

**FENCING OFF REALITY: HUNGARY'S  
REACTIONS TO THE ARRIVAL OF  
REFUGEES AND THEIR INTERPRETATION  
IN A EUROPEAN LEGAL, POLITICAL AND  
MORAL CONTEXT**

**Boldizsár Nagy**

**Presentation at the Refugee Studies Centre,**

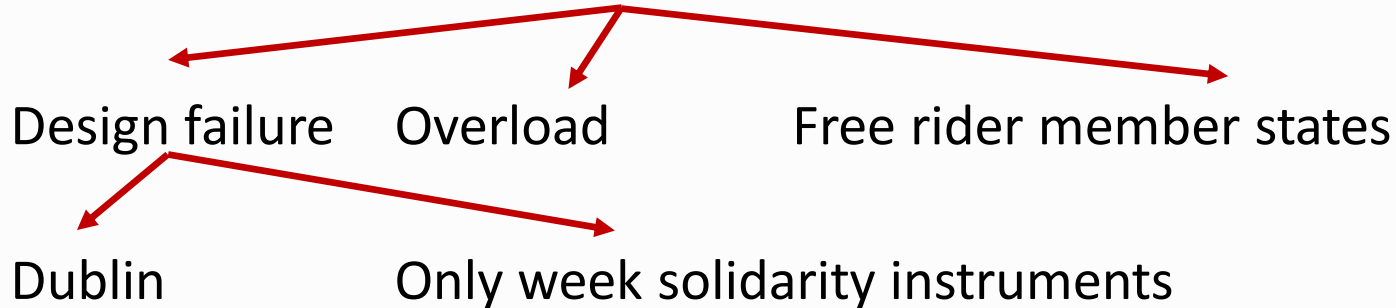
**Oxford,**

**17 February 2016**

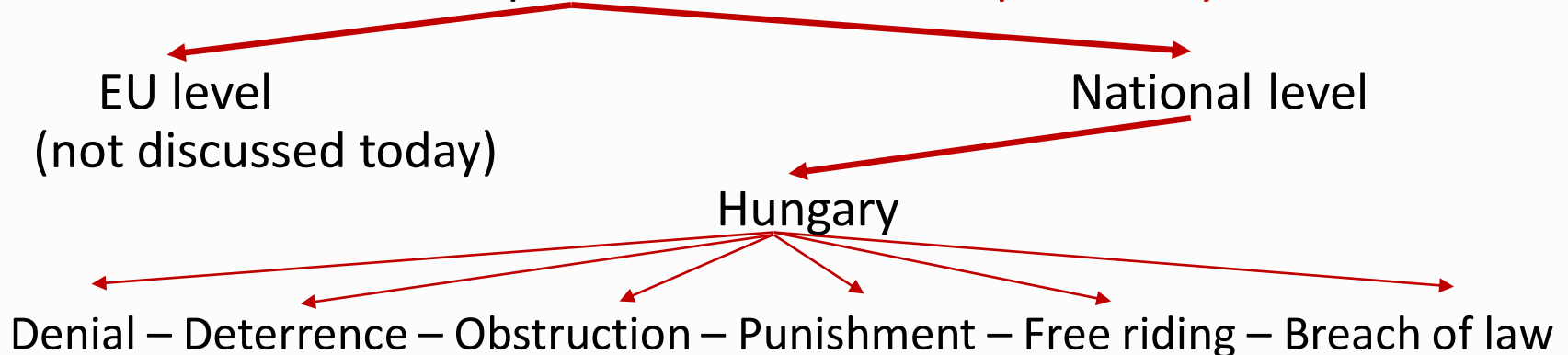
## THE ELEMENTS OF THIS TALK

➤ **Symptoms** of malfunctioning of the CEAS

➤ **Causes** of malfunctioning



➤ **Efforts** to **cure** the problem or to **shift responsibility**



➤ **Contextualisation** (broader outlook) – as conclusion

## SYMPTOMS OF MALFUNCTIONING OF THE CEAS

- Thousands of **deaths** at sea and inland
- The overall **impression of a „crisis”**, which is **seen as a European crisis**
- The increasing **tension between Member States** (e.g. Sweden-Denmark, Austria – Greece, Hungary – Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, etc.)
- **The uneasy relationship with Turkey**
- The grossly **unfair participation in the provision of protection** to refugees reaching EU territory
- The repeated, but **largely fruitless sweeping legislative and political efforts**, including negotiations with transit countries (Western Balkan conference) and states of the regions of origin (Valetta summit), decisions to resettle and relocate refugees and asylum seekers
- **The breakdown of the Dublin system**
- **Fences at the external and internal borders & reintroduction of border controls at Schengen internal borders**

## THE CAUSES OF FAILURE - DESIGN

**Dublin:** after family and visa/residence permit the external border crossed → perimeter states exposed to large numbers of application → Greece defaults in 2011, Hungary and others in 2015

**Minimal** tools of **solidarity** before 2015

- AMIF - monetary
- EASO – sending expert teams
- Temporary protection: voluntary offers to take over (never used)

**The Dublin regime** on determining the state whose duty is to conduct RSD: **manifestly unjust**, NOT burden sharing but shifting

## THE CAUSES OF FAILURE - OVERLOAD

**Overload** number of (first) applications, EU 27 or 28 + Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland:

2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
341,795	373,550	464,505	662,165	1,108,470*

Source: Eurostat data (20160212)

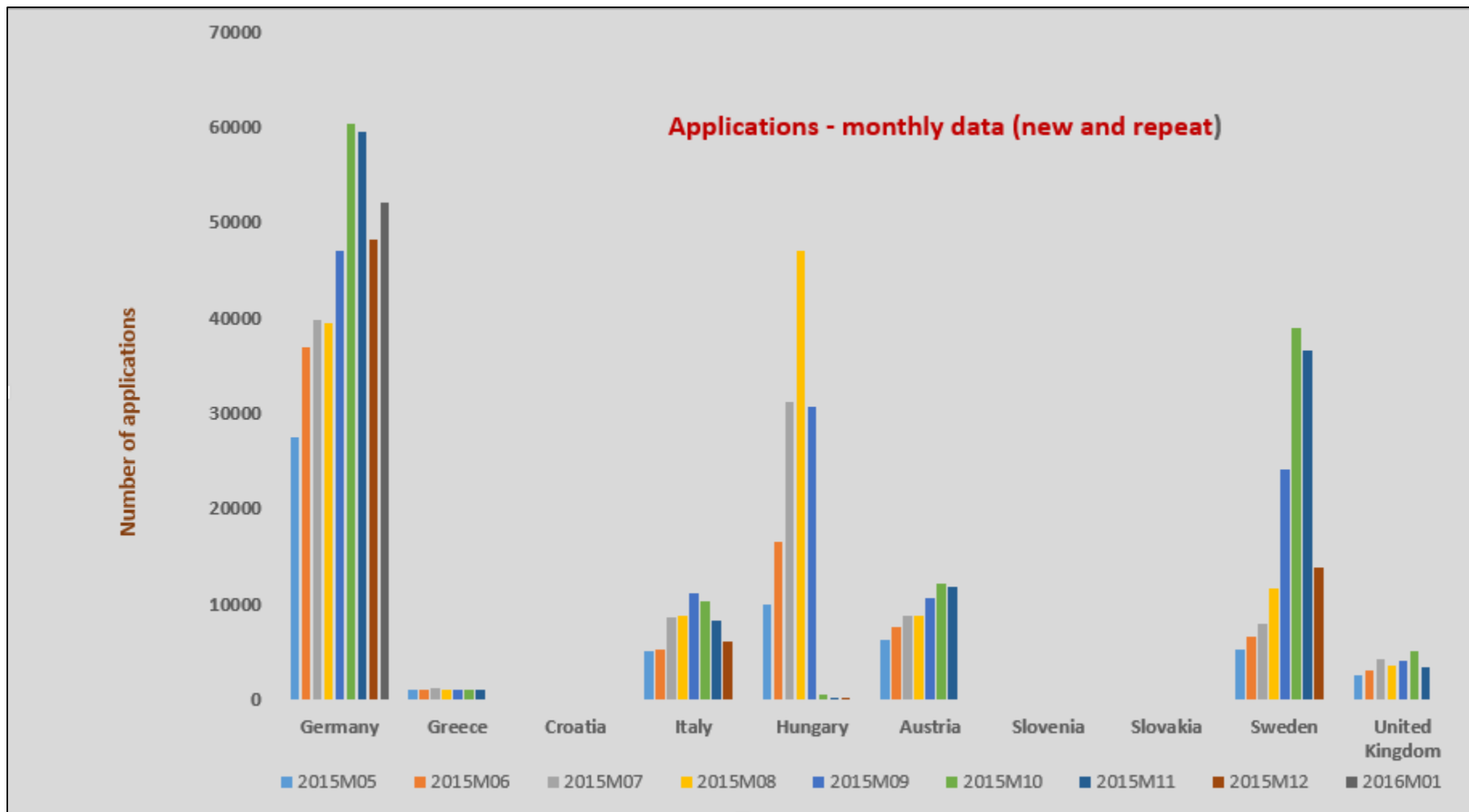
- Not the final figure yet, data for several countries missing

But:

- **highly uneven distribution** UK **35,670** (Jan-Nov), Poland **11,040** (Jan – Nov) Spain: **10,295** (Jan-Sept) applications
- Germany **476,615** (Jan – Dec), Sweden **162,560** (Jan – Dec), Austria **80,895** (Jan – Nov)
- Major groups with **unlikely claims** (Serbia, Kosovo, BiH, etc.)

Easo's figure  
for 2015:  
**1,349,638**  
Source:  
Latest asylum trends – 2015  
overview, p. 1

# THE UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF ASYLUM APPLICATIONS AND THE IMPACT OF THE HUNGARIAN RESTRICTIVE MEASURES



## THE CAUSES OF FAILURE

**Free rider** member states

Greece, Italy, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria

Ought to: register claim, submit fingerprint to Eurodac + start RSD procedure + keep within territory

Instead: **allowing to leave** or **actively transporting** to next MS

# **THE HUNGARIAN CASE**

**SECURITISATION,  
AND**

**DENIAL – DETERRENCE – OBSTRUCTION –  
PUNISHMENT – FREE RIDING – BREACH OF  
LAW**



## THE NATIONAL LEVEL – FRAMING THE SITUATION AS A SECURITY ISSUE

Classic securitisation moves:

- creating a security narrative, then
- adopting laws, treating the situation as exceptional

The Copenhagen school: new notions of  
security/insecurity

Border – migration – (organised) crime – terrorism  
continuum

## SECURITISATION – A CLASSICAL QUOTE

“Migration is identified as being one of the main factors weakening national tradition and societal homogeneity. It is reified as an internal and external danger for the national community or western civilization. This discourse excludes migrants from the normal fabric of society, not just as aliens but as aliens who are dangerous to the reproduction of the social fabric. The discourse frames the key question about the future of the political community as one of a choice for or against migration. The discourse reproduces the political myth that a homogenous national community or western civilization existed in the past and can be re-established today through the exclusion of migrants who are identified as cultural aliens.”

Huysmans, Jef: The European Union and the Securitization of Migration *Journal of Common Market Studies* Vol. 38 (2000) No. 5, pp 751-777, p .758

# **THE SECURITISING NARRATIVE**



## WIDESPREAD RESISTANCE

Hungary needs culture

If You come to Hungary You have to sustain our elders



# VIKTOR ORBÁN'S SPEECH IN THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT AFTER THE PARIS ATTACKS, 16 NOVEMBER THE SCHIZOPHRENIC RELATION TO THE EU

“We Hungarians have been advocating the closure of our borders to stop the flood of people coming from the Middle East and Africa.[Hungary was criticised for this]... Which approach is more humane: to close the borders in order to stop illegal immigration, or to put at risk the lives of innocent European citizens?”

“We feel that the very existence of Europe is at stake”

„We have warned the leaders of the EU not to invite these people into Europe”

Speaking about the quota of resettlement (or relocation – his language is unclear): „The binding quota...is illegal as the European leaders have no competence to adopt such a decision concerning this matter. They have no competence to force upon a member state a measure related to refugees or the matter of immigration, which the country concerned objects.”

# VIKTOR ORBÁN'S SPEECH IN THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT AFTER THE PARIS ATTACKS, 16 NOVEMBER THE SCHIZOPHRENIC RELATION TO THE EU

„A new European policy is needed. ... I suggest to push dogmas aside, **let us discard political correctness** and talk straight and openly. I suggest to return from the world of ideologies to natural reason...”

He then suggests four priorities:

- 1 „First we have to **defend the external borders** of the EU, as security starts with the defence of borders”
- 2 „We have to **defend our culture** as the essence of Europe is its spiritual and cultural identity.”
- 3 „We have to **defend our economic interests** as we, Europeans must remain in the center of the world-economy”
4. **People** must be given the right „**to influence European decisions**, because the union must be based on a democratic edifice.”

# LET US DEFEND THE COUNTRY!

COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES, STARTING EARLY NOVEMBER 2015, STILL UNDERWAY!

The text of the signature  
collecting sheet:

*„Let us defend the country!  
Petition against the compulsory settlement quota.*

*An immigration wave of never seen magnitude has  
been launched towards Europe!*

*Based on the national consultation Hungary stood up for itself  
and defended its borders. However, Brussels is now preparing  
to settle [in Hungary] tens of thousand of immigrants. Say no  
to the senseless and illegal quota and join our petition!”*

**VÉDJÜK MEG AZ ORSZÁGOT!**

Petíció a kötelező betelepítési kvóta ellen

Ajánlom Megosztás

Soha nem látott bevándorlási hullámot indítottak Európa irányába. A nemzeti konzultáció eredményei alapján Magyarország kiállt magáért, és megvédte határait. Brüsszel azonban most arra készül, hogy kötelező kvótákkal akár bevándorlók tízezreit telepítse le.

**Mondjon nemet az értelmetlen és jogtalan kvótákra, csatlakozzon petíciónkhoz!**

**FIDESZ** Tovább a fidesz.hu-ra

Név:\*  
E-mail:\*  
Életkor:\* Mobil telefon:  
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Kérjük, töltse ki a \*

Adatvédelm



## „PRESSURE IS MOUNTING ON HUNGARY”

Minister János Lázár's press conference, 11 February 2016

„The Hungarian government expects that it has **to fight with Brussels** in order **to defend the country** and in order to **avoid the coerced settlement**” (of refugees resettled from Turkey – but never named as refugees in the press conference –BN)

The government is prepared to build a **razor-wire fence** on its eastern **border with Romania**, due to the expected pressure of irregular migrants

„Even the **pressure from Brussels will not lead to concessions** with regard to our legal system which enables that the personal security closure /sic – (meaning the fence) BN/ and the legal guarantees /meaning the threats against refugees –BN/ **keep illegal immigrants away from Hungary**”

„**Germany** has not committed a larger mistake during the past ten years, than **having pressed for letting 170 thousand persons across Europe without registration and control**. He stated that this is was the largest security mistake having been committed in Central Europe the last ten years.”

**COMPREHENSIVE  
INTERPRETATION OF THE  
HUNGARIAN STEPS**

# WHAT DOES HUNGARY DO INSTEAD OF PROTECTING THE REFUGEES?

**1.**  
**IT IS IN  
DENIAL**

**2.**  
**DETERS**

**3.**  
**OBSTRUCTS**

**4.**  
**PUNISHES**

**5.**  
**FREE RIDES**  
**Denies solidarity**

**6.**  
**BREACHES EU  
AND DOMESTIC  
LAW**

**DENIAL**

## IT IS IN DENIAL

### HUNGARY DOES NOT ADMIT THAT MOST OF THOSE WHO ENTERED THE EU TERRITORY WERE (AND ARE) REFUGEES

#### Government's discourse

#### Facts /counter-arguments

„Hungary does not need livelihood immigrants” title of the parliamentary debate day on 22 February 2015

„National consultation on terrorism and immigration”

„These people do not come for safety, are not running away in order to save their lives” PM Viktor Orbán on channel TV2, September 2015

MTI the Hungarian News Agency labels any news on refugees as „illegal immigration”

Kosovars who came in that period did not want to immigrate, they transited with or without applying for asylum

Open letter of practically the whole Hungarian migration profession: the questions to be sent out as national consultation are “devoid of any professional or moral basis”.

UNHCR spoke of „people fleeing war and conflict” in its warning against hastened legislation on 3 July 2015

„Illegal immigration” - - „German -Polish program starts to alleviate the refugee crisis” MTI, 2016 February 12 15:31

„Crossing a border in order to seek asylum is not a crime” Antonio Guterres (former) UN High Commissioner for refugees, during his visit in Hungary, September 2015

## IT IS IN DENIAL

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#### Government's discourse

#### Facts /counter-arguments

Resolution of the Hungarian parliament entitled “**Message to the leaders of the European Union**” 36/2015. (IX. 22.) OGY

“**Waves of illegal immigration threaten Europe with explosion...The European Union is responsible for the emergence of this situation...Irresponsible are the European politicians, who with the illusion of a better life encourage the immigrants to leave everything behind and by risking their lives set out towards Europe... We have the right to defend our culture, language, values....**”

António Guterres UN High Commissioner for refugees, on 20 November 2015, a week after the Paris attacks:

„But let me make it clear that **refugee flows are the result of war and terror**, not its source. Refugees are fleeing events very **much like those of Paris or Beirut**, happening in their home towns, every month, **every week**, for the past few years. And fear and rejection of refugees – especially Muslim refugees – are precisely the **wrong answer** to extremist threats. This is above all **a battle of values**. If **you lose your values you lose the battle**. A Western world that would reject Muslim refugees would provide extremists the best propaganda tool they could wish for in the recruitment of new supporters, including inside the very countries that might close their borders to refugees.”



War in peace  
Images of Aris Messinis,  
Late October 2015 <http://neoskosmos.com/news/en/aris-messinis-afp-photographer-blog-refugee-crisis-lesvos>



# **DETERRENCE**



# DETERRENCE

- **2015 February** Those voluntarily travelling onward towards the Austria taken off from the train. The campaign lasted for a few days only. (Probably to feed into the parliamentary debate)
- **In summer 2015** those arriving at the southern (EU external) border with Serbia were **not transported to the reception centres** inland but were expected to find their own way there. (With a free travel ticket)
- Cases are known in which asylum seekers were **not directed to any reception centre**
- Outside of the reception centres **no material conditions** envisaged by the Reception conditions directive (and by human rights standards) were provided.
- **Early July 2015: entering the trains towards Austria prevented by force**
- – crisis at the Keleti and at other railway stations – 4 September: thousands start to walk towards Vienna (250 km distance) – at midnight the government offers buses to transport the people to the border



I saw two Syrian men walking together - I will never forget it. The first was missing his right leg and was on crutches. The second was walking with a cane and carrying the first man's prosthetic limb over his shoulder; he was only wearing socks. When I asked him why he told me he'd given the other man his shoes. The two of them were planning on walking to Austria. They had already made it all the way to Hungary from Syria.

## DETERRENCE – THE TEMPORARY SECURITY BORDER CLOSURE (TECHNICAL BORDER CLOSURE) – THE FENCE

### Government's discourse

### Facts /counter-arguments

„Hungary has been the respected member of the large European family. **It is our historical and moral duty to defend Europe**, since thereby we defend ourselves. The inverse is also true: **when we defend the borders of Hungary**, at the same time **we protect Europe**”

Viktor Orbán, Parliament, 21 September 2015.

<http://www.parlament.hu/documents/10181/56618/2015.09.21.+napl%C3%B3/077af232-5782-4653-a36f-ee75ae4b6959>

„one has to assume, that the **huge mass**, which earlier intended to get into Austria through Hungary, **will still pass by Hungary's southern borders**’ – he [V.O.] explained The question was - he continued – how the immigrants will continue their journey from Croatia. It is clear that **they plan one of the not minor routes through Hungary**. **’And we try to prevent that’** –he said”

Viktor Orbán, Radio station

„Kossuth” 18 September 2015.

<http://mno.hu/belfold/orban-epul-a-kerites-a-horvat-hataron-1304874>

# DETERRENCE – THE CRISIS SITUATION CAUSED BY MASS IMMIGRATION – ARTICLE 80/A-G OF THE ASYLUM ACT

§ 80 A (2) „A crisis situation caused by mass immigration can be **declared in a Government Decree** on the proposal by the minister as initiated by the National Commander of the Police and the head of the refugee authority. A crisis situation caused by mass immigration can be declared **for the entire territory or defined areas of Hungary.**”

## Alternative **preconditions**

- Arrivals: on average in excess of 500/day for a month, or 750/day for two weeks or 800/day for a week.
- Stock: the number of applicants in the special “transit zone”. If on average the number of persons in the zone exceeds 1000/day, for one month, 1500/day for two weeks, or 1600/day for one week.
- Unrest: „the development of any circumstance related to the migration situation **directly endangering the public security, public order or public health of any settlement, in particular the breakout of unrest or the occurrence of violent acts in the reception centre** or another facility used for accommodating foreigners located **within or in the outskirts of the settlement concerned.**”

**DETERRENCE – THE CRISIS SITUATION CAUSED BY MASS  
IMMIGRATION – ARTICLE 80/A-G OF THE ASYLUM ACT  
EXCEPTIONAL POWERS – THE PERMANENT STATE OF THE EXCEPTIONAL**

Art 80/B

- „any movable item or real property owned or managed by the State or the local government, or owned or used by a company majority owned by the State or owned by a local government can be requisitioned temporarily but for not more than six months” (Objections to be „adjudicated” by the minister within 3 days)
- Suspension of the applicability of laws related to construction and public procurement. Every construction of shelters and other related buildings is considered as „constructions for national security purposes”.
- Although none of the conditions have been met after mid-October 2015 the crisis situation is still in force for 6 of the 19 counties. (As of 17 February 2015)

**OBSTRUCTION**

## OBSTRUCTION – LACK OF CAPACITY BUILDING

### Government's discourse /action

### Facts /counter-arguments

For a long period **no new capacity** in the reception centres was created – leading to **overcrowding**

A government decree ordered the **closing down of the largest reception centre** in Debrecen **by 31 October 2015** without replacing it with another.

During the civil war in Ukraine it was announced by the „Operative Board” in January 2014 that „Hungary can receive 170 000 refugees if needed”

[http://index.hu/belfold/2014/01/30/a\\_kormany\\_felkeszul\\_ukrajna\\_szetesesere/](http://index.hu/belfold/2014/01/30/a_kormany_felkeszul_ukrajna_szetesesere/)

The narrowing of the capacities is a clear message: the government does not intend to receive any refugees

## OBSTRUCTION – CREATION OF THE SO-CALLED TRANSIT ZONES – LIMITED ACCESS TO RSD PROCEDURES

From 15 September so-called “**transit zones**” - no access to Hungary before procedure on eligibility concluded. Ineligible applicants (if they do not submit an appeal) pushed back to Serbia in an informal way, through the green border. Based on the **untenable fiction** that the person has **not entered** (legally) **Hungary**. Practically only denials – **Serbia** considered **safe third country**



Government declares **Serbia and Macedonia safe third country** in a decree of 21 July 2015

### Serbia is not a safe third country!

**UNHCR:** „Hungary has also begun to **return asylum-seekers to Serbia, against standing UNHCR advice to governments.** The argument that refugees can be denied entry because it is possible to be returned to Serbia does not take into account **the asylum system Serbia is currently building is not able to cope with the magnitude of the current inflow of people** who require effective protection.”

<http://www.refworld.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/rwmain?page=printdoc&docid=55fa85705>

Council of Europe, **Commissioner for Human Rights** intervention in two ECtHR cases

(Appl. No. 4485/15 and 44944/1) 17 December 2015 (CommDH (2016)3 :

„The Commissioner considers **that this situation renders access to international protection in Hungary virtually impossible** and entails a real risk of *refoulement* of persons with international protection needs (including Dublin returnees) to Serbia, and of onward chain *refoulement*. It is therefore at variance with Hungary’s international obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights and 1951 Refugee Convention.”

<https://wcd.coe.int/com.intranet.InstraServlet?command=com.intranet.CmdBlobGet&IntranetImage=2875309&SecMode=1&DocId=2348808&Usage=2>

## OBSTRUCTION – SERBIA AS A SAFE THIRD COUNTRY

The fundamental question is: Is it legal!

What **political –philosophical** support should support the expectation that Serbia should support more than **800 000** refugees?

**Why** would Serbia be obliged to take over the responsibility for more than 800 000 refugees?

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**Why** would Serbia be obliged to take over the responsibility for more than 800 000 refugees?

Are such measures compatible with the principle of non-refoulement, who are **not in such need??**

-good neighbourliness,  
- international?!

**Act No. CLXXV of 2015 on "Action against the compulsory settlement and in defence of Europe and Hungary"**  
"stating that no sovereign state may be obliged on the basis of international law to take over and adjudicate an application for international protection submitted in another member state of the European Union"



# **PUNISHMENT**


# PUNISHMENT

**Three new crimes**, related to the security border closure (the fence) (352 A-C §)

- Illegal crossing of the fence – 3 years imprisonment
- Damaging of the fence – 5 years maximum
- Obstructing the construction of the fence - 1 years



Art. 31 of the Geneva Convention

- **Expulsion from** the territory of the **whole EU**
- An extended interpretation of **human smuggling, encompassing Austrian volunteers** helping to get to Austria, but not to the government provided buses/trains doing the same – further undermining the trust in the rule of law
- **Illegal detention in the transit zone**, without judicial control (habeas corpus).  
Asylum Act, § 71/A „If a foreigner submits his/her application **before entering the territory of Hungary**, in the transit zone specified in the Act on the State Border (hereinafter: “transit zone”)” she can be held there for a maximum of 4 weeks  *Amuur v. France*. Judgment, 1996 (App. No. 19776/92)

In 2015  
**914** instances  
of damaging the  
fence (the border  
closure)

<https://bsr.bm.hu/SitePages/ExcelMegtekinto.aspx?ExcelName=https%3a%2f%2fbsr.bm.hu%2fBuncselekmenyiAdatok%2fRegisztr%C3%A1lt+b%C5%B1ncselekm%C3%A9nyek+sz%C3%A1ma+az+elk%C3%B6vet%C3%A9s+helye+szerint.xlsx>  
(20160214)

# **FREE RIDING – LACK OF SOLIDARITY**

## FREE RIDING – THE LACK OF SOLIDARITY

The closure of the border by the razor-wire fence has **not diminished the number** of asylum seekers and migrants arriving into the EU, it simply **diverted** them to the Serbia- Croatia – Slovenia – Austria – Germany route

After 15 September 2015 (but before the completion of the fence at the Hungarian – Croatian border) it allowed to those, arriving from Croatia to **continue the journey** to Austria **without registration, obstructing** the application of **the Dublin system**.

**177,135** applications for international **protection** in 2015

More than **414,000 irregular border crossings** in 2015 **→** approximately a quarter of a million travelled through Hungary unregistered.

Hungary stated that it **rejects the relocation decisions**. Instead of taking over 1294 asylum seekers (and receiving almost 8 million euros) it will spend money on lawyers while suing the Commission.

## FREE RIDING – THE LACK OF SOLIDARITY

Formal attack against the second relocation decision (Council Decision (EU) 2015/1601 of 22 September) envisaging the relocation of altogether 120 000 asylum seekers in two years

*Hungary v Council of the European Union* (Case C-647/15) OJ C 38/43, 1.2.2016

See also *Slovak Republic v Council of the European Union* (Case C-643/15) *ibid*, p. 41

Main pleas of Hungary. ( (S) = Slovakia also pleas more or less the same):

- Art 78(3) TFEU **does not empower the Council to adopt a legislative act, so the decision ought not have amended** the Dublin III. regulation (604/2013) (S)
- Measures lasting/having effects for 3 or more years are **not provisional** as required by 78 (3) (S)
- The decision making **ought have been unanimous** as Council departed from the Commission proposal
- As the decision is a legislative act because of its content, **national parliaments ought to have had a right to form an opinion** (S)
- After changing the content of the proposal the **European Parliament was not consulted again** (S)
- The decision **contradicts to the conclusions of the European Council** adopted on 25 and 26 June 2015 envisaging voluntary relocation and so **violates Art 68 TFEU**.
- The decision infringes the principles of **legal certainty and legislative clarity** as rules of procedure and selection for relocation were left in dark
- **Violates 51 Geneva Convention guaranteed right of the asylum seekers to stay** in the country in which the application was submitted if no material links to the state whereto transfer is envisaged
- The measure is contrary to the principle of **proportionality** (S)

**BREACHES OF LAW  
(DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL  
AND EU)**

## BREACHES OF LAW – HUNGARIAN DOMESTIC LAW

The construction of the fence was started **without conforming** to the applicable **environmental, nature conservation and construction laws**, including the prescribed procedures.

**Waiver** from under these rules was subsequently ex post facto granted by Act CXL, **when the fence was almost complete**

**Legal remedies** in the asylum procedure are extremely curtailed deadlines short, access to legal assistance cumbersome. The rights of minors in the criminal law procedures may not be compatible with the relevant domestic Acts and principles. (E.g. a court secretary /junior judge/ may decide instead of a fully fledged judge, language use is limited, documents of the criminal law procedure not translated)

## BREACH OF LAW – INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN

- The **systematic detention** of every asylum seeker who applies at the border is contrary to international law and presumably infringes Article 31 of the Geneva Convention
- Pushing back from the transit zone to Serbia under the heading of safe third country, **forcing to re-enter Serbia without a legal permit** violates good neighbourliness, the 2007 Serbia – EU return agreement and the Return directive. Not providing the applicant with a document in Serbian language informing the Serbian authorities of the ground for return (stc.) breaches the Procedures directive
- **Returning persons to Croatia** could only happen under the Dublin III regulation not by direct refoulement



## BREACH OF LAW – INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN

- Hungary rarely removes those who have no right to stay (and are no longer asylum seekers) to the country of origin – breaching the return directive.
- It announced on 23 June the „suspension” of taking charge/taking back of asylum seekers under the Dublin regulation. This was revoked a few days later. However, it administratively hinders large scale returns to Hungary.
- Systemic refusal of taking charge/ taking back at the political level: Viktor Orbán in Parliament, 16 November 2015: „I’d like to inform every citizen of Hungary that here, as long as this government can breathe, neither quota, nor deportation back [meaning taking charge or taking back – BN] will take place”. Applause on the FIDESZ side

## BREACH OF LAW – INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN

- The Commission's concern – on the road to establishing infringement.
- 6 October 2015: Commission sent a 9 pages long „administrative” letter listing its concerns
  - Is there still fair procedure, access to legal representation, effective remedy?
  - Can the prohibition of reviewing the facts by the appeal court be legal?
  - Are reception conditions met?
  - Are legal guarantees concerning detention in the transit zone met?
  - Does automatic expulsion not breach the principle of voluntary departure enshrined in the Return directive (2008/115/EU )?

## BREACH OF LAW – INTERNATIONAL AND EUROPEAN

10 December: **letter of formal notice** = start of **the first set** of infringement procedures [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-15-6228\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-6228_en.htm)

- No possibility to refer to **new facts** and circumstances in the context of appeals and
- **No automatic suspension of decisions** in case of appeals - effectively forcing applicants to leave the territory before the time limit for lodging an appeal expires, or before an appeal has been heard.
- Decisions on the appeal against finding an application inadmissible are taken by **court secretaries (a sub-judicial level)** lacking judicial independence
- The rules on **interpretation and translation** in the criminal law procedure violate the relevant directive.

# **CONCLUSION AND BROADER CONTEXT**

## CONCLUSION ON THE ACTIONS OF HUNGARY

Government and the Parliament intentionally replaced the figure of the refugee with the (imagined) illegal migrant, who is arriving in an unlawful manner and only has sinister intentions, against whom “Hungary has to be defended”.

The ‘logical’ response: the fence, criminalisation, ignorance, exposure to the harshest conditions, and a total lack of support, except for the support provided by civil society.

That civil society is now under attack, accused of being a vehicle for unfettered “immigration” threatening the destruction of Europe.

So the parallel reality is now complete: there were “illegal migrants”, who only came to destroy Hungary and Europe, but against whom Hungary (and Europe) has been defended.

In the reality on the ground, the brutal violation of many refugee related obligations is coupled with the most myopic political move of diverting the arriving people to neighbouring countries and pretending that the “refugee problem” has been “solved”.


**The words uttered are about “defending Europe”, but the deeds actually destroy it.**

## BROADER CONTEXT

Experiencing a large influx, **not unusual in other regions** (Afghanistan, Rwanda, earlier Bangladesh)

Real novelty: states (Turkey, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Hungary, Austria) renouncing claim to control the presence of foreigners on their territories.

Fundamental issue: into which direction will the EU move:

- 
- \* Dismantling Schengen
  - \* Retreat into national existence
  - \* Inter-state competition
  - \* Shifting responsibility to others MS

**FRAGMENTATION**

- \* Creating a genuinely united European space
- \* Asylum seeker arrive thereto and the European demos offers them protection

**UNION**

# Thanks!

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and  
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