to lodge claims in Europe, and instituting a robust resettlement program. Only time will tell which direction these newest and, so far, mostly rhetorical initiatives will take.

Conclusion: A never-ending story

As the sense of crisis has subsided, it is integration concerns that have become the focus of governments and much of the public. But the anxiety about flows remains. At its root is a fear of the return of large-scale, spontaneous migration, and unease over the cultural and identity issues raised by the backgrounds of the mostly Muslim newcomers. These worries play readily into the hands of populist parties and make for volatile politics, particularly as mainstream parties adopt key elements of the populist agenda in a classic effort to deny them as much political space as possible.

The first form of anxiety is easy to understand. The speed and chaotic way flows grew brought to the fore long-simmering national identity insecurities and apprehensions and, in the last two years, domestic security concerns (terrorism). Adding to this anxiety is that most newcomers come from countries with significant social, cultural, ethnic and religious differences. Similarly, the increasing visibility and “otherness” of most newcomers has fueled further discomfort among host populations and has shaped reactions to the newcomers. As a result, the migration crisis has stimulated ever-present concerns about uncontrolled social and cultural change and the efficacy of the receiving societies' management models.

Restoring borders, ensuring that social order is maintained and guarding against terrorism will continue to be top-tier policy and political issues for Europe, as they are for most advanced democracies. To this end, working more effectively with transit countries to

create a more orderly migration system and protect bona fide refugees in countries of first asylum has become a top foreign policy priority. As this occurs, humanitarian impulses — the natural tendency to want to respond generously toward those fleeing heart-wrenching situations — will continue to compete with nationalism-fueled populism for the hearts and minds of undecided citizens. It is unclear who will win this battle or how long such a victory will last. In the meantime, integration has replaced flow management as the No. 1 policy issue for those EU members most affected by the migration crisis — a recognition that integration is the terrain on which immigration policies succeed or fail.

When more definitive accounts of the ongoing crisis are written, two sets of questions will be the likely focus: how well (or poorly) the newcomers have integrated and whether Europe, or more precisely its strongest states, have found a way to replace the migration disorder of the past few years with policies that insist on safe, legal and orderly entries, in large part by performing the harder tasks that governments are elected to do: securing borders and enforcing laws; examining individual claims for asylum carefully but expeditiously; severely limiting the use of subsidiary protection; removing failed asylum applicants and illegal (economic) migrants; and reducing dramatically the opportunities for migrants to game the system. These countries must also make real progress in determining the parameters of their responsibilities toward their neighborhood and how to properly implement them.

At the heart of these decisions must be a realization that the primary responsibility of sovereign and well-governed nations is toward their own electorates and communities, a focus that the migration crisis has made elusive. Such a realization demands that these governments, and societies, actively seek and find the most appropriate equilibrium point along the continuum of values and interests. These are the true challenges that Europe's states must confront and resolve wisely. And their resolution, or lack thereof, will determine whether the past few years will prove to be a new normal or a black swan event. □



Mitigating Mayhem

By Lt. Col. Michael Hagan, U.S. Air Force

*Nations must address the challenges
posed by global population trends*

Rapid population growth, especially in the developing world, will likely increase and exacerbate global security challenges such as civil wars, ethnic violence, starvation, border conflict and violence associated with neo-nationalism. Unfortunately, sovereign states tend to react to the security symptoms of global megatrends instead of comprehensively addressing the root causes. Evolving global demographics will likely strain the resources and resilience of all states, yet no single state or international entity is responsible for global population management. Recent and projected population trends, including urbanization, suggest that there will be significant security challenges as a result of uncontrolled international migration. As the global population increases from the current 7.3 billion to an estimated 9.7 billion in 2050, a proactive international community must prioritize a holistic approach to prepare for and mitigate the security problems associated with population growth.

Ultimately, rapid population growth and urbanization in the developing world are exceeding its carrying capacity, thereby increasing controlled and uncontrolled

international migration. A likely consequence of this migration is a rise in ethnic nationalism, which could increase security challenges for the developed and developing worlds. This assessment raises two key questions for the international community: Are the consequences of current trends inevitable for future generations? Or can they be mitigated with action today?

Migration writ large is not necessarily a security threat. In fact, the movement of people from high density to declining population centers is necessary for sustainability and development. In a globally connected world, human movement benefits developing and developed states. Nonetheless, contemporary migration flows highlight short- and long-term global security challenges. The relationship between uncontrolled migration and a rise in nationalism is underappreciated. Nationalistic sentiments promote isolationism, threaten international political stability and tax the resources of security organizations. They also hinder the cooperation needed to effectively respond to transnational challenges such as migration, crime, terrorism and pandemics.

The United States and its security institutions must have an objective understanding of the demographic

trends that will significantly alter the global environment for the foreseeable future. The goal of any strategy is to create a deliberate plan with an advantageous end. That said, developing a strategy is a gamble because plans are largely informed by projections. The failure to accurately assess the threats associated with global population growth and to anticipate large-scale population movements will lead to an ineffective strategy, resulting in the unnecessary expenditure of national blood and treasure.

Likewise, European states must honestly examine global demographics and migration. The impacts of migration and population growth are arguably more critical for Europe because of its geographic proximity to strained states. Europe should anticipate hosting a significant number of migrants for the foreseeable future. There may, however, be a silver lining. Properly managed, a large influx of young immigrants could be essential to maintaining Europe's high standard of living. European countries have aging native populations, and an intelligent migrant integration could advance national interests, according to the United Nations' "International Migration Report 2015." The key question is whether Europe can maintain its identity while absorbing waves of immigrants who do not share a common education or ancestry with Europeans.

Most sovereign states view population according to their respective national interests. Consequently, states analyze national demographic trends through the prism of how changes affect social stability and economic security. This is understandable, yet myopic. By examining demographic trends and their potential impacts, European states can set a clear path to proactively advance national, regional and global interests.

Demographic trends

In 2015, human births surpassed deaths by a staggering 83 million, according to the U.N.'s 2015 "World Population Prospects" report. To put that number in context, this one-year snapshot of global growth exceeds the entire population of Germany. Also of note, 14 percent of the humans who have ever lived on Earth are alive today, as Corey Bradshaw and Barry Brook point out in their article, "Human Population Reduction is not a Quick Fix for Environmental Problems." This fact is interesting but irrelevant, assuming the planet can sustain the present human population. However, population projections are a cause for concern when combined with other demographic trends. Prior to World War I, there was a global population of 1.6 billion. The U.N. optimistically estimates that by the end of this century, 11.2 billion people will be on Earth, a surge of 9.6 billion within only 200 years.

In addition, according to the U.N. migration report, this increase is expected to take place primarily within the developing world. By 2050, the developed world will have 1.2 billion people, while the population of the developing world is expected to swell to 8.4 billion. Concurrently, developing states are experiencing rapid

Migrants wait to be rescued in the Mediterranean Sea, 10 miles north of Libya. GETTY IMAGES





People receive food from Buddhist monks in Hlaing Thaya, Burma, a town struggling under the stress of rapid urbanization.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

rural-to-urban movement, a phenomenon known as urbanization. Author and strategist David Kilcullen predicts that population growth and urbanization, combined with litto-

ralization and technological connectedness, will define the future security environment. Ultimately, states with limited resources and governance capacity are likely to undergo increasing strain under these population trends. The logical outcome of these trends includes decreased stability and increased migration rates.

Carrying capacity

It is tempting to examine the number of inhabitants on Earth using deterministic terms such as overpopulation. In his book, *The Coming Anarchy*, Robert D. Kaplan states that a surging population implies a competition for the scarce environmental resources requisite for survival. Environmental strains vary significantly between developed and developing states, according to Bradshaw and Brook, but become more pronounced as developing states gain affluence and increase consumption. Therefore, the number of people on the planet is less relevant than sustainability, or the ability to feed all of its human inhabitants, Vivien Cumming surmises in a British Broadcasting Corp. article, "How Many People Can our Planet Really Support?" But it's difficult to

accurately predict how many people the planet can sustain. A helpful, yet limited, construct for this analysis is the concept of carrying capacity, which can be distilled to the regional, state or even city level.

Carrying capacity is defined by the World Population History website as an ecological construct that identifies "the maximum number of a species an environment can support indefinitely." Globally, carrying capacity is difficult, if not impossible to determine, as humans do not reproduce, consume and interact uniformly. As early as 1798, at a time with significantly less population strain, Robert Malthus explored this concept in *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. Malthus surmised that the Earth's capacity to sustain human life would be perpetually stressed as unchecked population growth occurs geometrically, while the means of sustenance increases only arithmetically. To Malthus, preventive and positive "checks" were necessary to match populations with subsistence demands. Malthus described preventive checks as family planning practices, while positive checks more ominously involve "misery and vice," such as war, uninhabitable environments and disease, all of which disproportionately affect the laboring poor.

Malthus' concepts are increasingly relevant to contemporary population trends, but are by no means deterministic of negative outcomes. Critics of neo-Malthusian logic, such as Betsy Hartman,

Anne Hendrixson and Jade Sasserm in their report, “Population, Sustainable Development and Gender Equality,” argue that the blame for social maladies is placed upon the impoverished, while poor governance by developing world elites is ignored. Still others, such as Robert Fletcher, Jan Breiting and Valerie Puleo in a 2014 article in *Third World Quarterly*, maintain that overpopulation provides a pre-emptive scapegoat for development failures, which limits the accountability of developmental models and management. Proponents, such as Kaplan, call Malthus the “prophet of West Africa’s future.” Both critics and advocates of Malthus’ perspective offer insight toward holistic courses of action. Malthus accounts for the “inventiveness” of man to compensate for subsistence demands, yet according to Robert Mayhew, who in 2011 wrote “Malthus and the Seven Billion,” in 1798 he could not have projected advances such as genetically modified foods or global distribution chains. Still, Klaus Hofmann in “Beyond the Principle of Population: Malthus’s Essay,” notes it is impossible to project if, or at what population point, no additional “labor or ingenuity of man” can support subsistence requirements.

Urbanization

If populations increase as expected in the developing world, increasing the carrying capacities of the developing and developed worlds is paramount. The question of how developing states can absorb rapidly swelling numbers is of the greatest concern. Therefore, urbanization trends merit considerable reflection. Financial activity and economic opportunities inherent within cities increasingly draw migrants from rural areas, according to Jon C. Lovett in “Urbanization and Over-Population.” The International Organization for Migration’s “World Migration Report 2015” finds that the global movement toward cities is happening at a rate of 3 million people per week. Generally, urban areas in less developed regions are absorbing most of the global population growth, according to the U.N.’s “World Urbanization Prospects 2014” report. Further, an estimated 2.5 billion additional people, largely motivated by economic opportunity, are expected to relocate to cities by 2050. Ninety percent of this urbanization is expected to occur within Africa and Asia.

The speed at which urbanization occurs is notable. After millions of years as a tribal species, humans were genetically ill-prepared for the onset of urbanization, zoologist Desmond Morris argues in *The Human Zoo: A Zoologist’s Classic Study of the Urban Animal*. He notes that in 1950, global population distribution was 70 percent rural. By 2014, 54 percent were urban dwellers. Since 78 percent of the developed world’s population is already urban, according to the 2014 urbanization prospects report, projected rates and increases will disproportionately impact regions most impeded by progress restraints. Nigeria, for example, was 90 percent rural in 1950, but is equally rural and urban today

and is expected to be 70 percent urban by 2050. This rapid urbanization presents challenges to the stability of cities, states, regions and the international community.

Unplanned urban growth comes with significant consequences. The report also finds that, as of 2012, slums and informal urban settlements housed more than 863 million people in the developing world. This equates to 2.67 times the population of the U.S., or over 10 times the population of Germany, residing within areas of inadequate sanitation, services, governance or infrastructure. The U.N. Development Programme Regional Bureau for Arab States points out that 28 percent of Arab urbanites reside in slums and are increasingly exposed to social exclusion, poverty and violence. In his book, *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*, Kilcullen describes these ungoverned, ad hoc peri-urban settlements as “feral cities,” regressing to untamed characteristics in the absence of central governance. Inescapable threats caused by rapid urbanization will likely aggregate push factors for further migration.

Migration trends

Population growth and urbanization trends logically suggest high and perpetually increasing rates of international migration. This is relevant, as higher-income countries manifest decreasing resilience and tolerance for migration. The U.S. National Intelligence Council’s “Paradox of Progress” report surmises that the drive to obtain a better existence, or to escape a horrific reality, must be significant to relocate internationally. Malthus noted that “few persons will leave their families, connections, friends, and native land to seek a settlement in untried foreign climes without some strong subsisting causes of uneasiness where they are, or the hope of some great advantages in the place to which they are going.” So what then, are the quantifiable trends and likely projections of migratory movement?

As of 2016, the number of international migrants on the planet had never been higher; however, these numbers are far from reaching their apex. In 2016, 244 million people resided outside their country of origin, which is an increase of 71 million since 2000. Refugees and asylum-seekers account for 10 percent of these, according to the U.N. Secretary-General’s “International Migration and Development” report. The U.N.’s migration report notes that refugee numbers have not been so pronounced since World War II. In addition to refugees who have left their country for another, 40 million people are currently displaced within their respective countries of origin, according to the U.N. More alarmingly, in excess of 740 million people are in transit within their own countries in pursuit of economic opportunity, according to the International Organization for Migration. Such internal movement contributes greatly to the phenomenon of urbanization.

Whether motivated by economic, environmental, political or security reasons, humanity is on the move. Globally, the increase in migrant numbers exceeds the rate of population growth. This fact is exceptionally relevant, considering impressive population increases. Further, the U.N.'s migration report also finds that with population growth, push factors for human movement increase at a higher rate. International migrants accounted for 2.9 percent of the global population in 1990, but this increased to 3.3 percent by 2015. Notably, China, India and Bangladesh — which represent the most populated and second- and eighth-most populated countries, respectively — currently have the highest levels of net emigration. Although people choose to relocate for numerous reasons, the numbers clearly indicate that the strain on local carrying capacity related to urbanization is one of the primary reasons for global migratory movement.

Immigration routes clearly follow paths toward perceived economic opportunity. Half of international migrants live in only 10 developed countries, the International Organization for Migration notes. Further, the U.N.'s migration report points out that, as of 2015, 71 percent of international migrants lived in high-income countries. The U.S. and Germany are currently home to 31 percent of global migrants, with 47 million and 12 million, respectively, while 84 percent of all migrants live within Europe, Asia and North America. Ultimately and understandably, the preponderance of global migration follows the money. Therefore, wealthy nations must anticipate enhanced desirability among economic migrants, as wealth distribution is concentrated among fewer, superannuated hands within the developed world.

Pull factors

Despite global population trends throughout this century, wealth distribution could likely remain relatively static, assuming no major disruptions to the global economic order. The U.N. population prospects report states that by 2100, high-income countries will host 1.5 billion people, quite consistent with contemporary figures. Therefore, a global addition of nearly 4 billion people will result in a large increase in people seeking economic opportunity. For the bulk of immigrants from the developing world who are seeking better lives for themselves and their children, the preferred destination is likely to remain high-income countries. Ultimately, the populations of high-income countries will decrease

and grow older; in contrast, the developing world is increasingly more youthful and populous.

This trend is most evident in Europe. By the end of this century, Europe's population is expected to decline from 738 million to 635 million, despite positive net migration projections. Aforementioned fertility rates within Europe largely explain these projections, but omit a key consideration of aging when isolated. Twenty-four percent of Europe's population is already over 60 years old. German citizens, for example, have a median age of 46.2 that is expected to increase to 49.6 by 2035, according to the U.N. population prospects report. Concurrently, global life expectancy improved to 70 years, with higher longevity in high-income countries. Germany impressively boasts a life expectancy of 80.6 years, while Nigeria's is only 52.3 years. Demographics will strain Europe as it adapts to a reality of a smaller and older native population.

In societies with low fertility and aging citizenry, fewer workers must support more dependents. A combination of reduced tax revenue and rising social responsibilities for the aging, challenges development, Gary L. Peters finds in "Depopulation in Some Rich Nations: Good News for Planet Earth?" Fiscal strains due to aging are best measured with the potential support ratio (PSR), which compares working-age citizens (20-64 years old) with the population over 65. A high PSR projects potential instability due to unemployment, while an insufficient PSR implies

economic stagnation due to disproportionate revenue supporting the elderly. As a generalization, a PSR of 4 provides adequate economic revenue and sustainable support, according to the U.N. population prospects report. By 2050, 24 European states will have a PSR of 2 or lower, juxtaposed to the current 12.9 PSR among African states. Further, if tax revenues directly transfer toward security spending, and the preponderance of military professionals are younger, aging states can become more insecure. With regard to Europe, a U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staffs report, "Joint Operating Environment (JOE) 2035," finds "demographic and fiscal pressures will continue to challenge NATO's capacity and capability."

Assuming revenue, security and social stability are among state interests, sage immigrant integration policies remain essential to aging European states, and to a lesser degree to the U.S. But migration to counter aging is but a temporary reprieve, because migrants age as well, David A. Coleman finds in "Mass Migration to Europe: Demographic Salvation, Essential Labor,

Whether
motivated by
economic,
environmental,
political or
security
reasons,
humanity is on
the move.



Syrian refugees arrive at the Ocuşpinar border crossing near the town of Kilis, Turkey, to cross into Syria for the Eid al-Adha Muslim holiday.

AFP/GETTY IMAGES

ing to James O. Ellis, James Mattis and Kori Schake in “Restoring our National Security.” Legal, interest-driven immigration consistently occurs at roughly 1 million per year in Europe and North America, as noted by the U.N.’s International Migration and Development report. These figures are miniscule in relation to destination and origin populations, yet remain critical toward guaranteeing the prosperity of aging states.

With automation and technology, developed economies rely less upon unskilled labor. Therefore, the “Paradox of Progress” report states, unskilled laborers will increasingly pursue irregular migration routes toward the developing world. National policies targeting skilled migrants unmistakably advance the interests of developed states, yet with unintended consequence toward countries of origin.

The exodus of skilled workers from the developing world, a phenomenon frequently labeled “brain drain,” impedes requisite reform within developing states. If economic opportunity or political inclusion for skilled workers is absent, migration offers status-quo regimes a convenient venue to extricate “malcontents,” claims

or Unwanted Foreigners?” Unfortunately, a focus on border security often diminishes the potential utility of essential immigration among wary recipient states, accord-

ing to the U.N.’s “Arab Human Development Report 2016: Youth and the Prospects for Human Development in a Changing Reality.” Hartman, et al., argue that, absent popular dissent, powerful elites can theoretically maintain power without accountability or essential development. Discontent catalyzes political change, as evidenced by an educated, unemployed Tunisian man self-immolating in December 2010, thereby igniting the Arab Spring. To both sustain Western interests and refine conditions in the developing world, nuanced national policies on highly skilled migrants are essential. Incorporation of highly skilled migrants is enticing to the short-term interests of developed states, yet does little to advance strategic progress within the developing world. Therefore, conditions that push migration are likely to persist.

Push factors

When looking at the root causes of migration, it is important to distinguish push factors from pull factors. In other words, it is important to understand the reasons people leave a location and the reasons they are drawn to a location. To quantify this distinctly subjective perspective, U.N. researchers created the Happiness Index, which measured well-being via a milieu of variables that included perceptions of freedom, corruption, gross domestic product and life expectancy. They found that countries with low-density populations such as Denmark, Switzerland, Iceland, Norway and Finland rated high on

the Happiness Index. On the other hand, nations with dense populations, including Nigeria, China, India, Egypt and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, ranked relatively low. This study suggests that quality of life is simpler to advance when a country's carrying capacity is not exhausted. Countries that are close to exceeding their carrying capacities are often those with nascent or unstable governance. Unfortunately, this seems to be the scenario in much of the developing world.

Regarding strain upon carrying capacity, Malthus noted that suffering from hunger, hard labor and unwholesome habitations existed primarily within large cities. Today, there are 28 "megacities" in excess of 10 million inhabitants, compared to only 10 such cities in 1990. Rapid population growth most often precedes basic infrastructure, sanitation, health care and water requirements. In Sub-Saharan Africa, 61.7 percent of urbanites survive in slums, according to the International Organization for Migration. In a 2011 paper for the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, Stephen Cummins points out that 300 million of these people lack basic sanitation, and 225 million have limited access to potable water. Inadequate population preparation negatively correlates to quality and length of life.

Lack of carrying capacity in developing states and urban centers undoubtedly exacerbates humanitarian crises. Loss of life is significant during disasters or pandemics when demand exceeds infrastructure, security, transportation and medical services. The U.S. Joint

Chiefs of Staff JOE report contends that, although tragic, these concerns are often secondary to security professionals and policymakers. Those skeptical of the validity of population strain see an environment of "persistent disorder" among states incapable of domestic order or good governance. The JOE report finds that, as carrying capacity overextends struggling governance, vacuums of power are increasingly filled with insurgents, urban gangs, and globalized crime and terror organizations. Cummins notes nascent governments are often unable or perceptibly unwilling to provide basic services and security, resulting in the political mobilization of unemployed youths in densely populated areas. Concurrent mitigation is essential to meet the challenges associated with excessive populations and poor governmental services.

Interestingly, the youth of contemporary population swells are technologically connected. In 2013, 6 billion people had cellphones, which was 2 billion more than had access to clean water. Therefore, awareness of relative deprivation merges with the ability to mobilize grievances. Since rapid urbanization often occurs within the capital seat of state governance, the stability of developing states is increasingly put

Yellow minibuses clog the roads in Lagos, Nigeria. Rapid urbanization threatens stability in developing countries. AFP/GETTY IMAGES



at risk by globally connected populations, Andrey Korotayev, Julia Zinkina, Svetlana Kobzeva, Justislav Bozhevolnov, Daria Khaltourina, Artemy Malkov and Sergey Malkov assert in a 2012 paper for *Clodynamics: The Journal of Theoretical and Mathematical History*. State ineffectiveness, rooted in an inability to govern expansive populations, projects regional instability, according to the JOE report. Finally, Korotayev, et al., warn that in the coming decades the demographics and urbanization conditions present before the Arab Spring will be similar in countries such as Burkina Faso, Eritrea, Malawi, Niger and Tanzania. The pending government instability related to population and migration trends in the developing world will likely result in an increase in international migration. The U.S. National Security Strategy says that youths in the developing world — enabled by technological connectivity — possess higher expectations for economic opportunity and governance. Ideally, a well-organized, youthful political movement could catalyze government solutions, instead of political instability and further migration.

Recommendations

The strain on carrying capacity in the developing world can be expected to increase the motivations for human migration. Whether for economic opportunity or for refuge from persistent disorder, people will seek to improve their lives. Migration will increase when developing states lack either the willingness or capacity to provide security and opportunity for growing populations. Developed states should anticipate increased irregular migration in the coming decades. Isolationist policies might temporarily assuage domestic concerns, but they will do little to proactively address the root causes of population movement. According to the World Population History website, carrying capacity can be mitigated through the comprehensive measures of — to use a simple analogy — fewer forks, better table manners and a bigger pie. Practically speaking, this manifestation is possible through enhanced women's rights, civic nationalism, governance improvements and sustainable development.

Investment in women's health and family planning is critical, according to the U.N. population prospects report. Such investment would ideally come from within developing states, although cultural norms and internal priorities often preclude progressive gender programs

in such states. Nongovernmental organizations, such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and intergovernmental organizations, such as the United Nations Population Fund, advance these interests.

Hartman, et al., argue further that advancing sexual and reproductive health rights, including holistic family planning education and contraception, is imperative throughout the developing world. Enhanced women's education, contraception access and empowerment is feasible, according to Leo Bryant, Louise Carver, Colin Butler and Ababu Anage in "Climate Change and Family Planning: Least Developed Countries Define the Agenda," and is significantly preferable to draconian measures employed historically, including coerced limits, sterilization and forced abortions. This endeavor is challenging because cultures and religion can resist the advancement of gender equality, the U.N.'s Arab human development report notes.

The political and economic empowerment of women provides the dual benefits of reduced fertility and a more developed society. Ultimately, fertility reduction is inextricably linked to equality among genders. Cultural gender constructs are difficult to shift progressively, but external facilitation from intergovernmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations will likely expedite this process. Such endeavors are essential among developing communities to promote fertility reduction and alleviation of carrying capacity burden.

Summary

Rapid population growth and urbanization exceed the developing world's carrying capacity, thereby increasing international migration and invigorating ethnic nationalism.

Developing world fertility rates and movement trends project continuation of this phenomenon as people seek enhanced security or economic opportunity. Migratory push and pull factors will only increase as population stagnancy within the developed world is juxtaposed with youthful population explosions in the global South. Controlled migration is mutually beneficial, yet demographic realities imply an increase of irregular movement as recipient states exhibit more ethnic nationalism and move to reject migrants.

Skeptics may not be interested in developing the world's carrying capacity. But the time is now for forward-thinking mitigation policies that positively shape the pending migration environment. Otherwise, the future will include more of the same disorder — much more. □

**Migration
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populations.**

DUTY BOUND



Migrants and refugees are given life vests after being rescued from a rubber boat in the Mediterranean Sea.

International Law and Maritime Migration

By Melina Lito PHOTOS BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

In 2015, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that the number of refugees and migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea to reach Europe had surpassed 300,000 that year, up from 219,000 in 2014. The UNHCR also said that “2,500 refugees and migrants are estimated to have died or gone missing this year while attempting the crossing to Europe — compared to 3,500 who died or went missing in the Mediterranean in 2014.”

Italy had established the search and rescue operation Mare Nostrum in 2013, offering migrants medical treatment, shelter, food and even legal assistance. But Mare Nostrum ended in October 2014 “because it was an emergency operation,” Italian Interior Minister Angelino Alfano said. In July 2017, refugees traveling on a lifeboat from Morocco to Spain were feared drowned in the Mediterranean, and only three were confirmed alive. The 49 probable deaths makes it the deadliest incident in the Western Mediterranean in 2017. In August 2017, the German nongovernmental organization Sea-Eye ended its rescue operations on the Mediterranean because of security concerns, citing an “explicit threat against the private NGOs” from the Libyan government.

In this sensitive time, when migrants and refugees are losing their lives in the Mediterranean as they try to escape escalating humanitarian crises and political turmoil, the complexities that govern the maritime security field needs to be further analyzed. This is a complex area of law and policy, and it arguably involves both international maritime law, which regulates the conduct of ships at sea, and international migration law, which regulates the general treatment of migrants and refugees.

AID AND ASSIST

The U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) was negotiated with the intent that the “progressive development of the law of the sea achieved in this Convention will contribute to the strengthening of peace, security, cooperation and friendly relations among all nations in conformity with the principles of justice and equal rights and will promote the economic and social advancement of all peoples of the world, in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations as set forth in the Charter.” Under Articles 98(1)-(2) of the convention, member states and ship

captains are required to assist those distressed at sea and coastal member states are required to establish and promote search and rescue operations at sea.

Moreover, the International Convention on Search and Rescue (SAR) sets out in its preamble to establish an “international maritime search and rescue plan responsible to the needs of maritime traffic for the rescue of persons in distress at sea.” Chapter 2 of SAR obligates coastal member states to arrange for adequate search and rescue services for those in distress at sea. It also elaborates that search and rescue regions be defined through agreements or other arrangements with other states. “In case agreement on the exact dimensions of a search and rescue region is not reached by the Parties concerned, those Parties shall use their best endeavors to reach agreement upon appropriate arrangements under which the equivalent overall coordination of search and rescue services is provided in the area. The Secretary-General shall be notified of such arrangements.” Furthermore, SAR provides “that assistance be provided to any person in distress at sea. They shall do so regardless of the nationality or status of such a person or the circumstances in which that person is found.” The International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS) is generally regarded as the most important of all international treaties



Rescuers with a Spanish nongovernmental agency scan the Mediterranean Sea for refugee boats.

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Italian children and volunteers in Palermo, Italy, take part in a symbolic rescue of paper boats to send a message to world leaders to protect children on the move. The paper boats represent the fragility and unseaworthiness of the vessels that thousands of children are forced to board in their journeys across the Mediterranean Sea.

concerning the safety of merchant ships. SOLAS applies “to ships entitled to fly the flag of States of Governments of which are the Contracting Governments.” Chapter 5 obligates member states to “ensure that any necessary arrangements are made for coast watching and for the rescue of persons in distress at sea round its coasts. These arrangements should include the establishment, operation and maintenance of such maritime safety facilities as are deemed practicable and necessary having regard to the density of the seagoing traffic and navigational dangers and should, so far as possible, afford adequate means of locating and rescuing such persons.”

SOLAS was amended in 2004 to provide guidance on what the security plan should be when engaging with a ship that has been at a port of a nonstate party or has engaged with a ship that is not required to apply the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code. These amendments lay out that the “denial of entry into port shall only be imposed when the duly authorized officer(s) have clear grounds to believe that the ship poses an immediate threat to the security or safety of persons, ships or other property and there are no appropriate means for removing the threat.”

REFUGEE RIGHTS

Overall, while UNCLOS, SAR and SOLAS govern international maritime law and provide the framework for ship engagement on search and rescue missions, at the other end of the spectrum is the international migration law framework, which this author examined in more detail in a previous issue (Vol 7, Issue 1, 2016). Thus, this article focuses more on the Refugee Convention.

The Refugee Convention, under Article 12, obligates member states to expel a refugee only on grounds of national security or threat to public order, and only if the decision to expel has been “reached in accordance with due process of law. Except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, the refugee shall be allowed to submit evidence to clear himself, and to appeal to and be represented for the purpose before competent authority or a person or persons specifically designated by the competent authority.” Moreover, under Article 33 and the *non-refoulement* principle, member states are generally prohibited from expelling a refugee to his/her country of origin if it poses a risk of persecution based on nationality, political opinion, race, religion or membership in a particular social group. There is an exception, however, if the refugee is a threat to national security “or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.”

Thus, on one hand, international maritime law obligates ships and ship captains to perform search and rescue operations when they encounter someone in distress. It even obligates ships to know the intricacies of how such operations will be carried out in neighboring territories via regional agreements. Similarly, the UNCLOS regulates for the search and rescue of those distressed on the high seas. It can be concluded, therefore, that when a ship or ship master from a state that is party to these conventions encounters a vessel carrying people in distress, they are in fact empowered

to provide assistance. On the other hand, the Refugee Convention provides protection to refugees fleeing their country of origin because of persecution. It protects them when they enter the host country, and it protects them from being sent back with the principle of non-refoulement, absent threats to national security and public order.

While the movement of people across international borders has many positive impacts (especially from a socioeconomic and cultural diversity perspective), there are also security threats related to trafficking, smuggling and organized crime. U.N. Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1373 “[n]otes with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal arms trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials, and in this regard emphasizes the need to enhance coordination of efforts on national, subregional, regional and international levels in order to strengthen a global response to this serious challenge and threat to international security.” SCR 1373 also calls on state parties to “[t]ake appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum-seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of terrorist acts.” Finally, the New York Declaration on Migrants and Refugees recognized, “the particular vulnerabilities of women and children during the journey from country of origin to country of arrival. This includes their potential exposure to discrimination and exploitation, as well as to sexual, physical and psychological abuse, violence, human trafficking and contemporary forms of slavery.” These security challenges are relevant in the context of land and sea borders and perhaps even harder to resolve in the context of maritime immigration when so many actors are involved.

For example, it is understood that the ship captain is responsible for search and rescue, and that the receiving port is responsible for expulsions based on national security and public order. But more understanding is needed when trying to determine which entity is responsible for deciding that someone on a ship is a national security threat. For instance, in the event crewmembers are designated to perform the screening, then systems must be in place to ensure they are properly trained. Similarly, more discussions and planning are needed on what to do with the rescued people after a ship has been denied entry to a port because of security concerns. How should the group of rescued migrants be treated and where should they be sent?

These are complex matters of law and policy because they are also tethered to border security considerations and require an allocation of resources and extensive collaboration from state, international and private actors. But with the rise in the number of people fleeing conflict and making the journey by boats, especially vessels that are not fit for this purpose, such questions become more relevant and urgent. □

The background of the entire page is a dark gray or black field filled with numerous thin, light gray lines that radiate outwards from the center, creating a starburst or sunburst effect.

INTEGRATION COMES AGE

BY MARTIN HOFMANN PHOTOS BY REUTERS

New policies promote the inclusion of immigrants

Integration started to attract an increasing amount of attention during the second half of the 1990s, often based on the assumption that in some ways things had taken a turn in the wrong direction. The subsequent debate coined terms like “parallel societies,” “integration deficits” or “failed multiculturalism,” all of them implying that immigration policies had failed in one way or another. This notion appeared somewhat exaggerated when looking at the hard data, and the integration of immigrants seemed to work a lot better than media reports and public debate would have suggested.

Nevertheless, there were some real issues that deserved to be addressed more thoroughly. For too long, immigration policies had more or less focused on the domestic labor market. The intention was to recruit a foreign labor force on a temporary basis, and return the workers to their home countries after completion of their allotted time or in times of recession.

In reality, most of the immigration turned out to be permanent; the initial workers settled in their new countries and were followed by relatives. At the same time, slowing economic growth put immigrants in particularly vulnerable positions with regard to job security and labor market inclusion. These trends prompted decision-makers to act to avoid further excluding immigrants and to address increasing public scepticism toward immigration. As a result, the concept of integration policy was born.

GLOBAL TRENDS

Migration patterns are diverse and international migrants form anything but a homogenous group. Migration trends influence the composition and backgrounds of immigrant populations and impact integration processes as well as their underlying challenges. Although public debate and the media often give a different impression, international migrants represent only a small portion of the world's population and their share is surprisingly stable. In its latest revision, the United Nations Population Division estimated there were 244 million migrants in 2015, equal to 3.3 percent of the world's population. In 2000, this figure stood at 2.9 percent, an increase of only 1.2 percentage points when compared to 1970.

However, migrants favor some destinations over others. It is estimated that two-thirds of all migrants live in the most highly developed countries. If migration trends continue and the world's population increases as expected, the number of migrants will increase to 309 million by 2050. This would cause a considerable — but not dramatic — increase in global migration. However, wealthy countries in the north will probably experience significant increases in immigration.

There are a number of reasons — personal, social or economic — that people



Teklit Michael, 29, an asylum-seeker from Eritrea, works in the kitchen of a restaurant in Tel Aviv, Israel. Employment is critical to the self-esteem of immigrants.

leave their homes. There are four central causes that can determine present and possibly future migrations: 1) flight and displacement; 2) demographic factors; 3) income differentials between origin and destination countries; 4) socio-economic development. The so-called “large and spontaneous” arrivals related to flight and displacement are almost always linked to armed conflict. Estimates in 2016 put the global population of displaced people at more than 67 million, the most since the end of World War II. The majority stay in their





Merhawi Tesfay, an immigrant from Eritrea, works as an electrician and manufacturer at a German plant near Münster. Good jobs are necessary for immigrants to integrate into their new societies.

INTEGRATION TAKES TIME AND INTEGRATION DEPENDS ON THE INDIVIDUAL IMMIGRANT'S SUCCESS IN FULFILLING HIS OR HER ASPIRATIONS.

home country or in neighboring countries. Some manage to reach more distant states that can provide protection.

The second root cause, demography, is related to population trends. Today, the world's population is an estimated 7.3 billion. By 2050, it will be 9.7 billion, with the growth distributed unevenly among the world's regions. Africa's population will more than double from 1.2 billion to 2.5 billion. Asia will grow from 4.4 billion people to 5.3 billion. At the same time, countries in the Northern Hemisphere will experience demographic aging. Migration from young and comparatively poor societies to aging and comparatively rich societies is a pattern that will most likely intensify.

Differentials in wages and income are the third most common drivers of international migration. Although many developing countries can make good progress in terms of catching up economically, significant wage gaps will continue to exist between regions. The fourth root cause, development, runs contrary to widespread beliefs. It is economic and social development — not underdevelopment — that can cause migration. Development brings fundamental changes to a society. The agricultural sector decreases, altering the labor force; child mortality decreases and populations increase; expectations and aspirations rise. Growing numbers of young people leave their homes in search of better lives, whether in their own countries or abroad.

What are the consequences of these trends for integration? First, both emigration in countries of origin and immigration in countries of destination will continue to grow. In addition, there will be more conflict and displacement on a global scale and consequently more spontaneous migrations. Thus, migration flows will shift toward origins more distant from their destinations in geographic, political, social, educational and cultural terms. Societies in destination countries will become more diverse; the percent of immigrants among the overall population will grow, a trend that will be even stronger in



FIRST-GENERATION IMMIGRANTS FACE A HIGH RISK OF WORKING BELOW THEIR QUALIFICATIONS AND GETTING STUCK WITH MENIAL JOBS AND BELOW-AVERAGE WAGES.

urban areas. Conflict-induced migration will also mean that the displaced will have a more difficult starting position in terms of participation and integration in the host countries. They cannot prepare for their journey, and the displacement often disrupts academic and professional pursuits that are incomplete when the overwhelmingly young refugees and asylum-seekers reach safe countries. All of this implies that immigrant integration processes will become more challenging than in the past. This challenge refers to immigrants and the hosting societies and must be met with enhanced personal, social and political efforts.

POLICY GOALS

Having a clear definition of what immigrant integration is or should be is a precondition for both promoting it and for addressing any future problems. Unfortunately, neither the academic nor the political debate has resulted in a commonly accepted or legally binding definition. All integration policies, however, pursue one overriding objective. The goal is to ensure that migrants acquire the necessary means to participate in the economic, cultural and social life of the receiving societies, benefit from equal access to rights and opportunities, and be treated the same as the domestic population.

Integration policies are formulated along three dimensions: structural, social and cultural, and political. Structural integration refers to participation in the economy and access to the education and health systems of receiving countries. Social and cultural integration refers to participation in the social life and an orientation of commonly shared values. Political integration refers to participation in the political decision-making process. Notably, the right to full political participation is not perceived as a priority in integration policies. The acquisition of full political rights is seen in the context of the acquisition of citizenship, which many states perceive as a logical endpoint of a successful integration process. As a crosscutting issue, integration policies are closely linked to other policy areas, such as labor markets, education, health or housing. This implies the adaptation of

mainstream institutions with a view to challenges related to immigration and diversity. Targeted measures in the area of integration regularly comprise language, tuition, targeted job training, the introduction to the history, culture and general values of host societies, or specific programs

addressing the needs of female migrants or young immigrants.

Today, integration is not understood as an obligation exclusively on the part of migrants. It is understood as a mutual and reciprocal process, requiring the involvement of both the migrants and the resident population as a precondition for success. This was not always the case. The debate on integration has a long history in the context of migration, but for a long period it was subsumed under the term “assimilation.” Used for the first time in the 1920s in the United States, assimilation was understood as the gradual and automatic approximation and adaption to the American way of life. Thus, the task of assimilation and adaptation was entirely the responsibility of the migrants. From the 1960s onward, this concept was increasingly criticized as ethnocentric, patronizing and single-sided. At least in the academic debate, integration is now seen as distinct from assimilation and as an incorporation of immigrants into the host society while maintaining their cultural identities and practices. Moreover, this process is considered a mutual process between immigrants and their host societies rather than the sole responsibility of migrants.

LONG-TERM PROCESS

The German sociologist Hartmut Esser developed one of the most influential integration policy concepts. Esser defines immigrant integration as inclusion in the social system of the host country. The underlying process comprises four phases related to four dimensions of the phenomenon. The first phase, acculturation, refers to the cultural dimension of integration and includes the acquisition of language, knowledge and skills. The second phase, positioning, relates to the structural dimension and comprises the acquisition of rights and participation in the labor and housing market and the educational system. The third phase, interaction, emphasizes the social dimension and refers to contacts and relations beyond ethnic boundaries, friendships, marriage and family.

The final phase, identification, is linked to the emotional dimension and is characterized by positive orientation toward the host society, a sense of identity and solidarity, and an increasing acceptance of its general values and social norms. Two aspects are key in this regard: time and individual success. Integration takes time and integration depends on the individual immigrant’s success in fulfilling his or her aspirations. This also puts in perspective the widely held belief that identification with the host society, its system and values, should come at the beginning. In

A Syrian refugee in Athens, Greece, protests delays in the reunification of refugee families. Keeping families together can expedite integration.

reality, it seems to be the other way around: Positive identification stands at the endpoint of a successful integration process rather than at its beginning. The consequences for integration policies are obvious. First, integration requires a lot of stamina, sometimes for years or even generations. Second, the overriding goal of integration policy must be to support all efforts of immigrants to economically participate in a way that allows for the fulfilment of their individual or family aspirations. Only then will they positively identify with the host society's values and endorse the written and unwritten rules which make it work.

MEASURING SUCCESS

The problem with defining integration is revealed when trying to measure its progress in a given society. As a highly complex phenomenon, integration eludes precise measurement. Statistical data can only offer approximations. This is done with indicators that quantify and simplify social phenomena and help to better understand complex realities without precisely measuring them. Regardless of the methodology used, measuring the state of integration in a country will always be a challenge and the results will be biased to a certain degree. However, integration indicators have proved very useful when it comes to identifying certain problems or when immigrant groups are finding it particularly difficult to successfully participate in the economic, social and cultural life of host countries.

All available research suggests that immigration is indeed beneficial for receiving societies in economic and demographic terms. Immigration seems to moderately increase gross domestic product per capita, fills key vacancies at both ends of the qualification and wage spectrums, does not lead to displacement in the labor market, and relieves public finances and welfare systems because of a more favorable age demographic. At the same time, integration works considerably better than often assumed. Most immigrants acknowledge that integration is a precondition for their success or the success of their spouses. They want to integrate and, in most cases, manage to do so. This also involves the gradual approximation of cultural and behavioral patterns and finds its expression in upward mobility between first- and second-generation immigrants, especially in the case of second-generation females.

But, of course, not everything is rosy. Generally speaking, first-generation immigrants face a high risk of working below their qualifications and getting stuck with menial jobs and below-average wages. Immigrants are much more prone to the risk of exploitation and discrimination than any other population. A long-term problem arises when the first generation of immigrants comes from — or is recruited from — lower educational backgrounds. Educational levels are often passed from one generation to the next. Low-qualified second and third generations unable to obtain the credentials for upward mobility might not accept the job conditions at the lower end of the food chain as willingly as previous generations.

SECURITY CHALLENGES

Long-term integration challenges of the second- and third-immigrant generations also create problems that are

closely linked to security. Certain types of crime associated with immigrant groups and recent terrorist attacks have raised questions about migration and security. These concerns, however, are not always substantiated by evidence. Immigrants are no more prone to deviant behavior or crime than other groups. In many crime categories, they are even underrepresented because their fragile legal and social status induces them to play by the rules more so than the majority population. However, there are two notable exceptions that have been observed in many countries. The first exception refers to intraethnic violent crimes, and the second to deviant behavior of second-generation males.

When law enforcement officials and researchers examined why certain migrant groups were overrepresented in certain types of violent crime, they discovered three things. These crimes are normally interethnic, often have a history of escalation and sometimes are embedded in organized crime structures that are deeply rooted in the social culture of the respective origin countries. Most of the related offenses can be characterized as migrant-on-migrant crime. One frequent pattern is that conflicts between members of an ethnic group escalate due to their reluctance to involve the authorities for conflict mediation and resolution. Certain immigrant populations distrust authorities in general, either because of bad experiences in their home country or because of a fragile legal and social status in their host country. Consequently, they might be tempted to take matters into their own hands, which sometimes escalates conflicts rather than settles them. Notwithstanding, migrants are much more likely to become the victims of migration-related crime than to be the offenders. They are more vulnerable than other groups to all forms of exploitation, coercion, intimidation or discrimination. Organized crime groups capitalize on this vulnerability, especially within their own communities.

The second exception refers to the deviant behavior of second-generation male immigrants, a frequently observed phenomenon in many countries. Deviant behavior ranges from noncriminal public rebelliousness to petty crime, from involvement with youth gangs and organized crime groups to various forms of political and religious radicalization. A tiny minority commit politically motivated violence. Thus, the social context must not be neglected. Crime and radicalization do not happen in a vacuum. Offenders often have in common a specific biography and a specific history. They can be angry young men from disadvantaged neighborhoods who lack education and jobs and who have no real prospects for a positive future. They feel excluded and left behind. This will never be the only reason, but it can be one of the many reasons a person might become a criminal, a radical or even a homegrown terrorist. There is no direct connection between failed integration and crime or radicalization, but there are links. In addressing those, integration policy can contribute to softening these links and preventing potential security threats from becoming the actual ones. It must be stressed though that the attitudes and deeds of a few are unrelated to the attitudes and views of the millions of refugees who try to escape war, conflict and violence, and who live peacefully with members of their host societies.

RECENT TRENDS

There are two key factors for successful integration: language acquisition and economic participation. Based on these widely accepted priorities, and to avoid the integration gaps experienced in previous immigration periods, states continuously broaden and fine-tune their integration policies. States have concluded that integration measures are most successful when they begin as early as possible. The aim is to acquaint immigrants with the language, values and culture of the host country immediately after or even prior to their arrival. Thus, countries have continually increased the intensity of their language courses to quickly provide new immigrants with a language level appropriate for participation in the economic, social and cultural life of the host society. The programs have a higher intensity and are organized in countries of origin as well, which enables migrants to achieve a certain language level before entering the host country.

Host countries have long emphasized language acquisition as the main objective of integration measures, and research confirms the significance of language for the successful social, cultural and economic integration of migrants. Consequently, they have increased the requirements for language competency and related training measures. They have promoted early childhood language acquisition, established special day care facilities with a focus on language and integration, and offered language courses for migrants and their families in countries of origin. Host countries have learned that a mismatch in formal and practical qualifications hampers the immigrants' full participation in the labor market. Consequently, they aim to broaden their integration concepts by focusing on language training and on integrating the labor market. Related measures include skills assessments, stepped-up recognition of foreign qualifications and certificates, help with job searches, sponsored internships or other workplace integration measures.

These measures also try to diversify the courses and programs. The idea is to offer tailor-made interventions for target groups and their respective integration needs. Specific approaches are created for young immigrants or for female immigrants, and specific measures are offered based on education level and professional qualifications. The diversification of integration measures goes hand in hand with the customization of integration measures. Related measures emphasize individual support in the framework of general integration programs, such as case-by-case counseling, individual integration plans, guides to accompany immigrants during the integration process, or mentoring programs involving well-integrated representatives from immigrant communities assisting newly arrived migrants.

Individual integration plans also instill a sense of responsibility. States want to reward successful integration but also impose sanctions when unsuccessful. One approach is to emphasize the

role of positive incentives, which reward successful integration efforts. These rewards include fast-track procedures for resident permits, access to citizenship for immigrants who can prove they succeeded in their integration efforts or financial incentives for successfully completing integration courses.

CONCLUSION

Current and future migration trends will most likely result in larger immigrant populations and more societal diversity in host countries. This poses additional challenges to immigrants and receiving societies and calls for enhanced personal, social and political efforts. Thus, successful integration must be understood as a long-term, mutual and reciprocal process, requiring the involvement of both the migrants and the resident population as a precondition for success. Integration policy is not a magic bullet that can meet all challenges all at once.



But when it applies to an intelligent mix of policies addressing the social, economic, political and cultural integration challenges that exist in a society, it can make a difference. It should foster equal opportunities, a fairer distribution of wealth, a sense of joint identity, a feeling of belonging and togetherness, and interaction among the various groups in a society. In doing so, it can make a significant contribution to cohesion and security.

Prejudice, discrimination and exclusion will have the opposite effect. Successful integration policies benefit all parts of the population but pay particular attention to the vulnerable groups, namely those that run the risk of permanently falling behind whether or not they are immigrants. □

A British teacher, center, speaks to refugee children at the volunteer-run Refugee Education Chios school on the island of Chios, Greece. It's important for host countries to educate immigrant children.

ADAPTING — TO — NEW THREATS



Polish Army PT-91 tanks maneuver during NATO's Silver Arrow 2017 exercise in Adazi, Latvia. REUTERS

Rethinking NATO defense strategies in Eastern Europe

By Maj. Josh Passer, U.S. Army

Is the United States military meeting its goals in Europe? The U.S. trains its military leaders to develop plans with achievable goals that can be measured. In this manner, resources can be allocated correctly, and the plan can be adapted as situations change.

In 2014, the conflict in eastern Ukraine and Russia's illegal annexation of Crimea dramatically altered the U.S. focus in Eastern Europe. The military goal is now deterring overt, hostile Russian military action in Europe. The U.S. Department of Defense defines deterrence as "the prevention of action by the existence of a credible threat of unacceptable counteraction and/or belief that the cost of action outweighs the perceived benefits."

For now, deterrence seems to have been achieved, because Russia has not moved overtly against any other European — much less NATO — country. There are a number of contributing factors to this successful deterrence, including the increased U.S. and NATO military presence in Eastern Europe, and sanctions and other economic factors. Or, for now, Russia does not view the prospect of minor territorial and resource gains as worth risking another global war, though only Russian President Vladimir Putin knows for certain what Russia's strategy is.

Though there have been no new overt military actions — such as the downing of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 over eastern Ukraine in 2014 — the threat of Russia's new form of hybrid warfare remains. The playbook is similar to past Russian/Soviet Union schemes with variations enabled by new technology. Here's how they can be summarized:

1. Closely watch countries within Russia's sphere of influence that have significant ethnic Russian populations.
2. Wait until — or provoke — the government of one of these countries to suppress or discriminate against their Russian population.
3. Condemn those actions and gain sympathy in Russia for the plight of ethnic Russians in that country.
4. Call for the other government to cease its suppressive actions while supporting the ethnic Russian population with both legitimate aid and undercover agent provocateurs.
5. Force the other government to take overt actions against its ethnic Russians with more restrictive legislation and/or direct police action.
6. Use Russian operatives within the newly rebellious area to escalate conflict.
7. Compel the other government to either respond with more force or allow rebellious areas to break away (the most likely scenario, because most countries dislike giving up territory, is the government deploying military and/or more police to suppress the ethnic Russian population).
8. Intervene militarily to "defend" ethnic Russians against the "aggression" of the other government.

This chain of events occurred in Georgia in 1921 and 2008, in Moldova's Transnistria region in 1992, and in Ukraine in 2013-2014. The most extreme outcome is complete territorial control, such as in Georgia in 1921 and in Crimea in 2014, followed by partial territory control, such as in Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and lastly a frozen conflict such as in eastern Ukraine or Transnistria. Each of these outcomes is a net gain for Russia, increasing its regional power and blocking these countries from potential NATO membership.

Russia has also proven adept at pushing propaganda and influence through many media formats. During the height of the Ukraine conflict in 2014, there were numerous instances



United States and French Marines conduct cold-weather survival and mountaineering training in Strathconon, Highland, Scotland in November 2017 at a pre-Arctic training course. CPL CAREAF L. HENSON/U.S. MARINE CORPS

of blatantly false reports in Russian media. In one notorious example, a reporter conducted several interviews with an apparently injured man for various news sources, with each interview providing a different name and back story as to how and to what extent he was injured by pro-Ukrainian forces.

But Russia has also had information technology failures. Young soldiers forgot to turn off the geo-locating services on their phones or other digital devices when checking in on social media, revealing that they were inside Ukraine despite Russia's claims that it had no military presence there. Russia quickly dissembled, calling these soldiers "volunteers" who were helping the pro-Russian rebels — volunteers who just happen to have all their Russian-issued military equipment with them while on "vacation," fighting a war.

This form of hybrid warfare and media manipulation is difficult to counter through conventional military means, and Russia's actions in this realm do not seem to be deterred by the increased NATO military presence in Eastern Europe. An additional increase in military personnel and establishing permanent bases in vulnerable Eastern European countries could give their governments the security to counter anti-Western propaganda. More positive interaction between NATO forces and local populations will decrease the effectiveness of Russian misinformation campaigns.

The internet — and social media in particular — has become a favorite medium for Russian propaganda. Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. elections can be viewed as a variation from the Russian influence playbook. While the U.S. lacks a significant ethnic Russian population to incite, its growing political divide has proven easy to manipulate, presenting an opportunity for Russia and Putin. Evidence shows widespread use of new technology to widen the divisions in the U.S. Russian hacking of the Democratic National Committee emails, use of bots on Twitter and Facebook and the purchase of ads on Facebook point to a new form of digital and information warfare that the U.S. government has failed to effectively counter.

But the U.S. must resist the knee-jerk reactions of censorship and overregulation. Premature crackdowns on affected industries or information technology (IT) sectors play into the Russian playbook. Overbearing government restrictions lead people to find alternatives, and digital alternatives are increasingly provided by countries such as China or Russia, which clearly use their IT systems to increase control domestically

and to boost their influence abroad. Their commercial IT services may work for Western users while feeding information back to hostile governments for exploitation. These countries seek a higher profile on the world stage. The U.S. must invest in and continue to foster the IT sector in an open and free manner and enhance cooperation with others around the world, maintaining a strong presence in global affairs and engagement in events outside its borders, and in the cyber realm. This is another sector that conventional military structures are struggling to address. For the U.S. and its allies, a strong digital front to protect assets from attack is as important as tanks on the ground in Europe.

After the illegal annexation of Crimea, the U.S. moved to reassure friends and allies in the region that it would be ready and able to defend them from Russian aggression. The U.S. allocated \$1 billion to the European Reassurance Initiative in its first year, and has increased its commitment each subsequent year to a projected \$4.7 billion in 2018. That money has funded construction efforts to improve infrastructure for military logistics and multinational exercises across NATO's eastern flank.

These exercises include U.S. Army Heavy Brigade Combat Teams, Army Combat Aviation Brigades, and Air Force and Naval assets, many of which are stationed permanently in the U.S. Since only two U.S. Army Brigade Combat Teams are stationed in Europe — the 173rd Airborne and 2nd Stryker Cavalry Regiment, neither of which has heavy armor — these rotational units from the U.S. help fill gaps in training resources and potential combat power. A plethora of

training exercises with militaries from partnered and allied nations keep these forces very busy during their nine-month rotations.

Through these region-spanning exercises, the U.S. military learns how to work with the militaries and governments of other nations and their unique and sometimes frustrating bureaucracies, timetables and methods of interaction to mutually find solutions and improve processes. They also learn vital lessons about training, logistics and communications, and develop innovative tactics, techniques and procedures. However, the U.S. forces return home after each rotation and must rely on lessons learned to continue readiness training at their U.S. bases.

U.S. forces and diplomats also rely on a consistent foreign



A Russian Navy ship blockades Sevastopol harbor in Crimea in March 2014 after Russian armed forces illegally seized the territory from Ukraine.

policy. Each presidential administration implements some foreign policy changes, but the fundamentals tend to remain consistent. Instability in foreign policy inhibits the ability of diplomats and other U.S. officials to maintain stable international relations. U.S. allies and partners in Europe were greatly reassured when U.S. President Donald Trump affirmed the U.S. commitment to NATO. Russian misinformation thrives on confusion. It is much easier for Russian media — never shy about outright lies and fabrications — to sow distrust and fear for the future of Western partnerships and international stability when official U.S. policy is ambiguous.

For more than a decade, U.S. foreign policy has been focused predominantly on the Middle East during a time when Russia began to exploit simmering tensions from European conflicts dating to the mid-1990s. The events in Georgia in 2008 should have alerted Europe and the U.S. that pro-Western countries near Russia were at risk. However, Georgia is a small country on the far side of the Black Sea and attention in the West was diverted by the “surge” in Iraq, the U.S. presidential election campaign and the global financial crisis. The timing could not have been better for Russia. And in Ukraine, conflict began while the U.S. was in the midst of a foreign policy “pivot” toward Asia that started in 2011. By 2013, the U.S. had significantly reduced its military presence in Europe and declined to respond when the Syrian government used chemical weapons against civilians in rebel-held areas. Putin had reason to believe there would be little response from the U.S. when he sent troops into Crimea and fomented rebellion in eastern Ukraine in response to the political unrest that ousted pro-Russian Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich. While some additional sanctions and restrictions were levied against Russia’s elite, the long-term outcome has been yet another frozen conflict, essentially blocking Ukraine from moving toward European Union or NATO membership.

There will always be competing issues and foci around the globe. Currently the battle lines in Ukraine are fairly static and, despite large military exercises on both sides of the NATO/Russia divide, there is relative stability. To maintain stability and increase influence in Europe, the U.S. needs to increase military engagement. First, heavy combat brigades should be reintroduced in Europe. Commander of NATO and U.S. European Command Gen. Curtis Scaparrotti, in his March 2017 testimony to the U.S. Congress, requested an increased U.S. military rotational presence in Europe and continuation of prepositioned military stocks. This is a step in the right direction and provides manpower and capabilities



German Marder infantry fighting vehicles participate in a rapid response exercise with Enhanced Forward Presence Battle Group Lithuania in December 2017, near Baltadvaris, Lithuania. SPC. DUSTIN D. BIVIN/U.S. ARMY

without the politics of permanent basing. Re-basing forces is expensive in the near term, but cannot be more expensive than moving a fully armored, heavy brigade from the U.S. to Europe every nine months for the foreseeable future. As recently as November 2017, U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Mark Milley recommended permanently basing troops in Europe: “The air [and] maritime capabilities are very important, but I would submit that ground forces play an outsize role in conventional deterrence and conventional assurance of allies. Because your physical presence on the ground speaks volumes.”

The National Defense Authorization Act of 2017 increased the U.S. military’s end strength. This could provide an opportunity to station more units in Europe without significantly reducing manpower on bases at home, which could raise concerns with members of Congress who do not want to lose the community-bolstering income of large military bases in their districts. Moving units, particularly heavy units, back to Europe permanently would demonstrate U.S. security commitment to partners and allies.

All of this must be supported by a foundation of consistent, focused and deliberate foreign policy. A forward-deployed military force provides the “big stick,” but it must be complemented by a well-trained, funded and focused diplomatic corps to “talk softly.” These two components complement each other only when both are supported and given adequate direction. Diplomatic efforts should always take the lead, while the military should be ready and available, but only as a final response. The relationship can become strained when one department receives greater emphasis from the political leadership. The “either-or” mentality of funding priorities must change. Only a fully cooperative relationship can allow the U.S. to reassert its influence in Europe and around the world, deterring future aggression. □



PER CONCORDIAM ILLUSTRATION

EXTREMISM

— in a FREE EUROPE —

By Fahredin Verbovci, Kosovo Police

PHOTOS BY AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Social separation is a barrier to ending the violence

The free movement of people, goods and services is fundamental to the political system of the European Union. But EU countries have recently been flooded with migrants from Africa and the Middle East in search of better economic opportunities or to escape ongoing wars. This migration is often contrary to the desires of EU countries. Even when it is in accordance with humanitarian migration policies, it can become a source of extremism and radicalism that in some cases has been manifested in terrorist acts.

The majority of these migrants belong to the Muslim community, and many are not integrating well into the cultures and societies of their host countries, creating concerns among native populations. In maintaining their religion, traditions and habits, these Muslim immigrants are increasing social separation and harming integration efforts.

In his study of Muslim migration to the EU, professor and philosopher Tariq Ramadan found that the increasing number of Muslims with extremist philosophies in Europe — particularly in France — is creating difficulties on many fronts. Most of these Muslims are

not integrated into European society. Only by fighting extremism and radicalism can Islam serve as an instrument of harmony and culture in Europe. The deadly terrorist acts in European countries reinforce Ramadan's arguments.

Among the biggest threats and challenges to EU countries since the dissolution of the Soviet Union:

- The flow of immigrants from the Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya) and from the Middle East.
- Aging populations within the EU.
- Violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism.
- The return to the EU of jihadists who have participated in the Middle East wars.

An inability to integrate immigrant populations in EU countries into a single community of common citizens in a democratic and pluralist order can damage the cultural sustainability of these countries. Radicalism among some Muslim immigrants is often associated with criminal acts, which strains European security. Although EU countries have consistently tried to coordinate focused social policies to prevent and combat violent extremism, it remains a national security concern.

In addition to their integration efforts, EU countries and their non-EU partners should focus



A group of Syrian refugees arrive in Keflavik, Iceland, from a refugee camp in Lebanon. Many European countries have welcomed Syrian refugees.

“ The EU should take on new responsibilities. And these new responsibilities call for intensification of the integration process, and we need to raise our voice and work for the future of Europe. ”

— Romano Prodi, A former president of the European Commission



Muslim women hold placards reading (from left) “Not in my name,” “Terrorism doesn’t have religion” and “Islam is Peace” during a march in Barcelona after the deadly Barcelona and Cambrils attacks in 2017.



A man charged in an August 2017 stabbing attack in Finland hides his face in court. Those who commit crimes in the name of Islam hurt integration into European society for other Muslims.

more on fighting ISIS on social media and online. ISIS supporters are sending messages throughout the world through Twitter and other social networks to build strategies and platforms. Years ago, ISIS launched a jihadist online platform that encouraged supporters to join its terrorist forces not only in Syria, but also in European countries.

But the question remains: What concrete step is the EU taking to cope with the influx of immigrants and prevent them from turning to violent extremism?

EU members have agreed to revise and reinforce the 1997 Dublin criteria for asylum-seekers and to review and amend policies for migrants. Some European states have expressed skepticism about undertaking their EU obligation to accept a share of refugees from the Syrian wars. The EU must act before the safety situation escalates. To aid the refugees, EU countries must focus on providing shelter, education, integration and socialization — as well as socio-economic assistance — to familiarize them with European culture.

Is Islam identified in Europe with extremism and terrorism? Most EU countries do not prejudice the religious element, but they must come together to fight extremism. Muslim extremists’ have used religious symbols in a negative way in recent terrorist acts as a statement against the West and democratic values in Europe.

There is a large Muslim community in Europe and it constitutes an important economic, cultural and social pillar. Extremists with various problems and with a pathological hatred of Western values have nothing to do with the true Islam, because true Islam cultivates peace and harmony in the family and in society. Religion, in this context, should serve as an instrument of unity among people with different traditions and habits. It should encourage understanding, integration and harmonization among people, not separation, disunity and hatred.

These features of Islam enhance the importance of religion in a troubled international system beset by stereotypes. Let us not forget that Muslim and Christian believers have lived together in peace in the West and will continue to do so. A steadfast Europe supports democratic processes and liberalism, and the common struggle of today is to prevent radicalism and combat violent extremism and terrorism by all available means.

A former president of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, said: “The EU should take on new responsibilities. And these new responsibilities call for intensification of the integration process, and we need to raise our voice and work for the future of Europe.” Only through the process of cooperation and coordination can the democratic EU tackle violent extremism and terrorism within Europe and beyond. □



SHOW *of* FORCE

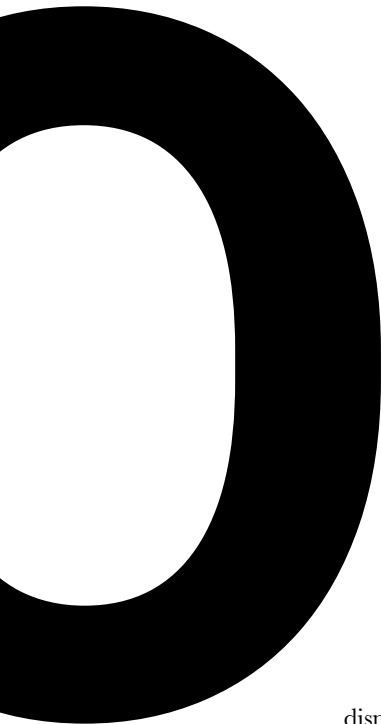
U.S. bombers enhance security cooperation in Europe

U. S. S T R A T E G I C C O M M A N D

Russia's use of information warfare to influence other nations and its aggressive actions, including invasions and annexations, are a looming global security concern. Russia continually attempts to destabilize other countries and interfere in their politics because it wants to be more than a regional power. To attain that goal, the Kremlin wants a weak NATO; however, NATO remains strong and committed to mutual defense. And so does the United States, as demonstrated by the military's participation in European and NATO exercises and events. Strategic bomber deployments and the participation in military exercises play a large role in reassuring allies of the U.S. commitment to extended deterrence.



A U.S. Air Force B-1B Lancer receives fuel from
a KC-135 Stratotanker. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS



ne way U.S. bombers build relationships in Europe is through participation in air shows. The annual Royal International Air Tattoo (RIAT), which takes place each July at the Royal Air Force (RAF) base Fairford in Gloucestershire, England, is the largest military air show in the world. The 2017 RIAT recognized the 70th anniversary of the U.S. Air Force with an impressive array of strategic U.S. bomber assets. The air show also celebrated the 21st century partnerships that exist throughout the defense and aviation communities.

All three U.S. bombers were on display at the show: The B-1B Lancer and the B-52H Stratofortress were on static display, and the low-observable B-2 Spirit conducted a flyover with two F-15 fighters.

The incorporation of these mighty bombers was a remarkable addition to the air show. Their size and engine power is as impressive as the substantial weapons payload they can carry. All three aircraft can deliver conventional munitions such as precision-guided bombs and missiles. The B-52H and B-2 are nuclear capable as well, cementing their status as powerful arms of nuclear deterrence.

Though the bombers were supporting the air show for the enjoyment of aircraft enthusiasts and curious spectators, their presence was also important for a broader purpose: assuring allies and partners and deterring adversaries. The bomber deployment emphasized that the U.S. remains committed to security partnerships, especially with NATO. As adversaries try to undermine this solidarity, U.S. bombers are a message of strength and unity.

During a separate deployment to RAF Fairford, the B-52H and B-1B integrated with ally and partner nations in exercises Arctic Challenge, BALTOPS and Saber Strike. The goal was to support stability and security in Europe. With continued Russian attempts to create instability, the timing for this U.S.

show of commitment to NATO could not have been better.

During the multinational Arctic Challenge exercise, held in late May 2017, B-52H Stratofortresses and other U.S. aircraft participated with partner nations, including Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom to improve capabilities in conducting combined air operations. The exercise is hosted in alternating years by Finland, Norway and Sweden. While not a NATO exercise, all but Finland, Sweden and Switzerland are NATO members. Over 100 aircraft of different types from these 11 nations trained in large-scale planning and air operations. The goal is to build relationships and increase interoperability among forces.

The B-52Hs and B-1Bs, operating out of RAF Fairford, also participated in BALTOPS, an annual joint and multinational maritime-centered exercise meant to provide training, increased interoperability, improved flexibility and demonstrate resolve in defending the Baltic Sea region. As part of the exercise, U.S. bombers deployed inert maritime mines, which were located and recovered by NATO forces. Coordination and integration among nations are paramount for both deployment and recovery. BALTOPS demonstrates NATO's ability to combine forces and effectively communicate to accomplish missions in a maritime environment.

Exercise Saber Strike promotes integration, communication and security cooperation among NATO allies as well. B-52Hs and B-1Bs participated in the exercise in June, led by U.S. Army Europe at locations in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. Twenty NATO nations trained together in convoy operations, maritime supply offloads, river crossings, and amphibious and air assaults. U.S. bombers dropped BDU-50 inert concrete bombs to simulate unguided conventional munitions. At the same time, the bombers trained with the land, air and naval forces of NATO allies. Whether stationed at RAF Fairford or in the U.S., these bombers are prepared to respond to crises and contingencies.

A third B-52H deployment to RAF Fairford demonstrated the bombers' ability to strike anywhere in the world at any time in support of the U.S. and its allies. With air refueling, long-duration sorties are capable of rapidly delivering bombs on target to distant locations. The B-52Hs at RAF Fairford recently accomplished such a mission, flying through the Arctic and back. The ability of these aircraft to carry either conventional bombs or nuclear cruise missiles across the globe makes



A U.S. B-52 bomber flies during the final day of NATO Saber Strike exercises in Orzysz, Poland, in June 2017. REUTERS

them a significant strategic deterrent. They can operate from their home station or abroad, allowing for flexibility in amplitude and timing of operations. That flexibility acts as a deterrent to strategic attacks, creating better security and stability for NATO and other partner nations in Europe.

U.S. bombers also supported exercise Ample Strike, a Czech Republic exercise in August 2017 that included more than 1,000 troops from 19 militaries. The bombers focused on the integration of aircrews and forward air controllers, coordinating with multinational Joint Terminal Attack Controllers, who are the air liaisons on the ground. This exercise allowed U.S. forces to integrate with a number of partner nations and strengthen security commitments.

As long as nuclear threats remain in the world, the U.S. will maintain its nuclear triad. As one part of that triad, U.S. bombers are ready to respond to nuclear threats and other acts of aggression by integrating with NATO and its partners.

For each partner and ally exercise that U.S. bombers support, force integration among participating countries improves. The exercises demonstrate bomber readiness and capability to respond to a wide range of problems in a variety of locations, working with partners and allies. Bomber payload, range and persistence provide an invaluable contribution to the joint and combined force, which enhances stability throughout Europe. The B-52H and B-2 nuclear capability makes them strong contributors to strategic deterrence, both for the U. S. and NATO.

Russia is likely to continue conducting destabilizing activities across the globe, using subversion and disinformation to seed confusion and dissent. The U.S., with NATO, will continue to use all available assets to counter these activities wherever they surface. Despite Russian attempts to disrupt NATO unity, the Alliance remains strong and committed to international security. □



CYBER TERRORISM AND ENERGY SECURITY

A growing threat imperils entire regions

By **Ayhan Gücüyener**, research fellow, NATO Energy Security Centre of Excellence

Imagine being a member of a terrorist organization and wanting to create chaos and fear, but keep your anonymity. A sophisticated cyber weapon and a large power outage would definitely serve the purpose. But, in fact, that scenario doesn't have to be imagined — it already happened.

The website SecurityWeek reported in December 2017 the discovery of a malware variant specifically designed to attack industrial safety systems; it was apparently used to cause an operational outage at a critical infrastructure facility in the Middle East. A state-sponsored actor is suspected of being responsible. Fortunately, SecurityWeek reported, operators safely shut down the plant before any damage could be done.

Despite various doomsday scenarios or popular cyber war theories, if you ask people to define cyber terrorism you can expect various answers. There is neither a consensus nor an international agreement that explains and defines cyber terrorism. In fact, the roots of the concept of cyber terrorism and “electronic Pearl Harbor” theories can be traced to the early 1990s and the boom in internet use with the emergence of the “information society.” Despite the gloomy predictions

and disaster scenarios, no devastating attack has been recorded.

Still, experts agree that cyber terrorism is not just a theoretical threat today and that it could have a disastrous impact on a targeted nation. But how real is the threat? How much should society and the government worry? In such a context, an overreliance on computers and information systems in every aspect of our lives — banking, e-commerce, business, air travel, law enforcement, etc. — leaves those systems increasingly vulnerable to the threat, and more interconnectivity will spawn even more sophisticated threats.

Because modern societies and economies are highly dependent on the uninterrupted flow of energy, the cyber terrorism threat to critical energy infrastructures deserves a comprehensive assessment. This article explores potential threats against the critical energy infrastructures serving the Middle East and North Africa region.

ENERGY SECURITY AND CYBER TERRORISM

In this era of the internet of things, everything is more interconnected and interdependent. It is estimated that about 1,000 devices were connected to the internet in

1984; in 2012, about 17 billion devices were connected. Further, technology research firm Gartner Inc. predicts that between 26 billion and 50 billion devices will be connected by 2020.

Among all public and private sectors, perhaps energy is undergoing the most rapid digitalization process. According to the research organization Bloomberg New Energy Finance, digitalization in the energy sector could become a \$64 billion market by 2025. Beyond these tremendous investments, it is clear that the digital transformation of energy systems — including smart meters, energy management systems, automated demand responses and smart grids — gives people access to reliable and affordable energy. However, each digital system has its own vulnerability. As an example, the Stuxnet virus was evidently designed and deployed to attack Iran's nuclear power plant in Bushehr in 2010, though no serious damage was reported.

ENERGY IN IRREGULAR WARFARE

Energy infrastructures have long been attractive targets for terrorist groups. In recent decades, terrorists have shown an interest in targeting oil and gas facilities with two main purposes in mind: Undermine the stability of the regimes they are fighting, and economically weaken foreign powers with vested interests in the region. Because of their vulnerability to physical attacks, energy pipelines are considered soft targets that offer strategic advantages for terrorists.

41 percent of cyber attacks target energy enterprises, particularly oil and gas. With respect to the growing and sophisticated threat landscape worldwide, greater efforts are being made by policymakers and regulators to combat the attacks. For instance, the U.S. recently created an office dedicated to protecting energy infrastructure, the Office of Cybersecurity, Energy Security, and Emergency Response. Furthermore, according to the U.S. Cyber Emergency Response Team, the energy, government facilities, transportation systems and wastewater sectors are assessed for cyber safety more frequently than other sectors, accounting for 75 percent of all assessments.

VULNERABILITY OF CONTROL SYSTEMS

Traditionally, companies operating in the critical services sectors (energy, finance, health) have been concerned about protecting their critical and confidential business/customer data or defending against cyber espionage activities. However, another crucial point has been ignored for too long: the security of industrial control systems (ICS). These systems are an integral part of power, oil, water and transportation systems, providing control over the safe shutdowns of these facilities. The best-known ICS systems are: DCS (distributed control systems), PLC (programmable logic controller) and SCADA (supervisory control and data acquisition).

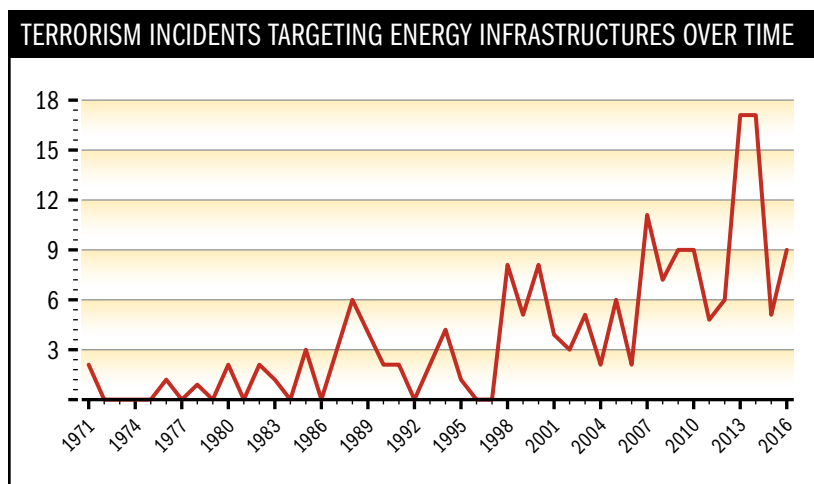
They monitor and control physical processes in real time. However, they were not designed with security in mind, and the consequences could be catastrophic if a terrorist group gained control of the system; they could control and command the system, threatening regional and national security.

Experts are alerting the energy industry and governments of the significant difference between the security philosophies of general information technology (IT) and ICS security frameworks. While, generally speaking, IT officers are trying to defend data residing in their servers from cyber attacks, the purpose of ICS security is to protect the facility's ability to operate in a safe and secure environment. Moreover, the systems have different designs and are operated by different teams and professionals from different backgrounds.

Despite the progressive improvements in IT security, there are few ICS-specific cyber security technologies, training programs and policies.

CYBER TERRORISM AND ENERGY INFRASTRUCTURES

The emerging literature on defining and regulating cyber terrorism mostly assumes that the vulnerability of computer networks and the vulnerabilities of critical



Source: Global Terrorism Database, Maryland University

However, as observed during the December 2015 cyber attack on the Ukraine that resulted in an almost nationwide blackout, defending against physical attacks remains a limited and insufficient approach. Cyber attacks can negatively impact daily life and cause lasting damage. They can cause significant damage to the energy company's finances and to the targeted country's economy.

The number of cyber incidents targeting energy infrastructure has significantly increased in recent years. According to the U.S. National Security Agency,

infrastructures are the same, putting national security at significant risk, according to a report by James A. Lewis published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

The context should be taken into consideration when making a differentiation between cyber terrorism and cyber crime, though similar techniques, tactics and procedures could be used by attackers. Some experts argue that terrorism should be discussed only when physical damage is caused and the perpetrators are motivated by politics or ideology. Nevertheless, there are differing nuances and variations on this concept because a one-size-fits-all approach cannot fully cover all the scenarios considered under the umbrella of cyber terrorism.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime describes three major ways that terrorists can make use of computer systems: indirect support of a group, operational support of terrorist activities, and targeting systems for destruction and disruption. In such scenarios, targeting any energy infrastructure for disruption or destruction by cyber weapons would have devastating effects.

Two important questions come to the forefront when cyber warfare and cyber terrorism scenarios are discussed. In the near future, should we expect an act of cyber terror against national critical infrastructures? And is it possible to assess the risk of cyber terrorism? Experts have diverging and mostly pessimistic opinions for the near future.

Finally, the “Global Terrorism Index 2017,” released by the Institute for Economics and Peace, found that terrorism “is offering terrorist groups greater strategic and operational freedom and new types of ‘leaderless attacks.’... In the future, sophisticated forms of technology, the IoT (internet of things) self-driving cars and smart cities will create even greater cyber vulnerabilities that terrorists can exploit.” Based on these statements and given the abundance of realistic scenarios, it is reasonable to predict that energy infrastructures could be targeted by cyber weapons in a politically or ideologically motivated way with the aim of causing massive physical damage.

But how can the cyber terrorism risks be assessed to take the proper counter measures? At the assessment point, a risk management framework developed by the Rand Corp. can help to define the risk based on the interaction of three variables: Threat, vulnerability and consequences as it relates to risk. Even within that framework, it remains difficult to assess with certainty the risks posed by cyber terrorism, especially for those risks associated with energy infrastructures. Even though terrorist groups today are limited to launching simple cyber attacks and exploiting existing vulnerabilities, future cyber terrorism may manifest itself by applying offensive tactics to damage ICS and spread fear, which could threaten the integrity of critical energy infrastructures, undermine the public’s faith in government and in

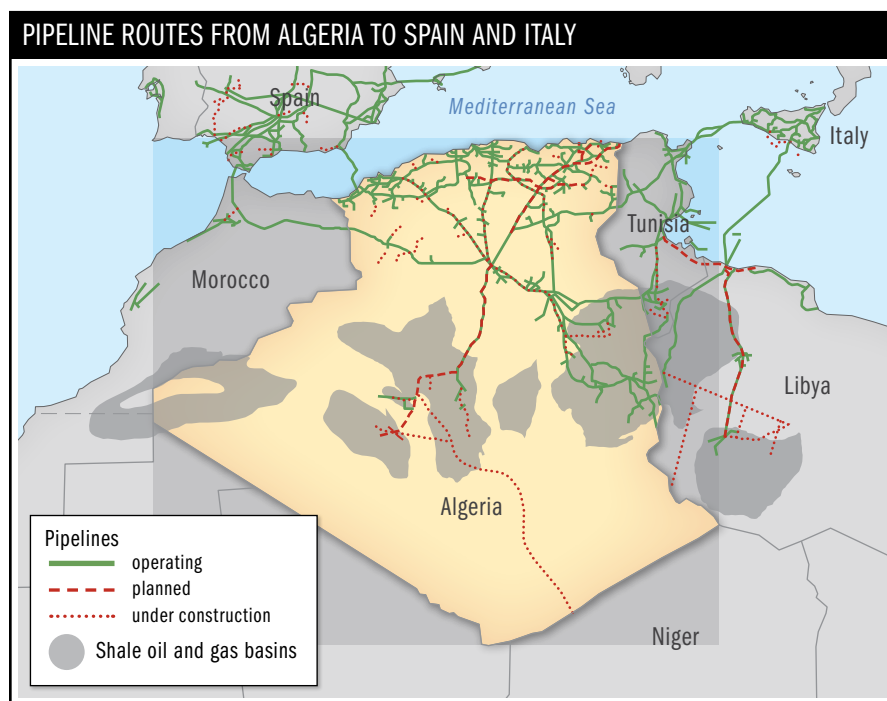


Algerian soldiers guard a gas plant in Amenas, Algeria, after an attack by militants in 2013. THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

the security of the nation's critical infrastructure, according to *Infosecurity* magazine.

REGIONAL ENERGY SECURITY

Considering the interdependent nature of critical energy infrastructures (other than nuclear) — pipelines, distribution/transmission lines and production facilities — the threat gains an international character that might require regional cooperation and a simultaneous response.



With cross-border electrical transmission lines, oil and natural gas pipelines passing across borders into neighboring countries and operated by numerous companies, a well-targeted cyber attack could affect many countries and actors. In such a case, a country that doesn't have domestic energy resources would concern itself with securing and sustaining its energy supplies (for meeting domestic demand) in contrast with a country that holds energy reserves and would fear a loss of profits and credibility in its investors' and customers' eyes.

The Middle East and North Africa region is particularly crucial to the world economy because of the large volumes of oil and gas that flow from and through it. A major concern is that the region still suffers from traditional terrorism acts. For instance, the high-profile terror attack in 2013 against a gas production facility near Amenas, Algeria, resulted in the loss of lives and a disruption in production.

The same scenario could be projected for a successful cyber attack that could damage a country's energy production and threaten the supply for consumers

across the region. In fact, even though officials claimed the 2012 Shamoon virus attack against Saudi Aramco in Saudi Arabia did not affect its production capacity — oil production is controlled through a different network and the attack did not target ICS systems — it forced the company to shut down its internal network for more than a week.

What would be the consequences of a cyber terrorism incident that targeted regional pipelines? For example, an attack affecting the pipeline routes from

a producer country such as Algeria to energy consuming countries such as Spain and Italy would threaten the four A's of energy security: accessibility, availability, affordability and acceptability. In other words, such a large-scale and well-planned attack would disrupt regional energy security and affect oil or gas supplies for both producer and consumer.

Cyber terrorism could also undermine a country's investor-friendly environment and damage its reputation as a safe and reliable trade partner. In addition, such attacks would carry diplomatic, economic and social costs. Also, there is no doubt that operating in a high-risk environment creates discouraging burdens for private companies.

While traditional cyber weapons such as basic viruses and worms continue to be deployed, the most popular cyber threats being deployed today are advanced persistent threats.

CONCLUSION

Defining a commonly accepted approach to cyber terrorism may be the most important step in countering the threat. In addition to individual efforts by companies and/or states, an international and coordinated response will strengthen multinational investigations, information sharing and monitoring. Finally, as NATO's Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence's text states, international counterattack exercises should be held to improve each nation's ability to defeat cyber terrorism. □

Ayhan Gücüyener is a research fellow at the NATO Energy Security Centre of Excellence in Lithuania and regional director of the International Association of Critical Infrastructure Protection Professionals. Her expertise focuses on energy security, strategic cyber security and international politics. She is also a former researcher for the Center on Foreign Policy and Security, a Turkish think tank. She is co-author of the handbook, *Critical Energy Infrastructure Security*, and has been acting regional director of the Industrial Cyber Security Center (CCI) since October 2017.

COOPERATIVE TRAINING



Tajik troops in Fakhrrabad participate in the multinational Regional Cooperation 2017 exercise.



By *per Concordiam* Staff

Photos By Staff Sgt. Michael Battles/U.S. Air Force

PEACEKEEPING, MIGRATION ARE FOCUS OF MULTINATIONAL GATHERINGS IN TAJIKISTAN

On a hot July afternoon at Fakhrabad military training center near Dushanbe, Tajikistan, a line of hills and fruit orchards in the distance, a squad of Tajik peacekeeping troops was ambushed by violent extremists.

The Tajik patrol maneuvered through brittle fields of brush to kill or capture the attackers. The soldiers cleared a building used as an enemy stronghold and evacuated wounded comrades and prisoners.

The Tajik troops had spent four days conducting a joint field exercise with U.S. soldiers from the Virginia Army National Guard, learning how to detect improvised explosive devices and stanch bullet wounds, among other skills.

It served as a demonstration of what was taking place about 50 kilometers away at the Tajik Ministry of Defense: a multinational command-post exercise called Regional Cooperation 17.

Now in its 14th year, Regional Cooperation is U.S. Central Command's (CENTCOM's) premier exercise for Central and South Asian militaries participating in multinational peacekeeping operations.

Tajikistan hosted the latest version of the exercise in July 2017, attracting more than 200 participants from Tajikistan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Pakistan, Mongolia and the United States. Kazakhstan sent an observer.

“Exercises of this kind are a unique opportunity for soldiers to gain new knowledge and practical skills,” said Saidjafar Imonov, a member of the Tajikistan Parliament. “This is crucial for our soldiers, especially in responding to terror threats. Moreover, it strengthens regional cooperation. Our partnership with the U.S. is becoming stronger, and it brings our countries together.”

During pre-exercise briefings, Dr. Sebastian von Münchow, a professor of international security studies at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, gave a seminar on how Germany’s security architecture encourages participants to develop innovative ways to overcome institutional obstacles when facing emerging challenges.

The group, consisting mostly of officers, operated for nearly a week as headquarters staff for a multinational infantry brigade, engaged in fictional scenarios testing their ability to cooperate despite differences in language, leadership and doctrine.

The 2017 scenarios had separatists break away from a country called Regislavia to form a small Central Asian nation called Bahora. Multinational task forces under the auspices of the United Nations needed to police a cease-fire while dealing with border incursions by terrorists, weapons and drugs smuggling, displaced people, a devastating earthquake and humanitarian crises.

“The scenario is a realistic possibility for everyone,” said Pakistani Army Col. Aamir Salim, who served as deputy commander of the simulated brigade. “To effectively play your role in such an eventuality, the exercise is very important.”

Regular briefings updated commanders on what was happening. Officers then dispersed to separate cells dedicated to such tasks as logistics, operations and public affairs.

Sometimes the tasks were as basic as transporting drinking water to thousands of troops on the ground. At other times the headquarters staff needed to deal with disasters, such as a powerful earthquake that damaged a hydroelectric dam responsible for generating 90 percent of the country’s electricity. Losing the dam would cripple Bahora’s economy.

Huddled over laptop computers and maps, participants bridged the communications gap by seeking out common languages. The Kyrgyz, Tajik and Mongolian officers used Russian as a common tongue while Americans and Pakistanis spoke English to each other. Translators hovered nearby to bridge any gaps.

“It is important for us to work together so that when we actually have to deploy together for combat or peacekeeping or any other operations we already have bonds built,” said U.S. Col. George Harrington of the Massachusetts Army National Guard.

Inevitably, differences in philosophy among the national delegations needed to be smoothed out. For example, during a mock press conference, Tajik commander Col. Nurridin Sattrov coolly handled questions from sometimes bullying reporters.

But afterward, trainers pointed out that Col. Sattrov’s public affairs officer should have instructed him to rebuff a reporter’s accusation that the brigade was issuing “propaganda.” Winning a war of words can be decisive, particularly in conflicts shaped by ideology such as counterterrorism operations.

“The training will provide us with the chance to learn from one another’s experiences,” said Mongolian Army Maj. Amartaivan, the public affairs officer.

The Mongolian delegation, which cited its experience dealing with the U.N. and Tajik forces, attended the exercise to strengthen officers’ skills in border security and counterterrorism. Mongolia hosts an exercise of its own called Khaan Quest.

As part of Regional Cooperation 17, participants needed to keep the peace in a demilitarized zone between Bahora and Regislavia and intercept shipments of weapons of mass destruction hidden by terrorists among medical supplies.

“We have experience in U.N. peacekeeping missions, but we have to train and get more experience for this coalition force,” Mongolian Col. Tumendemberel said.

Because exercises such as Regional Cooperation stress the need for officers to seize the initiative, Col. Aamir of Pakistan said the experience will be useful in his country’s decade-long fight against terrorism. Local commanders facing down terrorists need greater freedom to act, and Col. Aamir was pleased to see that independent spirit demonstrated by partner nations at the exercise in Tajikistan.

“It gives you comfort,” he said.

Concurrent with Regional Cooperation, the Civil Security Seminar on Managing Mixed Migration was held in Dushanbe and hosted by the Marshall Center and Tajikistan’s Committee of Emergency Situations and Civil Defence. The seminar, led by the Marshall Center’s Dr. Petra Weyland, focused on protecting and integrating migrants of all kinds, including refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs).

Experts from several countries discussed challenges and presented case studies, including securitizing migration and how governments and local communities can organize to manage migrant surges and integration. The seminar provided valuable input to a facet of Regional Cooperation involving refugee management and IDPs.

CENTCOM has held Regional Cooperation since 2001. Tajikistan, the Kyrgyz Republic and Kazakhstan have hosted the exercise during its 14 iterations. For U.S. Army Maj. Robert McCracken, the lead exercise planner, Regional Cooperation provides a chance for multinational forces to improve the coordination and interoperability needed to address issues critical to Central and South Asia.

“We don’t always get to work side by side with partner nations until a real-world situation occurs,” Maj. McCracken said. “However, RC 17 affords us and those nations a prime opportunity to learn from each other and to develop relationships to prepare for future missions.” □

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir,

I have observed with great disappointment that *per Concordiam* has provided a platform to a criminal and a known enemy of Turkey to spread unfounded allegations against our country in an article in Volume 8, Issue 2, titled “ISIS in Turkey.” Allegations in the said article against Turkey are unacceptable and baseless to say the least. Therefore, I am writing to provide you some concrete information regarding Turkey’s fight against terrorism and the criminal background of the author.

Turkey, as a reliable partner of NATO as well as the USA and Germany, is a key stakeholder in the fight against Daesh and continues to do more than its share in countering this terrorist organization and FTF threat stemming from Syria and Iraq.

Although the continued flow of FTFs creates a huge burden on our security and administrative structures that are already facing several challenges, our relevant authorities took and continue to take all necessary measures. Since 2011 almost 54,000 (53,781) individuals have been included in our no-entry list and more than 5,000 (5,446) individuals were deported. Our Risk Analysis Units at the airports denied entry to more than 4,000 suspected FTFs. Furthermore, 8,452 Daesh, EI-Nusra and Al-Qaida affiliated individuals, including 3,831 foreigners, have been detained and 2,946 Daesh, EI-Nusra and Al-Qaida affiliated individuals are under arrest.

In addition to these efforts, we have successfully conducted the Operation Euphrates Shield against Daesh from August 2016 to March 2017. The main objectives of the said operation were to ensure the advancement of the opposition on the ground against Daesh and pushing the Daesh elements away from the positions they control along our borders. Supported by the Turkish military, the Free Syrian Army succeeded in clearing an area of 2,015 kilometers from Daesh and in eliminating 2,647 Daesh members. Almost 70,000 Syrians returned to the safe areas liberated by the operation. The Euphrates Shield Operation has created a strong momentum to put Daesh on the defensive elsewhere in Syria.

We also mostly completed the construction of a security wall along our border with Syria to block terrorist infiltration into our territories. In a nutshell, our efforts to contain, disrupt and destroy Daesh continue unabated.

While carrying this large-scale campaign against Daesh that also contributes to the security of our allies and partners, our country was shocked by a bloody coup attempt on July 15, 2016. The perpetrators targeted our elected leaders, democratic institutions and our nation as a whole.

A credible amount of evidence as well as testimonies of the plotters corroborate that this treacherous attempt was staged by FETO, the Fethullahist Terrorist Organisation, a new generation of terror outfit and criminal network.

For decades, this organization and its members have presented themselves worldwide under the name of “Service Movement” that has a two-tiered structure. The first layer is the legal and visible side, known by the activities in disguise of “moderate Islam” and “inter faith dialogue.” A variety of associations have been established in media, education, academic and humanitarian work, printing, banking and business sectors in Turkey as well as in around 160 countries in different parts of the world. Under the appearance of such legitimate social services, this organization gained access to vast financial resources, human capital, political and social influence and infiltrated into critical state institutions like armed forces, police, intelligence and judiciary. Such wealth and influence have not been accumulated through legal conduct of business. On the contrary, inside its dark underbelly, they have been involved in money laundering, bribing and illegal operations through shady firms and holdings. They exploited the gaps within the system and even used criminal methods like forging official documents, fabricating criminal cases and cheating at public service entry examinations.

Their immediate objective was not merely to overthrow the democratically elected government. It was rather to topple the constitutional order of the Republic of Turkey. When we realized their malignancy, we started taking action. In fact, FETO was about to lose its power in Turkey when it used its followers within the armed forces on July 15.

As we dug deeper, we became better informed about this criminal network, which spread like a virus that gradually seizes vital organs of a body. Since July 2016, we have been suppressing and eradicating the remnants of this criminal network in Turkey. The disciples of FETO within the state system were loyal not to the state and the constitution, but to one and only man, Fethullah Gulen, who sees himself as the “Imam of the Universe.” Therefore, dismissal of FETO disciples from the state institutions does not create a security weakness. On the contrary, it strengthens the system.

Right now, FETO operates globally through its network of schools, lobbyists and sophisticated influence and intelligence operations. The above-mentioned article is just another example of this. Mr. Ahmet S. Yayla, author of the article, used to be a police officer until May

continued on page 66

Resident Courses

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2015. Later on, he joined the academic staff of the Turkish Harran University. In November 2015, he traveled to the USA for one week under the pretext of participating in a conference and did not return to Turkey. He is now wanted on a warrant in connection with being a member of FETO, collecting information for political and military espionage and attempting to topple the constitutional order. There are serious accusations against him for fabricating criminal cases in order to get some businesspersons, NGO representatives and Kurdish politicians arrested, while he was working as a senior police officer. His transfer from police forces to academia is also under scrutiny.

I also would like to bring your attention that there is even a parliamentary question given by an opposition MP regarding Mr. Yayla's illicit activities. This example alone raises the question of how a credible academic journal such as *per Concordiam* publishes an article containing false and baseless information against a reliable partner and ally without searching the background and affiliations of its author.

The 15th of July was the bloodiest and the most violent attack that was carried out by FETO, which unfortunately

left 250 dead and more than 2,000 wounded. Now supporters and perpetrators of this act are spreading disinformation and lies against Turkey. We are committed to strengthen our democratic credentials because we know that this is the only way to counter terrorism in all forms and manifestations. We are determined to fight such enemies of democracy through democracy. We are aspiring to do so, while we also fight the most dangerous terrorist organizations simultaneously, that is the PKK and Daesh. In these critical times we need support and encouragement from our allies and friends, not facilitation of the activities of the said criminal network.

Sincerely yours,

Kaan Esener,
Ambassador

Editor's Note: *per Concordiam* is aware of the sensitivities involved in expressing controversial topics in the realm of professional discourse. It is our wish to represent both sides of this discussion, and that has brought us to the decision to publish Ambassador Kaan Esener's response. Any specific allegations against Dr. Ahmet S. Yayla are solely those of Ambassador Esener and do not represent the points of view or positions of the Marshall Center or any other agency of the United States or German governments.

Ambassador Esener, Turkey's deputy undersecretary general for political affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, maintains that Dr. Yayla, author of the referenced article and a former Turkish police official and academic, is wanted

on a warrant accusing him of being "a member of FETO, collecting information for political and military espionage and attempting to topple the constitutional order." Yayla, now an adjunct professor at George Mason University in Virginia in the United States, vigorously disputes these allegations.

As one of the premier publications for discussing defense and security issues in Europe and Eurasia, *per Concordiam* is committed to presenting a full range of opinions and ideas. The articles reflect the opinions of the authors and not those of the Marshall Center or the United States government. The editors welcome feedback and can be reached at editor@perconcordiam.org.

PROGRAM ON APPLIED SECURITY STUDIES (PASS)

The Marshall Center's flagship resident program provides graduate-level education in security policy, defense affairs, international relations and related topics such as international law and counterterrorism. A theme addressed throughout the program is the need for international, interagency and interdisciplinary cooperation.

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PASS 18-16 Sept. 5 - Nov. 15, 2018

SENIOR EXECUTIVE SEMINAR (SES)

This intensive seminar focuses on new topics of key global interest that will generate new perspectives, ideas and cooperative discussions and possible solutions. Participants include general officers, senior diplomats, ambassadors, ministers, deputy ministers and parliamentarians. The SES includes formal presentations by senior officials and recognized experts followed by in-depth discussions in seminar groups.

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SES 19-15 June 24 - 28, 2019

PROGRAM ON COUNTERING TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZED CRIME (CTOC)

This resident program focuses on the national security threats posed by illicit trafficking and other criminal activities. The course is designed for government and state officials and practitioners who are engaged in policy development, law enforcement, intelligence and interdiction activities.

CTOC 18-14 Aug. 2 - 24, 2018

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PROGRAM ON TERRORISM AND SECURITY STUDIES (PTSS)

This program is designed for government officials and military officers employed in midlevel and upper-level management of counterterrorism organizations and will provide instruction on both the nature and magnitude of today's terrorism threat. The program improves participants' ability to counter terrorism's regional implications by providing a common framework of knowledge and understanding that will enable national security officials to cooperate at an international level.

PTSS 19-7 Mar. 13 - Apr. 9, 2019

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Alumni Programs

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