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## Europe's Fractionous Politics Loom as Threat to Markets

Economic recovery and ECB policies should support stocks in 2016, but debates over immigration and EU membership pose potential obstacles

By  
CHRISTOPHER WHITTALL  
Jan. 1, 2016 12:16 p.m. ET

**Many investors are betting the forces that pushed European stocks higher last year will hold firm in 2016.**

**A nascent economic recovery and central bank money-printing buoyed European equities in 2015** and should continue to act as drivers, investors say. **Still, political troubles mean markets can expect bumps along the way.**

"For equities, Europe remains one of our favorite locations," said Ewen Cameron Watt, global chief investment strategist of BlackRock, which manages \$4.5 trillion in assets.

The Stoxx Europe 600 rose 6.8% in 2015, comfortably outstripping the 0.7% decline in the S&P 500.

**Easy-money policies from the European Central Bank, attractive valuations and an expected rise in corporate earnings should boost European shares in 2016**, said Mr. Cameron Watt, though he stressed that political upheaval could be a factor.

**Several potential road bumps loom.** Europe's free-border zone, one of the central pillars of the European Union, could face collapse if politicians don't agree on how to handle a massive influx of migrants from the Middle East and Africa. The Paris attacks in November prompted fresh calls for a clampdown on free movement across borders from some politicians amid evidence that some of the Islamic State gunmen passed freely through European borders.

**A U.K. vote on EU membership, which is expected to come in 2016, could also dent markets**, particularly if it led to the exit of Europe's second-largest economy from the trading bloc.

**An EU exit would be negative for the U.K. economy, with trade and investment hit, Moody's Investors Service said in a December report.** The impact would also be significant for the rest of the EU, according to a June report by Global Counsel, an advisory firm chaired by Labour politician and former European Commissioner for Trade Peter Mandelson. Among other things, financing costs would likely rise across Europe and **there would be wider political consequences as other anti-EU forces gained encouragement, the report said.**

**"That's the wild card for Europe—political risk goes up even more,"** said Mark Hargraves, a fund manager at Axa Investment Managers.

Still, market selloffs have been more contained since the ECB emerged as effective lender of last resort to eurozone governments during the euro area's sovereign-debt crisis in 2012.

**Moreover, aggressive ECB stimulus measures to stoke ultralow inflation, including the launch of a €60 billion (\$65.2 billion) monthly bond-buying program in March, have given markets a shot in the arm.**

With inflation near zero, still well below its target of close to 2%, **the ECB said in December that it would keep the printing presses running until at least March 2017.** Such easy-money policies have boosted stocks in recent years.

In contrast, the Federal Reserve raised interest rates in December and is expected to further tighten policy this year.

**For many, Europe's economic recovery is the main attraction.**

"Europe is the one place where growth has now become an important driver of markets," said Paul O'Connor, co-head of multiasset investments at Henderson Global Investors, which oversees £82 billion (\$120.8 billion) in assets.

Mr. O'Connor said European stocks were one of his favorite bets given his belief that company earnings will increase.

**The European Commission forecasts euro-area gross domestic product to grow by 1.8% in 2016 and 1.9% in 2017.** Some of Europe's former trouble spots are expected to make large contributions: **Spain is forecast to grow 2.7% in 2016, well above Germany at 1.9%, while Italy is seen expanding 1.5%.**

That has led some fund managers to bet the recovery in Southern Europe should lower the borrowing costs of Spain and Italy relative to Germany, the euro area's largest economy.

Axel Botte, a strategist at Natixis Asset Management, is betting **Spanish and Italian government bonds will be standout performers. Spain's inconclusive general election in December "delivered little prospects of political stability" with another round of elections likely in the first quarter of 2016,** said Mr. Botte. Even so, he still thinks Spain's economy "will continue to grow rapidly."

The prospect of growth in Europe has also caused investors to switch their approach to stock selection.

Europe's exporters were popular picks in early 2015. Many investors thought a sharp fall in the euro toward parity with the dollar, having traded up around \$1.40 in 2014, would boost the competitiveness of these companies.

But since hitting a 12-year low of \$1.0457 in March, the euro has traded in a range of roughly \$1.05 to \$1.15, where many investors expect it to now stay.

A slowdown in global growth, led by China, has also dimmed the appeal of companies selling their goods abroad.

Mr. Hargraves at Axa Investment Managers began selling European stocks sensitive to currency moves in the first few months of 2015. He now prefers consumer-discretionary and financial-sector stocks that should benefit from a recovery in local growth.

"The backdrop for Europe is steady [economic growth], and the outlook for global trade is mixed," said Mr. Hargraves, whose firm oversees €669 billion in assets.

Peter Oppenheimer, chief global equity strategist at Goldman Sachs, said European equities should outperform U.S. stocks next year in local-currency terms.

He likes banks and media companies that should all benefit from a recovery in Europe. By contrast, he recommends steering clear of mining companies, still in the belief that metals prices are unlikely to rebound amid lackluster global growth.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.



"My resolution is to not smash my TV to smithereens before the campaign is over."

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/02/opinion/a-smarterplan-to-make-retirement-savings-last.html?action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=opinion-c-col-right-region&region=opinion-c-col-right-region&WT.nav=opinion-c-col-right-region&r=0>

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The Opinion Pages | OP-ED CONTRIBUTORS

# A Smarter Plan to Make Retirement Savings Last

By **TERESA GHILARDUCCI** and **HAMILTON E. JAMES** JAN. 1, 2016



Credit/Getty Images

LAST month, President Obama inaugurated yet another way to encourage Americans to save for retirement. In the new myRA accounts, workers can save up to \$15,000 in a low-fee investment plan that, like a government savings bond, guarantees the principal. The accounts are a small step toward helping households save, but they are not an effective solution to the coming retirement crisis.

Starting in 2020, the numbers of very low-income elderly will rise sharply as the retired population soars to almost 56 million. More middle-class working Americans will be poor or near poor after they reach the age of 65. Most currently have inadequate 401(k)-type accounts or no retirement account at all. For good reason, voters tell pollsters that their top economic concern is retirement security.

We need a bolder plan, which we are calling the guaranteed retirement account (G.R.A.). Under our proposal, all workers and employers will have to make regular payments into a G.R.A., which builds until retirement age, then pays out a supplemental stream of income until that person and his or her beneficiary die.

The current system — a mix of 401(k)s and individual retirement accounts (I.R.A.s) — is broken. These plans are individually directed, voluntary and leaky. Just over half of workers don't have access to a workplace retirement plan. According to the National Institute on Retirement Security, Americans between the ages of 40 and 55 have retirement savings of \$14,500, when they will need between 20 and 30 times that amount. Many people take money out before they retire. And the wealthy tend to pay lower fees and get higher subsidies for their savings.

A bigger flaw is the way these plans hinder wise investing. Individualized retirement accounts are effectively restricted to short-term liquid stocks and bonds because they are designed to allow people to withdraw their money before retirement. So employees are paying for liquidity they don't need and achieving subpar results. Traditional pension plans consistently perform better because they are diversified in long- and short-term investments.

In our plan, the more than 95 million workers without a pension plan would each have his or her own G.R.A. managed by an independent federal agency. Workers and employers would each contribute a mandatory minimum of 1.5 percent of the salary or contract. The current tax deduction for retirement savings would be converted to a \$600 refundable tax credit to pay for the contributions of households below median income.

Workers could not withdraw money early, even for emergencies — and they won't like that. But allowing exceptions creates a slippery slope. Just as Social Security is protected from early withdrawal, retirement accounts should be used for old-age income. Employers won't like paying more. But in return, they are free from administrating and worrying about providing retirement plans if they don't offer a 401(k) or pension. In the long run, employers would benefit because a nation of financially secure retirees would pre-empt higher corporate taxes.

Individuals would not make investment decisions directly. Instead, low-fee diversified retirement portfolios would be created by a board of professionals who would be fiduciaries appointed by the president and Congress and held accountable to investors. The fees and investments would be much less prone to corruption because the managers' income would not depend on the investments, the fees would be disclosed, and the accounts separated from government funds and owned by the individuals.

Since contributions would be pooled and fees kept low, a guarantee of a return of around 3 percent — about half the expected return on stocks over the long term — would be essentially costless even as the underlying rate fluctuated with the market and inflation. For someone making an average salary of about \$48,000, a 3 percent contribution would yield about \$170,000 over a lifetime. Three percent is not an adequate saving rate, it is a starting base. Our plan would provide a lifelong annuity, like a defined benefit plan, so no one would face the risk of outliving his or her money.

This proposal would require federal legislation. Many states, like California, are now implementing a version of what we are proposing, but the plans aren't mature enough for us to know if they work. People in their 50s and 60s won't be helped as much as younger people, but some savings can help delay collecting Social Security. Most nations support retirees through universal two-tier systems consisting of a Social Security-type plan and funded workplace pensions. Our plan would guarantee millions of Americans safe and secure retirements that would benefit them, their families and the nation's economy.

[Teresa Ghilarducci](#) is a professor of economics at the New School for Social Research. Hamilton E. James is the president and chief operating officer of Blackstone, a money-management firm.

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## Response to Paris Attacks Points to Weaknesses in French Police Structure

By ADAM NOSSITERDEC. 31, 2015



Police officers outside the Bataclan theater in Paris during the attacks on Nov. 13. Credit: Christophe Petit Tesson/European Pressphoto Agency

PARIS — Since the devastating [Nov. 13 attacks in Paris](#), the French police have offered only a fragmentary outline of their response and of how they deployed antiterror teams and other forces. The somberness and solidarity in the weeks since have muted public criticism. No review of the police's performance has been announced.

Yet accounts from survivors and police officials, as well as the analysis of outside experts, make clear that there were substantial periods when the terrorists operated with little or no hindrance from the authorities, and that [France's](#) top-heavy chain of command, which has diminished neighborhood patrols in favor of specialized units, contributed to delays.

The first officer to reach the worst of the carnage — [at the Bataclan concert hall](#), where 90 of the 130 victims that night were killed — got there roughly 15 minutes into the attack. Armed with only a service sidearm, he managed to stall the killing by shooting one attacker, blowing up the terrorist's suicide vest while sparing the victims around him.

Yet the officer was ordered to withdraw in favor of a more specialized antiterrorism unit, which arrived half an hour into the assault after initially being sent to sites where the violence had already ended. Another specialized unit nearby was apparently never deployed, according to a French news report.

In the meantime, the remaining two attackers at the Bataclan fortified themselves with hostages, while scores of wounded — pretending to be dead or paralyzed with fear — lay scattered in eerie silence, bleeding on the concert-hall floor among dozens of corpses. It would be nearly three hours before the police brought the assault to an end.

By any measure, [the events of Nov. 13](#) were a nightmare scenario: three teams of terrorists, the country's president under threat, and suicidal killers with military-grade weapons striking six sites within minutes of one another. There is no doubt the French police acted bravely. A seamlessly choreographed response by any police force may well have been impossible.

Still, several French police experts, and a look at the chronology, suggest that the delayed response points to weaknesses in the highly centralized French police structure. A greater local police presence might have limited the killing, several experts said.

“We have a big machine, and a relatively heavy one,” said Christian Mouhanna, the leader of a unit focused on law and order at the [National Center for Scientific Research](#), one of [France's](#) main research institutions.

“By the time the information gets out and reaches up, mobilizing the specialized units takes a relatively long time,” Mr. Mouhanna said. “Our police are not organized along local lines. Everything has to filter up to the central organization at the prefecture.”

A colleague of his, René Lévy, a police expert, said the response raised the question of whether that system needs to be changed. As with the deadly assault on the Charlie Hebdo satirical newspaper, terrorists eluded the authorities in the heart of Paris after [nimble and deadly attacks](#).

“It made me think about the strategy, which is that one does nothing and one waits for the arrival of the specialists,” Mr. Lévy said. “Maybe there is something to think about, because in fact, ordinary police might have limited the damage.”

But the local police — officers patrolling a beat by foot — essentially do not exist in France. An attempt at “neighborhood police” in the late 1990s was unpopular with the police unions and was stopped once political power shifted to the right a few years later.

“We have a police force that is disconnected from the terrain,” Mr. Mouhanna said.

That disconnect was a decided disadvantage with so much shooting and bombing happening at so many locations at once, leaving the cartography of the November attacks unclear for critical stretches for a force under centralized command.

Beyond the Bataclan, the Paris police faced attacks that played out quickly across miles and [threatened President Francois Hollande](#), who was at the soccer stadium where two suicide bombers [blew themselves up](#). Scores were wounded, overwhelming hospitals.

So great was the confusion that the specialized antiterrorism unit — the Search and Intervention Brigade, known by its French initials, B.R.I. — initially headed toward restaurants on Rue de Charonne where the killing had ended more than 20 minutes before, according to the French news media. By then, the terrorists were long gone.

It then took half an hour for the B.R.I. to reach the Bataclan. They arrived at about 10:15 p.m., by which time the slaughter on the concert-hall floor was over, according to police statements in the French news media.

“Right there, we skidded,” the B.R.I.’s chief, Christophe Molmy, told the newspaper Libération, acknowledging the mistake.

Another two hours passed before the B.R.I. ended the siege at the Bataclan, storming an upstairs room where the terrorists had taken refuge behind a group of terrified hostages.

Other experts emphasized the importance of speed. “Your job is to reduce the time on target, which is how long is that person in there, actively engaged in killing, before you can get in there and stop it,” said John J. Miller, the deputy commissioner for counterterrorism and intelligence at the New York Police Department.

Major tragedies are bound to expose flaws. After the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, [an independent federal commission found](#) that the response of the police and fire departments had been undermined by poor planning, inadequate equipment, faulty communication and generations-old interagency rivalries.

The Paris police prefecture, which oversees all police units in the city under the Interior Ministry, declined to make officers available for interviews, as did the Interior Ministry and a leading police union.

But several officers spoke on television and in newspapers in the days immediately after the attacks. Their graphic accounts of the Bataclan siege underscored the horror of what they had found. “It was an incredible scene,” Mr. Molmy told the Figaro newspaper.

But the accounts also speak to the segmented nature of French policing.

The downside of France’s system of deploying specialized units like the B.R.I. is that “the beat officers are not highly trained, and so you’ve got to wait for the specialists to arrive,” Mr. Mouhanna, of the research institute, said.

“There is a question of quickness of reaction,” he added. “We have a lot of officers in offices. On the ground, we don’t have that many.”

The first police officer to penetrate the Bataclan was a member of the Brigade Anti-Criminalité, an anti-crime unit known as the BAC: a quasi-local officer whose unit would have been assigned to patrol the area by vehicle. There are few such night patrols in Paris, experts said.

In an interview on French television that was posted online, a man said to be the officer, unidentified and his face blurred, recalled a scene of “indescribable horror.” “We open the door, nothing,” he said. “It was surreal. Hundreds of bodies stretched out everywhere.”

The officer described seeing one of the terrorists on the left of the stage, taking aim at a group of hostages, hands on heads, “who were walking toward him very calmly, very dignified, but who seemed totally resigned to their fate.”

Quickly, the officer fired, he said, and there was an explosion. He had hit the terrorist’s suicide belt. At that point, the killing stopped, and the remaining two terrorists retreated to the floor above, grabbing hostages.

Some 15 minutes later, Mr. Molmy arrived at the Bataclan with his men from the B.R.I.

“It was absolute silence,” Mr. Molmy said in an interview with AFPTV posted online. “Even those who were still alive didn’t dare move.”

No one knew where the terrorists were. It was dark, and the ground floor of the concert hall was carpeted with bodies. It would take another two hours to end the terrorist attack and retrieve all the wounded.

“We were freeing hostages continuously,” Mr. Molmy told a television interviewer. “Each time somebody came toward us, we had to make sure they were not wearing a suicide belt.” But there were no more gunshots.

About an hour after arriving, Mr. Molmy’s force divided into two thin columns. They were proceeding along a narrow corridor when they finally heard a voice: a hostage, shouting from behind a door, who was being made to serve as the spokesman for the two remaining terrorists.

Hurried exchanges with the terrorists followed over a cellphone for about an hour.

“They were very nervous,” Mr. Molmy told a television interviewer. The attackers threatened to decapitate the hostages and spoke of the caliphate sought by the Islamic State extremist group. “At 12:18, we understood that we had to get on with it, because they had become extremely nervous and were threatening to blow themselves up,” Mr. Molmy said.

The first B.R.I. column opened the door, protected by a 176-pound shield. “We found ourselves in a corridor, faced by about 20 terrified hostages, and behind them, the terrorists,” Mr. Molmy said. The terrorists opened fire immediately.

The shield sustained dozens of bullet impacts. Then it slipped from the hands of the officers, leaving them exposed.

At that moment, one of them shot at a shadow, hitting the suicide vest of an attacker and causing it to explode. A second explosion quickly followed when the other terrorist detonated his own vest. The assault was over, and to the wonder of the officers, none of the hostages had been killed.

“This scenario, certainly, was a nightmare,” Mr. Mouhanna said. “Very, very difficult to manage.”

Al Baker contributed reporting from New York.



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## Merkel Urges Germans to See Migrants as ‘an Opportunity,’ Not a Threat

Open Source

By ROBERT MACKEY DEC. 31, 2015



Germany's state broadcaster added Arabic subtitles to an online copy of Chancellor Angela Merkel's New Year's Eve speech. CreditZDFVideo

As Germans prepared to ring in 2016 alongside [at least a million migrants](#) who were registered as new residents in 2015, **Chancellor Angela Merkel dedicated [a New Year's Eve address](#) to what she said her nation could gain from the refugee crisis.**

**"I am convinced that, handled properly, today's great task, presented by the influx and the integration of so many people, is an opportunity for tomorrow," she said in [a televised message](#).**

After thanking the volunteers and professionals who have helped welcome the newcomers, **Ms. Merkel, who [has come under fire](#) from even her own party for refusing to put a cap on the number of arrivals**, emphasized her belief that the country could benefit in the end:

*There is no question that the influx of so many people will still demand more from us. It will take time, effort and money — especially when it comes to the very important task of integrating those who will be remaining here permanently.*

***Here we want to, and must, learn from the mistakes of the past. Our values, our traditions, our understanding of the law, our language, our rules and regulations — all of these things undergird our society and are the fundamental requirements for the positive and mutually respectful coexistence of all the people in our country. This applies to everyone who wants to live here. Successful immigration, however, benefits a country — economically as well as socially.***

She added, "Next year is about one thing in particular: our cohesion," and then said: "It is important for us not to let ourselves be divided. Not by generation, and also not socially or into the categories of longtime residents and new residents."

**That the German leader's words were made available online with Arabic subtitles by the state broadcaster stirred criticism in Europe and the United States.**

"It is important," she said, "not to follow those who, with coldness or even hate in their hearts, want to claim Germanness solely for themselves and exclude others."

Ms. Merkel also looked ahead to soccer's European Championship to be held in France next summer, where Germany will be represented by [a world-beating squad](#) featuring German-born stars of Turkish, Ghanaian, Albanian, Tunisian, Polish and Moroccan ancestry.

## German State TV To Show Merkel's New Year Speech With Arabic Subtitles



by RAHEEM KASSAM 30 Dec 2015

German Chancellor Angela Merkel's usual New Year speech will be available with Arabic subtitles this year, in the **surest sign yet that Germany is bending to the hordes of migrants that have settled there, rather than requiring them to learn the native language.**

The [announcement](#) was made by the state television broadcaster, ZDF, which has already made available a video message from the German President, Joachim Gauck, with Arabic subtitles (pictured above).



### *Merkel's January 2015 speech with English subtitles*

The speech, which is usually between six and seven minutes long, traditionally includes a roundup of the year gone by, and a message from the German leader about the prospects for the year ahead. It tends to be overtly political, and a way for the Chancellor to hammer home her side of the story on the years' events.

This year will no doubt centre around the migrant crisis, which has served as the catalyst for a slump in Mrs. Merkel's party approval ratings, as well the rise of the PEGIDA movement and the Alternative fur Deutschland party.

The ZDF has even set up a dedicated Arabic subdomain on its website: <http://arabic.zdf.de>, as well as a mobile site called "ZDFarabic".

The Arabic subtitles are not set to be broadcast on television, but online only, and the Middle Eastern language joins English as the only language the speeches were previously subtitled into.

ZDF – which is funded by a public licence fee for television usage, like Britain’s BBC – has announced an expansion of what it calls the “web site for Refugees”.

As of January 4th 2016, the channel’s flagship “Today” news broadcast will have Arabic subtitles available, and some children’s shows already have Arabic subtitles.

Earlier this month Breitbart London [reported](#) that the country aired its first ever Arabic-language television programme named *Marhaba* (‘Hello’ in Arabic) which featured tips such as ‘stick to the rules’, and lessons on cultural tolerance. It also reminded viewers that German Basic Law — the constitution — takes precedence over all others, including Sharia.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/31/business/dealbook/edward-hugh-economist-who-foresaw-eurozones-struggles-dies-at-67.html?ref=europe>

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## Edward Hugh, Economist Who Foresaw Eurozone's Struggles, Dies at 67

By LANDON THOMAS Jr. DEC. 30, 2015



Edward Hugh, the British economist, in 2010. He said austerity would have devastating results in some countries. CreditLluis Gene/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

Edward Hugh, a freethinking and wide-ranging British economist who gave early warnings about the [European debt crisis](#) from his adopted home in Barcelona, died on Tuesday, his birthday, in Girona, Spain. He was 67.

The cause was cancer of the gallbladder and liver, his son, Morgan Jones, said.

Mr. Hugh drew attention in 2009 and 2010 for [his blog posts](#) pointing out flaws at the root of Europe's ambition to bind together disparate cultures and economies with a single currency, the euro.

In [clear, concise essays](#), adorned with philosophical musings and colorful graphics, Mr. Hugh insisted time and again that economists and policy makers were glossing over the extent to which swift austerity measures in countries like Greece, Ireland, Spain and Portugal would result in devastating recessions.

Mr. Hugh's insights soon attracted a wide and influential following, including hedge funds, economists, finance ministers and analysts at the International Monetary Fund.

"For those of us pessimists who believed that the eurozone structure was leading to an unsustainable bubble in the periphery countries, Edward Hugh was a must-read," said Albert Edwards, a strategist based in London for the French bank Société Générale. "His prescience in explaining the mechanics of the crisis went almost unnoticed until it actually hit."

As the eurozone's economic problems grew, so did Mr. Hugh's popularity, and by 2011 he had moved the base of his operations to Facebook. There he attracted many thousands of additional followers from all over the world.

If Santa Claus and John Maynard Keynes could combine as one, he might well be Edward Hugh. He was roly-poly and merry, and he always had a twinkle in his eye, not least when he came across a data point or the hint of an economic or social trend that would support one of his many theories.

His intellect was too restless to be pigeonholed, but when pressed he would say that he saw himself as a Keynesian in spirit, but not letter. And in tune with his view that economists in general had become too wedded to static economic models and failed their obligation to predict and explain, he frequently cited this quotation from Keynes:

“Economists set themselves too easy, too useless a task if in tempestuous seasons they can only tell us that when the storm is long past, the ocean is flat again.”

Edward Hugh Bengree-Jones was born in Liverpool, England, on Dec. 29, 1948. He moved to London and received an undergraduate degree from the London School of Economics. He pursued his doctoral studies at Victoria University in Manchester, although he never completed them.

In an interview with The New York Times in 2010, Mr. Hugh said that his interests were too many for him to buckle down and actually earn a doctorate in a single topic. He read widely and relentlessly, becoming an expert on a variety of matters like demography, migration, [independent cinema](#) and the social tendencies of the bonobo ape.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s he bounced from job to job, mostly in education, taking on projects such as teaching English to Chilean refugees.

In 1990 he moved to Barcelona, having fallen in love with the city’s multicultural flair during a holiday visit. He quickly became fluent in both Spanish and Catalan and decided that Barcelona would become his home.

He would become a champion of Catalonia’s push for independence and was an informal adviser to senior Catalan politicians, including Artur Mas, the leader of the movement’s main party.

While Mr. Hugh’s pointed pen often ruffled feathers, especially in Spain, he did become a local celebrity of sorts. He was a regular presence in the papers and appeared frequently on television, where he would expound for hours in Spanish and Catalan.

On occasion his prognostications were overly pessimistic, and Spain’s surprisingly quick economic recovery was an event that he, along with many others, did not foresee.

Until this summer, when his cancer worsened, he spent his days posting daily economic snippets on Facebook, digging deep into independent films from around the world, and having long, lazy lunches with local notables and friends.

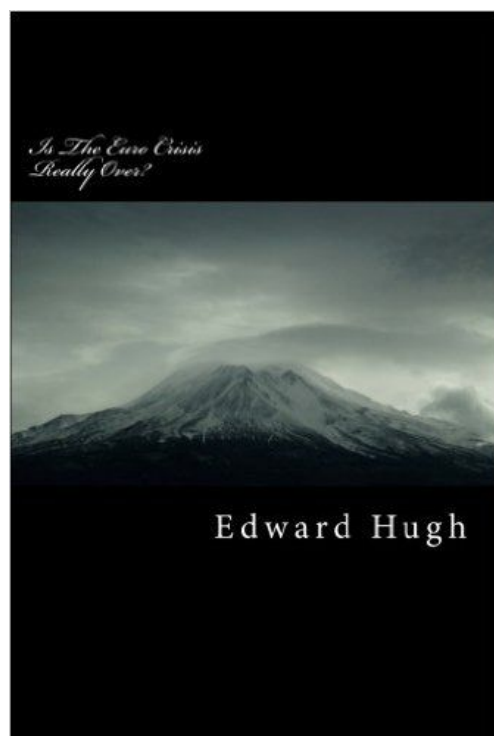
That he never finished his doctorate or wrote his great work never truly bothered him, he said in his interview with The Times.

“The last time I was asked what it was I ‘did,’ I replied rather cantankerously, that I don’t do, I think,” he recalled.

Besides his son Morgan, his survivors include a brother, David, and a half sister, Anne.

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Is The Euro Crisis Really Over?: Will doing whatever it takes be enough? Paperback – September 14, 2014



The euro zone crisis is not back --, at least not yet it isn't. Despite the great progress which has been made over the last few years, the latest bout of market tensions over Greece serve to illustrate the degree of uncertainty which still hangs over the future of monetary union - will a so-called Grexit scenario will finally occur? Certainly the most notable feature of the current Greece crisis is the way in which bond yields in the other Euro periphery countries have continued to head downwards, leading many to conclude that the “contagion” threat is now a thing of the past. But doubts remain: how much of this bond yield stability is due to the ECB QE programme? And what will happen if the ECB eventually terminates the bond purchases, or even tries to end them early under a Federal Reserve type “tapering” process? What will happen to bond spreads then? And what about the growing political instability in the region, as unemployment remains unacceptably high despite the apparent recovery. Naturally the dramatic shift in market perceptions of Southern Europe which has taken place since the height of the crisis has surprised many. For some the level of investor appetite for shares and bonds in what was previously deemed an economic disaster zone is a sure sign another bubble is on the way, this time in government bonds. For others it is proof that the debt crisis is now well behind us, and indeed that the most seriously affected economies have now “turned the corner”. For the time being the “Mario Draghi ultimately has my back” feeling continues to prevail, but with markets increasingly financing debt levels that many recognize as ultimately unsustainable nervousness will rise that the size of the pill – and German resistance to the process - may become just too big for the ECB to comfortably swallow, leaving the specter of private sector involvement (PSI) in debt restructuring to once more rear its ugly head. Meanwhile, long term issues about the sustainability of Europe’s economies are emerging, largely for demographic reasons. Unable to adjust via a classic devaluation, and unwilling to bite the bullet of a sizeable adjustment in relative prices via an internal devaluation, economies in southern Europe are correcting via the long-wished-for route of transnational labour mobility. But as explained here, the associated migration process is not without problems in an era when working age populations are tilting downwards and elderly population ratios steadily on the rise. One possible solution to many of these problems would be a complete federation of all Euro Area member states: the long talked about full political union. This wouldn’t be an instant cure all for the region’s problems but it would

make the correction of country level imbalances much more manageable. Unfortunately there is little appetite for such a move on the part of those countries which would be large net contributors, and hence this outcome seems unlikely over the relevant time horizon. Instead we are witnessing a continuing battle between periphery and core Europe politicians over getting the ECB to continue with full blown QE to sustain debts, creating in the process a transfer union which has no visible transfers. There is no doubt that both the participating countries and the Euro Area itself have made significant institutional advances during the crisis. But has enough been done, or have one can after another simply been kicked down the road? Certainly the unresolved issues are not hard to identify: low GDP growth, high unemployment, rising sovereign debt levels, creeping deflation, how to handle the problem of ageing and declining workforces. There plenty of potential sources for more crises, the issue is whether there is the will to address them before something happens, or whether the driver will, yet one more time, fall asleep at the wheel.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/31/arts/design/anselm-kiefer-and-his-hallmarks-have-a-moment.html?ref=europe>

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## Anselm Kiefer and His Hallmarks Have a Moment

By DOREEN CARVAJALDEC. 30, 2015

Photo



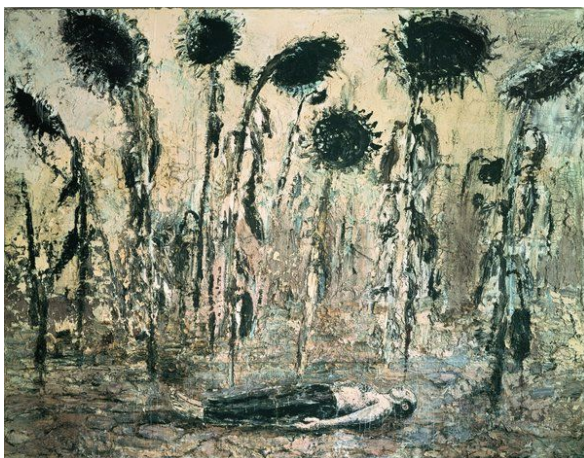
Anselm Kiefer in the new installation for his retrospective at the Pompidou Center in Paris. Credit Atelier Anselm Kiefer, 2015

PARIS — As Paris reeled in the weeks after the Nov. 13 attacks, the German artist Anselm Kiefer was finishing up an apocalyptic installation at the Pompidou Center.

Waves of undulating sand are dotted with upright slabs of mushrooms. A rusting machine gun lays across a hospital gurney made of lead inscribed with the name of the 1970s German terrorist Ulrike Meinhof. At the rear, a huge canvas shows a ravaged, wintry forest receding into the distance.

The work, “For Madame de Staël: Germany,” which is part of [a new Kiefer retrospective](#) here, appears to include a pointed message about a new generation of extremists who have taken aim at Europe. And French newspapers have pointed out that the mushrooms resemble tombstones, and the German news media has noted that Mr. Kiefer’s themes of destruction and rejuvenation resonate with a traumatized nation.

Not necessarily, said Mr. Kiefer, who has worked in France since 1992, with a mansion in the Marais district and a studio in a former department store warehouse outside of Paris.



Anselm Kiefer’s “Die Orden der Nacht (Les Ordres de la Nuit).” Credit Atelier Anselm Kiefer, Seattle Art Museum

“What happened in Paris is a really dramatic, horrible accident, and they are criminals, but it is not war,” he said on a recent afternoon at the center, where he was reviewing the exhibition ahead of its Dec. 16 opening.



He said the work was influenced by German romanticism, the 19th-century philosophical movement that, he said, spawned dangerous political offshoots like Nazism and the 1970s radicals like Ms. Meinhof who yearned “to be powerful, to be someone, to be great, to have an adventure.”

The mushrooms, inscribed with the names of German poets, painters and philosophers, are simply references to hallucinogenic psilocybin that, according to Mr. Kiefer’s reading, they had reportedly sampled.

That mix of specific imagery and ambiguous intent has been a hallmark of Mr. Kiefer’s work since the 1960s, when he shocked Germans — and drew accusations of neo-Nazism — with photographs of himself delivering Hitler salutes while wearing his father’s green military coat from the Wehrmacht.

In person, Mr. Kiefer, dressed in a black T-shirt and dark pants, was noticeably more cheerful than the air of melancholy that surrounds his works gathered at the Pompidou. He called for a glass of cognac as he took a break from surveying preparations for the retrospective, which museum officials said had been under discussion for 10 years.

“It is not my aim to be provocative,” he said. The Nazi salutes were “provocative, but I wanted to understand myself and what I would have done in those times, what I am, my history.”

He added, “These were questions I had, and what I found was that humankind was wrongly constructed, something in our brain that is wrong.”

The Pompidou retrospective, which ends April 18, is part of a recent flurry of attention in Europe for the 70-year-old Mr. Kiefer. A show at the National Library of France through Feb. 7 displays [his handmade books](#), some of which are sheets of lead layered with sand, ashes, hair, plants and broken glass. The Royal Academy of Art in London staged [its own retrospective](#) in 2014, and the Albertina museum in Vienna will feature more than 30 of [his enormous woodcuts](#) starting in March.

The Paris show, arranged thematically and chronologically, spreads across more than 10 rooms on the sixth floor of the Pompidou and includes almost 150 works from both public and private collections; Mr. Kiefer said he made personal appeals to persuade reluctant owners to lend.

His canvases are lyrical studies of ruins, built up with layers of rubble, ash, sand, scavenged clothes and straw, and dense with historical symbols, like a coiled snake associated with seraphim, the biblical angels.

In one room, 40 vitrines display arrangements of found objects like volcanic stones, ferns and leaden objects in the shape of anatomical organs.



Anselm Kiefer in an undated photograph. CreditRenate Graf

Another room is devoted to works that explore the kabbalah, the Jewish mystical movement involving symbols that Mr. Kiefer, who was raised as a Catholic, said had intrigued him since a visit to Israel in 1984.

Mr. Kiefer was born two months before the end of [World War II](#) in Europe, part of a generation of Germans who grew up in a climate of amnesia and guilt about the Nazi regime, but with no memory of it.

His reception in Germany, where his work has plumbed uncomfortable truths about the country's history, has been considerably chillier than in the rest of Europe and overseas. Even after the retrospectives in London and now in Paris, Mr. Kiefer said he considered a similar show in Germany to be unlikely.

"I will not do one very soon," he said. "They don't like me. You know, I had a big success in London, but in Germany they think I am not modest enough and small enough.

"I still have time, perhaps in 10 or 15 years," he added.

Critics of Mr. Kiefer have cited his tendencies toward grandiosity and inscrutability. Taking stock of his exhibitions abroad, the German newspaper *Die Welt* [observed](#), "Only we in this country still have not quite understood what he has to proclaim."

Matthew Biro, an art history professor at the University of Michigan and author of two books on Mr. Kiefer, said that the shows demonstrated Mr. Kiefer's relevance.

Mr. Biro said much of the criticism of Mr. Kiefer was "because he was going his own way." He added, "Now the art world is moving back to much more engagement with history and politics, which is something he has been doing a long time."

Jean-Michel Bouhours, the curator of the Pompidou retrospective, said that taken together, the works stirred powerful emotions at a time when France is confronting issues like terrorism and anti-Semitism. Mr. Kiefer, he said, worked on the installation up until days before the show opened, adding the machine gun to "For Madame de Staël" at the last minute because it was "much more current with the news."

Mr. Kiefer said he had always sought a motive to paint, starting with German history. "And then later, I sought another reason, because I always had to have a reason."

For "Madame de Stael," he said, he wanted to show in the most basic way another side of Germany, one that could, at times, be brutal.

"I tried do to something I like to do, and I played in the sand," he said. "A field of sand is where you can do what you want."

## Wir alle, die nicht morden, sind betroffen

**Die Schriftstellerin Sibylle Berg hat zufällig miterlebt, wie der Attentäter von Tel Aviv am Neujahrstag zwei Menschen erschoss und zehn verletzte. Für uns hat sie ihr Entsetzen protokolliert.**

Ich bin wie jedes Jahresende in Israel. Der zu ruhigen Zeit zu Hause weglaufen. Wegfliegen. Denn Laufen aus der Schweiz nach Israel liegt nicht drin. Mit dem Auto dem Zug fahren – liegt nicht drin, wenn man nach Israel will. Es ist wie die DDR. Kenn ich. Ein kleiner Zipfel Land umgeben von Regierungen in Ländern, die die Menschen hier gerne ins Meer treiben wollten. Auslöschen. Anderes Thema. Ich bin hier, um die Familie und Bekannte zu besuchen. Die Runde machen. Jeden Abend. Und dann wieder von vorn beginnen. Mit jedem Tag müder werdend.



*Foto: pa/eventpress/mp*Die gelernte Puppenspielerin Sibylle Berg verließ Mitte der Achtzigerjahre die DDR. Ihr erster Roman "Ein paar Leute suchen das Glück und lachen sich tot" wurde ein großer Erfolg. Zahlreiche Bühnenstücke und weitere Romane folgten. Heute lebt sie in Zürich.

Ich bin wie jedes Jahr hier, seit gefühlten Hundert Jahren, seit der ersten oder zweiten Intifada. Eine von beiden – egal – also seit jeden Tag Busse in die Luft geflogen sind. Andauernd mein Flugzeug wegen Bombenalarm am Boden blieb. Dann wurde die Mauer gebaut. Die von Selbstgerechten, die nicht hier leben, so verdammt wurde. Und die Busse flogen nicht mehr in die Luft. Dafür kamen die Raketen, die Tunnel. Die Bagger, die in Menschenansammlungen gesteuert wurden. In den letzten hundert Jahren hat sich Europa nie für das Leben mit dem Terror in Israel interessiert. Außer einem geraunten Selber-Schuld, bei der Politik, außer: naja, ist eben da unten so, außer seltsamen Zuschreibungen, Verurteilungen, und dem Gefühl – das ist irgendwo, da unten – ging es in Europa außer den Juden oder den Angehörigen von in Israel Lebenden, wenige etwas an. Und die hier leben oder Verwandte hier haben, die sind ohnmächtig.

Die Linken, die Jungen, die meisten, die ich kenne, wollen, dass sich ihr Land ändert, besser wird, sicher, normaler, und die sind machtlos gegen eine Regierung, die keiner, den ich kenne, gewählt hat, gegen den wachsenden Einfluss der Religiösen, der steigenden Hoffungslosigkeit. Es glaubt keiner mehr, dass es gut enden kann. Gut enden wird. Mit Frieden enden wird. Weder hier noch auf der Seite der arabischen Bevölkerung. Also macht man weiter. Man gewöhnt sich. Gewöhnte sich an die Security-Männer, an das Gehasstwerden, an das Leben unter Druck. Die Menschen gewöhnen sich an alles.

### Das Verständnis für Israel ist nicht gestiegen

Es ist der 1. Januar. Gestern kam das Unwetter, der Sturm, der Regen, die jungen Menschen mit ihren luftigen Klamotten standen frierend in Pfützen, die Luftballons hingen traurig in den Seilen. Silvester feiern ist in Mode gekommen, seit einigen Jahren. Früher gab es das nicht, da wurde das neue Jahr nach dem jüdischen Kalender gefeiert und fertig lustig. Es ist der erste Januar, ich sitze in der Wohnung in der Diezengoffstraße. Der Einkaufs-Café-Restaurant-Promenade der Stadt. Sieht aus wie überall in Europa. Ist wie überall, wo es schön ist in Europa.

Es ist der Abend vor Samstag, vor Schabbes. Die Straßen sind voller Menschen, Kinder, Familien, die Einkäufe machen, die Stadt ist voller Touristen. Leute wie ich, die vor Weihnachten in Europa fliehen, Familie besuchen, meist Juden, die christlichen Jerusalem – Touristen sind wieder abgereist oder gar nicht angereist, seit in Jerusalem jeden Tag wahllos Menschen von palästinensischen Hoffungslosen mit Messern abgestochen werden und damit zu Märtyrern werden, was für ein Scheiß ist da nur los. Die neueste Serie der Attacken wurde wie üblich vom Rest der Welt mit klaren Zuschreibungen bedacht. Das Übliche: Selber-Schuld der Unwissenden. Das Übliche: Palästinenser nach Messerattacke von Israeli getötet – in den Medien.

Seit den Terroranschlägen, dem beschissenen Morden in Paris ist, wie manche hier vielleicht gehofft haben, das Verständnis für die Situation der Israelis nicht gestiegen in Europa. Europa ist da, wo die Israelis nicht sind. Terror in Paris ist immer noch etwas anderes als Terror hier. Natürlich, es hat immer Ursache und Wirkung. Im Fall von Terroristen ist die Ursache: Wahn. Mordlust. Religiöser

Irrsinn. Eingebildete oder reale Hoffnungslosigkeit, ein Sprung in der Schüssel und die Bereitschaft, Menschen mit ins Elend zu ziehen.

*Kein Grund, jemanden zu retten, keine Tür zu öffnen, die Schüsse haben aufgehört, nach zehn Minuten die ersten Sirenen, Blaulicht.*

“

Es ist Freitag der erste Januar, ich sitze in der Wohnung, versuche ein Drehbuch zu schreiben, es ist Nachmittag, ich habe keine Lust auf den Familienbesuch, auf noch mehr Essen, und draußen gehen Böller los. Böller. Na klar. Irgendwelche Idioten hatten gestern wohl nicht...

Moment mal denke ich – Böller zu Silvester gibt es nicht in Israel. Zu nervös die Menschen, zu angespannt die Situation. Die Böllerserie endet nicht. Ich gehe auf den Balkon. Schreiende Menschen kommen auf der Straße in meine Richtung gelaufen. Kinder weinen. Sie ducken sich, sie flüchten in Hauseingänge. Ich bin sehr erfroren. Wie lange braucht so ein Verstand, um zu begreifen, was passiert ist? In Israel sehr kurz. Das war das Magazin einer automatischen Waffe, die da leergeschossen wurde. Zwanzig Meter von meiner Wohnung entfernt. Ich starre auf die Straße. Kein Grund, jemanden zu retten, keine Tür zu öffnen, die Schüsse haben aufgehört, nach zehn Minuten die ersten Sirenen, Blaulicht. Vier Krankenwagen, Unzählige Polizeiwagen, Hubschrauber. Stau auf der Straße, die Busse blockieren sie. Die Menschen wagen sich aus ihren Verstecken.

Wie hier üblich kommen sofort Anrufe, SMS, Mails von Bekannten, von der Familie, bist du in Sicherheit. Es ist peinlich zu sagen – ja klar, ich stehe auf dem Balkon und beobachte. Es ist peinlich, in den Fernseher zu starren. Immer noch gefroren Die Fahrzeugkolonne reißt nicht ab. Die Hubschrauber kreisen. Langsam, nach gefühlten Stunden wird ein wenig klar, was passiert ist. Erste Überwachungsvideos – ein junger Mann war seltsamerweise erst in einem Supermarkt, hat Nüsschen in eine Tüte gefüllt, ging zur Kasse, ging zurück, schüttete die Nüsschen aus, legte seinen Rucksack auf geparkte Einkaufswagen, zog ein Falcon-Maschinengewehr hervor, trat aus dem Supermarkt und begann in eine Bar zu schießen, in der eine Gruppe junger Menschen gerade Geburtstag feierten. Schönes Datum.



*Foto: AFP* Spuren des Anschlags in einer Bar in Tel Aviv.

Er schoss auf Fliehende, er schoss wie der Wahnsinnige, der er ist, dann mischte er sich unter die Fliehenden, unter die, die ich in meine Richtung habe rennen sehen, und nun ist er verschwunden. Seit drei Stunden patrouillieren unten schwer bewaffnete Einsatzgruppen, durchsuchen jedes Haus, jeden Garten nach dem Mörder. Der keine Maske trug, keine Handschuhe, der bis jetzt zwei junge Menschen getötet und zehn schwer verletzt hat. Bauchschüsse, Kopfschüsse, und irgendwo draußen läuft ein Mörder und fühlt. Die Spezialisten im Fernsehen werten aus. Ein Koran im Rucksack. Der Mann entspricht keinem Profil. Ein Profi. Kein Selbstmordattentäter. Ein sehr seltenes Gewehr. So what. Das Resultat ist dasselbe. Das Resultat liegt im Krankenhaus, kämpft ums Überleben. Oder ist tot.

Vielleicht war es ein ganz normaler Irrsinniger der von den Anschlägen in Tunesien und Paris inspiriert wurde. Vielleicht war es ein Palästinenser, vielleicht ein Jude, vielleicht war er verwirrt, vielleicht echt sauer. Es ist doch so egal, wer er ist. Für viele Menschen wird das Leben seit eben nie mehr werden was es war. Für all die Familien der Toten in Paris wird es nie mehr werden, was es war. Für alle Opfer des ständig schneller drehenden Irrsinns wird die Welt nie mehr sein, was sie war, und Terror und Wahnsinn haben eine neue Stufe erreicht. Wir werden uns daran gewöhnen. Man gewöhnt sich an alles. Wir werden einander weiter hassen, werden um die Toten weinen, werden vielleicht selber zu wem, um den geweint wird. Ich lege die Kette vor die Tür. Ich schäme mich dafür. Ich bin eine, die fast dabei war, die fast betroffen war. Wie angeberisch. Was für eine blöde Angebergeschichte. Betroffene reden nicht. Sie sind tot. Oder weinen. Oder sie sind erstarrt.

Wir sind betroffen. Wir alle, die nicht morden, sind betroffen, denn unser kurzes Leben ist von einer neuen, realistischen Angst bedroht. Der Angst um unsere Familien. Unsere Liebsten. Der Angst, dass die Welt wohl doch nicht der freundliche Ort ist, den wir uns früher erträumt haben.

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Kernenergie

## Belgiens ältester Reaktor schaltet sich ab

Doel 1 war erst am vergangenen Mittwoch wieder hochgefahren worden. Was den Zwischenfall ausgelöst hat, ist nicht bekannt. Seine Laufzeit hat der Reaktor längst überschritten.

03.01.2016



© REUTERS Das Atomkraftwerk Doel im Norden Belgiens.

Im umstrittenen belgischen Atomkraftwerk Doel hat sich der Reaktor 1 selbst abgeschaltet. Die Selbstabschaltung in der bei Antwerpen gelegenen Anlage sei am Samstag gegen 18.00 Uhr regelkonform erfolgt, sagte ein Sprecher des Betreibers Electrabel der Nachrichtenagentur AFP. Der Vorfall bedeute „keine Gefahr für das Personal, die Anwohner und die Umwelt“, erklärte das Unternehmen.

**Der Reaktor war am 15. Februar 2015 heruntergefahren worden, weil er seine ursprünglich vorgesehene Laufzeit von 40 Jahren erreicht hatte.** Belgiens Mitte-Rechts-Regierung beschloss jedoch, zwei Blöcke bis 2025 laufen zu lassen. Dazu gab die Atomaufsicht jüngst ihren Segen. **Das Weiterfahren wird vor allem in Deutschland heftig kritisiert.** Doel 1 war erst am vergangenen Mittwoch wieder ans Netz gegangen.

Die Ursache für die Selbstabschaltung werde nun geprüft, teilte Electrabel mit. Danach solle der Reaktor wieder angeschaltet werden. **Electrabel betreibt auch das Atomkraftwerk Tihange, das nur 70 Kilometer von der deutschen Grenze entfernt liegt und seit langer Zeit in der Kritik steht. In Belgiens Atomanlagen kommt es immer wieder zu Zwischenfällen:** Der Reaktor 1 von Tihange war im Dezember nach einem Feuer in einem nicht-nuklearen Bereich automatisch heruntergefahren worden. Eine Woche später ging er wieder ans Netz.

Am 25. Dezember nahm der Betreiber Electrabel den Reaktor Doel 3 nur vier Tage nach dem Wiederhochfahren wieder vom Netz, da an einer Heißwasserleitung im konventionellen Teil des Kraftwerks ein Leck klaffte. In der Kritik steht auch der etwa 70 Kilometer von Aachen entfernten Standort Tihange. **Die nordrhein-westfälische Landesregierung fordert seit Jahren die Stilllegung dieser Anlage.**

## Welche Rechte haben Muslime in deutschen Firmen?

In den USA setzte ein Agrarkonzern 190 Muslime vor die Tür. Sie haben gestreikt, weil sie regelmäßige Gebetspausen haben wollten.

Wäre so etwas auch in Deutschland möglich?

Von [Thomas Exner](#) Ressortleiter Wirtschaft, Finanzen, Immobilien

Im US-Staat Colorado kam es in einer Fleischfabrik [des Agrarkonzerns Cargill zu einem Eklat](#): 190 Muslime traten in Streik, weil sie nicht so häufig wie gewünscht die Arbeit unterbrechen durften. Sie wollten regelmäßige Gebetspausen haben. Cargill kündigte ihnen. Wäre so etwas auch in Deutschland möglich?

Obwohl es in Deutschland viele muslimische Arbeitnehmer gibt, ist die Zahl der Streitfälle um das Recht auf Gebetspausen bislang sehr gering. Grundsätzlich gilt im deutschen Arbeitsrecht: **ohne Arbeit wird auch kein Lohn gezahlt.**

Das gilt im Falle mehrtägiger Abwesenheit vom Arbeitsplatz ebenso wie bei kurzen Arbeitsunterbrechungen. **In der betrieblichen Praxis werden letztere, etwa für Kaffee- oder Zigarettenpausen, allerdings meist mehr oder minder stillschweigend toleriert.**

Richter zeigten wenig Verständnis

Doch wie ist es bei Arbeitsunterbrechungen, die der Befolgung religiöser Gebetspflichten dienen? **Richtungsweisenden Charakter hat hier ein Urteil des Landesarbeitsgerichts im westfälischen Hamm aus dem Jahr 2002.**

In dem Verfahren ging es um einen Türken, der von seinem Chef abgemahnt worden war, weil er sich während der Arbeitszeit wiederholt für einige Minuten vom Arbeitsplatz entfernt hatte, um seiner Gebetspflicht nachzukommen. Der Türke hatte eingeräumt, diese Kurzpausen schon seit sechs Jahren einzulegen. Denn im Winter fielen die am Sonnenstand orientierten Gebetszeiten in seine Arbeitszeit.

**Die Richter zeigten für das Ansinnen des Gläubigen allerdings wenig Verständnis. Sie entschieden, dass der gläubige Moslem seine Gebete auf die offiziellen Pausen hätte verschieben müssen** (LAG Hamm, Az. 5 Sa 1782/01). **Dies sei auch durchaus im Einklang mit der islamischen Glaubenslehre, die eine Verschiebung der Gebete zum Teil um mehrere Stunden ermögliche.**

Zumindest aber hätte das Einverständnis des Chefs für die Gebetspausen eingeholt werden müssen, so die Richter. Da dies nicht passiert sei, hätten die Abmahnungen des Arbeitgebers Bestand.

### Einzelfall ist entscheidend

Zwar sind Arbeitgeber in Deutschland gehalten, prinzipiell auf die religiösen Belange ihrer Belegschaft Rücksicht zu nehmen. **Das darf nach Einschätzung der Juristen aber nicht dazu führen, dass arbeitsvertragliche Pflichten nicht erfüllt werden.**

Entscheidend ist der Einzelfall.

Sorgt die Abwesenheit eines einzelnen Betenden für das Stocken eines ganzen Arbeitsprozesses, muss der Arbeitgeber dieses Verhalten nicht tolerieren. Lässt sich die kurze Abwesenheit einfach nachholen, sieht dies anders aus.

Denn wie soll ein Arbeitgeber begründen, dass regelmäßige Kaffee- oder Raucherpausen möglich sind, entsprechende Gebetspausen aber nicht? **Eine Ablehnung der Auszeiten allein unter Verweis auf die religiöse Motivation ist jedenfalls nicht statthaft.**

## The Mullahs Thank Mr. Obama

Iran responds to the nuclear accord with military aggression.

Updated Jan. 1, 2016 4:40 p.m. ET

President Obama imagined he could end his second term with an arms-control detente with Iran the way Ronald Reagan did with the Soviet Union. It looks instead that his nuclear deal has inspired Iran toward new military aggression and greater anti-American hostility.

**The U.S. and United Nations both say Iran is already violating U.N. resolutions that bar Iran from testing ballistic missiles.** Iran has conducted two ballistic-missile tests since the nuclear deal was signed in July, most recently in November. **The missiles seem capable of delivering nuclear weapons with relatively small design changes.**

The White House initially downplayed the missile tests, but this week it did an odd flip-flop on whether to impose new sanctions in response. On Wednesday it informed Congress that it would target a handful of Iranian companies and individuals responsible for the ballistic-missile program. Then it later said it would delay announcing the sanctions, which are barely a diplomatic rebuke in any case, much less a serious response to an arms-control violation.

Under the nuclear accord, Iran will soon receive \$100 billion in unfrozen assets as well as the ability to court investors who are already streaming to Tehran. Sanctioning a few names is feckless by comparison, and Iran is denouncing even this meager action as a U.S. violation of the nuclear deal. **Iranian President Hassan Rouhani responded to the sanctions reports on Thursday by ordering his defense minister to accelerate Iran's missile program. Your move, Mr. Obama.**

**Opponents of the nuclear accord predicted this.** Mr. Obama says the deal restricts Iranian action, but it does far more to restrict the ability of the U.S. to respond to Iranian aggression. If the U.S. takes tough action in response to Iran's missile tests or other military provocations, **Iran can threaten to stop abiding by the nuclear deal. It knows the world has no appetite for restoring serious sanctions, and that Mr. Obama will never admit his deal is failing. The mullahs view the accord as a license to become more militarily aggressive.**

Further proof came Wednesday when U.S. Central Command acknowledged that Iranian Revolutionary Guard vessels last week fired several rockets that landed within 1,500 yards of the aircraft carrier Harry S. Truman. A Revolutionary Guard spokesman Thursday denied the incident but a day earlier the semiofficial Tabnak news agency quoted an unnamed Iranian official as saying the rockets were launched to warn the U.S. Navy away from "a forbidden zone" in the Persian Gulf.

The Strait of Hormuz is one of the world's most heavily trafficked waterways, and the USS Truman carrier group has every right to sail there. By any measure the rocket launch was a hostile act that could have resulted in American casualties.

This follows Iran's arrest in October of Iranian-American businessman Siamak Namazi, who according to Iranian media reports is being held in Evin Prison though no charges have been filed. The reports suggest that Mr. Namazi is suspected of spying because he is one of the World Economic Forum's "Young Global Leaders." That's the dangerous outfit that sponsors the annual gabfest in Davos.

Iran has also shown its gratitude for the nuclear deal by convicting Washington Post reporter Jason Rezaian on absurd charges of espionage. The Iranian-American has been held for more than 500 days.

**The White House's media allies are blaming all of this on Iranian "hard-liners" who are supposedly trying to undermine President Rouhani for having negotiated the nuclear deal. Memo to these amateur Tehranologists: The hard-liners run Iran.**

Mr. Rouhani was only able to complete the nuclear deal because Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and the Revolutionary Guard decided the terms were in their interests. **They get serious sanctions lifted and an immediate financial windfall, while retaining the nuclear infrastructure they can fire up when the accord expires after a decade, if they don't find an excuse to do so sooner.**

The sages now blaming hard-liners for Iran's nastiness are the same folks who told us that the nuclear accord would empower the "moderates" in Iran by showing America's peaceful intentions. **When will this crowd figure out that Iran's rulers don't want better relations with the U.S.?** They want to become the dominant power in the Middle East while driving the U.S. out of the region.

Mr. Obama's ambition to emulate Reagan's success was never realistic because he pursued the opposite of the Reagan strategy. The Gipper stood up to Soviet aggression, rebuilt U.S. defenses, and then negotiated from strength. The Soviets bent to his terms.

**From his first days in office Mr. Obama begged Iran to negotiate, making concession after concession until even the Ayatollah had to accept. It's no surprise Iran has concluded that it can now press its military ambitions with impunity.**



## A Superior State of Language

One school's annual list of words that should be banned.  
Updated Jan. 1, 2016 4:43 p.m. ET

So (and we will get back to that word in a minute), **2015 became the year in which U.S. university campuses went mad with political correctness.** Students accused professors of "**microaggressions,**" slights so subtle **only the victims could identify, or feel, them.** At Christmas, Cornell issued a list of discouraged "holiday" objects, which somehow included mistletoe.

Thus, we are pleased to associate ourselves with one university's list of forbidden things. **It is Lake Superior State University's 41st annual list of "Banished Words."**

These are not merely bad words in current usage. **Lake Superior State wants them suppressed for misuse, overuse and "general uselessness."**

Starting this year with **"so."** In a note to the school's arbiters, Thomas H. Weiss of Mt. Pleasant, Michigan described the problem with "so": "Frequently used to begin a sentence, particularly in response to a question, **this tiresome and grammatically incorrect replacement for "Like" or "Um," is even more irksome."**

Also on the 2016 to-ban list is **conversation** (as in "join the conversation"), **problematic, stakeholder, price point, secret sauce, walk it back, presser** (blamed on the "mainstream media"), **giving me life, and physicality.**

Lake Superior State began this list as a lark in 1976. Of course -- if we may say so -- it took on a life of its own.

Some will say that the effort is quixotic. **Words elevated for banishment in 1984 included high tech, basically and -- you guessed it -- awesome.**

We write this in full knowledge it may embolden the grammar and usage scolds, the bane of any lively writer's existence. As journalists, we believe in English as a living language. New words happen. We have an interest, though, in ensuring that the language doesn't become a garbage dump of trite words and phrases. We salute Lake Superior State's shovel.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/03/opinion/beginning-greek-again-and-again.html?action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=opinion-c-col-right-region&region=opinion-c-col-right-region&WT.nav=opinion-c-col-right-region&r=0>

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SundayReview | OPINION

## **Beginning Greek, Again and Again**

By **JAMES ROMM** JAN. 2, 2016

34 COMMENTS



CreditSophy Hollington

WHEN I moved my Beginning Greek course, last year, from the spring to fall semester, I did not reckon with the impact on my psyche of diminishing daylight. As the days grew shorter, my thoughts about the course grew darker. When the semester concluded, just before the winter solstice, those thoughts had also reached a nadir, giving way to the fear that I had failed, once again, in my 30-year quest to turn bright and eager undergraduates into readers, and lovers, of ancient Greek.

Sisyphus would sympathize with my condition. Every year I begin rolling my stone up a four-month-long hill, my hopes high. Every year I end up far closer to the bottom than the top. Some of my students still, after 120 hours of instruction, take the first noun in a sentence as its subject, no matter what form it's in. Their habits of 15 years of reading English will not give way to the methodology that an ancient language demands.

Reading Greek (or Latin) depends, first and foremost, on recognition of case endings. A student must develop an instinct for seeing the word “*anthrōpou*” as “*of a man*,” “*anthrōpois*” as “*for men*,” and similarly with eight other forms of the same word. To look for meaning rather than case, to see only “*man*” in either word, is what readers of English are programmed to do. My task, as a teacher, is to defeat this impulse. The experience of reading without reference to word order, once students “*get it*,” can be exhilarating, like being freed from a kind of gravity.

But for reasons I don't understand, some take far longer than others to “*get it*,” and a few never will. Lack of intelligence isn't the problem; it's more about adaptability, acceptance of change. How long should such students go on in the language, hoping for an epiphany? Should I encourage them to continue? And if I do, is it only to assuage my own sense of failure?

Paradoxically, the mood in my classroom brightened as the days grew darker. I counterweighted my own internal gloom with saturnalian energy and verve. Anecdotes and digressions proliferated, sometimes drawing boisterous laughter. But the levity masked a sense of unease, a fear that standards were not being met. The number of sentences that couldn't be cracked, or even attempted, had grown; whole pages of the workbook stood blank. The day of reckoning loomed — the final exam.

It's at such times that Professor de Breeze swims into my thoughts. He's one of the useless, blinkered obsessives who populate the nihilistic landscape of Dr. Seuss's darkest exploration of human folly, “*Did I Ever Tell You How Lucky You Are?*” The anapests that describe him run through my mind on a daily, sometimes hourly, basis:

*How fortunate you're not Professor de Breeze*

*Who has spent the past thirty-two years, if you please,*

*Trying to teach Irish ducks how to read Jivanese.*

Am I Professor de Breeze? The span of my teaching career is rapidly approaching his. Of the scores of students to whom I have taught Beginning Greek, only a small minority learned to read it with real comprehension, and of those, only a handful still do. What did I contribute to the others, except the most laborious eight credits they ever earned?

Oblivious to my struggles, the textbook tries, every year, to crown my students' achievements by offering them long passages from Sophocles, Homer and Plato. I assigned, for last term's final exam, a reading from "Antigone" that contains one of my favorite Sophoclean lines: "You have a warm heart for cold things," says the cautious Ismene to her sister Antigone, to dissuade her from defying state decrees and burying their brother. I contemplated the satisfaction my class would get from translating this verse, which seemed to offer little difficulty, apart from the separation of "heart" from its modifier "warm."

As I graded the exams, however, I found Professor de Breeze once again looking over my shoulder. "You have a warm heart because of the cold," read one version; "you have a warm heart in addition to a cold one," ran another (several variants on this theme). One ingenious student came close with "You have a warm heart for cold men" — a possible meaning, though it makes Antigone's care for her brother's corpse sound like necrophilia. Two out of my 10 students had understood the line. Wearily I uncapped my red pen, my sins lying heavy upon me.

It's been said that, for nonstellar teachers at least, the hardest things to teach are the things one loves most. When I tried, years ago, to read "King Lear" with a group of indifferent freshmen, I made a complete botch of things; my investment in their seeing the play as I did was too great. The same feeling afflicts me on a daily basis when teaching Greek, though I have learned better how to suppress it. "I will be the pattern of all patience," said Lear when his daughters disappointed him, and I have long wanted to emblazon that line over the door of my classroom. No one in that room, I must remind myself, will "hear" the Antigone passage as I want them to, at least not without lots of help. I must have a cold heart for warm things.

"Oimoi katauda," Antigone screams — "Shout it to the skies!" — when Ismene urges her to keep her plan secret. That "oimoi," a cry of pain both mocking and sincere, gives vivid insight into Antigone's state of mind; lines like this are the best argument one can find for learning Greek. It's untranslatable, yet translate we must. Our textbook offers either "Alas" or "woe is me," and there's little to choose between the two. The sarcasm of "katauda" — "shout it out" — is lost without a better sense of "oimoi," and I could tell from the exam papers that few of my students had gotten its point. Most, at least, had recognized it as an imperative form.

With that cry of pain, the exam, and the semester, had ended. Antigone was doomed to die, but at least had managed to spread a little dust on her brother's corpse. In Beginning Greek, too, one settles for small victories and accepts huge shortfalls. But giving up is not an option.

As I finished grading, word arrived of the results of spring registration. Eight of my 10 students had chosen to go on to next semester's Greek course. The news, I was surprised to find, made me unreservedly happy.

The solstice had passed, and the days were already brightening.

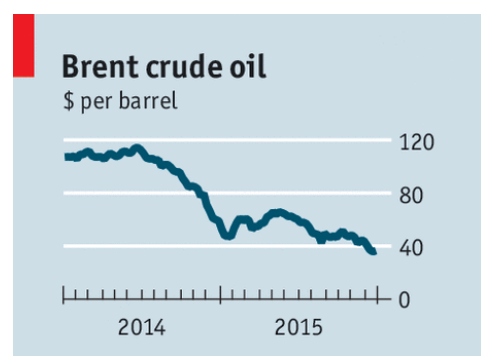
[James Romm](#) is a classics professor at Bard College.

## Global inflation

### Low and behold

Another year of low prices will create strains in the world economy

Jan 2nd 2016 | [From the print edition](#)



Economist.com

ECONOMISTS don't forecast because they know, said J.K. Galbraith; they forecast because they're asked. A question that is increasingly put to them is whether inflation, which has been remarkably quiescent for years, will spring a surprise in 2016. After all, the debt troubles that have weighed down rich economies since 2007 are fading; labour markets in America, Britain and Germany are increasingly tight; housing markets are gathering steam; and the Federal Reserve has just raised interest rates for the first time in almost a decade.

Inflation in America and Europe should indeed pick up from its present, near-zero state as the big declines in energy prices at the turn of 2015 drop out of the headline rate. But a glut in the supply of crude means that oil prices are falling again. If debt is receding as a problem in rich countries, it looms larger in emerging markets, where overcapacity brought on by binge-borrowing exerts a downward force on prices. There is inflation in commodity-exporting countries, such as Brazil, whose currencies have been trashed. But global inflation is a tug-of-war between bottlenecks in parts of the rich world and imported deflation from emerging markets, and the enduring fall or stagnation of prices looks set to dominate for a while yet ([see article](#)). Indeed, this "lowflation" means that three aspects of the world economy are worth watching in 2016.

Start with Saudi Arabia. The falling price of crude is in part a consequence of its commitment (reiterated by OPEC ministers on December 4th) to produce at full tilt. The idea is to flush out the weaker producers in America's shale-oil industry and elsewhere. This is proving a costly gambit. Saudi Arabia needs a barrel of oil to fetch around \$85 to finance public spending and around \$60 to keep its current account in balance. Yet the oil price recently fell below \$36, to an 11-year low, before rebounding a little. America has sustained oil production of above 9m barrels a day, despite a sharp fall in the number of oil rigs, suggesting that shale firms are becoming more efficient.

This week Saudi Arabia said that it would cut local subsidies on petrol, electricity and water in order to chip away at a budget deficit that reached 367 billion riyals (\$98 billion), or 15% of GDP, in 2015. The Saudis are burning through their (ample) foreign-exchange reserves to pay for imports while maintaining the riyal's peg with the dollar. But the cost of this strategy has already forced two other oil exporters, Kazakhstan and, more recently, Azerbaijan, to abandon their dollar pegs. The public finances of other big oil producers, such as Russia and Nigeria, are also under pressure. No wonder a devaluation of the riyal this year is a favoured tail-risk for currency forecasters.

A second place to watch is China. A construction boom has left it with a mountain of debt and excess capacity in some industries—notably steel, whose falling global price has claimed jobs in Europe’s industry and led to growing complaints of Chinese dumping. Factory-gate prices have fallen in China for 45 consecutive months. Further fiscal and monetary stimulus should help to boost demand, but will also hinder the management of China’s exchange rate, which is already under pressure from an outflow of capital.

As with the riyal, the yuan has just about kept pace with the dollar’s ascent over the past two years, leaving it looking expensive. Beijing has signalled that it wants to benchmark the yuan against a basket of currencies, and some forecasters expect a gradual decline in its value against the dollar in 2016. But there is an understandable fear that the yuan may slip anchor, potentially touching off a round of devaluations in Asia.

A third outcome from continued lowflation will be increasingly lopsided economies in the rich world, particularly in America, where recovery is more advanced than in Europe. If productivity stays as weak as it has been recently, unemployment is likely to fall still further. At the same time, slow growth in emerging markets is likely to keep downward pressure on commodity prices and on their currencies. A strong dollar has already driven a wedge between the performance of America’s manufacturing and service industries. Further appreciation would make it harder for the Federal Reserve to push through more increases in interest rates.

### **Strong on jobs, weak on prices**

All this would make for a strangely configured economy by the end of the year. An unemployment rate of 4%, a Fed Funds rate below 1%, an overvalued dollar, a strong housing market and inflation below the Fed’s target of 2% is a plausible, if very odd, mix, which could portend either a sudden burst of inflation or enduringly feeble demand ([see article](#)). An honest economist will admit the uncertainties in any forecast. But another year of lowflation will surely tax policymakers.

## Educating refugees

### Learning the hard way

## Integrating migrants into schools will not be easy

Jan 2nd 2016 | STOCKHOLM | [From the print edition](#)

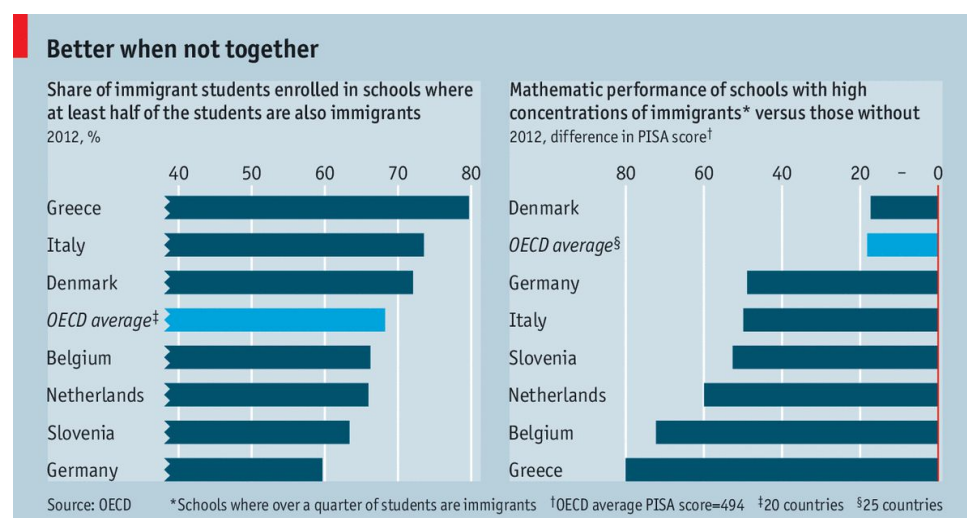


**AFTER** Aida Hadzialic's parents fled war-torn Bosnia for Sweden in the early 1990s, they put their five-year-old daughter in a school full of native Swedes and made sure she studied hard to get ahead. It worked. Today Ms Hadzialic, 27, is Sweden's minister for upper secondary education. Like her counterparts across Europe, she faces a new challenge: ensuring that a fresh wave of refugee children can integrate as successfully as she did.

Even before this year's surge, western Europe had lots of immigrant students. According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the proportion of 15-year-old schoolchildren in Spain who are foreign-born rose from 3% to 8% from 2003 to 2012 (though in Germany it fell by about the same amount). **The new wave of migrants from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere has redoubled the strains on school systems.**

**In the countries accepting the most refugees—Sweden and Germany—lack of space is not a problem. Before the migrant surge, both countries faced declining numbers of pupils because of low birth rates.** In Sweden the number of children in ninth grade fell from 120,000 in 2005 to 96,000 in 2015. "We have places for a hundred more pupils," says Henrik Ljungqvist, the headmaster of Ronna School in Sodertalje, a city near Stockholm. (His school admits two to four new refugee pupils a week.) **In Germany, without the new migrants, the number of students was projected to decline by 10% over the next decade, says Ludger Woessmann of the University of Munich.**

**The biggest problem for education systems is that refugee children tend to be concentrated together. Many attend schools near refugee centres or in immigrant neighbourhoods. In Norway, Denmark and Sweden about 70% go to schools where at least half of the pupils are immigrants. This means they are partially segregated and less likely to learn the local language.**



Economist.com

**Moreover, immigrants tend to find housing in poor areas with lower education standards. Schools where more than a quarter of students are immigrants usually perform worse than those with no immigrants (see chart), although the gap**

shrinks when economic status is accounted for. **At Mr Ljungqvist's school, where about 350 of the 750 students were born abroad, many of the brightest pupils have left.**

Swedish schools faced problems well before the latest migrants began arriving. From 2002 to 2012 Sweden's rank in the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) fell more than any other country's, to 28th out of 34 countries in mathematics and 27th in reading and science. Pupils in Sweden are more likely to arrive late to school than in any other rich-world country. The government has responded to declining scores by increasing teachers' pay, but it still does little or no inspecting of schools. **The OECD's Andreas Schleicher says the system lacks a culture of accountability.**

**Germany's PISA rankings remain high, but its school system is "almost the worst you could pick" for migrants,** says Maurice Crul, an expert on immigrant youth at Erasmus University in Rotterdam. **Unlike France or Sweden, where most children start preschool before age three, German children tend to start school at four or five. Many schools have only half-day classes.**

**Moreover, the German system streams pupils at 10 into either vocational or academic systems—and immigrant children are 44 percentage points more likely than natives to be sent to vocational courses.** Unlike other vocational systems such as that in the Netherlands, Germany's makes it hard to move from a vocational track to an academic one. **Lack of native language skills can steer bright immigrant children away from a university education. The system's inflexibility also makes it harder to integrate older immigrant children.** Germany has one of the world's biggest gaps in reading proficiency between those who arrive aged between six and 11 and those who arrive aged 12 or over.

**The German system has its strengths.** In less than a decade, Germany has improved the mathematics grades of second-generation migrant children by the equivalent of over a year of schooling. In some German states school days are being extended, and the government has made a big investment in preschool education. In Sweden, meanwhile, older refugees are being trained as teaching assistants to speed integration. Ronna School and others scrapped separate "introductory lessons" for refugees after realising they led to immigrants being segregated and bullied.

**But far more could be done.** Pupils could be distributed throughout the school system more effectively. **In Aarhus, a city in Denmark, the proportion of pupils from migrant backgrounds cannot exceed 20% in each school; a similar distribution in Germany and Sweden could help fight ghettoisation.** And refugee children should be getting more preschool. According to the OECD, 15-year-old immigrant children are 20% less likely to have attended pre-primary education than the native-born, but those who have score 49 points higher in reading than those who have not.

**Most important, European governments need to treat refugee children as an opportunity rather than a problem.** Driven by a desperate desire for a better life, **they and their parents tend to be hard-working and ambitious.** Europeans worried about migrants studying beside their children should take comfort: **the most important predictor of pupils' school results is their parents' level of education, and about half of the refugees reaching Europe from Syria have university degrees, according to UNHCR, the UN refugee agency.** (?????) "Sometimes I joke that Syrian children may help reverse [our decline in] PISA results in maths," quips Ms Hadzialic. If they are integrated properly, she may be right.

## Climate change

Hopelessness and determination

# The Paris agreement will not stabilise the climate; but the efforts it makes possible could still achieve a lot

Dec 19th 2015 | [From the print edition](#)

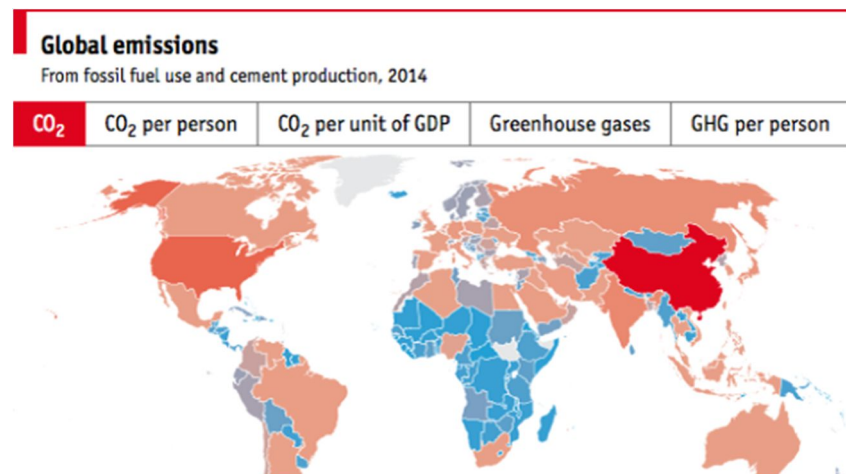
“THE test of a first-rate intelligence”, F. Scott Fitzgerald, a sometime Parisian, once wrote, “is the ability to hold two opposing ideas in mind at the same time.” By this standard, the 195 countries that gathered outside Paris in the two weeks running up to December 12th to negotiate a new agreement on climate change have to be counted very bright indeed. It is vital, they declared, that the world’s temperature does not climb much more than 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels; and yet they simultaneously celebrated a new climate agreement that got nowhere close to preventing such a rise.

The individual pledges that nations made going into the Paris talks—which they will now be expected, though not compelled, to honour—are estimated to put the world on course for something like 3°C of warming. In the non-linear universe of climate change, 3°C represents a lot more than twice as much risk and harm as 1.5°C; it could well, for instance, be the difference between the Greenland ice cap staying put and the sea-level rising, over centuries, by six metres.

For someone to propose means that fall so far short of their purported ends might seem like cynicism or stupidity. Sure enough, some of the keenest devotees to action on climate change have accused the Paris negotiators of both. In fact, the deal really did demonstrate collective intelligence.

The nations of the world know that they cannot suddenly force each other to stop emitting greenhouse gases, because fossil fuels are fundamental to the way that economies work. But many countries also want to reduce the risks posed by climate change and know that they need to find ways to work together. The Paris agreement offers a range of mechanisms to make this happen ([see article](#)).

Countries now have a framework to ensure that each is doing what it said it would; they have pledged more money to help the poorest and most vulnerable countries adapt to the effects of climate change; they have a task force for looking at the issues raised by those who cannot adapt and need to find new places to live; and they have the basis for new carbon-pricing deals. They have also agreed that big developing countries, which were largely spared by earlier deals, should consider making a greater contribution.





The Paris agreement provides a timetable for increasing the ambition of countries' emissions pledges as technology improves and experience accumulates. And, outside the main negotiations, Paris saw a commitment from rich countries and individuals to undertake a lot more research into new sources of clean energy. All this has signalled to investors that both developed and developing countries intend to act. This will not in itself bring about the end of the era of fossil fuels; it is, though, a step in that direction.

### **This side of paradise**

But there are a daunting number of further steps. Some relate to administrative capacity. In many poor countries the ability to assess action on climate change and promulgate effective adaptation is inadequate; it must be nurtured.

Others relate to the use of private capital. If investors are discouraged from bankrolling fossil fuels, they are under no obligation to redirect their money to clean energy: they may prefer not to invest in energy at all. Governments will need to structure their power markets, and plan for their growth, in ways that make sense to long-term backers. Without the lure of profits in low-carbon energy, climate action could result in hundreds of millions of people who now lack modern energy services being left in the darkness for longer.

By the same token, increased R&D on its own is a necessary condition for progress, but not a sufficient one. Backers need to ensure that it leads to innovative solutions which can be installed on a commercial scale, rather than becoming a self-perpetuating academic exercise (as with international efforts on nuclear fusion).

The worst risk is that a justified sense of accomplishment will engender a debilitating complacency. The Paris agreement drew on impressive reserves of diplomatic *savoir faire* and international solidarity. But if it is to live up to its promise, countries will have to make full use of the mechanisms for ratcheting up emissions cuts and accelerating adaptation for decades to come. Fitzgerald's example of opposing ideas was the ability "to see that things are hopeless and yet be determined to make them otherwise". Sustained determination could be the difference between an agreement that deals with climate change and one that turns out to be another wasted opportunity.

135,34

## European borders

A real border guard at last

# The EU's much-maligned border agency could become far stronger

Dec 19th 2015 | [From the print edition](#)

FEW institutions have been as overwhelmed by the numbers of refugees passing through Europe as Frontex, the European Union's external border agency. With a weak mandate, no equipment of its own and no power to hire its own border guards, the agency has floundered. On December 15th the European Commission came forward with a proposal, backed by Germany and France, intended to toughen Europe's border controls. The plan is long overdue—and is evidence of a growing realisation that far more needs to be done to manage the refugee crisis and preserve Schengen, the passport-free travel zone, which has come under great strain.

Under the proposal, a new European border and coast guard would be created. It would absorb Frontex, which at present cannot do much more than fingerprint and count migrants as they pass through a country. By contrast, the new border agency would have far more authority, with twice as many staff and the ability to buy its own kit. A reserve team of border guards would be at the agency's disposal, helping prevent shortages, while "liaison officers" would be posted to tricky spots in order to feed back information to the headquarters. Most strikingly, it would be given the power to intervene in a country whether the member state liked it or not. (At present, Frontex has to get permission before working in a country). It would also be able to gain access to European databases more easily, and have a far greater involvement in sending illegal migrants back.

Many are delighted by the proposal, including Fabrice Leggeri, the current boss of Frontex. ("It has everything I wanted," he says.) It is less politically toxic than the idea of a "mini-Schengen", a core group of member states, which has been mooted by several Dutch politicians but is disliked by most other countries. The plan would also deal with a weakness in the current system—the reluctance of "front-line" member states, such as Greece, to ask for help—by giving the commission the power to force them to accept assistance.



INTERACTIVE: Explore border fences between countries

around the world

But other countries are less pleased by the idea of an agency with mandatory powers. Poland's foreign minister described it as a potentially "undemocratic structure". Greece cautiously welcomed the idea but insisted it should retain ultimate authority over its borders. Such grumblers may not have much power when it comes to voting, as the proposal requires only a qualified (weighted) majority among states to pass, rather than unanimous approval.

Yet even if it passes, obstacles remain. "There is a huge gap between what member states vote on and what they actually do," says Angeliki Dimitriadi of the European Council on Foreign Relations, a think-tank. For example, the EU passed plans in May and September to relocate 160,000 refugees over two years. Yet just under 4,000 places have been allocated and around 200 refugees moved. Without the political will to implement them, such ambitious plans are often stillborn.

## The Paris agreement on climate change

Green light

# What to expect after a deal that exceeded expectations

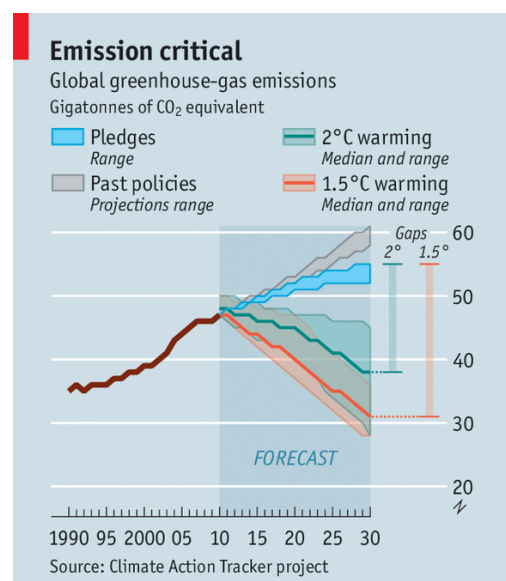
Dec 19th 2015 | PARIS | [From the print edition](#)



"WE'VE shown what's possible when the world stands as one," declared Barack Obama after UN climate talks in Paris ended with an agreement on December 12th. "Our collective effort is worth more than the sum of our individual effort," said Laurent Fabius, France's foreign minister, who oversaw the talks. "I can go back home to my people and say we now have a pathway to survival," said Tony de Brum, the Marshall Islands' foreign minister, voicing an opinion shared in other low-lying spots where people are terrified of rising sea levels.

The deal inspiring these eulogies was indeed stronger than had been expected. The 195 countries at the meeting agreed on the goal of keeping the increase in the global average temperature to "well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels". They will also pursue a goal of zero net emissions—removing as much greenhouse gas from the atmosphere as is being added to it—by the second half of the century.

In all, 187 countries have vowed to make "intended nationally determined contributions" (INDCs). Their pledges are lodged with the secretariat of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which convened the Paris talks. The limits these place on future greenhouse-gas emissions are too weak to ensure that the agreed limit on warming will not be breached (see chart). Yet the deal still signals progress on a number of fronts. It is the sort of success, those urging climate action insist, that will start a virtuous circle for further progress.



Economist.com

The main sticking points were deciding who should do what—and who should pay. The UNFCCC, which dates from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, calls on nations to act "in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities". This "differentiation", which distinguishes between rich countries and the rest, was a feature of the UNFCCC's first offspring, the ill-fated Kyoto protocol. That committed developed countries—responsible for almost all greenhouse-gas emissions to that point—to emit less but demanded almost nothing of developing ones. For big developing economies, maintaining this distinction has long been a priority.

In Paris the line started to blur, partly because holding the world's biggest emitter (China) and second-biggest (America) to drastically different standards was hard to sustain. The new agreement requires a flow of \$100 billion a year from developed countries to developing ones by 2020, much of it to be spent on adapting to climate change, rather than attempting to stop it. The total is to be reconsidered in 2025, and donor countries are required to provide explicit updates on what they will be giving, and to whom, every couple of years. Though most of the money is expected to come from rich countries, others are "encouraged" to pitch in, too, if they can afford to.

### Different strokes

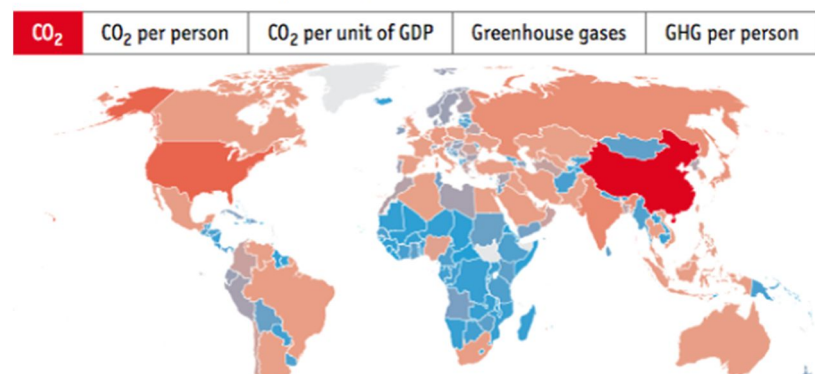
That is a big step away from the previous hard line on differentiation. Similar progress was seen elsewhere, for example in the framework that lays out how to ensure that countries are doing what they say they are. It looks as though efforts in large developing countries will be subject to more scrutiny than in the past.

But there remains the awkward fact that the INDCs are not remotely strong enough to ensure the 1.5°C pledge is honoured. This serious flaw was foreordained. The experience of Copenhagen, six years ago, showed that insistence on a pre-set goal would make agreement impossible: in a zero-sum game all players will want others to do more while they do less. Having countries sign up only to what they think they can do made agreement in Paris possible—but ensured that it would be weak.

The actions outlined in the Paris pledges would be expected to lead to global warming of around 3°C. Given that there has already been about 1°C of warming, the measures required to stay below 1.5°C would be beyond heroic. Work by Joeri Rogelj of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis near Vienna and colleagues suggests that it would mean net emissions having to fall to zero in at most 40 years.

## Global emissions

From fossil fuel use and cement production, 2014



INTERACTIVE: From CO<sub>2</sub> to GHG, which countries have the highest emissions?

The 1.5°C limit is thus a symbol rather than a goal: a demonstration that the risks of climate change are being taken seriously. The 3°C implied by the INDCs, however, is not the last word. The Paris deal includes mechanisms to ratchet up the ambitions of national pledges. Fresh talks will be held in 2018 to take stock; countries will set themselves a new set of goals in 2020. The stock-taking and goal-setting will be repeated every five years. That process should become easier as low-carbon energy becomes cheaper. The existing INDCs include a lot of renewables: the pledges from China and India alone could double the world's wind and solar capacity within 15 years. As these plans are carried out, and new technology projects start to bear fruit, the next generation of investment should provide more bang for the buck.

Even so, most experts agree with John Holdren, Mr Obama's science adviser, that limiting warming to 1.5°C will require that some of the carbon dioxide emitted in the first half of the century is sucked back out of the atmosphere in the second half. Reforestation could help (see [article](#)). But to soak up really large amounts of carbon will require technologies capable of storing carbon dioxide deep underground.

One idea is to grow plants—thus sucking carbon dioxide out of the atmosphere—burn them in power stations and bury the resulting carbon dioxide. But doing this at the scale required would mean growing fuel over millions of square kilometres. The world does not have that land to spare. An alternative would be some sort of industrial process. At present, though, there is no proven technology capable of working on anything like the scale required, let alone at a reasonable price.

### When the dust settles

Even so, the undeniable progress made in Paris has led boosters to hail it as the beginning of the end of the fossil-fuel era. Though some parts are not binding, analysts say that the prospect of demand for oil peaking in the next few decades and then declining may have added to the bearishness that has recently pushed oil prices below \$40 a barrel. A long rout in shares of coal-mining firms has deepened. On December 14th Peabody Energy, America's largest coal miner, fell by 13%.

Coal firms, however, are clinging to the hope that developing countries will provide enough new demand to persuade investors not to dump their shares. India, for example, generates 71% of its electricity from coal. Its INDC makes no commitment to cut total emissions; its pledge to install 100 gigawatts (GW) of solar power capacity by 2022, up from just 5GW now, would require reforms to its electricity sector that stretch credulity. Such weaknesses in pledges may stem the rush out of fossil fuels. China's emissions-trading scheme, due to start in 2017, may well fail for lack of transparency. And its offer to ensure that emissions decline after 2030, though perhaps plausible, is somewhat undermined by the fact that no one quite knows how much carbon it emits now. Recent research has come up with wildly varying figures. Energy markets may respond only when national governments are seen to be serious at home about the environmental pledges they have made abroad.

Meanwhile Paris may inspire leaders of cities and companies to redouble their efforts. Firms including Apple, Google and Unilever are taking steps towards cutting their emissions by large amounts, as are some big cities, including Hong Kong, London and Rio de Janeiro. An agreement marking international acceptance of the risks of climate change, and the necessity of co-operating to tackle them, will bolster such efforts.

[From the print edition: International](#)

135,37

## Illiberalism

Playing with fear

# In America and Europe, right-wing populist politicians are on the march. The threat is real

Dec 12th 2015 | [From the print edition](#)



POPULISTS have a new grievance. For many years, on both sides of the Atlantic, they have thrived on the belief that a selfish elite cannot—or will not—deal with the problems of ordinary working people. Now populists are also feeding on the fear that governments cannot—or will not—keep their citizens safe.

In America this week, after a couple who had pledged allegiance to Islamic State (IS) murdered 14 people in San Bernardino, California (see [article](#)), Donald Trump called for a “total and complete shutdown” of America’s borders to Muslims. Earlier, the front-runner in the race for the Republican presidential nomination had proposed closing mosques and registering American Muslims. “We have no choice,” he said.

In France, the counterpart to Mr Trump is the far-right National Front (FN). In the first round of regional elections on December 6th, after the IS terrorist assault on Paris last month, the FN narrowly gained the largest share of the national vote (see [article](#)). It was ahead in six of the 13 regions. The FN’s leader, Marine Le Pen, and her niece each polled over 40%.

Mr Trump and Ms Le Pen are not alone. Support for the populist right in America and parts of Europe is unparalleled since the second world war. Against the backdrop of terrorism, these fearmongers pose a serious threat to the openness and tolerance that Western societies take for granted.

### Angry old men

Even before recent attacks, right-wing populists were making their mark. Since October Mr Trump, and Ted Cruz and Ben Carson—less offensive, but only marginally less extreme—have together consistently won the support of over 50% of Republican voters in polls. In Europe populists are in power in Poland and Hungary, and in the governing coalition in Switzerland and Finland (and that is not counting the left-wing sort like Syriza in Greece). They top the polls in France and the Netherlands, and their support is at record levels in Sweden. Ms Le Pen is likely to reach the second round of France’s presidential election in 2017. Just possibly, she might win.

Populists differ, but the bedrock for them all is economic and cultural insecurity. Unemployment in Europe and stagnant wages in America hurt a cohort of older working-class white men, whose jobs are threatened by globalisation and technology. Beneath them, they complain, are immigrants and scroungers who grab benefits,

commit crimes and flout local customs. Above them, overseeing the financial crisis and Europe's stagnation, are the impotent self-serving elites in Washington and Brussels who never seem to pay for their mistakes.

Jihadist terrorism pours petrol on this resentment—and may even extend populism's appeal. Whenever IS inspires or organises murderous attacks, the fear of immigrants and foreigners grows. When the terrorists get through, as they sometimes inevitably will, it highlights the ruling elite's inadequacy. When leaders, in response, warn against slandering Islam and focus on gun control, as Barack Obama did in a speech from the Oval Office on December 6th, populists dismiss it as yet more political correctness.

Populist ideas need defeating. Mr Trump compares his plan to the treatment of Japanese-Americans during the second world war. Just so: as Ronald Reagan's government later acknowledged, FDR's policy was "race prejudice". A xenophobic revival would do America immense harm—and IS immense service. Ms Le Pen would erect ruinous economic barriers and cause mayhem by proposing to leave the euro. Hungary's prime minister, Viktor Orban, has vowed to build an "illiberal state" and looks to Vladimir Putin's Russia as a model. Even when they are not in power, populists warp the agenda.

Nobody should underestimate how hard it is to take the populists on. Some mainstream politicians dismiss their arguments by labelling them fascist or extremist. Yet such disdain risks suggesting that the elite is uninterested in the real grievances that populists play on. Others try to borrow the populists' less-offensive clothes by promising, say, to deny benefits to migrants rather than build border fences. Yet such xenophobia-lite often just validates populist prejudices.

### **The long struggle**

Is there a better way? This newspaper stands for pretty much everything the populists despise: open markets, open borders, globalisation and the free movement of people. We do not expect to convince populist leaders of our arguments. But voters are reasonable—and most of them would sooner hear something more optimistic than rage against a dangerous world.

Part of the answer is to draw on the power of liberal ideals. New technology, prosperity and commerce will do more than xenophobia to banish people's insecurities. The way to overcome resentment is economic growth—not to put up walls. The way to defeat Islamist terrorism is to enlist the help of Muslims—not to treat them as hostile. The main parties need to make that case loudly and convincingly.

Politicians also need to deal with the populists' complaint that government often fails its citizens. Take the threat to security. Mr Obama's reluctance to deploy more troops against IS's "caliphate" in Syria and Iraq does not convince most Americans, including many present and former military commanders. Europe's spooks and law-enforcement agencies fail to share information. The EU needs to manage the flow of people at the border, allowing those who qualify as refugees to work and thus help them to absorb Western values (see [article](#)).

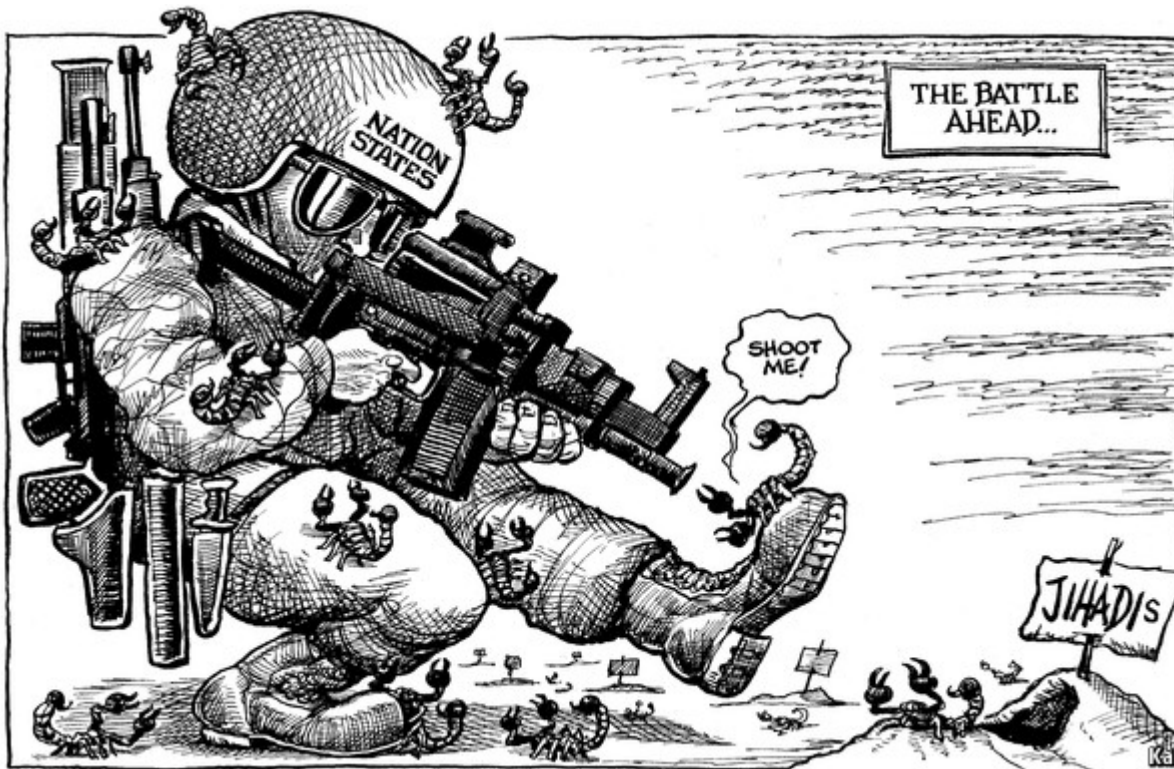
To imagine better government across all of economic and security policy is a counsel of perfection. But even small improvements will count if they are allied to a robust defence of the West's Enlightenment values.

The choice ultimately falls to voters, most of whom do not subscribe to right-wing populism. Mr Trump has the backing of just 30% of the 25% or so Americans who say they are Republican. But the turnout for primaries and caucuses in America is less than 20%. The turnout in France was just under 50%. The way to beat the populists is at the ballot box. The moderate majority has a responsibility to show up and put a cross next to candidates who stand for openness and tolerance.

135,39

**KAL's cartoon**

Dec 12th 2015 | From the print edition



More KAL's cartoons

135,40

## Integrating refugees in Europe

More toil, less trouble

# Getting refugees into work quickly would benefit everyone. How to make it happen

Dec 12th 2015 | [From the print edition](#)



THE median age for Germans and Italians is now 46. Contrast that with youthful America (38), energetic India (27) or baby-faced Ethiopia (just 19; see [article](#)). As western Europe ages, employers of all stripes are fretting about labour shortages.

Germany alone has an estimated 173,000 unfilled jobs for people with maths and computer skills, a shortfall that will nearly quadruple by 2020. Sweden's government lists dozens of professions, from midwives to physicists, where the lack of skilled workers is acute. Automation can fill some gaps; migrants from the eastern or southern fringes of the European Union can help. But Europe's labour markets are rigid: workers do not flow to where they are needed (see [article](#)).

That is why the arrival of more than 1.2m asylum-seekers in northern Europe this year has the potential to be a demographer's dream. (As many again may follow next year.) Most of these newcomers are young, able-bodied and clamouring to work. Among Syrians, perhaps one-fifth have some sort of higher education. The sooner refugees start working, the sooner they will boost the economy, pay taxes and learn the language and customs of their host societies.

Some European firms and industry groups have already seized the opportunity. Since young Swedes have mostly abandoned catering as a career, Scandic Hotels will next month begin trying out refugees as chefs. Sweden's government is about to start training 1,700 teachers—Syrian refugees, all—for its school system. L'Oréal is recruiting refugees as trainee hairdressers in Germany. A Dutch college is teaming up with AFAS, a software company, to offer refugees with an IT background a six-month course to prepare them for work.

But these are isolated examples. To get asylum-seekers working quickly in their tens and hundreds of thousands, action is needed to smooth each stage of their entry into the labour force. The first stage is screening the newcomers when they arrive. Their skills and work experience should be assessed immediately to help employers find suitable recruits and to help decide where to house them. SAP, a German software company, wants to build a system to register the refugees' skills and experience and share that information with firms.

The second stage is speeding up the paperwork. Officials need to decide as early as possible whether people will be granted refugee status, and not leave applicants waiting—in some egregious cases, for over a decade. Asylum-seekers are usually barred from working, sometimes even from language lessons, while they await a decision on their status. A life in limbo suits no one. Any asylum-seekers who get signed up as apprentices should be granted an automatic right to stay at least to the end of their apprenticeships. Official recognition of



newcomers' qualifications should be quicker, too: in Sweden it takes the best part of a year to check foreign paperwork.

### **Tongue-tied**

The third stage is to lower the barriers to entry to professions. Germany, for example, forces workers who care for the elderly to complete three years' special training and pass a tricky written exam. More flexibility is needed. Sweden is trying to loosen the rules for jobs where unions and employers agree that labour shortages exist. It is also being pragmatic about language skills: trainee teachers can begin preparing for classes with the help of Arabic interpreters, while learning Swedish at the same time. Doctors with suitable skills could begin working before they are entirely fluent.

Such measures will not be popular. But Europe needs both to find more workers and to integrate the refugees who are arriving in droves. It is an opportunity to grab.

From the print edition: Leaders

## European business and refugees

Getting the new arrivals to work

# **Businesses could benefit, and refugees integrate faster, if newcomers to Europe were able to start working sooner**

Dec 12th 2015 | VIENNA | [From the print edition](#)



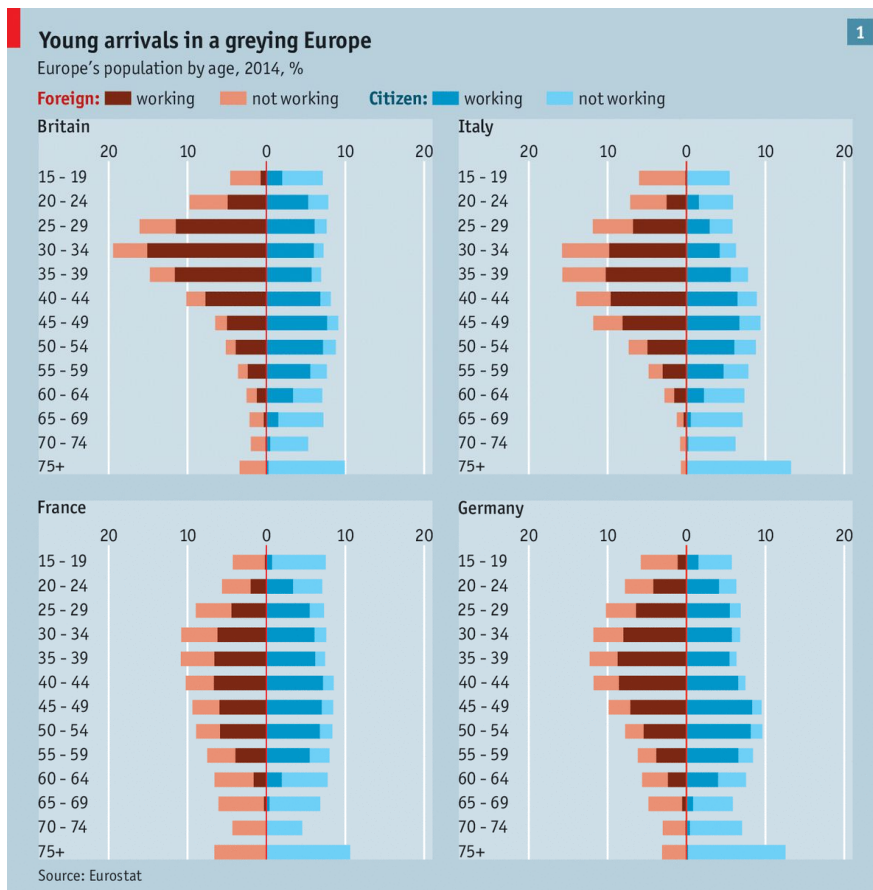
DANIEL BAPINGA (pictured) enjoys his job at the Magdas hotel in Vienna, where he works at the bar, serves breakfast and prepares rooms. His family fled Congo for Austria six years ago, when refugee flows to Europe were a fraction of those today. He has settled in well, saying that “when you arrive, it is your own duty to integrate, you have to follow the rules.”

At the 78-room hotel, opened in February by Caritas, a charity, 20 of the 31 staff are refugees, like Mr Bapinga. (Its motto is: “Stay open-minded”.) They are from 16 countries, including Bangladesh, Ghana and Iran, and together speak 27 languages. The restaurant menu is more inventive than at most Viennese hotels.

The hotel’s manager, Sebastiaan de Vos, says that working with refugees is mostly a good thing, but he is also frank about some problems. The hotel is overstaffed. Training takes up to 60% of total working hours. Nervous employees, with few qualifications and little work experience, must be shown countless times how to do simple tasks. A few men who refused to take orders from a female boss had to be turned down for jobs. Some were traumatised, including an Afghan chef with debilitating memories of torture by the Taliban. He did not last in the job.

Nonetheless, the Magdas experiment is worth observing. First, because Europe urgently needs ideas on how to integrate better its huge numbers of newcomers. And second, because as European societies age, many businesses face growing shortages of workers—so for them, Europe’s refugee problem is a potential solution.

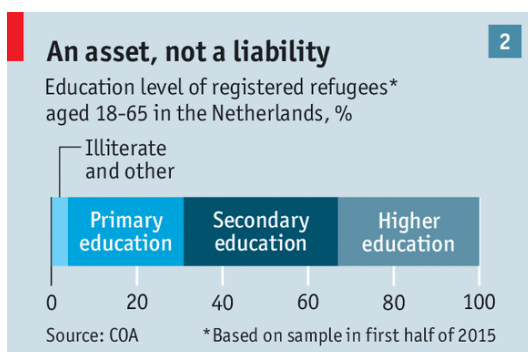
Refugees (those recognised as having a right to stay, having fled persecution) and asylum-seekers (those seeking recognition as refugees) are pouring into the European Union in numbers greater than at any time since the aftermath of the second world war. This week German officials said that 1m refugees had been registered so far this year—half from Syria, and many others from Afghanistan and Iraq. Sweden expects nearly 200,000 arrivals. Next year there could be as many again.



Economist.com

The newcomers are typically a lot younger than the greying populations of the countries they are fleeing to, as is the case with their immigrant populations in general (see chart 1). Eurostat, the EU's statistics agency, says that of 729,000 asylum-seekers registered between May and October, 82% were younger than 34 years. Their median age is around half that of Germans, which is 46. Some of those arriving are poorly educated, but as surveys of refugees arriving in the Netherlands show, many have secondary schooling and even university-level education (see chart 2), especially those fleeing Syria's conflicts. And a significant proportion have skills and experience in various professions and trades.

They are coming at a time when Europeans have become less inclined to do many low-skilled jobs, and sometimes lack the skills for the most demanding ones. Germany alone needs 173,000 workers trained in mathematics, IT, natural sciences and technical subjects (known as MINT jobs) and this shortage could almost quadruple by 2020 without additional measures. Small firms, notably manufacturers in the Mittelstand, crave apprentices. A survey of 3,000 such firms in Germany found that most are anxious about getting and keeping skilled staff. Over 1,000 employers offer work and apprenticeships on [workpeer.de](http://workpeer.de), a website specifically aimed at refugees. A Swedish government website lists 80 trades, from butchery to midwifery, desperate for more skilled workers.



Economist.com

But for most refugees the easiest route to work, as Mr Bapinga shows, will be into lower-skilled professions of the sort Europeans increasingly spurn. Hairdressing is typical: "Finding employees is the number-one problem for salons," says Kerstin Lehmann, a representative in Düsseldorf of L'Oréal, a maker of hair products and cosmetics. Germany had

40,000 trainee crimpers eight years ago, she says, but has just 25,000 now. Young Germans prefer to study for other careers; recent attempts to recruit hairdressers from southern European countries failed to add much volume.

It is a similar story in the hospitality business, notably in Scandinavia. Henrik Dider of Scandic Hotels, with 7,000 staff across 80 hotels in Sweden, says young Swedes are shunning catering and hotel schools, even as the industry is growing fast. Visita, a hoteliers' trade body, reports chronic shortages of chefs, waiters, receptionists and porters.

Labour shortages are even more acute in rural and remote areas, such as northern Norway. Salmon farms there need workers to gut fish, a job locals spurn. SalMar, a big farmer, boasts it has workers of 23 nationalities—migrants, rather than refugees—at its main plant near Trondheim. Parts-manufacturers for Norway's oil and gas industry also cry out for labourers: ManpowerGroup, a recruitment agency, has placed hundreds of refugees from resettlement centres in temporary jobs in the industry since 2000. Where Russian migrants and Sri Lankan Tamil refugees have gone before, Syrian refugees could follow.

Newcomers alone will not fix Europe's long-term demographic problems. Germany's overall labour force, for example, will shrink sharply in the next couple of decades, almost irrespective of what happens with migration. Still, the OECD forecasts that refugees will boost Europe's labour force by up to 1m people by the end of 2016, a rise of 0.4% in just over a year. In Germany, with an extra 430,000 workers, the labour force could grow by 1%.

### **If you could fix four problems**

A series of problems, however, hinder the smooth movement of refugees into European workplaces. The first, and broadest, of these is legal. America generally lets in people it has already screened and recognised as refugees, and allows them to start work almost immediately. There are plenty of low-paid jobs waiting for them, and they typically integrate, and learn English, quickly. Europe mostly gets asylum-seekers, and keeps them waiting, sometimes for years, for refugee status. In this legal limbo they typically get welfare and shelter but are usually barred from work, and even from state-funded language lessons.

Europeans have been too slow to grasp that getting newcomers quickly into the labour market is "the only way" to integrate them, says Demetrios Papademetriou of the Migration Policy Institute in Washington, DC. Leaving asylum-seekers waiting endlessly for a decision makes it much harder to integrate them later. A Guinea-Bissauan now at the Magdas hotel, fluent in seven languages, had to wait a decade before he could seek work.

Germany's chambers of commerce want any asylum-seeker recruited as an apprentice to have an automatic right to stay for two years after completing the apprenticeship. Employers will otherwise be reluctant to take them on. But for asylum-seekers whose chances of gaining refugee status are uncertain, the immigration office has said that their stay could be prolonged only if the apprenticeship started when they were under 21. The German government is adding to the uncertainty for employers by contemplating ending the near-automatic granting of long stays to Syrian refugees, and going back to an earlier system of case-by-case reviews (a decision on this is expected soon). Delays either force asylum-seekers into informal or black-market jobs, or make them less employable later.

A second impediment to getting the new arrivals working is the failure to assess their education and skills systematically. There are a few schemes here and there, such as ones in which German state governments have hired recruitment agencies to identify those with high-level skills among groups of refugees. SAP, a German software firm, wants to build a national database for the federal government, to record and analyse the skills of all asylum-seekers, then share the data with employers. But politicians are nervous of anything that opens them to accusations of encouraging more immigrants of all kinds, so such ideas have not prospered.

A third broad obstacle to getting refugees into work concerns the recognition of foreigners' qualifications—which matters more because of Europe's excessive demands for credentials. Despite a growing need for carers for the elderly in Germany, for example, job applicants need to have completed three years of training and passed a written exam.

Governments could at least find ways to translate paperwork faster. In Sweden getting foreign qualifications recognised typically takes 11 months. Officials in Stockholm hope to cut that time as part of a plan to reduce, from six years to two or less, the average time a well-educated newcomer takes to find a suitable job. Where unions and employers agree there are labour shortages, rules are being eased to let foreigners start working sooner. The idea is to do this for about 20 different occupations in the next few months, says Soledad Grafeuille of Sweden's labour agency.

Sweden has identified 1,700 teachers among its newly arrived refugees. They will be put on a fast-track programme from January, preparing them to work in schools—especially ones in which refugee children are swelling classes.

A Dutch foundation, UAF, helps refugees finish their studies and get into jobs, for example by getting their paperwork certified and languages up to scratch. One of its star pupils is an Iraqi cardiologist who learnt Dutch in six months and now works as a surgeon.

Typically, however, refugees lack the paperwork to verify their training and experience, so what helps most is letting them prove themselves in the workplace. Beginning in January, Scandic Hotels will give about 50 refugees a tryout in its kitchens, and decide by the summer whether to recruit them on a larger scale. Ms Lehmann of L'Oréal says the first five potential trainee hairdressers have been recruited this month among refugees in Düsseldorf. She will try them out first on mannequins.

In the Netherlands, Accenture is recruiting among highly skilled refugees. Manon van Beek of the management consultant says that 60 staff coach newcomers, helping them to prepare their paperwork and get qualifications recognised. The firm has so far signed up five staff and five paid interns, including software engineers, and helped others find jobs with its clients.

### **Fluent, or functional?**

A fourth and final task is overcoming language barriers. Those Swedish trainee teachers, for example, will begin preparing for classes with the help of Arabic interpreters, while learning Swedish simultaneously. That is more flexible than before. In the past applicants had to be fluent in Swedish before any other training began. In contrast, although Germany is short of doctors, even the best-trained newcomers still cannot practise until proficient in German to a high level known as C1, which can take years to attain.

A number of European firms are looking at ways to help incomers improve their language skills. Berlin's water company is opening a training scheme that includes language instruction. SalMar, the salmon firm, already offers its immigrant fish-gutters lessons in Norwegian. McDonald's in Germany, with an eye on future burger-flippers, is funding 20,000 three-month language courses for refugees.

A lesson from past attempts to integrate immigrants in Europe is that "We shouldn't try to be too perfect," says Heinrich Rentmeister of the Boston Consulting Group. Even in the case of doctors, fluency in non-medical matters is not essential, notes a Swedish official working on the integration of refugees into the labour market. The government is looking for ways to teach refugees "occupationally relevant Swedish", not to write essays on Strindberg.

Many employers in the EU would second the view of Airbus's boss, Tom Enders, who wrote in October that Germany needs "the courage to deregulate" labour markets to integrate foreign workers. But even short of a wholesale reform of labour law, there is clearly more that EU governments can do to help refugees into work, and help employers fill jobs they might otherwise have to leave vacant. As Manpower's boss, Jonas Prising, notes, the huddled masses streaming into Europe represent "a wealth of untapped talent". Businesses are beginning to recognise them as such. Governments should, too.

[From the print edition: Business](#)

## France's National Front

Eyes on the prize

# For Marine Le Pen's party, regional elections are just a stepping-stone

Dec 12th 2015 | HÉNIN-BEAUMONT | [From the print edition](#)



IT IS market-day in this red-brick former mining town in northern France. Stall-holders wrap up fat slices of rabbit terrine, or flog discounted hairspray and nail varnish. Outside the town hall, workmen are putting up wooden chalets for the Christmas market. Inside, the National Front (FN) mayor has installed a Nativity scene with life-size figures. French public buildings are meant to be strictly secular, but Steeve Briois insists he is just bringing back a French “tradition”. Last year he was elected mayor with 50.3% of the vote. On December 6th in the same town, Marine Le Pen, the FN leader running for president of the surrounding region, got 59%.

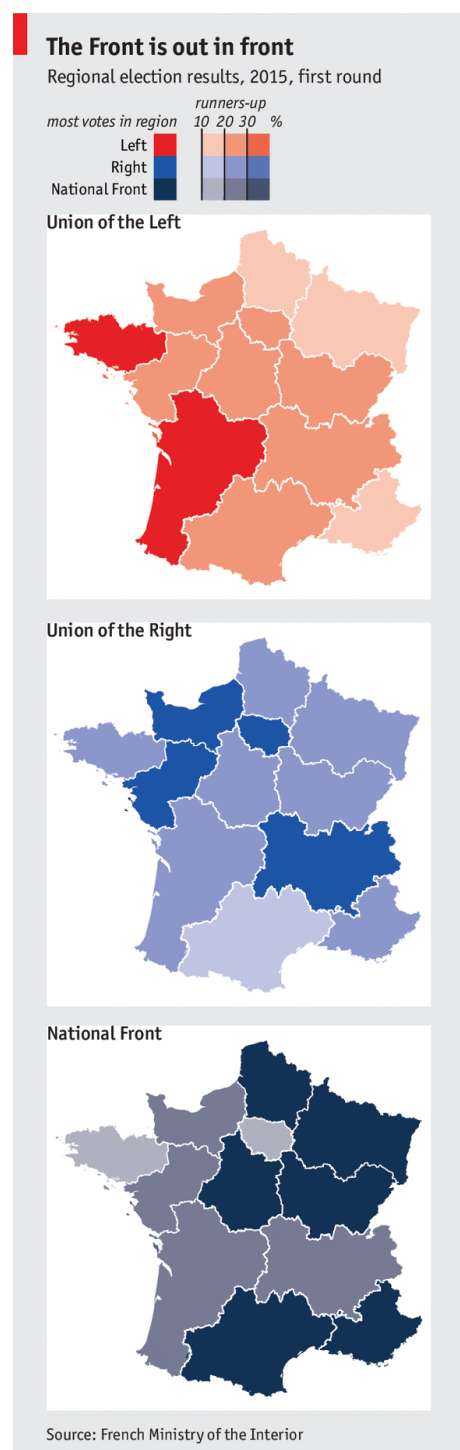
Ms Le Pen heads into the second round of regional elections on December 13th on the back of resounding first-round scores. The far-right FN came top countrywide with 28%, beating its previous national record of 25% in European elections last year, and more than doubling its result in regional elections in 2010. Her party finished first in six of France's 13 regions, including some, such as Burgundy or the Loire valley, with no strong history of supporting the FN. In both Nord-Pas-de-Calais-Picardie, where Ms Le Pen is running, and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur in the south, where her niece Marion Maréchal-Le Pen is the candidate, the party grabbed fully 40%.

Up to a point, the French saw this coming. Since she took over in 2011 from her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, who founded the party in 1972, Ms Le Pen has racked up electoral successes. Polls have long suggested that she could top first-round voting at France's next presidential vote, in 2017, securing a place in the run-off, as her father did in 2002. For months Manuel Valls, the Socialist prime minister, has warned that the FN is “at the gates of power”.

But France has been shaken nonetheless. Unlike Mr Le Pen, who traded in outrage and provocation (and whom she evicted from the party for it), Ms Le Pen is intent on appearing respectable—and on governing. The northern region alone is more populous than Denmark. *Le Monde* called the result an “earthquake”. Mainstream parties are scrambling for a way to thwart her. Mr Valls ordered three Socialist candidates who came third to step down (one refused), and urged voters to back the centre-right instead. For the long-ruling Socialists in the north, asked to tread pavements and hand out leaflets for the centre-right, this was a cruel defeat indeed.

Polls suggest the run-off will be tight, and the FN may struggle to win even a couple of regions. But that would still be historic. Should Ms Le Pen or her niece fail to win, the party will play the victim card and denounce the ruling elite for ganging up on it. In his turreted grey-stone town hall, Mr Briois says with a grin: “We win either

way.” For these elections are part of a long-term strategy: to build up a network of local officials, and a record of government, as a stepping-stone to the Élysée Palace. An FN poster says it all: *Marine, présidente*.



Economist.com

To this end, Ms Le Pen has distanced herself from the ultra-nationalist and anti-Semitic rhetoric of her father and told her 11 FN mayors to concentrate on making their towns work properly. In Hénin-Beaumont, where she was once a councillor, the Nativity scene—a thinly veiled reaffirmation of Catholicism—is about the most controversial move by Mr Briois, along with a cut to subsidies for a human-rights group. The Christmas market is popular; so are policies such as installing more speed bumps. “He’s put in more flowers and mended the roads,” says Mahir Kurtul, who runs a Turkish kebab shop. “Maybe they want it to be a model for the FN.”

### Le Pen, mightier than the scimitar?

Above all, there seems to be an urge for an alternative to the Fifth Republic’s two-party dominance. Recent crises over migrants and terrorism have played into Ms Le Pen’s hands. For years she has been treated as hysterical by polite society for railing against radical mosques and leaky borders. An FN election poster in the

Paris region trades on fear of Islamism by portraying a woman in a face-covering burqa. Yet today it is a Socialist president, François Hollande, who has introduced a state of emergency, reintroduced border controls and shut down three Islamist mosques.

Still, there is also popular disillusion with the unkept promises of the Paris-based elite. Unemployment rose in the third quarter to 10.6%, its highest level for 18 years. The FN is now the most popular party among working-class voters and those who left school without qualifications—the “forgotten people of the republic”, says Ms Le Pen. Next to a former president (Nicolas Sarkozy, leader of the centre-right) and the current one (Mr Hollande), Ms Le Pen, who learned politics at her father’s knee, appears positively fresh. “We’ve tried the right, we’ve now got the left, why not try something else?” shrugs a voter at a café in Hénin-Beaumont.

The FN’s success in playing the people against the elites is confounding not only the left. Mr Sarkozy’s refusal to withdraw candidates in order to block the FN has dismayed those in the party who fear it hands the moral high ground to the left. Between Mr Hollande’s tough security line and Ms Le Pen’s anti-immigration agitation, Mr Sarkozy’s space has been squeezed. Whatever the final result, both left and right have some deep thinking to do. “People see Marine Le Pen as a life-belt,” says a forlorn Eugène Binaisse, the former left-wing mayor of Hénin-Beaumont. “It’s dramatic what’s happening to France.”

[From the print edition: Europe](#)



135,49

African demography

## The young continent

# With fertility rates falling more slowly than anywhere else, Africa faces a population explosion

Dec 12th 2015 | MERTULE MARIAM, ETHIOPIA | [From the print edition](#)

ON A trolley in a government clinic in rural Ethiopia lies Debalke Jemberu. As a medic and a nurse winkle the sperm-carrying tubes out of his testicles, he explains why he decided to have a vasectomy. He is a farmer, growing wheat, sorghum and a local staple grain called teff. But his plot is barely a quarter of a hectare. He already has four children, and has often struggled to provide for them. “I couldn’t feed more children,” he says.

The medic, who has six more vasectomies to perform that day, interrupts to say he is finished. Mr Jemberu pulls up his trousers, pops on his woolly hat and continues. His parents had seven children, but they had eight hectares to farm. That plot has been shared among his siblings, and diminished by sales and land reforms. At the same time, he complains, the cost of living has gone up. Seven children would be far too big a family these days.

Mr Jemberu’s daughter, who is 25, is still single (he married at 19). He is happy for her to concentrate on her studies for a few more years before starting a family. And when she does, he thinks two children would be plenty. In the meantime, he says, he will tell his fellow villagers how quick and painless the vasectomy has been.

In the minds of many Westerners, Ethiopia is a teeming place with an ever-increasing number of mouths to feed. That is indeed the case in some parts of the country: in the arid south and east, for instance, communities of pastoralists, some of them nomadic, still tend to have big families. Six or seven children remains the norm. But in Addis Ababa, the capital, the average is slightly less than two children per woman, just as it is in most rich countries.

In other words, Ethiopia spans the world’s demographic spectrum. Some parts have populations growing as fast as anywhere on the planet; others have already been through a “demographic transition”, in which the population stabilises or even shrinks as people grow richer and have fewer children. Most of the country, however, is like the highland region where Mr Jemberu lives, in which the typical woman has more than two children, but the downward trend is clear.

The shift has been rapid and dramatic. In the early 1990s the average Ethiopian woman had seven children and the country’s population was growing by 3.5% a year. Women now have 4.1 children on average and population growth has slowed to 2.5%. By 2050, the UN reckons, growth will have slowed further, to 1.3%; by 2100 the population will actually be contracting slightly. By then, however, there will be 243m Ethiopians, up from 100m now and 18m in 1950.

Most other countries’ demographic transitions have gone much further. Globally, the average woman now has 2.5 children, half as many as in 1960-65 and not much above the 2.1 at which the world population will stabilise. (This “replacement rate” is a little higher than two because some girls die before their childbearing years and fewer girls are born than boys.) The fertility rate is below replacement in most rich countries, and in plenty of developing ones. In Colombia it is 1.9, just as it is in America and Britain. In Iran it is 1.8 and in China 1.6. The UN calculates that 46% of the world’s population lives in countries where the fertility rate is below the replacement rate.

How quickly Ethiopia and other African countries follow this example has implications not just for those countries but for the whole world. It is the most pressing question for demographers, since it will determine how fast the global population grows in the coming decades and how soon it might stabilise. That, in turn, has repercussions for efforts to eliminate poverty, curb global warming and manage international migration.

Alarming, population growth in Africa is not slowing as quickly as demographers had expected. In 2004 the UN predicted that the continent’s population would grow from a little over 900m at the time, to about 2.3 billion in 2100. At the same time it put the world’s total population in 2100 at 9.1 billion, up from 7.3 billion today. But the UN’s latest estimates, published earlier this year, have global population in 2100 at 11.2 billion—and Africa is where almost all the newly added people will be. The UN now thinks that by 2100 the continent will be home to 4.4 billion people, an increase of more than 2 billion compared with its previous estimate.

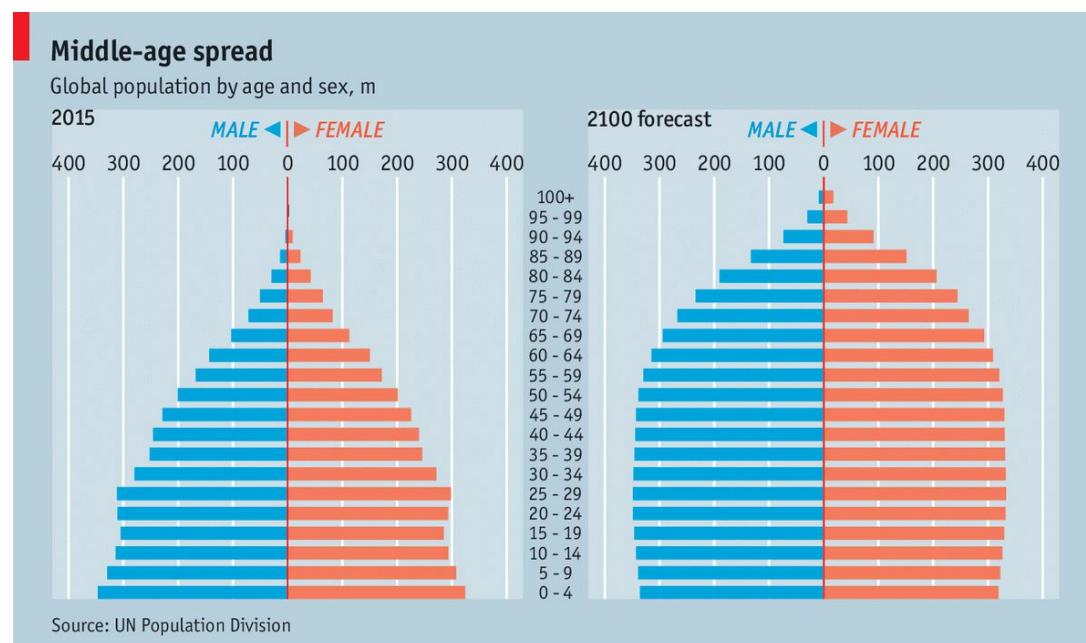
If the new projections are right, geopolitics will be turned upside-down. By the end of this century, Africa will be home to 39% of the world's population, almost as much as Asia, and four times the share of North America and Europe put together. At present only one of the world's ten most populous countries is in Africa: Nigeria. In 2100, the UN believes, five will be: Nigeria, Congo, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Niger.

Although much could change in the next 85 years, none of those countries is a byword for stability or prosperity. A quadrupling of their population is unlikely to improve matters. If nothing else, the number of Africans seeking a better life in Europe and other richer places is likely to increase several times over.

What is more, Africa's unexpected fecundity will change the shape of the world's population. The declining birth rate elsewhere has brought the world to the verge of what Hans Rosling, a Swedish demographer, calls "peak child". In 1950 the world had some 850m people aged 14 or under. By 1975 that number had almost doubled, to 1.5 billion. This year it was a little over 1.9 billion—but it has almost stopped growing. It is expected to continue to climb only very slightly in the coming years, reaching 2 billion in 2024, but never exceeding 2.1 billion.

Thanks to the continued growth of Africa's population, however, the peak will be more of a plateau. High birth rates in Africa and low ones elsewhere will more or less balance out. Africans will make up a bigger and bigger share of the world's young people: by 2100, they will account for 48% of those aged 14 and under.

Moreover, the world's population will continue to grow despite the levelling off in the number of children. Up until now population has resembled a pyramid in structure, with children outnumbering young adults, young adults outnumbering the middle-aged and the middle-aged outnumbering the elderly. People now in their 60s, for instance, come from a generation that was less than half as big as the current cohort of children. As today's children age, they will make the upper echelons of the pyramid wider. But the lower ones will remain the same size, thanks to peak child, so the pyramid will come to look more like a dome (see chart). Were it not for continued growth in Africa, the pyramid might even have inverted, leaving more old people in the world than young ones.



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### African exceptionalism

The revision of population predictions for Africa partly reflects the fact that HIV/AIDS has not proved quite as catastrophic for the continent as seemed likely ten years ago. Mainly, however, it stems from the startling persistence in Africa of very big families. Women in the region still have more babies, on average, than those in Asia and Latin America did in the 1980s.

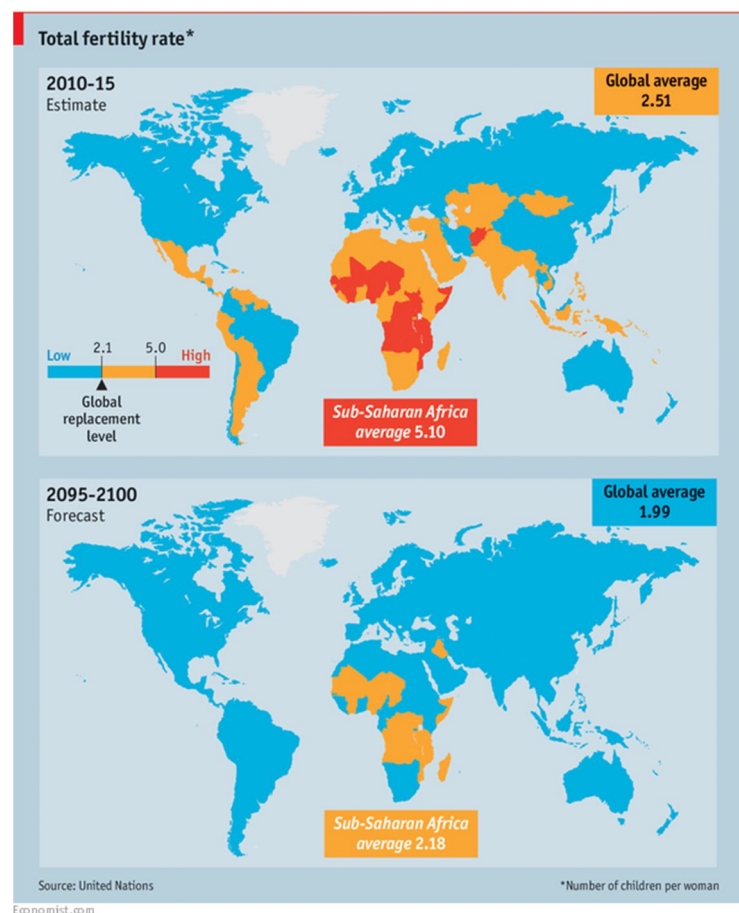
The human population only began to grow quickly and steadily in the 19th century. Before then women had lots of children—perhaps about seven each on average—but most died before adulthood. As health care improved over the past 200 years or so, far more of these children survived and went on to have children of their own; hence the explosion in the world's population. As people have become richer, however, they have also begun to have fewer children; hence the recent decline in the growth rate.

The tendency for societies to have fewer children as they become richer appears to be universal. It holds good across races, religions and ethnicities. Thus the fertility rate is the same (2.3) in Azerbaijan (which is largely Muslim), Mexico (largely Christian), Myanmar (largely Buddhist) and Nepal (largely Hindu). By the same token, many countries that remain relatively rural—Bangladesh, India and

Vietnam, for example—have nonetheless seen sharp falls in fertility, albeit not quite to the levels of heavily urbanised ones, such as Brazil.

There seems to be just a handful of prerequisites for a falling fertility rate: a modicum of stability and physical security, some education (especially for women) and wide access to contraception. The faster these conditions are met, the faster birth rates come down.

The only places where women continue to churn out babies are dirt-poor and unstable countries such as Afghanistan, Congo, East Timor and Niger (see map). Counter-intuitively, war, famine and other disasters tend to boost population in the long run, by keeping fertility rates high. It is only when parents are confident that their children will survive that they risk having fewer of them.



Sub-Saharan Africa, sadly, is very poor and unstable, which helps explain why its demographic transition seems to be proceeding more slowly than that of other parts of the world and to have stalled or not yet started in several countries. But even relative to their levels of income, health and education, the countries of sub-Saharan Africa have high fertility rates. That has prompted some scholars to posit cultural explanations.

One theory is that African men want big families to enhance their status; another that communal land-holding makes them economically beneficial, since resources are shared according to family size. Without dismissing these arguments, John Bongaarts of the Population Council, an international non-profit group, suggests a third: relatively low use of modern contraception. In many places, after all, vigorous campaigns to disseminate contraceptives and discourage big families have contributed to sudden and deep falls in fertility. Such a drive in the 1970s in Matlab, a district in Bangladesh, saw the share of women using contraceptives increase six-fold in 18 months.

The African countries that have seen big falls in fertility are those, such as Burundi, Ethiopia and Senegal, with similar campaigns. In Ethiopia the fertility rate has fallen by about 0.15 a year for the past decade—blisteringly fast by demographic standards. That is probably thanks in large part to the nationwide network of 38,000 “health-extension workers”—one for every 2,500 people. Their job is to pay regular visits to each household within their locality and provide coaching on public health, from immunisations to hygiene. One of the 16 subjects in which they drill every Ethiopian is family planning.

It is through a health-extension worker that Mr Jemberu learned that he could receive a vasectomy free of charge, courtesy of Marie Stopes International, a British charity. Around 100 metres from where he is having the snip, five health-extension workers have gathered 50 women for a traditional coffee morning. As one of the workers grinds coffee beans using an improvised pestle and mortar, two doctors explain the different methods of contraception that the government can provide to local women.

One holds up a display board with a condom, an intrauterine device, a dose of an injectable contraceptive, a packet of pills and a contraceptive implant. The other removes these displays one by one and passes them around, along with big chunks of bread and small cups of strong black coffee. Embarrassed women in the audience mutter questions into their shawls, while shushing fussy babies. The discussion is not limited to technicalities: there is much talk about the desirability of small families and how expensive big ones can be. The same message is echoed in public-service announcements on Ethiopian radio and television.

Though the government is the main force behind this family-planning drive, it welcomes help from Western donors and charities. Marie Stopes, for instance, pays for ten mobile teams that travel between rural clinics performing vasectomies and tubal ligations, the female equivalent. It also runs 31 facilities in cities, where in addition to contraceptives and obstetric care, women can obtain abortions. Then there is its Blue Star scheme, whereby it has accredited 207 private clinics, to signal that they provide reliable and affordable maternal health-care.

Yohannes Abate, who runs one such clinic in Bahir Dar, a lakeside city in the centre of the country, says that when he first set up shop in 2003, people hardly knew what contraception was and almost never asked for it. Now providing it accounts for 10% of his business. The patients in the waiting area speak freely of the expense of raising children; most say two or three is plenty. “I want to be able to afford to look after them,” says Zewdo Yetimwork, a university lecturer who has come for a postnatal check-up for his month-old daughter. Behind him a cardboard cut-out of a sleek and smiling urban couple advertises Sensations, a local brand of condom (“Make your life Sensational”).

The UN reckons that the share of Ethiopian women aged 15-49 who use some form of contraception has risen from 6% in 2000 to 40% last year. The government hopes to get the “prevalence rate” to 66%. It is pushing longer-lasting and permanent forms of contraception in particular. Since 2007 it has allowed health-extension workers to administer injectable contraceptives, which typically last for three months. Since 2009 it has allowed them to insert contraceptive implants, which last for several years. Women prefer these methods, say the health-extension workers in Mertule Mariam, not only because they involve less hassle, but also because they are more discreet. There are no pills or condoms for nosy relatives or neighbours to discover.

For the prevalence rate to keep rising, however, contraceptives must be omnipresent and cheap. Western donors have offered support here, too. At a conference in London in 2012, a group of them agreed to devote \$2.6 billion to it. The Gates Foundation, the world’s biggest philanthropic organisation, promised to spend \$140m a year. Since then, it claims, 24m women have gained access to contraceptives in the countries the group is targeting. It has also helped several African governments to build strong supply chains so that clinics in remote areas never run out and brought together a consortium of aid agencies that has promised to buy contraceptives in large quantities if their manufacturers lower the price. That has helped reduce the cost of contraceptive implants from about \$24 a dose to about \$8, says Lester Coutinho, who runs the charity’s family-planning efforts.

Alas, there is lots more to do. The UN estimates that there are still 216m married women in the world who would like access to modern methods of contraception, but do not have it. The Copenhagen Consensus, a group of academics which rates development policies, reckons it would cost \$3.6 billion a year to provide what they need. The benefits, in terms of the diminished need for infrastructure and social spending, reduced pollution and so on, would be \$432 billion a year—120 times more. That is the second-most productive investment the project has identified, after liberalising trade, out of a welter of different development goals. Better yet, it helps with all the others.

[From the print edition: Briefing](#)

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## Pierre Legendre : Pourquoi est-il si difficile de définir l'Etat en France ?

Par [Alexandre Devecchio](#)

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**FIGAROVOX/GRAND ENTRETIEN - Penseur inclassable célébré à l'étranger, le trop rare Pierre Legendre a accordé un entretien exceptionnel à FigaroVox. La question de l'État et la France, première partie.**

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Pierre Legendre est professeur émérite de l'université Paris-I et professeur à l'École pratique des Hautes études, section des sciences religieuses. Peu connu du grand public en France, il est considéré à l'étranger comme un des plus grands de la pensée française contemporaine. Aux éditions Fayard, dernièrement: *Fantômes de l'Etat en France, Ce que l'Occident ne voit pas de l'Occident, Dominium mundi: l'empire du management*. Il est l'auteur de trois films, dont *La Fabrique de l'homme occidental*.

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PROPOS RECUEILLIS PAR ALEXANDRE DEVECCHIO [@AlexDevecchio](#)

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**Les élections régionales ont été marquées par une forte poussée du FN, ainsi que par la victoire des nationalistes en Corse, suivie de fortes tensions sur l'île de Beauté. Ce chaos politique et social est-il le symptôme d'une crise plus profonde de l'État-Nation que vous décrivez dans votre dernier livre, [Fantômes de l'État en France](#)?**

**Pierre Legendre** - Une longue réflexion sur la forme étatique française, mais aussi ce que m'a enseigné une pratique internationale m'ont rendu insensible aux plaintes médiatiques comme aux discours affolés du milieu politique quand la machinerie des partis dits de gouvernement ne répond plus aux attentes. Une fois de plus, la démocratie en France, dont on oublie la fragilité dans notre pays, semble ne plus tourner rond. La situation présente relève-t-elle pour autant du chaos? N'est-elle pas plutôt un épisode logique dans l'évolution de nos manières de vivre et penser les institutions privées et publiques au cours des dernières décennies?

Permettez-moi de dire ceci: la France subit la morsure de la médiocrité. Le sinistre vocabulaire dont use la langue de fer des spécialistes des questions qu'on appelle désormais sociétales en dit long: «la perte des repères». S'interroge-t-on sur pareille formule, qui recouvre la dévastation des liens, de tout lien, donc y compris politique? Non, ce serait trop demander.

Car aujourd'hui, après la génération des casseurs de l'État, qui ont été mis au pinacle de la pensée au cours des années 1970-80 et qui ont tant inspiré la doxa et la pratique politique, nous voilà Gros-Jean comme devant, c'est-à-dire ayant à

faire face à une décomposition sociale, qui touche évidemment une jeunesse déboussolée, et que les gouvernements ne parviennent plus à masquer ni gérer.

Cependant, la course aux simplismes continue. N'y a-t-il pas le conte de fées de la République pour tous? N'y a-t-il pas l'Europe pour tous, tantôt croquemitaine, tantôt père Noël? N'y a-t-il pas la Laïcité pour tous, qui dispense de se demander si l'Occident tout entier ne se méprend pas sur sa notion de religion vendue au monde entier comme «marché des idées» et enseignée comme telle dans nos écoles? Et caetera.... Je n'insiste pas.

Après la génération des casseurs de l'État, qui ont été mis au pinacle de la pensée au cours des années 1970-80 et qui ont tant inspiré la doxa et la pratique politique, nous voilà Gros-Jean comme devant ...

Alors, que va devenir l'État à la française? Pour l'heure, l'Union sacrée, une de plus, a entretenu l'illusion quelques jours. Et l'épreuve des élections met les partis politiques, pardonnez ce jeu de mots, dans tous leurs états. Y compris le Front National toujours à l'affût, dont je dirai qu'en prédateur de ce désert de pensée, il se nourrit d'une carcasse abandonnée, qui jadis avait pour nom la Nation française.

Le «sursaut» (mettons des guillemets) de la militance socialiste au pouvoir semble avant tout une affaire de vocabulaire ; il consiste à se souvenir soudain de ce mot, la Nation, tenu pour rétrograde et banni par le progressisme branché. Et voilà que resurgit à son tour le terme Patriotisme! Souhaitons que le citoyen lambda s'y retrouve. Quoi qu'il en soit, la réalité institutionnelle étant ce qu'elle est, la Ve République avec son régime de deux partis dominants (imité de l'Angleterre, soit dit en passant) risque bien de se trouver devant la quadrature du cercle: que faire d'un troisième larron? Son inexistence parlementaire empêchant de régler normalement les comptes, j'attends la suite...

Cela dit, mon ouvrage implique une position de principe: une réflexion sensée sur l'État, en France comme ailleurs, exige que soit reconnue la généalogie de ce que véhicule la situation présente.

### **Alors justement, que signifie exactement le concept État en France?**

Vous faites bien de poser cette question préalable. Quand on sait les contorsions linguistiques auxquelles a donné lieu la réception de cette forme politique par les pays de tradition non-occidentale, ça donne à réfléchir. Qui plus est, le concept État est compris de façon fort différente selon les Nations, à l'intérieur même de l'Europe de l'Ouest, sa culture d'origine. Alors, de quoi parlons-nous dans le cas français?

En France, nous en avons plein la bouche de ce mot en lui-même un peu bizarre. État de qui, de quoi? Quand nos ancêtres d'Ancien Régime parlent d'État, ils emploient un génitif. Exemple: État du royaume (Status regni). Ils visent alors la notion répandue dans l'Europe latine marquée dans ses profondeurs par le christianisme pontifical, puis par la Réforme protestante: Res publica, la Chose publique, par opposition à ce qui relève du privé.

Mis à toutes les sauces, le concept État a désigné les groupes sociaux, clergé, noblesse, tiers-état ; ou leurs assemblées séparées ou réunies en États généraux.... un mot qui aujourd'hui sent bon la Révolution!

### **L'État a tout de même évolué depuis la Révolution ...**

Oui et non... Souvenons-nous des fondateurs de la Première République et de leur engouement pour la Rome antique, mais aussi des rescapés de la Révolution qui, sous la poigne du Premier Consul Bonaparte, bientôt couronné Empereur en présence du pape, s'entichent du vocabulaire administratif des Romains pour gouverner, c'est-à-dire prendre en main les départements par un réseau de préfets révocables à tout moment! L'exception française, c'est d'abord ce musée Grévin de la politique....

C'est fascinant d'entrer dans les coulisses, de visiter les réserves: on conserve les traditions, en les rendant méconnaissables, tantôt par la casse révolutionnaire, tantôt par le velours américain du «Social Change», repris en français dans le présentoir plus messianique du «Changement de société», avec sa variante poétique: «Changer la vie». Mobilisez Rimbaud ou Victor Hugo, voilà un ticket toujours gagnant à la loterie électorale!

Avec le recul, on peut s'interroger sur une malformation congénitale du principe étatique en France....

J'allais l'oublier: le consensus républicain. Qui s'oppose à l'État-République? Personne, et pourtant il semble que, comme dit la formule populaire, «ça coince quelque part». Et malgré cette «Monarchie républicaine», formule exécrée par les

opposants d'hier à la Ve République, mais vénérée par ses rentiers, aujourd'hui de gauche..... Mais d'où nous vient cette formule aujourd'hui médiatisée à outrance? Et surtout, est-ce qu'elle éclaire vraiment le concept État?

Elle ne vient pas de Sciences Po-Paris, qui a perdu aussi ses «repères» et nous vend des ersatz. Elle vient d'un Institut de Munich qui, avec ironie, qualifia de la sorte la Constitution gaulliste dans les années 1970: on y étudiait le côté tenace des formes politiques françaises successives. Soit dit en passant, j'avais signalé cette publication à Maurice Duverger, universitaire de gauche à la mode d'alors et qui s'est approprié l'expression (bien entendu, sans citer la source allemande)... À y regarder de près, l'auteur de l'idée fut Léon Blum en 1917 ; effaré de la situation parlementaire, il appelait à transformer le chef du gouvernement, je cite, en «monarque temporaire, nanti de la totalité du pouvoir exécutif». Avec le recul, on peut s'interroger sur une malformation congénitale du principe étatique en France....

### **D'où vient celle-ci?**

Pourquoi est-il si difficile de définir le concept État en France, pays dont l'expérience a tant pesé sur l'évolution du continent et au-delà, mais qui, depuis 1789, s'est payé une quinzaine de Constitutions, sans compter les amendements? Ce n'est jamais la bonne, et malgré son béton apparent, malgré le ralliement, intéressé ô combien, du rentier Mitterrand, personnage vindicatif et au fond despotique, la Ve République n'a pas mis fin à cette curieuse insatisfaction.

Dans mon aventure de réflexion et grâce à de multiples rencontres, j'ai essayé d'apporter quelques éclaircissements. Je considère la France comme un pays conservateur qui s'ignore et qui, pour accepter le changement, se livre aux ruptures «à la brute» ou, pour le dire plus poliment, avale de temps à autre «un remède de cheval»! Tenter de saisir le pourquoi de cette évolution par saccades n'est pas à l'ordre du jour, car ce serait toucher à quelque chose de bien plus profond que ce dont les études théoriques ou les médias sont en mesure de parler. Il s'agit de la foi en l'État, c'est-à-dire d'un halo de croyances autour d'une question indésirable: la généalogie administrative de cet État, une généalogie enfouie. Il en résulte une amnésie, qui déréalise la représentation sociale et politique de ce fameux État. Le vrai témoin de la réalité, ce ne sont pas les invocations faciles de l'Égalité, des Droits de l'homme, et caetera, mais notre système d'Administration avec ses règles et l'édifice de ses fonctions.

Pour comprendre ça, il faut avoir à l'esprit autre chose que l'idée de pages qui se tournent grâce à des ruptures, mais penser l'existence administrative de l'État comme produit d'une histoire sédimentaire. Au bout du compte, rien n'est oublié et ça se traduit au présent, dans les faits.

Dans le contexte actuel, où l'inculture historico-juridique des élites tient le haut du pavé, ce chemin-là est barré. En conséquence, nos «truth makers» médiatiques, les penseurs à la mode et les conseillers de nos Princes, peuvent ignorer superbement la Révolution froide du Management qui sape ou tient en laisse des États sous pression. Inutile donc que j'évoque les signes d'une jungle féodale à échelle mondiale: le retour progressif et indolore de la justice privée, le marché du droit et de l'arbitrage, tous ces ressorts méconnus d'une Globalisation encore dominée par les États-Unis dont nous sommes les vassaux empressés.

« Les Anglais, tous actionnaires ; les Allemands, tous factionnaires ; les Français, tous fonctionnaires » !

Je n'irai pas jusqu'à dire: le concept État ne signifie plus rien... Je constate simplement une décomposition, faute d'analyses de cet État administratif qui soient à la hauteur. La Com et le marketing politique brouillent les cartes. Il nous reste un lot de consolation: le recours périodique à l'Union sacrée, laquelle, comme chacun sait, dure ce que durent les roses....

Amusons-nous un peu. Vers la fin du XIXe siècle, une plaisanterie grinçante a circulé ; je l'ai glanée chez des économistes qui comparaient l'esprit public de Nations européennes concurrentes: «les Anglais, tous actionnaires ; les Allemands, tous factionnaires ; les Français, tous fonctionnaires»! Depuis lors, deux guerres mondiales ont bouleversé les données, et l'Allemagne prussienne a disparu. Mais sur l'esprit public d'ici, cette maxime contient un fond inévacuable de vérité....

Je me souviens de l'ultime propos de mon film Miroir d'une Nation. L'Ecole Nationale d'Administration, sorti en 2000: «S'il n'y a plus de Nation, pourquoi y aurait-il des fonctionnaires?»

**Quelle est la différence entre État et Nation?**

Faisons la différence, en effet. Écoutons l'étymologie. Nation, comme le mot Nature, vient du verbe latin nascor, qui signifie naître. Dans son principe, Nation désigne les natifs de tel endroit. Vous avez à Paris, dans le Quartier latin, une bâtisse appelée Collège irlandais. C'est un vestige du Moyen Âge, époque où l'on ne connaissait pas la frontière au sens moderne, et donc les étudiants, qui alors circulaient beaucoup d'une Université à l'autre, se regroupaient par «nations». Nation est un indicateur généalogique, référé à la famille, à la terre d'origine, à ce que l'Ancien Régime appelait un «pays», vocable qui s'est conservé sous le régime républicain dans les associations de Bretons, Auvergnats et autres transplantés dans la capitale. Aujourd'hui, ça vaut pour nos compatriotes d'origine africaine...

L'idée de Nation se traduit juridiquement: la nationalité, un statut assorti de droits qu'une personne exerce selon les règles fixées par l'État ; et il y a la naturalisation, une fiction qui permet d'accorder la nationalité pleine et entière à quelqu'un comme si... comme s'il était un natif d'ici. Et l'État lui-même, s'il est reconnu comme une personne juridique par les autres États, exerce ses droits d'État national, selon les règles établies, au sein de la société internationale.

Tout ça, je le rappelle, pour éviter la confusion, ne pas se perdre dans nos litanies. Je ne vois pas l'intérêt de réciter le couplet de Renan: «le désir de vivre ensemble», «une grande agrégation d'hommes saine d'esprit et chaude de cœur», etc. C'est du Jean-Jacques Rousseau réchauffé, qui consolait les Français des années 1880 après la défaite de 1870 et le drame de la Commune en 1871. Et aujourd'hui, dans un monde où les rapports de force civilisationnels demeurent dangereusement sous-analysés, je conçois que le thème du «vivre ensemble», où prévaut désormais la connotation bétaillère, puisse encore servir de calmant.

L'État est un montage destiné à faire en sorte qu'une Nation tienne debout.

### **L'État et la Nation sont-ils indissociables, particulièrement en France? Cela date-t-il de la Révolution?**

Par principe, oui. Il suffit là encore d'écouter l'étymologie. État a son origine dans le verbe latin stare, qui signifie se tenir debout.

Dans cette perspective, disons que l'État est un montage destiné à faire en sorte qu'une Nation tienne debout. Vous voyez, le langage familier permet de formuler avec simplicité ce dont il s'agit dans votre question. Et ça évite de s'égarer dans les ritournelles habituelles!

Alors je vous propose un petit sondage, comme font les géologues, pour atteindre les principales couches sédimentaires du terrain institutionnel sur lequel est bâti notre État, ce stabilisateur de la Nation française....

Laissons de côté le creuset médiéval de la forme étatique en Europe, le prototype pontifical qui ne dit plus rien à personne en France. Laïcité oblige! Contentons-nous de ce qui sert de généalogie acceptable en France: l'historique de l'État administratif depuis notre Révolution, 1789. Je vais prélever de mon sondage deux indices essentiels, témoins indiscutables des solides fondations de la bâtisse étatique d'aujourd'hui.

D'abord, les grands travaux de la Constituante en 89-91, après la touchante Nuit du 4 août, cette Nuit des Embrassades, dont est sorti un texte qui, avec le recul, vaut son pesant: «Il n'y a plus en France ni titres ni distinctions d'aucune sorte». J'aime à rappeler ces choses-là! Mais l'important est ailleurs, dans ce qui jusqu'à ce jour est inébranlable: le découpage de la France «avec des ciseaux de géomètre». La formule est de Taine définissant le système départemental. Moi, j'ajoute la cerise sur le gâteau de la pièce montée territoriale ; le brave notaire Thouret, porte-plume du grand rapport sur le département, s'est fendu d'une formule décisive sur sa finalité politique: «empêcher la démocratie dans les provinces»!

Aujourd'hui, le vocabulaire du milieu politique laisse échapper une vérité qui ne choque personne : chacun va et vient entre Paris et son « fief » !

Je commente. Le département a été l'instrument qui a permis l'apparition de nouvelles formes féodales en France. Personne n'y a touché, sauf en paroles ou en projets édulcorés. Pourquoi? Parce que, au final, il faudrait toucher au sacrosaint Sénat, qui à bien des égards ressemble à une Chambre des pairs. Et de proche en proche, sortir des délégations de pouvoir, introduire une bonne dose d'esprit fédéral dans les régions. Nous restons fidèles à notre ami l'abbé Siéyès, régicide à l'occasion, futur conseiller de Bonaparte et farouche adversaire de l'idée fédérale. Aujourd'hui, le vocabulaire du milieu politique laisse échapper une vérité qui ne choque personne: chacun va et vient entre Paris et son «fief»! Cela veut dire que la société française trouve son compte dans un féodalisme qui sait comment se renouveler.



Et ça n'empêche pas de jouer à cache-cache avec la Bureaucratie européenne, en jurant la main sur le cœur qu'on veut l'Europe fédérale. Je me souviens de la conversation télévisée entre Philippe Séguin et François Mitterrand: la ficelle du Président «fédéraliste» était un peu grosse... ou alors, au-delà de la façade de Prince élu contre le camp de son interlocuteur gaulliste, c'était l'aveu d'une incompréhension des profondeurs généalogiques de la France.

Venons-en au second prélèvement de mon sondage, qui lui aussi aide à saisir notre présent. Nous vivons les vestiges incompris de ce qu'avait inventé la République terroriste de Robespierre et de Saint-Just: un État à double commande. D'un côté, la légalité constitutionnelle incarnée par le pouvoir d'une Assemblée, la Convention ; de l'autre, la légalité insurrectionnelle, c'est-à-dire le pouvoir de la rue aux mains, nous dirions aujourd'hui, du lobby de la Commune de Paris. Je continue de penser que ce schéma a laissé une empreinte profonde.

<http://www.lefigaro.fr/vox/politique/2015/12/31/31001-20151231ARTFIG00181-pierre-legendre-etat-la-desintegration.php>

## **Partie II**

### **La percée du Front National traduit-elle la volonté des Français de retrouver un État fort?**

**Pierre LEGENDRE:** État fort ou faible, la question n'a plus de sens. Avant d'évoquer le FN, dont on sait la marque antisémite originaire, mais aussi la connivence de jadis avec ceux qui avaient mené la répression à outrance en Algérie, je voudrais dire ceci. Après s'être laissé porter durant des décennies par la vague libérale-libertaire qui a déferlé sur l'Europe sans réflexion critique, l'élite au pouvoir s'étonne aujourd'hui non pas des effets décivilisateurs de cette vague, massivement déniés, mais seulement des accidents qu'elle provoque dans notre vie politique. Et je connais trop bien le fonctionnement des prédicateurs parisiens toujours prompts à stigmatiser, selon des catégories quasi pénales, ceux qui pensent hors du troupeau, pour ne pas m'étonner, moi, des grands airs effarouchés devant ce qui survient.

Ces temps-ci, une certaine presse aux accents de Pravda à la française parlait avec une emphase admirative d'un intellectuel dont le discours, je cite, «a renversé la table». Mais alors, pourquoi le discours d'un parti ne réussirait-il pas le même exploit? Manifestement, les amateurs de discours renversants sont pris de court. Amuser la galerie avec le Front National ou avec Monsieur Tapie naguère présenté comme un modèle à la jeunesse, ça ne dure qu'un temps. Et je ferai remarquer que le FN étant devenu le fournisseur d'un vocabulaire patriotique qu'on cesse de brocarder, nécessité oblige ....., il se peut que ce Front National finisse par obtenir paiement pour services rendus!

Ma conclusion tient en peu de mots. Si au moins la percée revancharde du FN donnait à réfléchir, ce pourrait être un gain, le gain d'une leçon. Mais j'en doute.

### **L'un des chapitres de votre livre s'intitule «la foi en l'État, ou le fiduciaire français». La France s'est-elle construite dans la religion de l'État?**

De quoi parle-t-on avec le mot religion? Nous sommes en Europe, toujours marquée par la ligne de fracture entre traditions dont je maintiens qu'elles sont inconciliables, en dépit de notre œcuménisme qui en réalité est une arme: l'Ouest catholico-protestant, l'Est orthodoxe. La France laïque ne comprend pas plus que les autres États de notre voisinage la Russie, la Grèce et les Balkans.

Pourquoi évoquer tout ça? Tout simplement parce que ce mot juridique des Romains baptisé par le christianisme latin, nous l'utilisons à tout-va pour lui faire dire ce qu'on veut. J'ai dénombré une quarantaine de définitions! Voilà pourquoi j'utilise le terme de fiduciaire pour sortir du brouillard. Il signifie que l'espèce humaine, l'animal parlant, ne peut vivre sans être fondé à vivre. Individuelle ou sociale, la raison de vivre est construite avec des mots, une Référence fondatrice à laquelle nous faisons crédit. La religion, c'est du crédit, du fiduciaire. La religion est, si je puis dire, une sorte de banque qui accrédite un discours fondateur.

Le pouvoir d'Ancien Régime recevait son crédit de la divinité chrétienne, il était en dette avec Dieu et s'acquittait de sa dette par la répétition rituelle, par des liturgies très élaborées. L'État monarchique était ainsi fondé à gouverner, c'est-à-dire à formuler des règles. Comme tous les montages dénichés par l'ethnologie, l'État à l'occidentale marche comme ça, nous sommes fondés comme citoyens par un montage fiduciaire, autrement dit par une religion.

La Première République avait mis en scène la déesse Raison. **Nous, les ultramodernes, nous avons un panthéon plus fourni ; les Français ont non seulement la figure divinisée de la République laïque et ses liturgies, mais aussi, en ressortissants de l'Occident industrialiste et mercantile, ils célèbrent l'Argent.** Ce serait le moment de lire un petit texte jamais commenté d'un certain **Karl Marx** sur deux figures unificatrices: le Christ et l'Argent! Voyez l'iconographie du dollar... «In God We Trust».

Aujourd'hui, l'Éducation, ça consiste à produire des citoyens qui désapprennent à apprendre les fondements normatifs du lien social et ne sont que créanciers....

Alors oui, si l'on saisit ce concept de fiduciaire qui nous renvoie à la dimension universelle du langage, et si on continue à user du mot religion (pourquoi pas?), **on peut dire que la France s'est construite dans la religion de l'État.** Une religion plutôt intégriste, un «nouveau christianisme» pour reprendre la formule des saint-simoniens au XIXe siècle. **L'État à la française est le Rédempteur laïque, un Sauveur sécularisé.** Dans cette perspective, je ne vois pas où serait la différence entre l'État monarchique et l'État révolutionnaire.

La contre-épreuve, c'est la situation concrète de l'État administratif menacé par l'intégrisme individualiste. Le «service de l'État» ne veut plus rien dire, face à l'idéologie du libre choix sur le marché de tout, qui prétend disposer de tout, donc de la logique fiduciaire des institutions. Et ça donne quoi? Un monde à l'envers, où l'État, perdant sa raison d'être, dissout le rapport à l'autorité, bannit les tabous protecteurs, démolit les normes langagières elles-mêmes. Évidemment, ça commence par défaire l'Éducation, ces lieux dont notre professeur Renan disait: «L'État met la main sur l'âme». Aujourd'hui, ça consiste à produire des citoyens qui désapprennent à apprendre les fondements normatifs du lien social et ne sont que créanciers....

**L'État français fortement centralisé est-il compatible avec la construction européenne?**

L'Union européenne est-elle aujourd'hui pour les Français autre chose qu'une bureaucratie? La France a inventé au XVIIIe siècle ce mot qui a fait le tour du monde, et nos mœurs politiques s'accommodent très bien de réglementations envahissantes. Alors que les Anglais et les Allemands sont pointilleux pour défendre leur propre prérogative parlementaire contre Bruxelles, les Français ne sont pas si regardants et se contentent de rouspéter...

Après tout, en matière de justice, c'est pareil ; la maxime de la Révolution «Juger, c'est aussi administrer» reste d'actualité, elle en dit long sur nos manières de bafouer la séparation des pouvoirs. **Un exemple: quand un arrêt de la Cour de cassation froisse une catégorie sociale capable d'ameuter les médias, nos gouvernants n'hésitent pas à faire voter une loi ayant pour effet de passer cette jurisprudence à la trappe... Et je rappelle la manie de légiférer à tour de bras, jusqu'à produire des textes dont on sait qu'ils ne seront pas appliqués!**

**L'État fortement centralisé est-il compatible avec la construction européenne?** Le désordre juridico-politique que je viens d'évoquer inciterait à vous répondre: oui, car cet État-là est prêt à tout avaler, et l'Europe fourre-tout justifie alors que l'on persiste à n'en rien vouloir savoir.

**Mais, si l'on sort de cette torpeur, ma réponse est non.** Elle découle de mes propos précédents sur l'État et la Nation, sur le fond historique des choses. **Construire l'Europe et non pas seulement la supporter, ça supposerait une audace politique qui pour l'heure est absente.** Il n'est pas à l'ordre du jour de faire le ménage dans nos structures intérieures françaises, d'injecter une bonne dose d'esprit fédéral dans l'institution du territoire et dans la formation des responsables du système administratif, et surtout d'élargir notre horizon par une réflexion digne de ce nom sur la généalogie du continent. Un continent qui contient aussi la Russie orthodoxe et tout un monde pris de haut par des discours expéditifs.

**L'Union européenne est-elle morte?**

Quand on parle de construction européenne, qu'est-ce que ça dit à la jeunesse, qui voyage si facilement aujourd'hui? Considérons d'un peu plus près l'offre..., pas la prédication, mais le cadre institutionnel de l'Union.

L'Europe, c'est bien beau, mais le projet, obèse et bavard à la française, de **Traité constitutionnel européen, finalement rejeté en 2005 par la France et les Pays-Bas, avait à mes yeux quelque chose de ridicule** ; pour nombre de personnes averties de l'histoire comparative des formes étatiques, cette scolastique méticuleuse avait quelque chose de dérisoire. La démocratie n'étant pas le fort de cette Europe d'esprit étriqué et souvent cynique, on s'est rattrapé en bricolant des traités

de remplacement... Pour une fois, on n'est pas allé jusqu'à imposer de refaire le référendum, pour annuler le non dans les deux pays concernés!

Justement, ça me fait penser à la boutade d'un opposant à Napoléon III. Un député est censé s'adresser à l'électeur paysan: «Mon ami, le référendum est un mot latin qui veut dire oui!» Au fond, c'est l'état d'esprit des multiples chefferies en titre, qui rivalisent d'ingéniosité dans les bureaux de Bruxelles. Si vous vous intéressez à ce tripot, qui nous concerne tous, nous autres simples citoyens, **tâchez de trouver ce petit essai passionnant, publié par Northcote Parkinson en 1957 sous le titre 1 = 2 ; il résume avec humour les inexorables lois d'une Bureaucratie sans tête! Pour tout dire, on a fabriqué un empilement de fonctions sans âme.** (cf France...)

**La France, dont je crois avoir soupesé les chances de s'auto-réformer comme très faibles sans pression extérieure, s'est enfermée dans une non-pensée sur elle-même et sur l'Europe.**

**Souvenons-nous: Napoléon voyait l'Europe comme extension française, «la Grande Nation».** Ce n'était pas le cas de De Gaulle. Car de Gaulle avait compris que cette Nation française centraliste reste d'un maniement délicat et qu'une fois éteinte la rivalité millénaire avec l'ex-Empire germanique, la France ne pouvait pas tenir son rôle national sans boussole. Après lui, la partie s'est jouée en inversant la logique: d'abord l'économie et les techniques gestionnaires, le reste suivra, c'est-à-dire l'essentiel, à savoir une vision claire et assumée du «qui sommes-nous, où allons-nous?» dont se soutiennent les Nations.

**La nullité politique et la passivité, qui ont fini par déséquilibrer et malmener l'Europe du Sud leurrée par les discours à l'eau de rose et la ruée financière, ont aussi pour effet de réactualiser les enjeux d'hégémonie au sein de l'Europe. Pour l'instant, je dirai que l'Allemagne fait son beurre....**

**Quant à la France, je vois qu'elle a pâti du postulat positiviste qui dominait l'équipe de Jean Monnet et ses successeurs.** À quoi s'ajoute le fait que, dans l'intervalle, les États-Unis ont eu les moyens de transformer l'Europe en glaciais, à l'instar des anciens «pays frères» de l'ex-URSS. Devenue ignorante de ce que signifie culturellement et politiquement son centralisme invétéré, **la France suit un mouvement sur lequel elle semble ne plus avoir prise, avec indifférence! Nous en sommes là.**

**Vous écrivez: «Comment est-il possible de s'intégrer à la désintégration?». La crise de l'intégration est-elle la crise d'un État qui se désintègre?**

Avant tout, j'évoquerai le contexte dans lequel votre question s'inscrit forcément: **«l'effondrement de la civilisation moderne».** Cette formule de Ian Kershaw, historien du nazisme, parle de la dictature hitlérienne qu'il qualifie ainsi: «une forme de souffle nucléaire au sein de la société moderne. Elle a montré de quoi nous sommes capables». Et moi j'ajoute: nos États subissent les effets à long terme de l'Holocauste qui a tué des millions de Juifs. Ce massacre d'une portée bien spéciale veut dire le meurtre de l'Ancêtre dans la culture européenne, dite judéo-chrétienne. C'est le principe généalogique, autrement dit le principe de Raison, qui a été touché.

Mon propos, qui tient compte du conflit originaire avec le judaïsme, ne se contente pas des discours habituels sur la Shoah et les horreurs infligées aux Juifs par leurs persécuteurs nazis. Il porte sur la fracture civilisationnelle intrinsèque, qui concerne l'Occident tout entier. C'est à partir de là que devient compréhensible concrètement le souffle nucléaire dont parle Kershaw. Il s'agit du coup porté à l'institution de la filiation, de nouveau subvertie par les propagandes et les pratiques juridiques aujourd'hui à l'œuvre.

De même qu'on n'a pas vaincu le nazisme par des arguments, mais par les armes, on ne viendra pas à bout de l'épidémie de ceux qui se donnent pour idéal le meurtre, par des mesures à caractère symbolique.

**En quoi la Seconde Guerre mondiale a-t-elle constitué une rupture?**

**Nos sociétés post-hitlériennes ont effectivement muté. La perversion nazie a discrédité le fondement de toute autorité.** Elle a aussi montré qu'on pouvait gouverner tout un peuple en donnant la même valeur au fantasme et au raisonnement! Par effets en chaîne, les interdits sont à discrétion, les tabous peuvent tomber les uns après les autres à l'échelle d'une Nation. Et l'expérience a montré la facilité avec laquelle la science est mobilisable pour soutenir la dé-Raison... Je considère que nous avons tout simplement retourné la carte du nazisme, sans la détruire et surtout sans la comprendre. **Transposant une expression de l'écrivain américain Scott Fitzgerald, je dirai que nous vivons dans un «abattoir de pensée».**

Le dépérissement de la Raison généalogique, ça se paye, et très cher, par le meurtre et l'inceste. J'en ai pris la mesure en m'intéressant au cas du caporal Lortie, auteur d'un attentat commis le 8 mai 1984 dans les locaux du Parlement du Québec où il avait pénétré, ayant l'intention de tuer le gouvernement. Ce jour-là, pas de séance des parlementaires, néanmoins trois personnes ont été assassinées. Lors de son procès, l'accusé a pu dire: «le gouvernement avait le visage de mon père»! Or, le père du meurtrier était un père sans loi, incestueux et violent. Conseillant son avocat, nous avons œuvré pour faire du procès le moyen de faire sortir de son enfermement subjectif un jeune homme inéduqué. Une peine adaptée, accomplie dans une prison civilisée, lui a ouvert l'horizon d'une vie humaine.

Mon écrit sur ce cas a fait réfléchir pas mal de monde, notamment dans la magistrature française de l'époque, fin des années 1980. Il a aussi inspiré deux pièces de théâtre, l'une au Canada, l'autre en France où elle a été jouée à la Cartoucherie de Vincennes.

Une société aussi peut être poussée à la dé-Raison. Mon expérience d'expert pour le compte de l'Unesco m'a fait découvrir en Afrique subsaharienne les conséquences de politiques de développement aveugles, imposant la casse institutionnelle. Par exemple, en discréditant des écoles coraniques séculaires dont l'existence contrariait les spécialistes français de la modernisation! J'ai rapidement tiré mon épingle de ce jeu-là, j'ai su très tôt à quoi m'en tenir sur l'in vraisemblable légèreté des parachutés par l'Éducation parisienne, et j'ai fait savoir à qui de droit (y compris à l'Unesco) mes prévisions pour la suite.... L'effroyable d'aujourd'hui confirme, hélas, mes constats de l'époque ; nous étions dans la décennie 1960!

**Les attentats à répétition sont-ils également le fruit de cette crise de l'intégration? En quoi est-ce lié à l'affaiblissement de l'État?**

Quant à cette question de l'intégration et de la désintégration de l'Etat, je vise évidemment la France, mon pays, traditionnellement accueillant. **La crise de l'intégration, ça ne veut rien dire à mes yeux.** Après tout, l'État est une caisse de résonance, et de nos jours de quoi résonne-t-il? **Bien que ça commence à déchanter chez les responsables affrontant les violences djihadistes, il n'est pas question de faire retour sur soi, sur la dévalorisation de l'autorité quand il s'agit de secourir des jeunes en déroute, sur le manque d'exigence dont sont victimes tant d'écoliers et collégiens. Et caetera.**

Je n'ai cessé de fréquenter les institutions ayant particulièrement à dire ceci. **La déséducation est devenue une politique, dont on recueille aujourd'hui les fruits.** Je réprovoie le fondamentalisme sous toutes ses formes, y compris quand, par exemple, au sommet de l'État républicain-laïque, on s'est permis, à l'adresse de lycéens, de faire l'apologie de la provocation des Femen manifestant dans la fameuse Église du Sauveur à Moscou, que Staline en son temps avait rasée pour la transformer en piscine.... Et de surcroît, de faire émettre le timbre de Marianne sous les traits d'une Femen!

**Si c'est ça l'intégration, elle veut dire une désintégration avancée de l'État lui-même.** En ce cas, je dis qu'on prépare les djihadistes de demain ou alors que, tout simplement, **la jeunesse est poussée à vivre déboussolée.**

Encore un mot, puisque j'ai évoqué la terreur djihadiste. Ces temps-ci, **j'entends un mot étrange: déradicaliser.** Il m'a fait penser (et je ne suis pas le seul) à dératiser.... Sans doute ai-je la tête à l'envers, mais je demande: qu'est-ce que ça signifie exactement? Après la guerre, on parlait de lavage de cerveau. Je ne connais pas la méthode que suppose la déradicalisation chez les spécialistes qui la pratiquent. **Et qu'est-ce que ça vaut au-delà de quelques jeunes égarés qu'on ramènera au bercail républicain? Et les autres? De même qu'on n'a pas vaincu le nazisme par des arguments, mais par les armes, on ne viendra pas à bout de l'épidémie de ceux qui se donnent pour idéal le meurtre, par des mesures à caractère symbolique.**

Une fois de plus, je constate qu'il n'est pas question de s'interroger sur la racine du mal, cette désintégration dont j'ai parlé. Enfin et **pour terminer, je félicite le conseiller en Com qui a fabriqué le slogan infantile «mariage pour tous».** Au moins ça, c'est une trouvaille, une formule qui tape dans le mille, à notre époque où les pouvoirs de tout poil attendent des résultats en traitant l'opinion publique comme une foule de pré-adolescents.

## **Le monde en 2016**

NICOLAS BARRÉ / DIRECTEUR DE LA RÉDACTION | LE 04/01 À 07:00

### EDITORIAL

Que nous réserve 2016 ? Il est facile de dresser **la liste des catastrophes possibles** sinon probables, à la lumière des événements de ces tout derniers jours : **de nouveaux attentats terroristes comme on en déjoue en permanence, un embrasement du Moyen-Orient sur fond de rivalités exacerbées entre l'Arabie saoudite et l'Iran, un krach obligataire mondial provoquant une crise financière bien pire que celle de 2008, une chute dramatique de la croissance en Chine entraînant des troubles sociaux majeurs, voire une guerre chaude en Asie, l'éclatement de l'Union européenne après la sortie du Royaume-Uni, une crise alimentaire, des déplacements de population et des morts dus aux dérèglements de plus en plus flagrants du climat...** A toutes ces catastrophes, dont la liste n'est pas exhaustive, il est possible d'appliquer une **probabilité relativement élevée**. Les rivalités, les pulsions de guerre et l'égoïsme des nations sont des forces puissantes. Il s'en faut de peu qu'elles ne conduisent le monde vers l'abîme. Face à ces dangers, nous avons évidemment le devoir d'être lucides. **Mais d'autres forces, heureusement, incitent à l'optimisme.** Nous avons, en effet, la chance de vivre la plus grande vague de progrès de toute l'histoire de l'humanité. Jamais les connaissances n'ont été autant partagées. Jamais le monde n'a connu, grâce aux technologies de communication, un tel foisonnement dans l'échange des idées. Partout, les chercheurs sont en contact permanent. La moindre avancée en médecine à Sydney est instantanément connue, partagée, échangée, évaluée et en fin de compte améliorée à Paris, Boston ou Shanghai. La communauté des chercheurs ne fait qu'un à l'échelle de la planète. Nous vivons dans un monde où l'innovation s'accélère, comme en témoigne l'augmentation du nombre de brevets, car le processus même de fabrication de l'innovation gagne chaque jour en efficacité. Cette vague de créativité intense, comme toutes les vagues technologiques de l'histoire, est source de déstabilisation des économies et d'angoisse pour l'avenir : on perçoit toujours mieux la fragilisation de l'écosystème existant que l'émergence d'un nouveau. On voit bien les emplois détruits ou ceux qui risquent de l'être, on ne sait pas encore toujours par quoi ils seront remplacés ni s'ils le seront tous...

Ces inquiétudes proviennent du fait que **l'on se trompe sur la nature de cette phase historique de destruction-création schumpéterienne.** On mesure encore mal, en effet, le potentiel de ces innovations sur la croissance : aucune statistique ne rend compte de l'impact d'une recherche Internet gratuite sur la productivité. Or à l'évidence, il est considérable. **Que nous réserve 2016 ? Plus d'innovations, des frontières technologiques repoussées. En un mot, du progrès et des raisons de croire en un monde meilleur**

## Le foie gras de la promesse politique

4 janvier 2016

[Le Figaro](#)

Le temps des fêtes s'achève, on a remisé les guirlandes et le sapin, les crèches et les cotillons. Et parmi les récits et les débats, il est une petite musique qui revient chaque année et qui sonne à nos oreilles comme une étrange parabole contemporaine. On l'entend sur les télévisions et les radios, quand les économistes s'interrogent sur les dépenses des Français pour leurs agapes. Et le foie gras, on peut encore en manger, du foie gras ? Produit à grande échelle dans des conditions d'élevage et de production infâmes, pour que la grande distribution puisse en proposer toute l'année à des prix imbattables, en négation complète de sa nature réelle de produit artisanal de saison, il ne devrait même pas s'appeler foie gras. Et il y aurait tant d'autres possibilités de se faire plaisir avec de beaux produits, plus simples mais authentiques.

À ce stade, immanquablement, un intervenant se fait l'avocat des « pauvres » : « Mais vous ne voudriez pas empêcher les pauvres de rêver avec le mot foie gras ! » Ah, le droit des pauvres gens à rêver !

Ceux qui vendent des produits indignes sont donc des philanthropes, ils permettent le rêve. Ils sont donc sociaux et démocrates, puisqu'ils luttent contre ces inégalités insupportables qui privent les plus pauvres de ce à quoi les riches ont accès. Admirable ! Un tel raisonnement laisse de côté un point. Oh, pas grand-chose. Une paille... Le fait que ces produits qui usurpent un nom qu'ils ne sont pas dignes de porter sont vendus à un prix infiniment trop élevé pour ce qu'ils sont. Autrement dit, il y a bien des gens qui se font de l'argent sur le dos des pauvres et de leur « droit au rêve ». Dans ce merveilleux système, les pauvres n'ont pas davantage le droit de rêver qu'ils ne l'avaient avant : le rêve existait pleinement, au contraire, quand, une fois de temps en temps, pour certains une fois dans une vie, ils s'offraient le produit tant convoité. Aujourd'hui, on leur fait croire qu'ils peuvent accéder à leur rêve en leur vendant du vent. Une étiquette sans rien derrière. Du rêve frelaté. Mais qui ne manque pas d'enrichir les marchands d'illusions.

La parabole vaut pour le reste. Les mots, les promesses vidés de leur sens, de leur vérité, pour vendre du rêve à un peuple prêt à croire les marchands de bonheur. **Vous voulez que vos enfants réussissent ? On va vous vendre des diplômes dévalués, des étiquettes mensongères en transformant le collège en une vaste garderie où les notes, ces méchantes sources de traumatisme, auront disparu, comme les humanités classiques, ces derniers relents d'un élitisme scandaleux, auront été éradiquées. Mais les « pauvres » pourront rêver que leur enfant a un bac + 5 même s'il n'y a aucun emploi à la clé... Peu importe. Ils ont « droit au rêve ».** Et ceux qui les auront trompés sont des bienfaiteurs de l'humanité qui se battent pour la démocratisation en offrant une heure de « découverte » du latin ou d'une deuxième langue vivante à tous, sous forme de parcours « ludique » ou de « projet pédagogique citoyen ». Vous reprendrez bien un peu de faux foie gras ?

Et ce peuple rêve de volontarisme politique, de décisions courageuses ? **Au lendemain d'événements tragiques, on reprend une mesure qu'on qualifiait de fasciste deux semaines auparavant. Puis on recule, on s'écharpe, une ministre dément le président, qui finalement insiste.** Qu'importe, le peuple aura pu croire l'espace d'un discours qu'il avait des dirigeants et que ceux-ci étaient portés par des convictions. Ils ont « le droit de rêver ».

Et ce peuple, en Corse, s'insurge parce que l'on tend des guets-apens aux pompiers et aux policiers qui risquent leur vie pour leurs compatriotes. **Ils découvrent, ces Corses, ce qui est devenu une banalité partout ailleurs : des petits voyous, des ordures, tendent des pièges aux pompiers, aux policiers et aux médecins. Jusqu'ici seuls le Limousin et la Corse étaient épargnés. C'est fini.** Alors, ce peuple corse réagit, comme devrait réagir

l'ensemble du peuple français. **Malheureusement, quelques crétins excédés et excités en profitent pour exprimer leur racisme. Et l'on explique à l'opinion que le drame, c'est le racisme, l'islamophobie. C'est ça, l'info principale.** Il ne faudrait surtout pas **affronter le véritable problème, la constitution de ghettos dans lesquels des jeunes abêtis par l'inculture et l'absence de perspective haïssent la société qui les nourrit.** Non, le peuple a droit au rêve du multiculturalisme et des « valeurs républicaines » proclamées par des politiques qui n'y croient plus et les détruisent consciencieusement.

**Des étiquettes, encore et encore. « République », « égalité », « citoyenneté », « état de droit »...** Des étiquettes devenues des paillasons sur lesquels tous ceux qui vendent très cher leur rêve frelaté s'essuient les pieds. Très cher, quand le prix à payer est l'injustice, l'ignorance, la haine et le désespoir.

# Berlin Develops as Business Hub

New-economy firms, such as Rocket Internet, join sizable manufacturers in German capital

By [FRIEDRICH GEIGER](#)

Jan. 3, 2016 3:58 p.m. ET

BERLIN--This metropolis, capital of Europe's largest economy, is finally becoming a business hub.

In most European countries and much of the world, capital cities are also a country's commercial nexus. But after Berlin became capital of a reunified Germany in 1990, its orientation toward politics and lobbying resembled Washington, D.C., not the balance of business and politics found in London, Paris and Tokyo.

That is changing. Online retailer Zalando SE, digital maps maker Here and startup-developer Rocket Internet SE have become big-name fixtures in Berlin's new corporate landscape. Entrepreneurs and innovators are increasingly drawn to the city's creative, open-minded ethos.

"Berlin has been experiencing fantastic development" said Christof Hellmis, vice president of strategic programs at Here, which recently was acquired by a consortium of German car companies Audi AG, BMW AG and Daimler AG. Here's headquarters staff in Berlin has ballooned to 800 employees from a few dozen a decade ago.

New-economy companies based in Berlin rub shoulders with innovation centers of more-established tech competitors including Microsoft Corp., German software giant SAP SE and networking pioneer Cisco Systems Inc.

The city and its surroundings now boast sizable factories of industrial companies including German engineering group Siemens AG and British jet-engine maker Rolls-Royce PLC. Berlin is the global headquarters of railroad manufacturing for Bombardier Inc. of Canada.

The number of active, financially healthy companies in Berlin was 22% higher in July 2015 than in January 2014, according to a recent study by ratings firm Creditsafe. That rise likely outpaces the companies' economic impact, though, because many are service businesses, such as tech startups and lobbying firms, with relatively few employees. Such firms also generally create less business for suppliers than manufacturers.

Axel Springer AG, publisher of Germany's largest daily newspaper, Bild, and a rare company based in Berlin since before 1989, employs more than 3,000 people at its headquarters. But music-streaming business SoundCloud employs only about 200 people at its Berlin headquarters.

Still, Berlin's expanding business community marks a return to history. Before World War II, the city was home to Siemens, Deutsche Bank and many other big companies, but the Berlin Wall and the partition of Germany ended that. West Berlin was an island inside East Germany, and its economy was heavily subsidized from the old capital, Bonn.

After reunification, unemployment in Berlin soared and local politics have tended to favor left-wing and socialist parties. The city's reputation has been tarnished by poor management, such as a long-delayed airport project that is years behind schedule and millions of euros over budget.

One sign of Berlin's long malaise: Rents are among the lowest of any major European capital. But rising rents indicate a growing economy, as do declining unemployment rates. Berlin's unemployment rate was 10% in November, which is down from 19% in 2005 though far above the overall German rate of 6%. A potential upside of the unemployment rate is an available workforce, say business leaders.

**Berlin's modest cost of living and its active cultural scene are a big draw.** Alexander Kudlich, a member of the executive board at Rocket Internet, said founders of many companies Rocket has helped develop "have opted for Berlin because of a high quality of life and relatively low living expenses and wages."

But Berlin remains less international than many other major European capitals, so some foreigners struggle with language. Still, the city's Bohemian vibe, so contrary to the stereotypical image of ultraefficient Germany, is particularly attractive to creative talent.



"Openness to everything new is something that's very characteristic of Berlin," said Mr. Hellmis of Here. In the city's current evolution, he said, "it's perhaps not the number of big industrial companies that counts but adapting to new urban lifestyles."

In the same way that openness attracted technology innovators to the San Francisco Bay Area and Seattle years ago, it has recently attracted some to Berlin.

The city is "Germany's Silicon Valley," said Hans Georg Näder, chief executive of Otto Bock HealthCare GmbH, the world's largest maker of artificial limbs by revenue. The company in 2015 opened an innovation center in Berlin and plans to relocate its headquarters there from the central German town of Duderstadt ahead of an initial public offering of stock in 2017.

Berlin's political importance remains a major attraction for some companies, such as Bombardier, which bought a train factory near Berlin in 2001. The head office of Bombardier's rail business now has 800 employees, and about 3,000 more work at the company's largest train factory, in the suburban town of Hennigsdorf.

"Rail-technology orders are often political decisions and public enterprises are involved," said Bombardier spokesman Immo von Fallois. Germany's transport minister, national railway operator Deutsche Bahn and other key players are in the capital, he said. "In Berlin, we are close to political decision makers and the transport industry."

# EU Cohesion Faces New Tests in 2016

EU governments will continue to look to Brussels for solutions to crises they are too weak to manage alone, Simon Nixon writes.

By **SIMON NIXON**

Jan. 3, 2016 2:15 p.m. ET

One thing that became clear in 2015 is that the forces binding the European Union together continue to be stronger than those threatening to blow it apart. The year saw the EU tested by **twin crises that came close to destroying its two most prized achievements**: a six-month standoff between a newly elected far-left Greek government and its international creditors that **almost ended in Greece's ejection from the eurozone**; and the arrival of **more than one million migrants** that threatened to trigger the collapse of the EU's Schengen passport-free travel zone.

**Yet the EU has survived both tests.** The Greek government dropped its demand for immediate debt relief and accepted an onerous third bailout, which was then approved by an overwhelming majority of the Greek parliament and endorsed by voters in a general election.

**Meanwhile, EU leaders committed themselves at a December summit to the creation of a border-security force** that could be deployed anywhere in the bloc at the behest of the European Commission, **a remarkable transfer of national sovereignty designed to shore up trust in the EU's common migration rules.**

**The 2015 experience is worth bearing in mind at the start of a new year in which the EU's cohesion is certain to be tested again.**

Some of the biggest challenges are likely to come from familiar sources. It might look as if **Greece's** new bailout program is proceeding relatively smoothly, but only because some of the most contentious bailout criteria—including reforms to pensions and subsidies for farmers—have been deferred to avoid a confrontation for which neither Greece nor its creditors currently has any appetite.

The battle lines are already being drawn ahead of the first review of the bailout program, which is due to start imminently and which eurozone governments have promised will pave the way for a restructuring of Greece's debt. **The flashpoint is the participation of the International Monetary Fund, which the eurozone insists is a legal and political necessity, but which Athens is resisting because it knows that the IMF will drive a hard bargain.**

**Similarly, the migration crisis is sure to continue in 2016,** even if the numbers braving the sea-crossing into Greece has dwindled since the onset of winter. **Sophisticated people-smuggling operations are unlikely to face a shortage of new customers among the millions of refugees from the Syrian crisis currently living in camps in Turkey and Lebanon or the many millions in Africa and Asia who dream of a better life in Europe. That is bound to put the EU's new border-security measures to the test, while also once again challenging the limits of political cohesion.**

**But the EU will also face new hurdles in 2016.** Chief among those is a **British referendum** on whether to remain part of the club, widely expected to be held in June or July. Just as a Greek exit or "Grexit" from the eurozone in 2015 would have raised doubts about the survival of the single currency, **a "Brexit" from the EU in 2016 would be a devastating blow to the European integration project, weakening the continent's ability to work together to address common challenges and potentially setting in train a wider unraveling of the elaborately constructed arrangements and delicate compromises that have underpinned Europe's security and prosperity for half a century.**

**Meanwhile political risks are rising across the EU.** A fragile minority Socialist government backed by two far-left parties took office in **Portugal** at the end of last year on a promise to reverse austerity. **Spain** may be forced back to the polls later this year following an inconclusive election in December that offered little prospect of a stable government. Early in 2016, it will be the Irish government's turn to face the verdict of voters. **And while France's mainstream parties saw off the National Front threat in December's regional elections, the far right remains a potent electoral force in Northern Europe. ?????**

Even so, **the best bet must be that the EU will hang together again in 2016, if only out of fear of hanging separately.** European citizens may chafe against what they regard as an increasingly over-mighty EU, but **their governments will**

**continue to look to Brussels for solutions to crises that they are too weak to manage alone.** Even the reluctant British are ultimately likely to opt for the security of continued membership of a club that allows them to shape the continent's responses to common challenges.

**There is one important caveat. The EU's ability to withstand the two great crises of 2015 hinged in large part on the European Central Bank's willingness to launch a vast government bond-buying program, which limited contagion from the Greek crisis and helped engineer a modest cyclical recovery in the eurozone, and on Germany's willingness to provide sanctuary to more than a million refugees.** The challenge for EU governments in 2016 is to prepare for the inevitable day when these two shock absorbers are no longer available.

# Migrant Crisis Risks Eroding European Union's Gains

Europe remains split about how to tackle the challenge

By BERTRAND BENOIT

Jan. 3, 2016 7:59 p.m. ET

**BERLIN—If 2015 was the year that more than a million Africans, Afghans and Arabs crashed through the gates of Europe, 2016 will be the year Europe gets to grips with the issue—or doesn't and faces the consequences.**

The migrant crisis has divided the European Union, raised new security concerns in a region scarred by terrorism, recast an old debate about how to integrate large, often disaffected Muslim populations, and begun to reshape national politics across the bloc.

**While Europe remains split about how to tackle the challenge, all countries agree that the first priority this year will be to reduce the inflow to more manageable levels.**

Last month, European leaders agreed to beef up controls at the EU's external borders and lean harder on Turkey, the main transit hub of migrants, to stop smuggling across the Aegean Sea. EU officials want Turkey to limit daily arrivals if not to zero, than to hundreds rather than thousands.

**Recent experience suggests it won't be easy.** Although the EU and Turkey agreed in November to curb the stream and Greece has promised to better police its waters, daily arrivals in Greece over the first two weeks of December averaged 4,000, according to EU data.

**Failure to cut the inflow could lead to the re-nationalization of some European policy areas, many politicians have warned.** The temporary restoration of border controls by France, Germany and others last fall, undermining document-free travel within most of the bloc, shows **the erosion process has already started.**

**As hard as stemming the tide will be, dealing with the migrants who are here could be even harder.**

**Security is among the most pressing challenges.** At least two of the attackers who spread terror across Paris on Nov. 13 entered Europe through Greece posing as migrants, according to the Paris anti-terror prosecutors' investigation. This has alarmed Germany, the migrants' main destination, where authorities for some months last year gave up on checking the backgrounds of Syrian newcomers. Berlin later restored checks, but its stretched resources mean it can still take weeks before new arrivals are fingerprinted, let alone interviewed.

Just as the eurozone debt crisis fired up radical left-wing movements in Europe's south, the concerns raised by the migrant inflow have been a boon for populist and nationalist parties elsewhere, including in countries—such as Poland—that so far remain untouched by the crisis.

The migrant inflow has even shaken up Germany's remarkably stable politics; support for Chancellor Angela Merkel's conservative party has waned while polls show the anti-immigration Alternative for Germany would likely enter parliament for the first time if elections were held today.

As EU politics grow more polarized and right- and left-wing euroskeptics gain ground, cooperation within the bloc could suffer, in turn making the crisis more difficult to resolve.

## **So viele Erwerbstätige wie noch nie**

Der deutsche Jobmarkt zeigt sich bärenstark: Es gibt so viele Erwerbstätige wie noch nie. Und immer mehr sozialversicherungspflichtige Arbeitsplätze.  
04.01.2016

**Die deutsche Wirtschaft ist weiter robust, der Arbeitsmarkt ebenso.** Wie sehr, zeigen neue Zahlen des Statistischen Bundesamtes, die an diesem Montag herausgekommen sind: Danach waren **im Jahresdurchschnitt 2015 rund 43 Millionen Personen mit Wohnort in Deutschland erwerbstätig. Das entspricht einem Zuwachs um 324.000 Personen oder 0,8 Prozent gegenüber dem Vorjahr.**

Damit setzte sich der seit mehr als zehn Jahren andauernde Trend fort, wenn auch die Zunahme im Jahr 2015 geringfügig niedriger ausfiel als im Jahr 2014 (plus 0,9 Prozent). In Deutschland gibt es derzeit somit so viele Erwerbstätige wie noch nie.

### **Mehr richtige Arbeitsplätze**

**Eine höhere Erwerbsbeteiligung der inländischen Bevölkerung sowie die Zuwanderung ausländischer Arbeitskräfte glichen negative demographische Effekte aus,** haben die Statistiker in ihrer ersten vorläufigen Schätzung ermittelt. **Zugleich ging die Zahl der Erwerbslosen (nach international vergleichbarer Definition) im Jahresdurchschnitt 2015 um 140.000 Personen gegenüber dem Vorjahr zurück** - das entspricht einem **Minus von 6,7 Prozent.** Erstmals seit der Deutschen Wiedervereinigung lag diese Zahl damit **unter der Marke von 2 Millionen.**

Die Zahl der aktiv am Arbeitsmarkt **verfügbaren Erwerbspersonen**, die sich aus der Summe von Erwerbstätigen und Erwerbslosen ergibt, erhöhte sich im vergangenen Jahr um 184.000 auf beinahe **45 Millionen Personen. Die Erwerbslosenquote, gemessen als Anteil der Erwerbslosen an der Zahl der Erwerbspersonen, sank bei Berechnung auf dieser Grundlage von 4,7 auf 4,3 Prozent. Im Schnitt liegt sie in den Mitgliedsländern der Europäischen Union doppelt so hoch.**

Der robuste deutsche Arbeitsmarkt half im vergangenen Jahr vornehmlich Arbeitnehmern, schreiben die Statistiker aus Wiesbaden. **Die Zahl der Arbeitnehmer mit Wohnort in Deutschland sei um mehr als 400.000 auf 38,7 Millionen Personen gewachsen**, die der Selbständigen einschließlich mithelfender Familienangehöriger hingegen um 97.000 auf 4,3 Millionen Personen leicht zurückgegangen.

Zugleich zeigte sich: **Während die Zahl der sozialversicherungspflichtig Beschäftigten weiter anstieg, war die Zahl der marginal Beschäftigten (geringfügig entlohnte und kurzfristig Beschäftigte sowie Personen mit Arbeitsgelegenheiten - sogenannte 1-Euro-Jobs) weiter rückläufig.** Damit setzte sich der Trend der vergangenen Jahre fort.

Quelle: ala.

## Übergriffe auf junge Frauen auch in Hamburg

Nicht nur in Köln wurden in der Silvesternacht Dutzende Frauen bedroht und sexuell belästigt. Auch in Hamburg ermittelt die Polizei. Zehn Anzeigen liegen vor.

05.01.2016, von **FRANK PERGANDE**

Die Polizei in Hamburg hatte nach Silvester zwar mehr als tausend Einsätze bilanziert, jedoch von einem friedlich verlaufenen Fest gesprochen. Erst nach und nach scheint das Ausmaß der Übergriffe klarzuwerden, die es in der Nacht auf der Reeperbahn und in St. Pauli gegeben hatte. Dort wurden ähnlich [wie in Köln vor dem Hauptbahnhof](#) junge Frauen sexuell belästigt und bestohlen, offensichtlich von jungen arabischen Männern. Die Polizei in Hamburg spricht bislang von zehn Fällen, in denen junge Frauen Anzeige erstattet haben. Sechs Anzeigen waren schon in der Silvesternacht eingegangen.



Autor: Frank Pergande, Politischer Korrespondent für Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg und Mecklenburg-Vorpommern mit Sitz in Schwerin. Folgen:

Das Vorgehen der Täter war immer gleich: Frauen im Alter von 18 bis 24 Jahren wurden von den Tätern zunächst verbal, dann sexuell belästigt. Die Täter kreisten dabei ihre Opfer in unterschiedlich großen Gruppen ein. Die Frauen versuchten zu fliehen, unter anderem zu den Türstehern der Bars. Anschließend stellten die sie fest, dass ihnen Geldbörsen, Papiere, Bargeld und Smartphones gestohlen worden waren. Begonnen hatten die Belästigungen in der Großen Freiheit, später soll es auch am Jungfernstieg vor einer Bühne zu ähnlichen Vorfällen gekommen sein.

### Zeugen dringend gesucht

Ob es Verbindungen [zu den Kölner Ereignissen](#) gibt, womöglich Absprachen der Täter, ist ebenso unklar wie die Identität der Täter.

Mehr zum Thema

- [Maas: Massenübergriffe auf Frauen neue Form organisierter Kriminalität](#)
- [Polizeipräsident: „Straftaten einer neuen Dimension“](#)
- [Gewerkschaft der Polizei geschockt über Angriffe auf Frauen](#)

Die Polizei hat immer noch keine Übersicht und sucht dringend Zeugen, zumal einige der Szenen auch fotografiert worden sein sollen. Zunächst war auch nur von Diebstählen die Rede. Offenbar aus Scham hatten die jungen Frauen die sexuellen Übergriffe nicht erwähnt. Das Landeskriminalamt hat die Ermittlungen übernommen.

Der Bundesvorsitzende der Deutschen Polizeigewerkschaft, Rainer Wendt, sagte im Radiosender NDR Info, es handele sich bei den Massenüberfällen zwar nicht um organisierte Kriminalität, aber schon um „eine Absprache der Täter, die die Masse der Menschen nutzen, die Dunkelheit und den Überraschungseffekt, um nach vollzogener Tat wieder unerkannt zu entkommen“. Deshalb dürfte es schwierig werden, die einzelnen Angreifer zu überführen.

Auch aus Stuttgart und Hamburg seien derartige Phänomene bekannt, sagte Wendt. Er warnte, durch diese Vorfälle könne sich die Stimmung in der Gesellschaft gegen Flüchtlinge verschärfen.



Sexuelle Übergriffe in Köln

## „Das war eine enthemmte Meute“

An Neujahr zog die Kölner Polizei zunächst noch eine überwiegend positive Bilanz der Silvesternacht. Doch dann gab es Dutzende Anzeigen von Frauen, die sexuell belästigt und beraubt wurden. Mittlerweile sind es 90. Waren zu wenige Polizisten vor Ort?

05.01.2016, von TIMO STEPPAT, KÖLN



© DPA Zwischen Domtreppe und Kölner Hauptbahnhof kam es in der Silvesternacht offenbar zu schweren Übergriffen auf Frauen.

Über Köln donnerte in der Silvesternacht das Feuerwerk. Es stieg so viel Rauch auf, dass der Dom zeitweise nicht mehr zu sehen war. An manchen Stellen richteten Einzelne Raketen auf Mensentrauben, auf den ersten Blick das alljährliche Silvesterchaos. Auch die Polizei zog am Neujahrsmorgen, um 8.57 Uhr, unter der Überschrift „Ausgelassene Stimmung“ eine zurückhaltend positive Bilanz. Die Feierlichkeiten seien weitgehend friedlich verlaufen. Nur am Ende der Meldung heißt es, dass der Platz zwischen Hauptbahnhof und Domtreppe zeitweise hätte geräumt werden müssen. Eine Gruppe von tausend Feiernden habe sich dort aufgehalten, Feuerwerkskörper seien gezündet worden. Um eine Massenpanik zu verhindern, wurde der Platz geräumt. „Trotz der ungeplanten Feierpause gestaltete sich die Einsatzlage entspannt.“

Noch am Neujahrstag aber erstatteten Dutzende Frauen Anzeige, die vor dem Hauptbahnhof teils heftig attackiert worden waren. In sozialen Netzwerken und in den Lokalzeitungen äußerten sich Frauen, die an den Po gefasst, herum geschubst und beklaut worden waren. Die Bilanz drei Tage später: [90 Anzeigen sind bei der Polizei wegen sexueller Übergriffe, Diebstahl und Körperverletzung eingegangen](#). Einer Zivilpolizistin wurde, wie die Polizei bekannt gab, in die Hose gefasst. Außerdem soll es zu einer Vergewaltigung gekommen sein.

### „Eine enthemmte Meute“

Eine Verkäuferin aus dem Kölner Hauptbahnhof, die kurz vor Mitternacht die Bahnhofshalle verlassen wollte, um sich in der Altstadt mit Freunden zu treffen, sagt FAZ.NET am Dienstag: „Ich bin das Chaos gewohnt, das kenne ich aus dem Karneval.“ Eine so eskalierende Stimmung habe sie dort aber noch nie erlebt. „Das war eine enthemmte Meute“, beschreibt sie die Gruppe von rund tausend Menschen auf dem Vorplatz. Kleinere Gruppen hätten sich gebildet, es sei geschubst und randaliert worden. Die Männer hätten ausgesehen, als seien sie aus Tunesien oder Afghanistan, sagt die Verkäuferin. Die Polizei spricht von Tätern die „dem Aussehen nach aus dem arabischen oder nordafrikanischen Raum stammen“.

Die Verkäuferin kehrte in der Silvesternacht um, die Polizei versperrte den Ausgang zum Bahnhofsvorplatz. Im Bahnhof sah sie weinende Menschen. „Da waren einfach viel zu wenige Polizisten“, sagt sie. „Ich habe mich, obwohl ich selbst nur im Bahnhof war, bedroht gefühlt und bin immer wieder geschubst worden.“

Der Vorsitzende der Grünen in Nordrhein-Westfalen, Sven Lehmann, sagt: „Aufgeklärt werden muss auch, warum die Polizei in Köln abermals von einer aggressiv auftretenden Menschenmenge derart überrascht wurde.“ Der Kölner Polizeipräsident Albers widerspricht diesem Vorwurf: „Wir waren mit starken Kräften im Einsatz.“

### „Überall begripscht“

Die Schilderungen der Verkäuferin ähneln den Augenzeugenberichten, die Kölner Lokalzeitungen am Wochenende nach den Übergriffen in der Silvesternacht veröffentlichten. „Mir wurde unter mein Kleid und an mein Gesäß gegriffen“, sagte eine junge Frau dem „Kölner Stadtanzeiger“. Eine andere Frau schilderte dem „Express“, wie sie auf dem Weg vom Bahnhof zur benachbarten Disko „Alter Wartesaal“ attackiert wurde: „Wir liefen dann durch diese Männergruppe. Es tat sich eine Gasse auf, durch die wir liefen. Plötzlich spürte ich eine Hand an meinem Po, dann an meinen Brüsten, schließlich wurde ich überall begripscht.“

Am Neujahrsmorgen tauchten erste entsprechende Berichte in den sozialen Medien auf. In der Facebook-Gruppe „Nett-Werk Köln“ etwa, wo sonst gebrauchtes Geschirr abgegeben oder Ausgetipps ausgetauscht werden, berichtete ein Mann, wie er mit seiner Freundin durch das Getümmel gelaufen war. Obwohl er die Hand seiner Freundin gehalten habe, sei ihr immer wieder unter das Kleid gefasst worden. Er stellte in seinem Kommentar einen Zusammenhang mit Flüchtlingen in Deutschland her. „Ist es das, wofür ich den halben Inhalt meines Kleiderschranks gespendet habe? Ist das das neue Köln? Ist das das neue Deutschland?“

Die Polizei hingegen versucht den Eindruck zu vermeiden, dass es einen Zusammenhang zwischen Flüchtlingen, die in den vergangenen Monaten nach Deutschland kamen, und den Übergriffen gibt. Im „Kölner Stadtanzeiger“ wurde ein Ermittler zitiert, der diesen ausdrücklich ausschließt.

An diesem Dienstag ist die Kölner Oberbürgermeisterin Henriette Reker (parteilos) mit Polizei-Vertretern und Stadtdirektor Guido Kahlen zu einem Krisentreffen zusammengelassen, für den Nachmittag wurde eine Pressekonferenz anberaumt. „Wir können nicht tolerieren, dass hier ein rechtsfreier Raum entsteht“, sagte Reker dem „Kölner Stadtanzeiger“. Es könne nicht sein, dass Köln-Besucher damit rechnen müssten, überfallen zu werden. Ähnlich äußerte sich NRW-Innenminister Ralf Jäger im „Express“: „Wir nehmen es nicht hin, dass sich nordafrikanische Männergruppen organisieren, um wehrlose Frauen mit dreisten sexuellen Attacken zu erniedrigen.“

In einem Monat wird in Köln der Karneval gefeiert. Viel mehr Menschen als zu Silvester werden dann durch die Stadt strömen. Viele kommen aus dem Ausland und aus anderen Ecken Deutschlands, um Teil der großen Ausgelassenheit und der tagelangen Feier zu sein. Bis dahin braucht Köln ein neues Konzept für die Sicherheit.



# Reports of New Year's Eve Sexual Assaults Feed into German Debate Over Migrant Crisis

Witnesses describe perpetrators as Middle Eastern-looking men; justice minister cautions against rushing to link migrants with incidents

By RUTH BENDER

Jan. 5, 2016 9:30 a.m. ET

BERLIN—German officials sought to reassure the public on Tuesday after scores of women reported being sexually assaulted and robbed by what witnesses described as large groups of Middle Eastern-looking men during the New Year celebrations.

While security officials said it was unclear whether the perpetrators were recently arrived migrants, the assault reports are feeding into a simmering debate about the impact of the more-than 1 million refugees who arrived in the country last year, mainly from the Middle East, Afghanistan and Africa.

By Tuesday morning, at least 90 women had reported assaults in Cologne, Germany's fourth largest city, on New Year's Eve, with a quarter of them pressing charges for sexual aggressions, according to a spokesman for the municipal police. Similar incidents were reported in Hamburg and Stuttgart, though they were smaller than in Cologne.

The Cologne attacks were committed by small groups of men belonging to a crowd of around 1,000 that had gathered in front of the main train station, police officials said. Women were allegedly cornered by groups of 20 to 30 men, mugged and sexually assaulted in some cases. One woman pressed charges for rape, police officials said.

"What took place that night has never happened in such a form before," Justice Minister Heiko Maas told reporters Tuesday. "It's a new dimension we will have to deal with."

A police spokesman in Cologne said investigators are checking into whether there is any connection with the incidents in other cities but there is no evidence of that at this point. In Germany on New Year's Eve, people often gather on the streets to shoot fireworks and celebrate.

Witnesses and police described the alleged attackers as appearing to be from Arab or North African regions, an unusual identification that inflamed a new debate about the risks of migration in a country already concerned about how migrants will change the face of Germany. Police in Germany don't usually give the presumed origins of suspected perpetrators of a crime.

At least one million migrants entered Germany last year, a record number that has sparked public concerns about how Germany would be able to integrate them and officials warning of a risk that criminals or extremists could be among the migrants.

Police said they had no indication that the presumed perpetrators were refugees or recently arrived migrants, but conservative and right-wing politicians were quick to blame the New Year's Eve attacks on Chancellor Angela Merkel's open-arms politics toward migrants.

The violence is "the consequence of an uncontrolled migration," Frauke Petry, head of the extreme right party Alternative für Deutschland told a local newspaper.

The assaults come as Ms. Merkel has again come under pressure at the start of the year with conservative allies calling for imposing a limit to how many migrants should enter the country and for setting strict rules for how people should integrate here.

Mr. Maas and police officials warned not to rush to link migrants with the violent incidents. "Criminal law is about proof. It doesn't matter where one is from but if we can prove that he committed a crime," he said.

## The French Far Right's Unhappy New Year

Marine Le Pen planned to spend 2016 preparing for next year's national election. Events are intervening.

By JOHN VINOCCUR

5 janvier 2016

A not-so-obvious consolation accompanies France's burden of grief from 2015: Marine Le Pen's presidential ambitions haven't blossomed on the schedule she had set for herself. And they are not likely to do so this year, either. This says something fairly positive about French capacities to resist falling deeper into the political sewers of the extreme right.

After regional-government elections in December, the headlines in France and elsewhere were often about Ms. Le Pen's National Front out-running the rest of the field in total votes. Less frequently stressed was that the party didn't win a single region -- and Ms. Le Pen herself was soundly beaten -- because President [Francois Hollande](#)'s Socialist Party withdrew a number of its candidates in favor of those of former President [Nicolas Sarkozy](#)'s Republicans in the run-off round. Not a disinterested move, but nonetheless a limited, disciplined one in a political universe of infinite pettiness.

It fouled up Ms. Le Pen's strategy. Never having run anything besides her party, she appeared to have taken for granted becoming the president of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region and acquiring a measure of hands-on legitimacy in the process. The job in the provinces was the perfect roost to let 2016 pass quietly while looking busy and responsible. And, most importantly, to appear above the continuous screech of a political year in which Mr. Sarkozy must secure his candidacy in a primary election, and Mr. Hollande has to deal with a Socialist left wing endlessly indignant about any attempted economic reform or position it judges to be to the right of party scripture.

The second unexpected blow to Ms. Le Pen came with Mr. Hollande's boost in public stature as a wartime president. She has caricatured him as a man devoid of authority. Overnight after November's terrorist attacks on Paris, he proclaimed a state of emergency and wider airstrikes on [Islamic State](#). Reality suddenly pointed ahead to hard and unavoidable questions for Ms. Le Pen:

Where would a potential anti-immigrant and anti-[European Union](#) president find the bona fides to command France's nuclear force, dispatch an aircraft carrier to the Middle East, battle [Islamic State](#) or stare down Russian President [Vladimir Putin](#)'s aggressions to the east?

What's known for sure: She swoons over Mr. Putin as a forceful leader, and has promised to put an end to France "as a vassal to interests which are not those of the French" -- meaning the U.S. and [NATO](#).

Now we see how 2016 could be an even tougher year for Ms. Le Pen. In a poll last week, the French said their biggest desire is to reduce unemployment. When it comes to a new, practical approach on jobs, Ms. Le Pen is shrill and vacuous. She would stop all immigration. She would also restore the French franc, abandoning the euro, and "free the country from the European controls which smother and ruin France."

Mr. Hollande describes France as being in "an economic and social state of emergency," but -- rather like Mr. Sarkozy -- avoids accepting any personal responsibility for a decade of common mismanagement. Beyond 10.6% joblessness, growth in France is below the [EU](#) average, and its public debt is above 90% of its gross domestic product.

Intriguingly, a few leading members of Mr. Sarkozy's Republicans say they would like to join with the Socialist government this month in setting up a jobs program. Jean-Pierre Raffarin, a former Gaullist prime minister,

insists this hook-up wouldn't eliminate France's basic democratic confrontation between left and right, but strike at unemployment as a source for Le Pen votes.

It's not a bad idea. If it had legs, which it likely doesn't, why couldn't it lead to a more lethal bipartisan response to Ms. Le Pen's candidacy that might be an example in Europe for dealing with bigoted, nationalist politicians?

Picture this: a statement by the end of the year, after the two major right and left parties chose their presidential candidates, that they share a determination to keep Ms. Le Pen out of the Elysee Palace. It would mean France's democrats responding to her probable place in the presidential finals via an advance agreement to pool their ballots in favor of whoever emerges from the election's first round as the mainstream parties' leading vote-getter.

**Sorry to say, this isn't going to happen in a country where endless partisanship dominates, where debate is often convoluted into meaninglessness and where resistance to profound change, such as a structural overhaul of the labor market, is very separately defended by left and right as if the other miserably failed to represent the nation.**

This will keep Ms. Le Pen in the game until the end, although she is now reported to be uncomfortable enough to think her party could do with a slicker new name before 2017.

# Sweden and Denmark Step Up Border Controls in Bid to Slow Flow of Migrants

New checks underline strains on Europe's open-border policy

By CHARLES DUXBURY

Updated Jan. 4, 2016 10:57 a.m. ET

KASTRUP, Denmark—Sweden began enforcing tighter border controls Monday to curb the influx of asylum seekers, prompting Denmark to begin similar checks in a further weakening of Europe's principle of open borders.

Sweden warned weeks ago that it would impose systematic identification checks at its borders, saying that the country of close to 10 million people was already straining to cope with the estimated 160,000 migrants who arrived in the Nordic nation last year.

Fearing that it would become the new destination for migrants unable to reach Sweden, Denmark said Monday that it was stepping up controls along its border with Germany.

"We cannot deprive people of their rights to seek asylum," Danish Prime Minister Lars Lokke Rasmussen said in a televised address. "But we can make sure that those who do not have legal reasons to come to Denmark are turned away at the border."

The border checks highlight Europe's struggle to preserve its ideals of free travel and devise a common response to the biggest flow of displaced people since World War II. The European Union has focused on encouraging states on the bloc's edge, principally Greece and Turkey, to slow the stream of migrants by more forcefully policing their borders.

Within Europe, several countries, including Macedonia and Hungary, have built razor-wire fences on their frontiers.

To the north, Sweden, Denmark and Norway have chosen to erect administrative barriers, rather than physical ones. In Storskog, the Arctic border post between Norway and Russia—along an Arctic route some refugees and other migrants have chosen as more obstacles emerge on the trail through southeastern Europe—Norwegian authorities have stopped allowing in asylum seekers since Nov. 30.

"These are asylum seekers that we think won't be persecuted in Russia," Norway's Justice Minister Anders Anundsen said late last year. "It's an abuse of the asylum system when they choose to travel from Russia to Norway to seek asylum."

Mr. Rasmussen, the Danish premier, said Monday that he had ordered an increased police presence at all checkpoints after his government failed to reach an agreement with Germany to have transport companies verify passenger identifications on board trains and ferries.

"We do not want to see immigrants walking along our highways," he said. "We want peace and order."

Germany said introducing controls at inner-European borders wasn't the right solution and urged European countries once again to work together to better protect the region's external borders. "This highlights that we need a joint European solution," government spokesman Steffen Seibert told reporters.

Germany, one of the main destinations for migrants pouring into Europe, has also sought to stem the human tide also by imposing document checks at some of its borders.

For Sweden, the new border regimen marks a dramatic shift from its previous migration policy. In 2013, Sweden was the first country to offer permanent residence to all Syrians fleeing war in their homeland. The open-door policy quickly made it the destination of choice for many seeking to start a new life. By mid-2015 Sweden had taken in more Syrians than any other European nation on a per-capita basis.

Even as the number of migrants fleeing to Europe surged over the summer, Sweden's Prime Minister Stefan Lofven joined a rally in central Stockholm in September saying that his Europe "doesn't build walls."

By November, however, Mr. Lofven changed tack, warning that Sweden was reaching the limits of the number of migrants it could absorb amid a sharp rise in anti-immigrant sentiment as well as violent attacks targeting migrants.

With about 60% of migrants arriving without documents, Swedish police first began conducting spot checks in November. That meant undocumented travelers could still apply for asylum upon arrival in Sweden.

The new rules are far more strict because they are systematic and conducted by train and other transport operators before migrants enter Sweden. Those without official identification are turned back.

Transport companies have complained that the controls place too much responsibility on their shoulders, that their staff are poorly prepared to check documents and that stations aren't designed to restrict pedestrian access to trains and buses. Swedish train operator SJ has suspended services to Denmark until it can iron out such problems.

On Monday, the new policy was on full display at the busy Kastrup railway station, which serves Copenhagen's main airport and is the last train stop before the bridge to Sweden.

There, all passengers seeking to board Sweden-bound trains were subject to ID checks. Among them was Ali Reza Bali, a 16-year-old who had hoped the last leg of his 5,000-mile trek from war-battered Afghanistan to Sweden would be a straightforward ride over the bridge from Denmark.

That hope faded in the walkway approaching platform one.

With no identification document, Mr. Bali and his traveling companion Mustafa Sainzara, also 16, were held back by security guards as the train to Sweden moved east. After an epic journey through Iran to Turkey, then to Greece and across central Europe, the train tickets in their hands were rendered useless.

Mr. Bali bought a Danish SIM card for his mobile phone and began frantically calling contacts for help.

"I don't know what I am going to do now," Mr. Bali said. "I have family in Sweden and now I don't know how to get to them."

135,79

## Nadia Remadna : «En banlieue, l'islam sert à acheter la paix sociale»

Par Marie-Amélie Lombard

Publié le 05/01/2016 à 15:55



INTERVIEW - La fondatrice de l'association la Brigade des mères, en Seine-Saint-Denis, lance un cri d'alarme contre l'installation du communautarisme dans les quartiers populaires. Elle sort ce mercredi un livre intitulé

INTERVIEW - La fondatrice de l'association la Brigade des mères, en Seine-Saint-Denis, lance un cri d'alarme contre l'installation du communautarisme dans les quartiers populaires. Elle sort ce mercredi un livre intitulé *Avant, on craignait que nos enfants tombent dans la délinquance. Maintenant on a peur qu'ils deviennent des terroristes. Comment j'ai sauvé mes enfants*.

Née à Créteil dans les années 1960, Nadia Remadna a ensuite suivi son père pour partir vivre en Algérie entre l'âge de 15 et 25 ans. Elle aurait voulu être avocate, elle a fait une carrière dans le social et est aujourd'hui «référénte famille» en Seine-Saint-Denis. Aux élections régionales, elle a voté blanc après avoir été candidate aux municipales sur la liste de Clémentine Autain (Front de gauche) à Sevran. En 2014, cette mère de quatre enfants qu'elle a élevés seule a fondé la Brigade des mères, une association qui tente de résoudre les situations d'urgence (élèves exclus de l'école, femmes battues, jeunes en voie de radicalisation islamiste). Elle publie *Avant, on craignait que nos enfants tombent dans la délinquance. Maintenant on a peur qu'ils deviennent des terroristes. Comment j'ai sauvé mes enfants* (Calmann-Lévy, en librairie le 6 janvier). Une plongée hyperréaliste, non dénuée d'humour, dans une banlieue à la dérive.

LE FIGARO. - Vous dressez un réquisitoire contre les conséquences de décennies de «politique des banlieues» : assistanat, victimisation, argent déversé à fonds perdus, perte d'autorité...

Nadia REMADNA. - J'aimerais tellement me tromper... Mais, c'est vrai, on maintient les gens dans l'idée qu'ils sont des victimes. À ma génération, c'était la colonisation et la guerre d'Algérie à tout bout de champ. À la suivante, ça a été la «discrimination», l'idée que si on n'a pas le bon nom, pas le bon CV, on n'a quasiment aucune chance. Alors que même si tu t'appelles Mohammed et que tu habites à Sevran, tu peux y arriver. Mais non, on dit aux jeunes: «Oh, si tu as eu 4/20 en français, c'est que le prof est raciste»... Des tracts politiques m'ont aussi choquée. Il n'était question que de «racisme», d'«islamophobie». Après, forcément, les gens finissent par le croire. Combien de fois j'ai entendu: «Ah, tu vois! On est discriminés. Même les politiques le disent!»

Vous vous en prenez aussi à la «culture de l'échec» dans l'Éducation nationale.

L'Éducation nationale n'est plus dans l'exigence mais dans la médiocrité, dans l'à peu près. On bricole... En Seine-Saint-Denis, avec Claude Bartolone (député et candidat battu du PS à la tête de la région Ile-de-France en décembre 2015, NDLR), les «médiateurs» sont à la mode depuis longtemps. On a aussi toutes sortes de «dispositifs» sans jamais aucune évaluation de leur efficacité. Prenons le «dispositif adultes relais». Qui sont ces adultes? Qui choisit-on pour encadrer des jeunes en difficulté? D'autres jeunes en difficulté, des rappeurs... Comment voulez-vous que cela marche? On ne peut que construire de l'échec sur de l'échec. Un

autre dispositif? Le «contrat d'avenir». Qui peut y avoir droit? Celui qui n'a pas eu son bac, qui a quitté l'école en troisième... mais c'est lui qu'on va aider à trouver du travail.

Parmi vos critiques, vous reprochez aux pouvoirs publics et aux élus de céder au communautarisme, voire d'instrumentaliser l'islam.

L'islam, ce n'est pas la politique de la ville. Pourtant, ça le devient souvent. On s'en sert pour acheter la paix sociale, s'attirer des voix. Trouvez-vous normal qu'à l'entrée d'un meeting politique on chuchote à l'oreille des musulmans: «Ne vous inquiétez pas. Après, pour le buffet, c'est hallal»? Ou qu'on sorte cet argument pendant une campagne électorale: «Vous voyez, le maire, il n'est pas raciste: il est en train de faire en sorte qu'il y ait du hallal à la cantine»?

Qu'appellez-vous «le mal-islam»?

C'est un peu comme la malbouffe. On l'a laissé entrer partout. Dans les mairies, dans les écoles, dans les préfectures. Dans cinq ans, la République, c'est fini, si on continue comme cela. À force, les entorses à la laïcité deviennent normales. C'est ce surveillant qui interpelle un élève d'un collège public: «Dis donc, comment se fait-il qu'on ne t'ait pas vu à la mosquée hier?» C'est la pression mise sur les musulmans qui n'observent pas le ramadan. Ce genre de propos ne choque plus personne... Flirter avec le religieux, c'est la plus grosse c... qu'ont commise les politiques. Cela a commencé il y a plusieurs années mais s'est aggravé depuis les municipales de 2014.

La mixité hommes-femmes tend, selon vous, à disparaître dans les quartiers populaires.

Oui, la mode, ce sont les activités «100 % femmes». Et pas seulement dans le privé mais dans des associations sportives hébergées par des centres sociaux. Je ne parle même pas des cours de cuisine ou de couture, évidemment exclusivement féminins. Ni de ces femmes musulmanes qui n'ont pas voulu qu'un jeune apprenti vienne faire un stage dans leur atelier cuisine parce qu'il n'était pas question d'accueillir un homme parmi elles! De l'autre côté, on dépense un argent fou pour construire des «city box», des salles de foot fermées où l'on ne voit que des garçons. Mais personne n'y trouve rien à redire.

Vous n'êtes pas tendre avec les hommes musulmans, décrits comme des «machos intégristes».

Tous ne le sont pas mais c'est vrai qu'ils sont plus souvent à la mosquée ou à la salle de musculation que dans les réunions de parents d'élèves et aux parloirs des prisons. Là, on ne voit que les mères. Des mères épuisées mais jamais démissionnaires. Parfois, malgré tout, elles baissent les bras. Elles vont capituler et expliquer à leur enfant: «Je préfère ne pas dire à ton père que tu as fait telle bêtise, sinon il va te tuer!» Elles sont perdues. Pas étonnant qu'elles soient soulagées lorsque leur fille se met à porter le voile, pensant que ça va les maintenir dans le droit chemin...

Vous écrivez: «Quand les enfants se prenaient vraiment des baffes de temps en temps, ça allait mieux.» Vous le pensez?

Oui, tout en sachant qu'il ne faut pas le dire. Plus profondément, c'est tout le problème du manque d'autorité. Le service militaire avait du bon. En tout cas, mieux valait le service militaire que la prison. Mais on lui préfère d'inefficaces «rappels à la loi».

À vous écouter, le fossé se creuse, les banlieues se replient sur elles-mêmes. Ce sont les «ghettos» de Manuel Valls?

Avant, à ma génération, la France faisait rêver. Et quand on avait la chance d'y habiter, on disait aux jeunes de sortir de leur quartier, d'aller visiter le centre de Paris, de découvrir les musées. Aujourd'hui, c'est tout le contraire: moins les enfants sortent de la maison, plus les parents sont contents, rassurés. Et, tout en restant au pied de leurs immeubles, ces jeunes rêvent - pour ceux qui en sont originaires - d'une Algérie qu'ils idéalisent.



Sans jamais se demander pourquoi tant de jeunes Algériens souhaitent un visa pour la France... Sans cesser de dire que les Français sont racistes (ce qui est faux) et en oubliant qu'Algériens de l'Est et Algériens de l'Ouest se détestent. Ou qu'un projet de mariage entre un garçon d'une famille algérienne et une fille d'origine marocaine fait toute une histoire. En 2016, en France.

*Avertissement de modération: Nous vous rappelons que vos commentaires sont soumis à notre charte et qu'il n'est pas permis de tenir de propos violents, diffamatoires ou discriminatoires. Tous les commentaires contraires à cette charte seront retirés et leurs auteurs risquent de voir leur compte clos. Merci d'avance pour votre compréhension .*

Note(s) :

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135,82

## Mantes-la-Jolie : un collectif réclame des horaires de piscine réservés aux femmes

Par [William Plummer](#)



La pétition lancée la semaine dernière réclame également la présence de « personnel féminin » lors de la privatisation de la piscine pour les femmes.

La piscine pour tous n'est pas vraiment au goût de certaines habitantes de Mantes-la-Jolie. Le collectif «Les femmes résidentes de la Camy» a lancé il y a une semaine [une pétition](#) qui fait beaucoup réagir dans cette commune des Yvelines, révèle *Le Parisien*. Les signataires souhaitent que le Centre aquatique de la ville mette en place des créneaux horaires exclusivement pour les femmes afin que celles-ci puissent pratiquer la natation, entre elles, «régulièrement».

Pour le père de famille qui est à l'initiative de cette pétition, les «femmes sont actuellement exclues de la piscine, et donc privées du bien être que cela pourrait leur procurer». Une information démentie catégoriquement par l'accueil du complexe aquatique. Le membre du collectif des «femmes résidentes de la Camy» va plus loin dans sa demande en réclamant durant les plages horaires réservées aux femmes «du personnel féminin».

Du communautarisme? Pas vraiment pour cet homme qui plaide la cause de la pudeur. «Même si la communauté arabo-musulmane est très majoritaire parmi les signataires, ce n'est pas du communautarisme. Nous vivons dans un territoire où cette communauté est très présente: on n'y peut rien», se défend-il auprès du *Parisien*. D'après ce dernier, le complexe aquatique «ne profite pas aux femmes qui ont fait le choix de la pudeur, et ce quelles que soient leurs origines, leurs convictions, ou leur appartenance sociale, pourtant ces femmes sont nombreuses, et tout le monde aurait à y gagner finalement, il suffit juste de faire des efforts et de traiter les citoyens au même égard». Et il ajoute: «La pudeur n'a pas de religion et est un droit légitime qui ne devrait même pas se discuter.»

### «Une avancée pour les sœurs»

Six jours après son lancement, la pétition électronique a récolté plus de 1000 soutiens. Les signataires sont nombreuses à [commenter l'initiative](#). «Je signe parce que sa (sic) serait une avancée pour les sœurs, et que c'est tellement bien de pouvoir accéder à des choses «banales»», écrit une internaute. «Je signe parce que j'aime beaucoup la natation mais le fait que cela soit mixte m'empêche de pratiquer ce sport que j'apprécie tout particulièrement depuis petite», commente une seconde. «Depuis des années je souhaite bénéficier d'un créneau réservé aux femmes à la piscine car je suis voilée et qu'actuellement toutes les femmes voilées s'en retrouvent privées», explique une autre.

«Il n'y a aucune raison objective qu'on accepte. La piscine a toujours bien fonctionné ainsi et on ne compte pas changer le mode d'accueil», a indiqué au *Parisien*, Paul Martinez (UDI), président de la Communauté d'Agglomération de Mantes en Yvelines.

La problématique des horaires de piscine réservés aux femmes revient souvent dans le débat public. Dans divers villes de France, des expérimentations ont été menées en ce sens. Ce fut notamment le cas en 2008 à La Verpillière, en Isère, où le maire avait pendant deux heures privatisé la piscine pour les femmes sous la surveillance de maîtres-nageurs femmes. Après les réclamations de l'opposition, le maire avait rapidement dû faire marche arrière. En 2015, une initiative similaire, lancée par une association musulmane en Belgique, a suscité de vives réactions jusqu'au Parlement de la Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles.

135,83

## New Year's Eve Attacks: Dozens of Women Sexually Assaulted in Cologne

**Dozens of women celebrating New Year's Eve in Cologne have said they were the victims of sexual assault. With a group of men with North African and Middle Eastern appearances under suspicion, the incident threatens to augment growing concern over Germany's refugee policies.**

German politicians and officials are voicing concern on Tuesday over reports that dozens of women were harassed and groped in the heart of Cologne on New Year's Eve by a large group of men on the crowded square in front of the city's main train station. According to police, many also had personal items stolen and fireworks were also fired into the crowd of revelers. According to police, some 90 complaints had been filed by Tuesday morning, with witnesses saying that the perpetrators were young men between 15 and 35 years old and appeared to have migrant backgrounds.

"We will not tolerate such cowardly and abhorrent attacks," said German Justice Minister Heiko Maas on Tuesday. "This is apparently an entirely new dimension of organized crime." All of those involved, Maas demanded, must be "identified and made accountable."

At a press conference on Monday evening, Cologne's police chief, Wolfgang Albers, said that a quarter of the complaints made were related to sexual harassment or groping, with many others pertaining to theft of purses, wallets and mobile phones. He said that smaller groups of men repeatedly emerged from a crowd of about 1,000 young men to surround women, harass them and steal from them. According to the Cologne daily *Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger*, many of the presumed perpetrators are suspected of being from a large group of men that has attracted the attention of police in the past several months. Prior to New Year's Eve, the group had been involved in theft and petty crimes in Cologne nightlife districts.

"The entire square was full of almost exclusively men with just a few fearful women among them being stared at," says Anne, a 27-year-old who was at the scene on New Year's Eve and who spoke to SPIEGEL ONLINE. "I can hardly describe it. I felt very uncomfortable." She says that she was groped soon after arriving to the square.

### Careful Calibration

The attacks occur at a time when sentiment toward Muslims and foreigners in Germany appears to be becoming increasingly antagonistic. Even as the numbers of refugees arriving in Germany has slowed with the onset of cold weather, those critical of Chancellor Angela Merkel's policy of welcoming refugees fleeing war and violence have become more vocal. Indeed, groups critical of Islam and foreigners have been quick to seek to appropriate the events in Cologne for their own purposes. Pegida, for example, the Islamophobic movement that got its start in Dresden, has posted several comments about the Cologne attacks on its numerous Facebook sites, with supporters responding in a predictably offensive manner.

Many German politicians commenting on Tuesday about the events in Cologne have been careful to calibrate their responses so as to avoid playing into the hands of right-wing Islamophobes. "We will not tolerate organized groups of men from North Africa that debase defenseless women with brazen sexual attacks," said Ralf Jäger, interior minister of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. He added, however, that the authorities will do everything in their power to ensure that such attacks are not repeated. "We owe that to women as well as to those North African refugees who want to live peacefully among us."

Germany's integration commissioner, Aydan Özoguz, demanded a rapid investigation "because on the one hand, the women need clarity and on the other, refugees and foreigners are quickly becoming the focus of broad suspicion."

Despite such urgings, however, it will likely take some time before any of the perpetrators can be identified. Footage from surveillance cameras mounted at the entrance to the Cologne station will certainly help, but the number of people on the square combined with darkness and the not entirely reliable memories of many of those partying at the site will make the process dramatically more difficult, say officials.

Investigators are placing their initial focus on a group of men from North Africa who have perpetrated a number of petty thefts on the streets of Cologne in recent months. In 2014, Detective Chief Superintendent Günther Korn told SPIEGEL TV that "in Cologne we have 12,000 such incidents each year. That is 5,000 more than in 2007."

Ulf Küch, police chief in the city of Braunschweig, which has also suffered at the hands of small-time criminals from migrant backgrounds, told SPIEGEL ONLINE in November that the vast majority of migrants from the region are law-abiding. "We have found that very few immigrants commit crimes, but those who do commit a number of crimes," says Küch. Official statistics would seem to indicate that his impression is right. A study released in November by the German Federal Criminal Police Office on crime committed by refugees shows that the number of offenses perpetrated by migrants is rising much more slowly than the number of migrants coming to Germany.

*cgh/with reporting by Jörg Diehl and Kendra Stenzel*

# Reflecting on Refugees: A Plea for Measured Debate

An Editorial by [Klaus Brinkbäumer](#)

**The debate over refugees in Germany has grown divisive. Those in favor are unwilling to recognize the difficulties ahead while those opposed too often veer toward prejudice and xenophobia. Neither is helpful. What's needed is an atmosphere of critical empathy.**

In periods of structural change, books and learned professors tell us, those affected tend to align themselves into three groups. The first group, rarely larger than 25 percent, doesn't shy away from uncertainty and welcomes change with expectant anticipation. The third group, often larger than the first, [hates what is happening](#) out of fear for the new. And the second group, in the middle, waits to see how things will develop. They are uneasy, but not aggressive. They also aren't inflexible, but they are concerned. And it's true: That which happens in times of change is new and therefore risky, diffuse and difficult to interpret. The consequences are unclear.

In the refugee crisis, those in Germany who find themselves part of the first group are in the best of spirits -- some out of a desire to help their fellow humans and others for more calculated reasons, such as their conviction that immigration is vital for the future of the German economy. The third group feels threatened and is afraid of the outsiders pouring into the country. It is this part of the population out of which the German Tea Party is growing, a movement that furiously rejects all that is foreign, spreads rumors, bad-mouths the chancellor and is disdainful of education, the elite and the media. It is, as described by author Volker Zastrow in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, a "new völkisch movement."

The first and third groups are easy to document because they are vocal about where they stand. Between them, though, is the second group, the center -- and members of this group are quietly unnerved. Who can be trusted? Can we really do it? What is the correct, commensurate approach in times like these?

## What Would We Do?

An "either-or" approach is not the way to go, the division between those who growl "We Are the People!" and those who paint "Welcome to Germany!" on their signs -- the split into cynicism and naïveté, head or heart. Linguistic warfare of the kind currently on display in the US is likewise destructive. The correct approach would be one of critical empathy or, vice versa, empathetic critique. That would be an approach consistent with Western democracy.

No migrant leaves his or her home casually, frivolously or even with any kind of pleasure at all. It is a far-reaching decision and all who pull up roots know it, even those who are still in their formative years. In 2005, the photographer Markus Matzel and I travelled together with refugees from Ghana to Spain via Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Niger, Algeria and Morocco, a trip that [became a SPIEGEL cover story](#) and a book. We spoke to hundreds of people on trucks, in camps and in the Sahara Desert, all of whom had heavy hearts at having bid farewell to loved ones and left home -- and all dreamed of finding a life worth living. Many were afraid of what was ahead of them because they knew that the journey, particularly the Mediterranean Sea, could be dangerous -- and only a few of them knew that they wouldn't be welcome in Europe. These hopes and fears are not something that should make us Europeans feel superior. Arrogance doesn't become us. The migrants who come to us merit empathy -- and what choice do those people have who come from war-torn Syria? What would we do in their situation?

For SPIEGEL, empathetic critique means months of stories in which we have [profiled refugees](#), described the [migrant trafficking mafia](#) and run cover stories such as ["Dark Germany, Bright Germany."](#) What we have shunned this year are headlines such as "Dangerously Foreign," a questionable title used by SPIEGEL back in 1997. Media and people in the public spotlight should be cautious. That is always the case, but in times of extreme emotion it is particularly important to find precise formulations and to shy away from inflammatory language.

## Creating Mistrust

When Chancellor Angela Merkel was chosen as *Time* magazine's Person of the Year, the well-known German lawyer Joachim Steinhöfel tweeted, "Isn't that nice? Our FDJ-lassie person of the year. 2016 then Robert Mugabe." (FDJ is a reference to the East German socialist youth group.) Such words, such blustering, adds fuel to the fire. And when an otherwise competent journalist like Michael Hanfeld refers to the journalistically responsible public television stations ARD and ZDF as the "Welcome Broadcasters," he too is playing with fire. Readers remember such disparagements, and they serve to create mistrust.

Nevertheless, we journalists can (indeed, we must) be forthright about what is happening and draw conclusions about possible developments. When Europe errs and the German government makes mistakes because it misjudges its partners in the crisis or reacts too late or too slow, we will tell our readers about it. Many outlets do exactly the same without becoming xenophobic or racist.

It is difficult to achieve objectivity in a crisis as complex as this one. There is proof for everything -- for almost every thesis as well as for its antithesis. There are fewer helpers than there were during the summer, but there are still quite a lot. Regions that have integrated many migrants in the past are prosperous today, but integration only works if the state doesn't lose control, and Germany at present has lost control. Of course there is a basic human right to asylum, but without an upper limit -- enforced, if necessary, with border controls -- it will be almost impossible to find a way out of the crisis.

For the media, that means: We have to describe all aspects of the story, with a carefully measured tone and as balanced as possible. Empathy and critique can exist alongside one another -- because head and heart belong together.

## Die Völker lesen wieder Europas Geschichtskarten

Der alte Kontinent ist in seiner Geschichte gefangen. Nationale Gegensätze erwachen wieder. Die EU ist mehr Wunsch als Wirklichkeit – und Globalisierung bedeutet nicht Selbstvergessenheit.

Von [Michael Stürmer](#)



Foto: Getty Images/Dorling Kindersley RFEuropa in der Eisenzeit (circa 1200 vor Christi Geburt)

Geschichte nur noch Zeitverschwendung, die von praktischen Geschäften und nutzbringender Betätigung abhält? Wer deutsche Lern- und Lehrpläne studiert, der könnte in der Tat zu dem Schluss kommen, den Theodor W. Adorno zur Zeit der 1968er-Flurbereinigungen formulierte, es seien Vergangenheit, Zeit und Geschichte nur noch irrationaler Rest.

Die Historia Tertii Imperii behauptet noch einen privilegierten Platz. Sie ist Pflichtveranstaltung und verspricht Vergangenheitsbewältigung. Das braun eingefärbte Kapitel der deutschen Erinnerung hat auch niemals aufgehört, Antworten auf die Frage zu bieten, wem an der deutschen Katastrophe Hauptverantwortung zuzuweisen ist – und wem, umgekehrt, das moralisch höhere Gelände gehört: Der Rechten, der Linken oder beiden zusammen in unauflösbarer Verstrickung? Doch schon mit dem Davor und Danach in der deutschen Geschichtserfahrung sieht es dürftig aus.



### Erster Weltkrieg

#### Erst ein Serum ermöglichte die Materialschlachten

Noch mehr gilt das für die Erinnerungen und Prägungen der Nachbarn, die doch im vereinten Europa zu kennen nicht nur nützlich ist, sondern mitunter unentbehrliches Medium der Verständigung, Dies gilt zu allen Zeiten, am meisten aber, wie

jetzt, wenn die Krise Vertrauen und alles untergräbt, was gestern noch selbstverständlich war, Europa-Loyalität zum Beispiel, und was heute von Paris bis Warschau ins Gegenteil umschlägt und die Deutschen, vom Kommentariat bis zur Bundesregierung, ratlos lässt.

Der italienische Ministerpräsident Matteo Renzi, um ein Beispiel zu nennen, hat auf den Marktplätzen seines Landes und auf EU-Gipfeln kein Geheimnis daraus gemacht, dass den Italienern der deutsche Tugendstolz in der Flüchtlingsfrage längst auf die Nerven geht, dass die von Berlin gepredigte Austerität auf die Dauer den italienischen Sozialvertrag in Gefahr bringt und dass Italien die Berliner Zeche nicht bezahlen will.

### Urkatastrophe französischer Geschichtserfahrung

Ein deutscher Bundeskanzler, um ein weiter zurückliegendes Beispiel historischer Insouciance zu nennen, wurde zum 11. November 1998 nach Paris eingeladen und antwortete mit einer höflichen Absage und Verweis auf den Terminkalender. Irgendjemandem im Bundeskanzleramt hätte damals auffallen müssen, dass es sich bei dem 11. November um den 50. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes 1918 handelte, als Frankreich, wie das Wort geht, in la Grande Guerre "weißgeblutet" war. Das ist für die Nachbarn am Rhein kein Datum wie andere, sondern Jahr um Jahr Erinnerung an die Urkatastrophe französischer Geschichtserfahrung im 20. Jahrhundert.



### Seemacht

#### Frankreichs schwieriges Verhältnis zum Meer

Geschichte ist, wie der französische Historiker Marc Bloch ("Apologie der Geschichte") im Maquis schrieb, immerwährender Dialog der Lebenden mit den Toten: Gegenstand dieses Gesprächs im Flüsterton aber ist nicht, was vergangen ist, sondern, zuletzt und vor allem, die Gestalt der Zukunft. Geschichtliche Erinnerung manifestiert sich in Symbolen, Handlungen und Unterlassungen, und die verborgenen Codes der Erinnerung zu ignorieren, kann einen hohen Preis haben. Die Europäische Union, wenn der Name denn mehr sein soll als Wunsch ohne Wirklichkeit, bedeutet auch Schicksalsgemeinschaft, in anderen Worten Geschichtsgemeinschaft.

Man sollte die Rolle des [Praeceptor Germaniae](#) nicht dem Bundespräsidenten allein überlassen, Staatsbesuchen und Neujahrsansprachen. Was schon im Privatleben das Miteinander erleichtert, Kenntnis fremder Sitten und Gebräuche, von Sprache und Kultur nicht zu reden, ist im Miteinander und Gegeneinander der Staaten durch nichts zu ersetzen – nicht einmal durch regelmäßige Geldüberweisungen, wie das à conto Euro gereizte Unverhältnis Griechenland/Deutschland und EU zeigt. Die kulturellen Dissonanzen der letzten Jahre können die EU zerreißen, und die Deutschen könnten dann nicht ihre Hände in Unschuld waschen.

Bedeutet aber Globalisierung, dass alle europäische oder deutsche Erinnerung in die Archive zu entsorgen wäre? Das Gegenteil, so sieht es mittlerweile aus, ist der Fall. In den meisten europäischen Nachbarländern, von Polen bis Schweden, von Spanien bis Schottland suchen die Menschen Vergewisserung in überschaubaren Geschichtslandschaften und lösen dabei tektonische Bewegungen aus: Das britische In-Out-Referendum bringt noch in diesem Jahr eine Stunde der Wahrheit für die EU, zusammen mit dem Protest des Front National.

### Eherne Disziplin des Kalten Krieges

Beide wollen zurück in eine Vergangenheit, die es nicht mehr gibt. Der Gründungsmythos, die Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft habe Kriege verhindert zwischen den Europäern, übersieht die eherne Disziplin des Kalten

Krieges, der zuerst und zuletzt ein nuklearer Friede war. Die USA aber üben die Wendung zum Pazifik. Es wird ernst für Europa.



## 25 Jahre deutsche Einheit

Welches Wort verbinden Sie mit Deutschland?

Die großen Konflikte der Gegenwart aber begreift nur, wer hinter den Verwerfungen der Gegenwart historische Kräfte aus Kultur, Religion und Geopolitik zu identifizieren weiß. Was wäre, das gefährlichste Exempel zu nennen, Putins Russland ohne die traumatische Erinnerung an Sowjetmacht und Zarenreich? Ein unregierbares Riesenreich, abhängig von Rohstoffpreisen, die nicht der Kreml bestimmt, sondern der Weltmarkt, und zusammengehalten durch Erinnerung an das große Russland von ehemdem.

Marxismus-Leninismus war schon vor dem Zusammensturz der Sowjetmacht toter Buchstabe. Seitdem aber bedarf es der lange Zeit geächteten Orthodoxie, das slawische Machtgebilde zu stabilisieren, und trifft dabei auf Geschichtsbilder anderer, gegensätzlicher Art: Millionen Muslime von Moskau bis zum Kaukasus, denen die Zentrale nicht über den Weg traut.



## Umstrittene Halbinsel

Die Geschichte der Krim

Dazu die Akte Krim, Beutestück aus den [Türkenkriegen](#), das Fürst Potemkin [Katharina](#) der Großen übergab, um den Zaren einen Zugang zum südlichen Meer zu öffnen. Als vor einem halben Jahrhundert die Halbinsel durch einen Federstrich in Moskau der Sowjetrepublik Ukraine überschrieben wurde, nahm im Westen niemand Anstoß. Seit 2013 aber – der Westen meint Annexion, Moskau Heimholung durch den rechtmäßigen Besitzer – schärft die Krim, zusammen mit dem Separatismus des Donbas, einen neuen [Weltgegensatz](#).

Die westlichen Sanktionen, die der Bestrafung der nuklearen Weltmacht dienen sollen, schwächen zwar Russlands Wirtschaft, stärken aber den nationalen Zusammenhalt und die Abgrenzung gegen den Westen. Russland ist in seiner Geschichte gefangen wie die meisten europäischen Staaten. Anders aber als diese will das System Putin das jüngste Kapitel russischer Geschichte neu schreiben.

Aber nicht Putin allein. Rund um das Mittelmeer geraten tektonische Platten in Bewegung, die über Generationen stabil schienen. Wo aber das Allerälteste das Allerneueste werden kann, ist nichts mehr sicher, nicht einmal ein kalter Frieden. Für Prognosen ist die Geschichte zuständig.



135,89

## A Cologne, l'agression de dizaines de femmes au Nouvel An suscite l'indignation

Le Monde.fr | 05.01.2016 à 18h20 • Mis à jour le 06.01.2016 à 08h00 | Par Cécile Boutelet (Berlin, correspondance)

Une vague d'indignation a saisi l'[Allemagne](#) à la suite de la révélation d'une série d'agressions contre des femmes, survenues la nuit de la Saint Sylvestre près de la gare centrale de Cologne. Des agressions sans précédent, dont le pays n'a saisi l'ampleur que mardi 5 janvier.

Depuis trois jours, les plaintes se multiplient : 90 femmes au [total](#) avaient déclaré mardi à la [police avoir](#) été agressées, notamment sexuellement, par des hommes décrits par les autorités comme « *d'origine arabe et nord-africaine* », alors qu'elles se trouvaient sur la place de la gare. Les autorités estiment que le nombre réel des victimes est sans doute beaucoup plus élevé, 30 plaintes ayant été déposées entre lundi et mardi. Les enquêteurs ont rapporté des vols et des blessures, ainsi qu'un viol.

Les agressions à Cologne se sont déroulées en plein cœur de la ville, entre la gare centrale et la cathédrale, une zone pourtant placée sous surveillance policière. La place est habituellement le théâtre de tirs de pétards et de petits feux d'artifice le soir du 31 décembre. Selon le récit de la police, entre 500 et un millier d'hommes âgés de 18 à 35 ans, se sont rassemblés sur la place à [partir](#) de 21 h. Certains ont tiré des feux d'artifice contre la foule de façon si dangereuse que la place a dû [être](#) évacuée par la police peu avant minuit pour [éviter](#) un mouvement de panique. Dans les heures qui ont suivi, certains de ces hommes, dont le nombre est évalué entre vingt et quarante, ont encerclé, harcelé et dévalisé des femmes qui se trouvaient sur la place.

« Une nouvelle dimension de la violence »

La violence et les agressions ont pris de court les témoins ainsi que la police locale, pourtant habituée aux excès du carnaval. « *C'est une nouvelle dimension de la violence, nous n'avons jamais vu ça* », a déclaré Arnold Plickert, président du syndicat de la police en Rhénanie-du-Nord-Westphalie. Toute la ville est sous le choc. « *Je n'avais encore jamais vu autant de femmes en larmes* », a témoigné une jeune femme présente ce soir-là sur le site du quotidien *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Mardi soir, environ 300 personnes selon les organisateurs se sont rassemblées près de la cathédrale de Cologne pour [protester](#) contre les agressions.

Mardi, une réunion de crise a rassemblé autour de Henriette Reker, maire de la ville, des représentants de la police, afin de [discuter](#) des mesures de sécurité à [prendre](#), notamment en prévision des festivités du carnaval de Cologne, qui doit se [tenir](#) début février. Le chef de la police a annoncé un renforcement important des mesures de sécurité à cette occasion, afin que la ville « *reste un lieu où chacun puisse [faire](#) la fête librement* ».

La police de Cologne est sous pression. Très critiquée pour n'avoir pas su [empêcher](#) des agressions au pied de la cathédrale alors qu'elle était sur place, elle a également reconnu une erreur de jugement : au lendemain des événements, elle avait indiqué que la nuit avait été « *globalement calme* ».

Les réactions se sont multipliées depuis à l'échelon national face à l'émotion suscitée par l'affaire. Selon la presse allemande, l'inquiétude est grande à la chancellerie. Mardi soir, Angela Merkel a téléphoné à la maire de Cologne pour s'enquérir de l'avancée de l'[enquête](#). Elle a exprimé son indignation contre les « *abominables attaques et agressions sexuelles* », qui exigent une réponse sévère de l'Etat de droit. « *Tout doit être mis en œuvre pour que les coupables soient identifiés, rapidement et complètement, sans considération de leur origine ou de leur passé* », a-t-elle indiqué dans un communiqué. De nombreux responsables politiques ont pris la parole mardi dans la journée pour [condamner](#) les agressions faites aux femmes et [réclamer](#) des sanctions sévères.

« Suspicion générale » contre les réfugiés

Ces agressions peuvent-elles avoir été le fait de groupes de réfugiés ? La question a été maintes fois posée, mardi, par les journalistes aux responsables de police et aux politiques. Dans les faits, la police ne dispose d'aucune information précise sur l'identité des agresseurs et n'a procédé à aucune interpellation. La maire de Cologne a précisé qu'« *il n'existait aucune preuve permettant de [dire](#) qu'il s'agissait de personnes accueillies à Cologne en tant que réfugiés* ». Certains éléments indiquent au contraire qu'il pourrait s'agir de criminalité organisée, active à Cologne depuis plusieurs années.

Mais sur les [réseaux sociaux](#), les événements de Cologne ont entraîné une nouvelle vague d'hostilité contre les réfugiés. Certains sites comme le Spiegel online ont même fermé certains de leur forum face à l'afflux de commentaires haineux. Le parti populiste de droite AfD s'est engouffré dans la brèche. La présidente du parti, Frauke Petry, a évoqué « *les conséquences épouvantables d'une [politique](#) migratoire et d'asile catastrophique* ».

Interrogé mardi soir sur la question de [savoir](#) si les événements de Cologne mettaient en danger la [culture](#) d'accueil des Allemands, le ministre de l'intérieur, Thomas de Maizière, a répondu que les « *réfugiés ne devaient pas faire l'objet d'une suspicion générale, surtout à ce stade de l'enquête* », mais qu'il ne fallait pas non plus « *ériger de tabou* » sur l'identité des agresseurs « *si certains éléments indiquent qu'il s'agit de Nord-Africains* ».

Quelle que soit l'issue de l'enquête, les événements de Cologne vont s'imposer dans le débat sur l'accueil des réfugiés. Car de plus en plus d'Allemands redoutent en effet les conséquences de l'intégration dans le pays d'un million de réfugiés venus essentiellement du Moyen-Orient. Dans une Allemagne où les rapports entre hommes et femmes sont en général très respectueux, et où les femmes sont peu importunées dans la rue, les agressions du 31 décembre sont potentiellement explosives.

135,91

Übergriffe in Köln

## Frauen, versteckt euch!

**Kölns Oberbürgermeisterin Henriette Reker hat für Frauen einen Tipp: Sie sollen zu Fremden „eine Armlänge“ Abstand halten. Das ist für die Opfer, die von allen Seiten umzingelt wurden, der reine Hohn.**

06.01.2016, von URSULA SCHEER



© DPA Demonstration am Dienstagabend vor dem Kölner Dom

Was folgt aus der Silvesternacht in Köln? Welche Konsequenzen hat es, dass sich in und um den Hauptbahnhof der Domstadt ein Gruppe von tausend jungen Männern zusammenrottete, aus der heraus kleinere Gruppen Frauen einkreisten, sexuell belästigten und beraubten? Welchen Schlüsse zieht die Erkenntnis nach sich, dass diese Männer, die von der Polizei als alkoholisiert, enthemmt und gewaltbereit beschrieben wurden, Augenzeugenberichten zufolge aus Nordafrika oder dem arabischen Raum stammten? Und was daraus, dass die Polizei die Lage in der fraglichen Nacht nicht im Griff hatte und sie erst zwei Tage nach den Übergriffen in einer Presseerklärung benannte?



Autorin: Ursula Scheer, freie Autorin im Feuilleton.

Die ersten Schlussfolgerungen der Politik sind erstaunlich. Erstens: Die Täter sollen ermittelt, angeklagt und strafverfolgt werden ohne Ansehen der Person. Das aber ist eine Selbstverständlichkeit in einem Rechtsstaat, die es nicht zu betonen bedarf. Zweitens: Die Stadt Köln will mehr Polizeipräsenz zeigen und die Kameraüberwachung ausweiten. Das nennt Henriette Reker, die Oberbürgermeisterin der Domstadt, „Prävention“ - die sich allerdings nur auf die letzten Sekunden vor der möglichen Tat richtet. Drittens – und das ist nun wirklich das erstaunlichste Ergebnis des Krisentreffens, das die parteilose Oberbürgermeisterin am Dienstag anberaunt hat: **Die Stadt Köln will Verhaltensregeln aufstellen. Und zwar für Frauen und Mädchen.**

### Den Opfern wird eine Mitschuld zugeschoben

**Ein solcher Verhaltenskodex sei nötig, „damit ihnen“, also Frauen und Mädchen, „solche Dinge“, also sexuelle Übergriffe, „nicht widerfahren“, sagte Henriette Reker.** Die Stadt will die Regeln gemeinsam mit der Polizei erarbeiten und online stellen, und das **besonders mit Blick auf den nahenden Karneval.** Einige wichtige Verhaltensgrundsätze gab die Oberbürgermeisterin den Bürgerinnen aber jetzt schon mit auf den Weg: **Frauen sollen zu "Fremden" mindestens "eine Armlänge" Abstand halten. Frauen sollen innerhalb der eigenen Gruppe bleiben und sich von dieser nicht trennen lassen, auch nicht in Feierlaune.**

### Eine Unverschämtheit

**Ein Mob junger Männer macht Jagd auf Frauen, und Frauen bekommen daraufhin Verhaltenstipps? Das ist keine Prävention, das ist eine Unverschämtheit. Nicht die Opfer und potentielle Opfer müssen aufgefordert werden, ihr Verhalten überdenken, sondern die Täter gefasst und weitere Täter von ihren Taten abgehalten werden.**

Abgesehen davon, dass es vollkommen unrealistisch ist, im Gedränge eines Bahnhofs und im Getümmel des Karnevals, „eine Armlänge“ Abstand von jedem „Fremden“ zu wahren, hat **diese wohlmeinende Empfehlung in schlechtester paternalistischer Tradition den unangenehmen Beigeschmack, den Opfern implizit einen Teil der Verantwortung zuzuschreiben.** Sie erinnert an das unselige Argumentationsmuster, nach einer Vergewaltigung der vergewaltigten Frau eine Mitschuld zu geben. War der Rock zu kurz? War der Gang zu aufreizend? Hat sie sich nicht angemessen verhalten?

### **Der Gewaltexzess war kein Missverständnis**

Von solchen Verhaltenstipps sei es nur noch ein Schritt zu dem Hinweis, Frauen sollten das Haus besser nicht verlassen oder weite Gewänder tragen, wenn sie sich in der Öffentlichkeit bewegten, machen Nutzerinnen und Nutzer auf Twitter ihrem Unmut Luft. Unter dem Stichwort #einearmlaenge sammeln sich in den sozialen Netzwerken die **Empörung und der Spott über Henriette Rekers Einlassungen.** Ob das ihr Ernst sei, fragen sich viele, ob Frauen also quasi selbst Schuld wären, wenn sie die beschriebene Distanz nicht wahrten.

Andere witzeln, mit der Arm-Strategie ließen sich gewaltbereite Männer sicher problemlos fernhalten, polemisieren, Rechtsradikale könnten den wohlmeinenden Tipp gänzlich falsch verstehen und den Hitler-Gruß zeigen, oder posten Fotos von Pop- und Filmstars in allerlei Posen mit ausgebreiteten Armen. Bilder von der Silvesternacht im Kölner Hauptbahnhof schließlich führen die empfohlene Armlänge-Strategie ad absurdum, weil sie eine kompakte Menschenmasse zeigen, in der jeder Abstand aufgehoben ist.

**Doch die Praktikabilität von Henriette Rekers Empfehlung ist nicht der Punkt. Der liegt ganz woanders: Frauen in einer demokratischen Gesellschaft, die Gleichberechtigung in ihren Grundrechtskatalog geschrieben hat, brauchen keine Verhaltensempfehlungen. Sondern die Sicherheit, dass der öffentliche Raum ihnen genauso gehört wie Männern, woher immer diese auch kommen mögen.** Die Kölner Behörden wollen übrigens nicht nur Frauen Verhaltenshinweise geben. Sondern auch „Karnevalisten aus anderen Kulturkreisen“, damit diese sich vorab online informieren können, wo das „Bützen“ aufhört und der sexuelle Übergriff beginnt. **Als ob die Geschehnisse aus der Silvesternacht einfach nur ein Missverständnis gewesen wären.**

## Mitten in Köln

Frauen kein Freiwild, keine rechtsfreien Räume, Härte gegenüber Straftätern: Nach den Übergriffen in der Neujahrsnacht überschlägt sich die deutsche Politik beim Feststellen von Selbstverständlichem. Die Lebenswirklichkeit deutscher Städte sieht leider oft anders aus.

05.01.2016, von BERTHOLD KOHLER

Nun hat auch die Politik bemerken müssen, dass es in der Neujahrsnacht nicht nur zu den üblichen Silvesterexzessen kam. Nach den sexuellen Übergriffen in Köln und anderswo überschlagen sich Vertreter aller Lager beim Feststellen von Selbstverständlichem: Frauen seien kein Freiwild. In Deutschland dürfe es keine rechtsfreien Räume geben. Gegen die Täter müsse „konsequent“ vorgegangen werden, und zwar, das wird jetzt betont, unabhängig von Herkunft und Religion.



Autor: Berthold Kohler, Herausgeber.

Das sieht unsere Rechtsordnung schon eine ganze Weile so vor. **Die Lebenswirklichkeit deutscher Städte, nicht nur der ganz großen, stellt sich freilich leider oft anders dar. Dort schufen sich strikt der ausländischen Herkunft folgende Clans und Banden Räume, in denen die Gesetze dieser Republik nur noch wenig oder gar nicht mehr gelten, auch weil die Staatsmacht nicht mehr in der Lage oder willens ist, sie in diesen Milieus durchzusetzen.**

Wenn sich solche Rechtlosigkeit aber auf der Domplatte, dem Präsentierteller von Köln, Bahn bricht, dann können Politik, Polizei und Justiz nicht mehr wegsehen. Sie können auch nicht mehr darüber hinweggehen, dass es sich bei den Tätern um junge Männer gehandelt haben soll, die „dem Aussehen nach aus dem arabischen oder nordafrikanischen Raum“ stammen, wie die Kölner Polizei berichtete, die zunächst von „ausgelassener Stimmung“ gesprochen hatte. **Denn solches Bemänteln würde den selbst in politisch gemäßigten Kreisen verbreiteten Verdacht verstärken, Politik und Medien verheimlichten von Einwanderern begangene Straftaten, um die Ablehnung, die der Flüchtlingspolitik der Koalition in der Bevölkerung entgegenschlägt, nicht noch zu vergrößern.**

Tatsächlich fürchtet die Regierung und auch der größte Teil der Opposition nichts so sehr wie eine Radikalisierung der innenpolitischen Auseinandersetzung und eine Zunahme der Fremdenfeindlichkeit. **Die jetzt erhobene Forderung nach Härte (auch) gegenüber ausländischen Straftätern, unter Umständen – man höre und staune – sogar bis zur Abschiebung, wird daher stets verbunden mit der Warnung vor einer Vorverurteilung aller Migranten. Das grenzt freilich auch schon an eine Vorverurteilung, diesmal der besorgten, aber doch noch denkenden und urteilsfähigen Deutschen. Die lassen sich nicht für dumm verkaufen. Sie kennen die Verhältnisse in ihren Städten. Diese als besser auszugeben, als sie sind, würde am Ende politisch alles nur noch schlimmer machen.**

## **Wissen sie nicht, was sie berichten sollen?**

Angesichts der zunächst beschwiegenen Straftaten gegen Frauen in der Silvesternacht am Kölner Hauptbahnhof hat der örtliche Polizeipräsident von „**Kommunikationsproblemen**“ gesprochen. Was sind das für Kommunikationsprobleme? Solche haben jedenfalls ARD und ZDF bei der **Berichterstattung. Sie sollten es einmal mit Journalismus versuchen.**

06.01.2016, von FRANK LUBBERDING

Vor Pauschalurteilen muss man bekanntlich warnen. Ansonsten stünden seit gestern alle Polizeipräsidenten in Nordrhein-Westfalen unter dem Generalverdacht, ein Kommunikationsproblem zu haben. Die Kölner **Polizei**sprach in ihrer Pressemitteilung zu Neujahr von einer „entspannten Einsatzlage“ an Silvester, auch weil sich „die Polizei an neuralgischen Orten gut aufgestellt und präsent zeigte.“ Was darunter zu verstehen war, erfuhr die Öffentlichkeit erst später. Am Hauptbahnhof kam es zu massiven Störungen der sogenannten „öffentlichen Sicherheit und Ordnung“, zu Angriffen auf die körperliche Integrität von Bürgern, zu Sexualdelikten und anderen Straftaten. Dem Kölner Polizeipräsidenten Wolfgang Albers zufolge war ein „Kommunikationsproblem“ für die irreführende Pressemitteilung verantwortlich. Zur Erinnerung: Am Bahnhof gab es Polizei, die aber nach übereinstimmenden Zeugenaussagen die öffentliche Ordnung nicht sicherstellen konnte.

Für gewöhnlich werden Journalisten mit gutem Grund misstrauisch, wenn handelnde Akteure Fehler mit „Kommunikationsproblemen“ begründen. Dahinter verbergen sich meistens gravierende Fehleinschätzungen. Aber was passiert eigentlich, wenn die Medien in solchen Fällen ein eigenes Kommunikationsproblem haben? Sie nicht mehr wissen, wie sie berichten sollen? Weil es irgendjemanden in diesem Land geben wird, der Sachverhalte „politisch instrumentalisiert“, wie es so schön heißt.

Dann müssen besorgte Journalisten anscheinend verhindern, dass die Meinungsbildung beim Publikum unerwünschte Ergebnisse zeigt. Die mediale Nachbetrachtung der Ereignisse in Köln stand im Fernsehen im Zeichen dieser Sorge. Dafür lieferten **ARD** und ZDF am Dienstagabend interessanten Anschauungsunterricht. So stimmen alle Zeugenaussagen in einem Punkt überein: Die Täter am Kölner Hauptbahnhof hatten einen nordafrikanischen oder arabischen Hintergrund. Daraus kann man tatsächlich einen unsinnigen Generalverdacht gegen jeden Migrant erzeugen, der in den vergangenen sechzig Jahren in dieses Land eingewandert ist. Was aber macht der WDR in seiner ARD-Sendung über die „Anatomie einer Silvesternacht“ daraus? Er formuliert Zweifel an der Identität dieser Täter, obwohl es bisher keinen einzigen Hinweis darauf gibt, deren Herkunft könne nicht den Zeugenaussagen entsprechen.

„Härte des Rechtsstaats“

Es wäre ein polizeiliches Wunder von Köln, ließe sich Tage später noch die personale Identität von Tatverdächtigen ermitteln. Genau so wenig sind angesichts der Umstände Strafverfahren oder Verurteilungen zu erwarten. Das hätten ARD und **ZDF** in ihren Spezial-Sendungen thematisieren können. Stattdessen begnügten sie sich mit der Wiedergabe von Politiker-Statements, die das Gegenteil suggerierten. Politiker aller Parteien fanden starke Worte, sprachen etwa von „widerwärtigen“ und „widerlichen“ Ereignissen. Es fehlte auch nicht der übliche Verweis auf die „ganze Härte des Rechtsstaates“, obwohl die Kölner Polizei bisher nicht einen einzigen Tatverdächtigen ermitteln konnte. Es wäre die Aufgabe eines kritischen Journalismus, die Substanzlosigkeit solcher politischen Stellungnahmen sichtbar zu machen – und den Rechtsstaat vor überzogenen Erwartungen an seine Handlungsfähigkeit zu schützen. Es handelt sich um ein desaströses Versagen der Polizei, wenn Bürger in derer Anwesenheit Angst um ihre persönliche Integrität haben müssen. Das gilt auch für den Mordfall in Kassel, wo vor Jahren in einem Internet-Cafe ein Mitarbeiter des hessischen Verfassungsschutzes saß, während dessen Betreiber von einem Neonazi erschossen wurde. Das daraus resultierende „Kommunikationsproblem“ haben die Behörden bis heute nicht lösen können.

Wenn man wie in Köln ein Problem mit jungen Arabern hat, muss man das deutlich machen. Probleme mit Neonazis ebenso. Aber stattdessen thematisieren ARD und ZDF lieber ihr Misstrauen gegenüber den eigenen

Zuschauern. Sie könnten solche Ereignisse falsch verstehen, sagt in der ARD ein Kommunikationswissenschaftler. Seine Aussage, man wisse nichts über die Herkunft der Tatverdächtigen, war zwar schlicht falsch. Aber wen störte das schon, wenn man nicht die in Köln offenkundig gewordenen Integrationsprobleme mit jungen Arabern männlichen Geschlechts diskutieren will? Lieber relativiert man den Sachverhalt bis zur vollständigen Beliebigkeit, um jeden politischen Kontext zur Flüchtlingskrise zu verhindern. Der wird gleichwohl gezogen werden, trotz besorgter Journalisten. Es wäre gerade deren Aufgabe, diesen Zusammenhang kritisch zu überprüfen. Weil die Identität der Täter vom Kölner Hauptbahnhof in den wenigsten Fällen feststellbar sein wird, kann auch niemand etwas über deren Einreiseweg in die Bundesrepublik sagen. Aber ist es wirklich ein Argument, wenn die unbekanntes Tatverdächtigen schon länger in Deutschland leben?

### **Journalismus für Karnevalisten?**

Der Journalismus muss politische Debatten abbilden, nicht verhindern. Das gilt nicht zuletzt für die Flüchtlingskrise, die zum Sprengsatz für die deutsche Politik werden könnte. Vor allem, wenn die Bundesregierung ihre eigene Erwartung nicht erfüllen kann, die der Bundesinnenminister in den ARD-„Tagesthemen“ so formulierte: Es müsse zu einer „drastischen Reduzierung der Flüchtlingszahlen“ kommen. Dabei ist jeder Generalverdacht zu vermeiden. Es wäre schon ein Fortschritt, könnten ARD und ZDF ihre „Kommunikationsprobleme“ in der Berichterstattung lösen. Das gilt gerade für den [WDR](#), der nicht mitbekommen hat, was zu Silvester vor seiner Haustür passiert ist. Ob uns der Sender dafür bald mitteilen kann, wie beim Kölner Karneval Frauen „eine Armeslänge“ Abstand zu Fremden halten, wie die Kölner Oberbürgermeisterin Henriette Reker zur Rettung des Frohsinns vorschlägt? Das ist bestimmt ein schönes journalistisches Thema, für die Karnevalisten beim WDR und auf dem Mainzer Lerchenberg.

135,96

Kommentar

## **Renzis Ambitionen**

**Italiens Ministerpräsident Matteo Renzi präsentiert sich als Retter Europas. Aber seine Ideen taugen nichts. Manchmal scheint ihm keine These absurd genug, wenn sie nur den Gedanken eines benachteiligten Italiens stützt.**

05.01.2016, von **TOBIAS PILLER**, ROM



© APFür Ministerpräsident Matteo Renzi zählt vor allem das, was in der Tagespolitik und bei den nächsten Wahlen nützlich ist.

Italiens jugendlich auftretender Ministerpräsident offenbart immer öfter Ambitionen, die weit über die Grenzen Italiens hinausreichen. „Diese Demokratische Partei kann Europa regieren“, sagte Renzi erst vor wenigen Tagen beim Treffen mit Anhängern in seiner Heimatstadt Florenz. Dort hatte niemand Zweifel daran, wer künftig die Führungsrolle in Europa übernehmen soll: **Matteo Renzi natürlich, der seit gut zwei Jahren sein eigenes Land mit einer Mischung von Populismus und selbtherrlicher Alleinherrschaft führt.**



Autor: Tobias Piller, Wirtschaftskorrespondent für Italien und Griechenland mit Sitz in Rom.

**Wie Europas Wirtschaftspolitik unter Führung Renzis aussehen soll, ist klar: mehr Staatsausgaben, mehr öffentliche Investitionen, begleitet von der Vergemeinschaftung europäischer Staatsschulden und Bankgarantien.** Anstelle der Europäischen Union mit vertraglichen Regeln und Konferenzen der Regierungsvertreter aus den Mitgliedsländern wünscht sich Renzi eine europäische Regierung, die nicht mehr auf Brüsseler Kompromisse Rücksicht nehmen muss, sondern kraftvoll nach selbstgesetzten Prioritäten entscheiden kann. **„Mehr Union“ und „Vergemeinschaftung der Risiken“ lauten die Zauberformeln, die von Mitgliedern der Regierung propagiert werden.**

**Matteo Renzi präsentiert sich nun außerhalb Italiens als Retter Europas.** Die von den Deutschen auferlegte Austeritätspolitik, überhaupt das Diktat Angela Merkels, hätten überall auf dem Kontinent die antieuropäischen Bewegungen wachsen lassen. Vor allem den südeuropäischen Regierungen bietet Renzi die **Aussicht auf größere Haushaltsdefizite**, damit auch andere Regierungschefs mehr Geld für ihre Wählerklientel ausgeben dürfen und zudem **Ausgabenprogramme** ankündigen dürfen, die angeblich das Wachstum beschleunigen.

Gegenüber den Italienern beschreibt Renzi sein Land als Opfer der deutschen Politik, die seit Jahren ein Hindernis für die wirtschaftliche Erholung ihres Landes darstelle. **Renzis Propagandaapparat und die oftmals in der römischen Nabelschau gefangenen Medien** verbreiten zahlreiche weitere Legenden und Halbwahrheiten: **Italien halte sich an die Drei-Prozent-Grenze für das Haushaltsdefizit und erfülle damit, wenn auch widerwillig, alle Abmachungen, sagt Renzi immer wieder.**

**Schiefe Thesen**



Italiens Banken seien viel solider als diejenigen in Deutschland, doch auch wegen der unsolidarischen Blockade Deutschlands gegen eine europäische Einlagensicherung seien zuletzt italienische Sparer bei der Schieflage von Regionalbanken geschädigt worden. **Zuletzt wurde verbreitet, Italien habe für die Rettung der ohnehin hochsubventionierten Banken in Deutschland bezahlt, indem das Land 60 Milliarden Euro für die Rettung Griechenlands aufgebracht habe, die von dort vor allem an deutsche Banken geflossen seien.**

**Manchmal scheint keine These absurd genug, wenn sie für Italien nur den Gedanken des eigentlich starken, aber machtpolitisch benachteiligten Landes bekräftigt.** Wie schief viele Thesen sind, lässt sich beim Blick in Statistiken und Vertragstexte feststellen, doch die zählen nicht in der kurzatmigen italienischen Tagespolitik.

**Von Austerität kann etwa keine Rede sein, wenn in der gesamten Währungsunion seit Beginn der Krise die Staatsschulden nur gestiegen sind, von 64,9 Prozent des Bruttoinlandsprodukts (BIP) im Jahr 2007 auf 92,1 Prozent für 2014.** Nach den gleichen Daten des Europäischen Statistikamtes erhöhte Italien seine Staatsschulden von 99,7 Prozent des BIP im Jahr 2007 auf 132,3 Prozent für 2014 bei vorerst weiter steigender Tendenz.

### **Renzi vergisst den Fiskalpakt**

Italien hatte wie Deutschland 2003 den Stabilitätspakt gebrochen, mit einem Defizit von mehr als 3 Prozent des BIP. Erst seit drei Jahren hält sich Italien an die Drei-Prozent-Grenze, aber die genügt nicht mehr.

**Renzi vergisst nun den Fiskalpakt von 2012, der eine Verringerung der Defizite auf null vereinbart hatte, auch für Italien.** Schließlich hat Italien im Gegenzug dafür Garantien für seine Staatsschulden erhalten, einerseits von der Europäischen Zentralbank, andererseits vom Rettungsfonds ESM, der von den europäischen Partnern finanziert wird. **Wie könnte das hochverschuldete Italien sonst Staatsanleihen mit zehnjähriger Laufzeit mit einem effektiven Zins von zuletzt 1,36 Prozent plazieren?**

### **Traditionelle Instrumente**

Doch was sind für Renzi schon alte Verträge wert oder gar die Reform- und Sanierungsversprechen früherer italienischer Regierungen, die unbedingt den Euro als Rettungsanker brauchten? Renzi hat Chuzpe, und für ihn zählt vor allem, was in der Tagespolitik und bei den nächsten Wahlen nützlich ist. **Wenn die versprochenen Reformen schwierig werden, dann soll sich eben Europa ändern, um die Arbeit der italienischen Politiker zu erleichtern.**

Wenn es zu kompliziert und langwierig ist, Italien fit zu machen für den globalen Markt, müssen eben **traditionelle Instrumente her: mehr Haushaltsdefizit, Abwertung der Währung und Unterstützung von der Zentralbank. Das sind Rezepte, die Italien in den achtziger Jahren an den Rand des Abgrunds geführt haben.** Renzi scheint das nicht zu stören. Außerhalb Italiens sollte aber die Frage gestellt werden, ob Renzi mit solchen Rezepten jemals eine Führungsrolle in Europa beanspruchen kann.

## Des agressions sexuelles «de masse» choquent

Par [Nicolas Barotte](#)

Publié le 05/01/2016 à 18:26

La gare centrale de Cologne se trouve à quelques centaines de mètres de la cathédrale, au cœur de la ville. C'est là, durant la nuit de la Saint-Sylvestre, qu'un millier d'individus se sont rassemblés. Par groupe de vingt à quarante, des hommes souvent alcoolisés de moins de 30 ans et «d'origines arabes ou nord-africaines», selon les témoins, ont cerné et agressé des femmes mêlant vol à la tire et attouchements. Au moins un viol a été signalé.

Mardi, le nombre de plaintes déposées s'accumulait au fur et à mesure que l'affaire prenait de l'ampleur: 60 en début de journée, 90 à midi. Ces «agressions sexuelles de masse», selon les termes employés par la police de Cologne, ont suscité l'indignation dans toute l'Allemagne. La chancelière Angela Merkel a notamment exprimé sa «révolte» face à ces «agressions scandaleuses» et réclamé une «réponse forte». «Il s'agit d'une nouvelle forme de criminalité organisée», a commenté à Berlin le ministre de la Justice allemand, Heiko Maas. «Il va falloir qu'on réfléchisse, qu'on pense aux moyens à mettre en œuvre pour y faire face», a-t-il ajouté, alors que d'autres faits similaires mais sans avoir la même ampleur ont été signalés à Hambourg et Stuttgart.

### Un contexte de tension

Mardi, cinq jours après les faits, aucun suspect n'avait encore été arrêté. Le nombre d'individus recherchés, parmi le millier de personnes présentes, n'était pas non plus précisé. Mais les autorités promettaient une grande fermeté. «Les auteurs, quelle que soit leur origine ou leur religion, doivent être rapidement entendus et devront rendre des comptes. Avec toutes les conséquences», a insisté la ministre de la Famille, [Manuela Schwesig](#).

Dans un contexte de tension, lié au défi de l'intégration d'un flux sans précédent de réfugiés dans le pays, le profil décrit des agresseurs provoque le malaise. Heiko Maas a mis en garde contre «toute généralisation». L'apparence des agresseurs «ne doit pas conduire à faire peser une suspicion générale sur les réfugiés qui, indépendamment de leur origine, viennent chercher une protection chez nous», a renchéri le ministre de l'Intérieur, Thomas de Maizière.

«Nous ne pouvons pas tolérer de zone de non-droit dans la ville»

Henriette Reker, maire de Cologne

Cologne compte environ 10.000 réfugiés. Jusqu'à présent, l'arrivée massive de demandeurs d'asile n'a pas provoqué de hausse de l'insécurité en l'Allemagne. Si les centres pour réfugiés ont été la cible d'agressions et si des violences y ont été commises entre demandeurs d'asile, le taux de criminalité des réfugiés n'est pas plus élevé que pour le reste de la population, a conclu un rapport des services de renseignements en novembre dernier. À Cologne, l'hypothèse de bandes organisées n'était pas exclue. «Rien ne permet de penser pour l'instant que des demandeurs d'asile seraient impliqués», a affirmé la maire de Cologne, Henriette Reker. Quoi qu'il en soit les habitants de Cologne s'inquiétaient mardi pour leur sécurité. Certains appelaient à une manifestation contre les violences faites aux femmes. Mardi, la maire Henriette Reker a convoqué une réunion d'urgence de tous ses services. «Nous ne pouvons pas tolérer de zone de non-droit dans la ville», a-t-elle insisté. Quant à la police, elle est sommée par les autorités d'accélérer son enquête. Le 1er janvier, faute de plaintes, elle avait conclu à «une nuit calme».

## **Reclaiming Islam From Within**

Muslims need ideological alternatives to insular, radicalized communities.

By HARAS RAFIQ

Jan. 5, 2016 2:11 p.m. ET

Another high-profile case of a radicalized British Muslim apparently participating in Islamic State atrocities in the Middle East this week **again raises the question of how moderate Muslims in the West should confront jihadist ideologies in their mosques and communities.** For many Muslim moderates in "at-risk" areas, it comes down to **finding the courage to leave the Islamist echo chamber.**

**These ideological echo chambers exist in every community, but among Muslims the problem is especially acute. Muslim communities today are vulnerable to hijacking by proponents of political Islam, and for the average Muslim it can be incredibly difficult to leave.**

Say you're a first-generation Briton of Pakistani descent or a French North African. You can often find yourself growing up into an insular community. Your family members visit the same mosque and pray with the same imam. Your friends all respect the imam's teachings. The social-media platforms you move through are mutually supportive of the ideas you encounter offline.

**Often, it isn't your imam who explicitly preaches a hateful interpretation of Islam. But he may tacitly condone such an interpretation, and radicalism is part of the cultural ecosystem of the mosque and the wider community. When a Muslim man or woman is constantly surrounded by extremist ideas, the process of dislodging oneself from these doctrines is painful. But it isn't impossible.**

**Moderate Muslims do have ways to reassert control of their communities. If an imam or his followers are preaching violent action, this is a clear red line. Muslims must inform the authorities. Sanctioning or declaring jihad "by the sword" is forbidden if you are free to pray and practice your faith within your nation.**

Muslims also should challenge tacit or direct support for extremism in any sense, and raising the issue with the council of the mosque should be an immediate response. This may prompt the council to look toward replacing the imam or speaking to agitators about their opinions. **The more Muslims feel empowered to step forward and call out extremists in their communities, the greater we can foster constituent vigilance, institutional memory and organic resilience.**

**Realistically, however, these echo chambers are so deeply rooted that few Muslims are likely to take such steps. It is therefore the role of civil society to identify and engage with role models in the community who can inspire Muslims to feel confident to step forward and fight extremism.**

**Our foundation is experimenting with ways to do this, such as our Young Leaders Fellowship. This program trains young Muslims from at-risk communities in how to lead, navigate and debate with extremism in their communities.**

But that's not enough, especially for vulnerable young people who don't know where to turn if they're uncomfortable with the ideologies in their communities. **Something along the lines of Britain's highly successful National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children hotline would be an effective model to follow -- a confidential resource people could contact to receive advice on how to counter extremism.** Quilliam is working on such a project, but partners are needed who are unafraid to back a project that would inevitably encounter strong resistance from conservative Salafi Muslims.

With no confidential, well-funded and well-staffed service which young Muslims can turn to, we often see them turning to social media and "Sheikh Google" as they try to come to grips with the views they encounter. **Unfortunately, extremists dominate the online Muslim community. This virtual space must be contested.**

When the U.K. launched the first Prevent counterextremism strategy in 2006, its primary funding and support went into offline initiatives, failing to appreciate the digital landscape in which extremists operate. As we move through this new

and darker phase in extremism across the world, linking the online and offline counternarratives against extremism will be vital.

**This turns us to the still more profound challenge of targeting these insular communities with alternative narratives.** These must be exciting, voluminous and more emotionally engaging than the appeal of the extremists. **We must find, identify and lionize the too-often silent majority of Muslims who are being dominated by the louder minority.** Popular culture, iconography and art are all ways to give those tempted by extremism more exciting outlets for their emotional development than political ideology.

**However, artistic groups are often afraid of getting their fingers burned.** The National Youth Theatre, Britain's premier youth art group, pulled its production of "HomeGrown," a play about extremism, due to fear of a backlash. **We as a society must be more willing to engage with extremism and not fear being labelled Islamophobic simply for championing new schools of thought.** What hope do Muslims have if the rest of society is unwilling to step into the breach with them?

**Then there is the biggest obstacle of all: developing usable, scriptural refutations of jihadism that people can feel confident enough to quote and use when confronted by extremist preaching.** Long academic scripts won't pass muster in the digital age. **We need to be innovative and quick in how we respond.** Civil society and government can play a crucial role here. At Quilliam, we are working hard to formulate this, but we have a long road ahead of us before we, as a society, can tangibly reach into these communities and fundamentally change the debate.

**Major cultural changes aren't impossible, whether in closeted Muslim communities or in society at large.** **Witness the way in which campaigns against racism and homophobia over the past two decades have changed society's attitudes through role models, popular culture, parliamentary advocacy, comprehensive media strategies, outreach and partnerships.** **It's time we did the same with extremism.**

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**Mr. Rafiq is managing director of the Quilliam Foundation, a London-based counterextremism think tank.**

## **Sunni Arab Solidarity**

Bahrain and the U.A.E. join Saudi Arabia in ignoring a U.S. they don't trust.

Updated Jan. 5, 2016 1:51 p.m. ET

Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates on Monday followed their Sunni Muslim allies in Saudi Arabia in downgrading their diplomatic ties with Iran. This came despite a lecture to the Saudis, from the U.S. State Department and most of the Western press, for executing a radical Shiite cleric on the weekend. The execution of Nemer al-Nemer risks "exacerbating sectarian tensions at a time when they urgently need to be reduced," said State spokesman John Kirby.

**Well, what did the Administration and its media allies expect? The U.S. didn't listen to Saudi Arabia about the Iran nuclear deal, which it believes signals a U.S. strategic tilt toward Iran and its Shiite allies in the Middle East. They see the Administration backing down on sanctions against Iran for testing ballistic missiles that can reach Riyadh long before they get to New York. They feel under threat from an Iran liberated from sanctions, and they don't believe President Obama will defend them in a conflict. Why should they heed the U.S. now?**

**A Middle East dividing into Sunni and Shiite blocs is the predictable consequence of Mr. Obama's strategy of retreat from the region. As elsewhere, U.S. allies in the Middle East will do what they feel they must to survive, never mind American disapproval.**

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The Opinion Pages | EDITORIAL

# Mr. Erdogan Crosses Yet Another Line

By THE EDITORIAL BOARD JAN. 6, 2016

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey marched across another line last week. Asked about his push for greatly enhanced executive powers, he [told reporters](#) that there was a precedent in “Hitler’s Germany.”

Those were shocking words from a world leader, especially one who heads an ostensible democracy and a member of NATO. Once the international condemnations poured in, Mr. Erdogan’s office tried to backtrack, claiming that his remarks were “distorted by media outlets.”

Mr. Erdogan, however, had already built a disturbing record as an authoritarian leader willing to trample on human rights, the rule of law and political and press freedoms. Since coming to office more than a decade ago, he has used his powers as prime minister and then president to crack down on the media, labor unions and other critics.

Increasingly, many of the worst fears about how he might behave after his conservative and nationalistic Justice and Development Party, the A.K.P., won a crucial [election in November](#) have been confirmed. Even before the voting, in an effort to rally support, Mr. Erdogan resumed his war against militant Kurdish separatists, the Kurdistan Workers’ Party, or P.K.K., by exploiting the group’s reckless decision to break a two-year-old cease-fire.



President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey Credit: Burhan Ozbilici/Associated Press

He is also going after the Peoples’ Democratic Party, or H.D.P., which got enough votes to qualify for seats in Parliament. The Kurdish-dominated H.D.P. champions Kurdish political rights but is not involved in the fighting.

Turkey’s allies, America and Europe, have been disgracefully acquiescent as the army brutally pounds Kurdish targets in the country’s southeast region. The [bombardments](#) have hit dozens of urban districts, and since the start of 2015 have killed 3,100 Kurdish militants inside the country and across the border in Iraq, and an unknown number of civilians.

Like Turkey, the United States and Europe consider the P.K.K. a terrorist group. Before fighting resumed, Mr. Erdogan had made progress in negotiating a peace agreement with its top leader, Abdullah Ocalan, who is in prison serving a life sentence. More recently, however, his prime minister, Ahmet Davutoglu, dismissed the H.D.P. as an extension of the militants and has refused to hold talks with its political leaders until they prove themselves “a serious and genuine political party” — whatever that means.

If Mr. Erdogan wanted a sustainable peace, he would work with the H.D.P. Instead, he seems determined to crush the Kurds in the political arena as well as on the battlefield by accusing an H.D.P. leader, Selahattin Demirtas, of treachery for calling for self-rule for Kurds.

Some P.K.K. members qualify as terrorists and should be dealt with firmly. The group, with a radicalized youth branch inspired by the war in Syria, has declared autonomous regions and stepped up its fight for self-rule. Mr. Erdogan undoubtedly fears that it will gain territory like the Kurds did in Iraq and Syria. But most of Turkey’s Kurds just want to live in peace, and their desire for a degree of self-governance should be answered at the negotiating table.

Instead of ending the war and integrating Kurds fully into Turkey’s politics, Mr. Erdogan is moving in the opposite direction, quite likely radicalizing more people to conclude that violence is the only path to greater autonomy. Meanwhile, he is ignoring the higher-stakes fight against the Islamic State and further fueling regional tensions. **Mr. Erdogan has fallen far from the days when he could be regarded as a respected leader of a Muslim-majority democracy and a trusted partner in the region.**

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Zuwanderung 2014

## Vor der Flüchtlingswelle kamen die meisten Migranten aus...

Die Zahl der Zugewanderten im vergangenen Jahr hat alle Erwartungen weit übertroffen. Doch schon vorher kam unter dem Strich fast eine halbe Million Migranten - aus anderen Ländern.

06.01.2016



© DPA Ziel Deutschland: Die Bundesrepublik gehört zu den Ländern, in das die meisten Migranten wollen, die nach Europa kommen.

Schon 2014, also im Jahr bevor die jüngste Flüchtlingswelle losbrach, sind so viele Menschen nach Deutschland migriert wie seit beinahe einem Vierteljahrhundert nicht. Die Bundesregierung hat an diesem Mittwoch den neuesten Migrationsbericht gebilligt, in dem dargestellt ist, wer kommt und wohin Menschen aus Deutschland auswandern. Hier kommen die wichtigsten Fakten:

- Rund 1,46 Millionen Menschen sind 2014 nach Deutschland gezogen. Eine derart hohe Zahl wurde zuletzt 1992 verzeichnet.
- Die Zahl der Abwanderungen stieg 2014 um 100.000 auf 914.000 Personen.
- Unter dem Strich gab es darum einen sogenannten **Wanderungs-Gewinn von rund 550.000 Personen**.
- Unter den Auswanderern waren knapp 150.000 Deutsche.
- Hauptzielland deutscher Auswanderer ist die Schweiz.
- Von den Zugewanderten kamen rund **880.000 Menschen aus einem anderen EU-Land**. 200.000 stammten aus einem weiteren europäischen Land, 220.000 aus Asien, 75.000 aus Afrika und ebenfalls 75.000 aus Amerika, Australien und Ozeanien.
- Hauptherkunftsländer waren **Polen (etwa 198.000)**, Rumänien (rund 191.000) und Bulgarien (77.800).
- Etwa 122.000 der im Jahr 2014 Zugezogenen hatten die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit.
- Die Zahl der erteilten Visa für den nachziehende Ehepartner oder Familien stieg im Vorjahresvergleich um 14 Prozent auf rund 50.500.
- Etwa 37.000 Menschen kamen als Arbeitsmigranten nach Deutschland - das waren 11 Prozent mehr als im Vorjahr. Hauptherkunftsländer waren Indien, die Vereinigten Staaten, Bosnien-Herzegowina und China.
- Die Zahl der Ausländer, die in der Bundesrepublik ihr Studium begannen, stieg um 9 Prozent auf knapp 93.000.

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Le Figaro, mercredi 6 janvier 2016, p. 6

## L'islam de France cherche à rebâtir la confiance perdue

Guénois, Jean-Marie

LA CHALEUR d'un thé fumant contribuera-t-elle à renouer la confiance ? C'est le pari d'Anouar Kbibeche. Président du Conseil français du culte musulman (CFCM) depuis l'été 2015, il lance les 9 et 10 janvier, dans toutes les mosquées, l'opération « Thé de la fraternité ». Une sorte de journées portes ouvertes où « *tous nos compatriotes qui le désireront seront les bienvenus pour poser toutes leurs questions* ».

Ce responsable religieux sait qu'un verre brûlant parfumé à la menthe ne suffira pas à inverser la lourde dégradation d'image subie par l'islam de France depuis les attentats de janvier 2015 et davantage encore depuis le 13 novembre. Mais il sait que s'ouvre, « *douze mois après Charlie* », une sorte d'année zéro pour les musulmans français qui doivent tout rebâtir et s'armer contre « *le défi de la radicalisation* ».

*« On ne peut pas séparer les drames de janvier et de novembre, commente-t-il, mais je note qu'il y a eu beaucoup moins d'actes islamophobes après le terrible choc du 13 novembre qu'en janvier. C'est vrai que l'islam est atteint d'un fort déficit d'image, mais jamais la conscience de ne pas tomber dans l'amalgame entre terroristes et musulmans n'a été aussi forte. Tout cela est certes fragile, car si le dialogue interreligieux s'est accru depuis un an, notamment pour prévenir la violence, je ne peux pas oublier qu'il y a eu le sac d'une salle de prière à Ajaccio en décembre. Et que l'on a vu soudain se libérer la parole raciste et islamophobe. Les musulmans doivent donc ne jamais se lasser de condamner les attentats, ne jamais se lasser de rappeler notre attachement aux valeurs de la République et ne jamais se lasser de mener un travail pédagogique pour expliquer ce qu'est vraiment notre religion. »*

Son confrère, Kamel Kabtane, recteur de la grande mosquée de Lyon, est moins optimiste : « *Cela fait cinquante ans que je vis en France, témoigne-t-il, mais c'est la première fois que je me sens « musulman » avec toute la connotation négative que ce mot peut parfois colporter. Il n'est pas facile d'être musulman en France aujourd'hui, car le regard des autres a changé. Après la grande manifestation de janvier, j'avais beaucoup espéré, mais depuis novembre tout est retombé. Je vis très mal la situation. En 2016, on a donc vraiment besoin de respirer, même si l'on sait que la situation internationale influe directement sur cette situation. Tant qu'elle ne sera pas réglée, nous allons vivre dans cette tension et dans cette peur. »*

À Bordeaux, l'imam Tareq Oubrou, insiste, lui aussi, un an après Charlie, sur la dimension internationale de la question et sur l'évidence que « *les choses se sont nettement aggravées depuis novembre* » car « *le terrorisme a changé d'ampleur et de nature* ». Désormais « *le monde habite nos quartiers, il a fait irruption dans une société qui n'a pas connu la guerre et dans des générations qui ne sont pas habituées à ce type de violence. La politique étrangère de la France - qui se bat à juste titre - génère des répercussions immédiates* ».

Sombre dans son constat, Tareq Oubrou pense toutefois, « *en homme de foi* », que « *l'énergie du mal* » qui s'est exprimée peut « *se convertir* », à condition de prendre les moyens, comme celui d'une « *théologie préventive* », dont les imams ont la responsabilité. Et de ne pas se contenter de traiter « *les seuls symptômes* » : « *À une cause radicale, il faut une réponse radicale, car nous sommes contaminés, y compris en politique, par la radicalisation* », lance-t-il. « *C'est mignon de faire chanter La Marseillaise alors qu'il faudrait expliquer au fond, à l'école, dans les médias, ce que sont les valeurs de la République. Il faudrait que nos politiques sortent du binarisme droite-gauche pour reconstruire un récit national qui reconnaisse aussi l'apport de l'islam et du monde arabe.* » Et de préciser : « *Il n'y a pas de « communauté musulmane » ! Mais il y a des individus musulmans, dans le milieu intellectuel, dans les classes moyennes, dans les banlieues... À force de les classer comme des « musulmans », ils vont finir par s'identifier à leur seule religion ! Or les musulmans peuvent être une force pour le pays ou être en malaise et en frustration. La France aura donc les musulmans qu'elle mérite.* »



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Le Figaro, mercredi 6 janvier 2016, p. 8

## À l'Assemblée, les différentes visions de la laïcité

Un an après les attentats de janvier, un colloque était organisé mardi en présence de représentants des cultes et de députés PS.

Par Chabrouit, Julien

**LAÏCITÉ** C'est un sujet particulièrement d'actualité. Un an après les attentats de janvier et **un mois après la commémoration du 110e anniversaire de la loi de 1905 séparant les Églises et l'État**, le 9 décembre, des députés socialistes, des représentants des cultes et différentes obédiences maçonniques ont délivré, mardi à l'Assemblée, leur définition de la laïcité. **« La France s'interroge sur la laïcité »**, a déclaré le député PS du Val-d'Oise Philippe Doucet, responsable du groupe de travail laïcité au sein du groupe PS à l'Assemblée, à l'initiative de ce dialogue. **Le 9 décembre, plus de huit Français sur dix jugeaient que la laïcité était « en danger »** et se disaient favorables à l'interdiction du port du foulard islamique pour les mères accompagnatrices de sorties scolaires, selon un sondage Ifop pour le Comité national d'action laïque.

**Un sondage « qui révèle une très forte inquiétude »**, a estimé Jean-Louis Bianco. Pour le président de l'Observatoire de la laïcité, **« les Français sont très attachés à la laïcité »**. Comme le président du groupe PS à l'Assemblée, Bruno Le Roux, Jean-Louis Bianco **définit notamment la laïcité comme « la liberté de croire ou de ne pas croire »**. **« En ces temps de commémorations, il faudrait que nous soyons capables d'avoir la laïcité heureuse »**, a lancé l'ex-ministre socialiste. **« La laïcité a besoin d'être accompagnée par une puissante pédagogie »**, a affirmé Bruno Le Roux. **« Nous devons multiplier les initiatives pour qu'elle soit mieux comprise notamment par les plus jeunes générations »**, a-t-il poursuivi.

**S'il « n'ignore pas le rôle de la religion dans la structuration de la société »**, **Le Roux estime que la société « est laïque »**. Pour lui, **les organisations religieuses « ne sont pas des interlocuteurs politiques »**. **Des propos critiqués par les représentants religieux. « Nous ne sommes pas des acteurs politiques, mais nous sommes des partenaires des institutions »**, a répondu Mgr Olivier Ribadeau Dumas, secrétaire général de la Conférence des évêques de France (CEF).

**« Un dialogue toujours possible »**

Un peu plus tôt, Mgr Ribadeau Dumas avait assuré que **« l'Église catholique est à l'aise avec la laïcité »**. **« La laïcité ne saurait être la nouvelle religion de la société »**, a-t-il mis en garde. **« Certains croyants se sentent attaqués »**, regrette-t-il, citant entre autres **« l'interdiction des crèches de Noël dans les mairies »**, préconisation de l'Association des maires de France, vivement critiquée à droite.

**« Je suis inquiet du retour des dogmatismes et de l'obscurantisme »**, a pour sa part souligné le grand maître du Grand Orient de France Daniel Keller, déplorant **« la timidité des pouvoirs publics à rappeler les règles »**. **« La loi de 1905 n'est pas un simple compromis mais l'affirmation des règles républicaines dont on s'est très vite éloigné par la suite »**, a-t-il regretté. Malgré les divergences entre les acteurs, Philippe Doucet se veut positif. **« En rencontrant au préalable les différents responsables, je n'ai pas trouvé que le dialogue était impossible »**, a-t-il affirmé.

## **The Danger of a Weak Europe**

### **Joseph S. Nye**

Joseph S. Nye, Jr., a former US assistant secretary of defense and chairman of the US National Intelligence Council, is University Professor at Harvard University. He is the author of *Is the American Century Over?*

CAMBRIDGE – In 1973, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, following a period of American preoccupation with Vietnam and China, declared a “year of Europe.” More recently, after President Barack Obama announced a US strategic “pivot,” or rebalancing, toward Asia, many Europeans worried about American neglect. Now, with an ongoing refugee crisis, Russia’s occupation of eastern Ukraine and illegal annexation of Crimea, and the threat of British withdrawal from the European Union, 2016 may become, by necessity, another “year of Europe” for American diplomacy.

Regardless of slogans, Europe retains impressive power resources and is a vital interest for the United States. Although the US economy is four times larger than that of Germany, the economy of the 28-member EU is equal to that of the US, and its population of 510 million is considerably larger than America’s 320 million.

Yes, American *per capita* income is higher, but in terms of human capital, technology, and exports, the EU is very much an economic peer. Until the crisis of 2010, when fiscal problems in Greece and elsewhere created anxiety in financial markets, some economists had speculated that the euro might soon replace the dollar as the world’s primary reserve currency.

In terms of military resources, Europe spends less than half of what the US allocates to defense, but has more men and women under arms. Britain and France possess nuclear arsenals and a limited capacity for overseas intervention in Africa and the Middle East. Both are active partners in the airstrikes against the Islamic State.

As for soft power, Europe has long had wide appeal, and Europeans have played a central role in international institutions. According to a [recent study](#) by the Portland Group, Europe accounted for 14 of the top 20 countries. The sense that Europe was uniting around common institutions made it strongly attractive for the EU’s neighbors, though this eroded somewhat after the financial crisis.

The key question in assessing Europe’s power resources is whether the EU will retain enough cohesion to speak with a single voice on a wide range of international issues, or remain a limited grouping defined by its members’ different national identities, political cultures, and foreign policies.

The answer varies by issue. On questions of trade, for example, Europe is the equal of the US and able to balance American power. Europe’s role in the International Monetary Fund is second only to that of the US (although the financial crisis dented confidence in the euro).

On anti-trust issues, the size and attractiveness of the European market has meant that American firms seeking to merge have had to gain approval from the European Commission as well as the US Justice Department. In the cyber world, the EU is setting the global standards for privacy protection, which US and other multinational companies cannot ignore.

But European unity faces significant limits. National identities remain stronger than a common European identity. Right-wing populist parties have included EU institutions among the targets of their xenophobia.

Legal integration is increasing within the EU, but the integration of foreign and defense policy remains limited. And British Prime Minister David Cameron has promised to reduce the powers of EU institutions and to subject

the results of his negotiations with the Union's leaders to a popular referendum by the end of 2017. If Britain votes no and exits the EU, the impact on European morale will be severe – an outcome that the US has made clear should be avoided, though there is little it could do to prevent it.

In the longer term, Europe faces serious demographic problems, owing to low birth rates and unwillingness to accept mass immigration. In 1900, Europe accounted for a quarter of the world's population. By the middle of this century, it may account for just 6% – and almost a third will be older than 65.

Although the current immigration wave could be the solution to Europe's long-term demographic problem, it is threatening European unity, despite the exceptional leadership of German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In most European countries, the political backlash has been sharp, owing to the rapid rate of the inflows (more than a million people in the past year) and the Muslim background of many of the newcomers. Again, an important American diplomatic interest is at stake, but there is not much the US can do about it.

There is little long-term danger that Europe could become a threat to the US, and not only because of its low military expenditure. Europe has the world's largest market, but it lacks unity. And its cultural industries are impressive, though, in terms of higher education, whereas 27 of its universities are ranked in the global top 100, the US accounts for 52. If Europe overcame its internal differences and tried to become a global challenger to the US, these assets might partly balance American power, but would not equal it.

For US diplomats, however, the danger is not a Europe that becomes too strong, but one that is too weak. When Europe and America remain allied, their resources are mutually reinforcing.

Despite inevitable friction, which is slowing the negotiation of the proposed Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, economic separation is unlikely, and Obama will travel to Europe in April to promote the TTIP. Direct investment in both directions is higher than with Asia and helps knit the economies together. And while Americans and Europeans have sniped at each other for centuries, they share values of democracy and human rights more with each other than with any other regions of the world.

Neither a strong US nor a strong Europe threaten the vital or important interests of the other. But a Europe that weakens in 2016 could damage both sides.

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JAN 4, 2016 14

## **The Europe Question in 2016**

NEW YORK – At the cusp of the new year, we face a world in which geopolitical and geo-economic risks are multiplying. Most of the Middle East is ablaze, stoking speculation that a long Sunni-Shia war (like Europe's Thirty Years' War between Catholics and Protestants) could be at hand. China's rise is fueling a wide range of territorial disputes in Asia and challenging America's strategic leadership in the region. And Russia's invasion of Ukraine has apparently become a semi-frozen conflict, but one that could reignite at any time.

There is also the chance of another epidemic, as outbreaks of SARS, MERS, Ebola, and other infectious diseases have shown in recent years. Cyber-warfare is a looming threat as well, and non-state actors and groups are creating conflict and chaos from the Middle East to North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Last, but certainly not least, climate change is already causing significant damage, with extreme weather events becoming more frequent and lethal.

Yet it is Europe that may turn out to be the ground zero of geopolitics in 2016. For starters, a Greek exit from the eurozone may have been only postponed, not prevented, as pension and other structural reforms put the country on a collision course with its European creditors. "Grexit," in turn, could be the beginning of the end of the monetary union, as investors would wonder which member – possibly even a core country (for example, Finland) – will be the next to leave.

If Grexit does occur, the United Kingdom's exit from the EU may become more likely. Compared to a year ago, the probability of "Brexit" has increased, for several reasons. The recent terrorist attacks in Europe have made the UK even more isolationist, as has the migration crisis. Under Jeremy Corbyn's leadership, Labour is more Euroskeptic. And Prime Minister David Cameron has painted himself into a corner by demanding EU reforms that even the Germans – who are sympathetic to the UK – cannot accept. To many in Britain, the EU looks like a sinking ship.

If Brexit were to occur, other dominos would fall. Scotland might decide to leave the UK, leading to the breakup of Britain. This could inspire other separatist movements – perhaps starting in Catalonia – to push even more forcefully for independence. And the EU's Nordic members may decide that with the UK gone, they, too, would be better off leaving.

As for terrorism, the sheer number of homegrown jihadists means that the question for Europe is not whether another attack will occur, but when and where. And repeated attacks could sharply reduce business and consumer confidence and stall Europe's fragile economic recovery.

Those who argue that the migration crisis also poses an existential threat to Europe are right. But the issue is not the million newcomers entering Europe in 2015. It is the 20 million more who are displaced, desperate, and seeking to escape violence, civil war, state failure, desertification, and economic collapse in large parts of the Middle East and Africa. If Europe is unable to find a coordinated solution to this problem and enforce a common external border, the Schengen Agreement will collapse and internal borders between the EU member states will reappear.

Meanwhile, austerity and reform fatigue on the eurozone periphery – and among non-eurozone EU members such as Hungary and Poland – is clashing with bailout fatigue in the core. Populist parties of the left and right – with their shared hostility to free trade, migration, Muslims, and globalization – are becoming more popular throughout Europe.

Syriza is in power in Greece; a leftist coalition is in office in Portugal; and the Spanish election could lead to significant political and policy uncertainty. Virulent anti-migrant, anti-Muslim parties are becoming more popular in Europe's core, including the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. In France, the far-right National Front came close to winning power in several regions earlier this month, and its leader, Marine Le Pen, may do well in the 2017 presidential election.

In Italy, moreover, Prime Minister Matteo Renzi is under attack by two anti-euro populist parties that have risen in opinion polls. And Chancellor Angela Merkel's leadership is now under threat in Germany, following her courageous but controversial decision to allow almost a million asylum-seekers to enter the country.

In short, the distance between what Europe needs and what Europeans want is growing, and that gap could spell deep trouble in 2016. The eurozone and the EU are facing multiple threats, all of which call for a collective response. But what we are seeing is its member states increasingly adopting a national approach, thus undermining the possibility of Europe-wide solutions (the migration crisis is a tragic case in point).

Europe needs more cooperation, integration, risk sharing, and solidarity. Instead, Europeans appear to be embracing nationalism, balkanization, divergence, and disintegration.

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## C'est une Europe terriblement fragile qui aborde l'année 2016

NOURIEL ROUBINI / PRÉSIDENT DE ROUBINI GLOBAL ECONOMICS | LE 06/01 À 16:21, MIS À JOUR À 17:07



C'est une Europe terriblement fragile qui aborde l'année 2016

La crise des réfugiés, les menaces terroristes, la montée des partis extrêmes font peser de lourdes menaces sur la fragile reprise européenne. Les risques d'un Grexit ou d'un Brexit assombrissent l'avenir de la zone euro.

*Nouriel Roubini*

NEW YORK – En ce début d'année, le monde est confronté à la multiplication des risques géopolitiques et géoéconomiques. La plus grande partie du Moyen-Orient est à feu et à sang, ce qui laisse entrevoir le risque d'une guerre de longue durée entre sunnites et chiïtes (à l'image de la Guerre de Trente Ans entre catholiques et protestants en Europe). La montée en puissance de la Chine s'accompagne de nombreuses revendications territoriales en Asie, elle constitue un défi pour le leadership stratégique des USA dans la région. Quant à l'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie, le conflit est semble-t-il partiellement gelé, mais il peut redémarrer à tout moment.

Il faut aussi compter avec le risque d'apparition d'une nouvelle épidémie, comme celle due au SRAS, au coronavirus du SRMO (syndrome respiratoire du Moyen-Orient), au virus d'Ebola ou à d'autres maladies infectieuses. La cyberguerre menace elle aussi, tandis que du Moyen-Orient à l'Afrique sub-saharienne et à l'Afrique du Nord, des acteurs et des groupes non étatiques provoquent des conflits et provoquent le chaos. Autre menace capitale, le réchauffement de la planète a déjà fait des dégâts considérables, avec des événements climatiques extrêmes de plus en plus fréquents et meurtriers.

Pourtant c'est l'Europe qui pourrait devenir cette année le lieu de tous les dangers géopolitiques. En premier lieu, la sortie de la Grèce hors de la zone euro a peut-être été seulement retardée, car la réforme des retraites et d'autres réformes structurelles mettent le pays sur la voie d'un choc frontal avec ses créanciers. Or un "Grexit" pourrait annoncer le début de la fin de l'union monétaire, car les investisseurs se demanderaient alors quel pays va suivre (sans même exclure un pays qui joue un rôle central dans l'UE comme la Finlande).

En cas de Grexit, l'idée de la sortie du Royaume-Uni de l'UE, le "Brexit", gagnerait du terrain. Comparé à il y a un an, sa probabilité a augmenté pour plusieurs raisons. De même que la crise des réfugiés, les récents actes terroristes en Europe poussent le Royaume-Uni à devenir encore plus isolationniste. Sous la conduite de Jeremy Corbyn, le parti travailliste britannique est de plus en plus eurosceptique. Quant au Premier ministre, David Cameron, il se met dans une position difficile en demandant à l'UE des réformes inacceptables - même par l'Allemagne pourtant bien disposée envers le Royaume-Uni. Aux yeux de beaucoup en Grande-Bretagne, l'UE ressemble à un bateau en train de couler.

Si le Brexit se réalise, d'autres dominos tomberont. L'Ecosse pourrait décider de quitter le Royaume-Uni, ce qui conduirait à l'éclatement de la Grande-Bretagne. Cela pourrait inciter d'autres mouvements séparatistes (à commencer peut-être par la Catalogne) à exiger l'indépendance avec plus d'agressivité. Et en cas de sortie du Royaume-Uni, les pays membres d'Europe du Nord pourraient juger qu'ils feraient mieux eux aussi de quitter l'UE.

En ce qui concerne le terrorisme, le simple nombre de jihadistes européens montre que pour l'Europe la question n'est pas de savoir si un nouvel attentat va avoir lieu, mais quand et où il va avoir lieu. La répétition des actes de terrorisme pourrait affecter la confiance des consommateurs et ainsi réduire drastiquement le rythme des affaires et mettre au point mort le fragile redémarrage économique de l'Europe.

Ceux qui disent que la crise des réfugiés constitue une menace existentielle pour l'Europe ont raison. Mais le problème n'est pas le million de réfugiés qui sont arrivés en Europe en 2015, mais les 20 millions ou davantage d'hommes, femmes et enfants qui ont été contraints de partir de chez eux, sont désespérés et cherchent à échapper à la guerre civile, à la violence, à un Etat en déliquescence, à la désertification ou à l'effondrement économique qui affecte une grande partie du Moyen-Orient et de l'Afrique. Si les pays membres de l'UE s'avèrent incapables de trouver une solution coordonnée à ce problème et défendre une frontière extérieure commune, l'espace Schengen disparaîtra et les frontières internes entre les pays membres de l'UE réapparaîtront.

A la fatigue des pays de la périphérie de la zone euro (et de certains membres de l'UE comme la Hongrie et la Pologne qui n'en font pas partie) face à l'austérité et aux réformes, répond la lassitude des pays du centre face à la multiplication des plans de secours. Avec leur hostilité au libre-échange, aux migrations, aux musulmans et à la mondialisation, les partis populistes de droite comme de gauche gagnent en popularité à travers le continent.

La présence de Syriza au pouvoir en Grèce, celle d'une coalition de gauche au Portugal et les élections qui viennent d'avoir lieu en Espagne pourraient générer beaucoup d'incertitudes politiques. Des partis virulemment anti-immigrants et anti-musulmans gagnent en popularité au cœur même de l'Europe, notamment en Hollande, au Danemark, en Finlande et en Suède. En France, le Front national d'extrême-droite n'a pas été loin de remporter plusieurs régions en décembre, et Marine Le Pen, sa dirigeante, pourrait réaliser un bon score lors de l'élection présidentielle de 2017.

En Italie le Premier ministre Matteo Renzi est aux prises avec deux partis populistes anti-européens et en Allemagne le leadership de la chancelière Angela Merkel est contesté en raison de sa décision courageuse mais controversée d'autoriser près d'un demi-million de demandeurs d'asile à entrer dans le pays.

Autrement dit, le fossé s'élargit entre ce que veulent les Européens et ce dont l'Europe a besoin, ce qui pourrait entraîner des troubles cette année. La zone euro et l'UE sont confrontées à de multiples menaces qui appellent chacune à une réponse collective. Mais les pays membres se replient de plus en plus sur la défense de leur intérêt propre, ce qui rend problématique l'application de solutions à l'échelle de l'Europe (la crise des réfugiés en est un exemple tragique).

L'Europe a besoin de davantage de coopération, d'intégration, de partage des risques et de solidarité. Au lieu de cela, les Européens s'engagent sur la voie des nationalismes, de la balkanisation, de la divergence et de la désintégration.

**Traduit de l'anglais par Patrice Horovitz**

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## Responding to Europe's Political Polarization

PARIS – In Europe, 2015 began with the far-left Syriza party's election victory in Greece. It ended with another three elections that attested to increasing political polarization. In Portugal, the Socialist Party formed an alliance with its former archenemy, the Communists. In Poland, the nationalist Law and Justice (PiS) party won enough support to govern on its own. And in Spain, the emergence of Podemos, another new left-wing party, has ended the traditional hegemony of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party on the center left and the Partido Popular on the center right. (In France, moreover, the far-right National Front, led by Marine Le Pen, showed its strength in the first round of December's regional elections, though it eventually failed to win any).

The message is impossible to miss: Increasingly, voters are deeply dissatisfied with mainstream parties and are willing to give a chance to those proposing radical alternatives. They are lending support to parties that, though very different from one another, all blame the European Union for the sorry state of their countries' economies and labor markets.

To be sure, radicalization is not limited to Europe nowadays. As I have argued [elsewhere](#), American presidential candidate Donald Trump owes his rise to many of the same factors that are driving Le Pen's growing popularity. What is particularly problematic in the EU is the clash between radical politics and mainstream governance.

For 30 years, center-right or center-left parties with a broadly shared vision of Europe have governed most EU countries. Despite their policy disagreements, they jointly embodied the ideological consensus – and formed the political coalition – that built the single market, the euro, and the enlarged EU.

But many voters now feel that mainstream policies have failed. Governments have proved unable to protect unskilled and semi-skilled employees from the consequences of globalization and technological change. Mass education, progressive taxation, and social-welfare benefits have not prevented increasing inequality. And the euro has failed to engineer prosperity and stability. Those (like me) who think that specific policy errors and institutional flaws are more to blame than European integration itself are being drowned out.

Political realignments are to be expected in democracies; indeed, democratic institutions are designed to make them possible. Generally, the constitution does not change, or changes only slowly, whereas a new party or coalition redefines the policy agenda and reforms the legislation. This combination of rigidity and plasticity enables democratic regimes to adapt to shifts in citizens' preferences.

The same does not apply to Europe, however. First, political change is not synchronized. At any given moment, some countries may have voted for radical parties, while others have not (or simply have not held elections). This clash of legitimacy is what the Greek government initially failed to understand last spring when it sought to ease austerity measures: Syriza had received a mandate for change from Greek voters, but other countries' representatives had not received such a mandate.

Second, unlike national democracies, the EU does not derive its legitimacy from the process through which political choices are made, but mainly from the output it can deliver. This is not to say that there is no democratic process: the elected European Parliament is a serious legislative body, and its vetting of European



commissioners is often more thorough than personnel selection at the national level. But it has no visibility, because major decisions are negotiated between national governments.

Third, the boundary between constitutional and legislative matters is peculiar in the EU. All treaty provisions have constitutional status; indeed, they can be changed only by unanimous agreement. Furthermore, because governments did not trust one another, they insisted on including in treaties what would normally belong in ordinary legislation. The many rules that govern economic life in the EU are therefore much more difficult to amend than are similar domestic provisions. In other words, the scope for redefining the rules is exceedingly narrow, even though they reflect a policy consensus that is no longer widely shared.

What options does this leave the EU for responding to political polarization and the concomitant demands for more policy leeway at the national level? Of course, the EU could simply ignore these changes, and hope that radicalism will wane once its bearers are confronted with the responsibility of governing. But that would be foolish. Syriza was forced to accept tough choices because Greece depends on external financial assistance. No other country is in the same situation. Ignoring demands for change would ultimately deepen popular hostility toward the EU.

Another possibility would be to exploit, on an *ad hoc* basis, the existing flexibility in EU treaty provisions. Pragmatism can indeed be helpful, and the European Commission headed by Jean-Claude Juncker is willing to embrace it. But it would be dangerous to turn the EU framework into a thicket of country-specific political bargains. Those for whom the rule of law and the enforcement of fundamental principles are serious matters – not just Germany – would soon object.

The last solution would be to make the EU more amenable to political change. This would require explicitly changing the balance between constitutional and legislative matters, so that principles are preserved, but policies can be responsive to politics. Moreover, the EU should be able to legislate on a wider array of policies, including, for example, taxation. This would end its awkward impotence on – and apparent indifference to – inequality.

At the same time, the European Parliament should be given a higher profile, as in a truly federal system, so that governments at the national and European level are perceived as equally legitimate. With such federalization in the EU or, more likely, the smaller eurozone (within which the degree of integration is higher), policy conflicts would place elected national governments in opposition not to an opaque system, but to a politically legitimate federal institution.

This approach confronts formidable obstacles. An attempt to write an EU constitution was made in the early 2000s. It failed. Germany and other countries where mainstream policies still command wide support would vehemently oppose any perceived softening of the common rules and principles. It will be hard, to say the least, to agree on additional competences and a stronger European Parliament at a time when so many in Europe, starting with the radicals, consider the EU the main culprit for their current woes. Yet ultimately, the construction of a transnational democracy is the most viable response to political polarization in Europe.

# Eine Antwort auf die politische Polarisierung Europas

PARIS – In Europa begann das Jahr 2015 mit dem Wahlsieg der linken Syriza-Partei in Griechenland. Es endete mit weiteren drei Wahlen, die Ausdruck der zunehmenden politischen Polarisierung sind. In Portugal hat die Sozialistische Partei mit ihrem ehemaligen Erzfeind, den Kommunisten, eine Allianz gebildet. In Polen gewann die nationalistische Partei für Recht und Ordnung (PiS) genug Unterstützung, um allein regieren zu können. Und in Spanien wurde die traditionelle Hegemonie der gemäßigten linken Sozialistischen Arbeiterpartei und der gemäßigten rechten Partido Popular durch den Aufstieg von Podemos beendet, einer weiteren linken Partei. (Darüber hinaus zeigte in Frankreich die rechtsextreme Nationale Front unter der Leitung von Marine Le Pen in der ersten Runde der Regionalwahlen im Dezember ihre Stärke, auch wenn sie letztlich keine dieser Wahlen für sich entscheiden konnte).

Die Botschaft ist unmöglich zu überhören: Die Unzufriedenheit der Wähler mit den großen Volksparteien wird immer größer, und sie sind bereit, radikalen Alternativen eine Chance zu geben. Sie geben Parteien ihre Unterstützung, die zwar sehr unterschiedlich sind, aber alle gemeinsam haben, dass sie die Schuld für den beklagenswerten Zustand der Wirtschaft und des Arbeitsmarktes der Europäischen Union geben.

Sicherlich ist die Radikalisierung heute nicht nur auf Europa beschränkt. Wie ich [an anderer Stelle](#) schrieb, verdankt der amerikanische Präsidentschaftskandidat Donald Trump seinen Aufstieg denselben Faktoren, die auch hinter der wachsenden Beliebtheit Le Pens stehen. In der EU ist insbesondere der Konflikt zwischen radikaler Politik und gemäßigter Regierungsweise ein Problem.

Dreißig Jahre lang wurden die meisten EU-Länder von Mitte-Rechts- oder Mitte-Links-Parteien regiert, die eine weitgehend gleiche Vision von Europa teilten. Trotz ihrer politischen Meinungsverschiedenheiten hatten sie einen gemeinsamen ideologischen Konsens und gingen eine politische Koalition ein, die die Grundlage für den Binnenmarkt, den Euro und die erweiterte EU bildete.

Aber heute denken viele Wähler, die gemäßigte Politik sei gescheitert. Die Regierungen haben ihre Unfähigkeit bewiesen, ungelernte und wenig ausgebildete Arbeitnehmer vor den Folgen der Globalisierung und des technologischen Wandels zu schützen. Trotz allgemeiner Ausbildung, progressiver Besteuerung und sozialer Zuwendungen stieg die Ungleichheit. Und der Euro konnte weder Wohlstand noch Stabilität schaffen. Diejenigen (wie ich), die denken, schuld daran sei weniger die europäische Integration selbst, sondern bestimmte politische Fehler und institutionelle Schwächen, werden an den Rand gedrängt.

In Demokratien sind politische Neuausrichtungen nichts Ungewöhnliches. In der Tat sind die demokratischen Institutionen darauf ausgerichtet, diesen Prozess möglich zu machen. Im Allgemeinen verändern sich Verfassungen nicht oder nur langsam, während eine neue Partei oder Koalition die politische Agenda neu definiert und die Gesetzgebung reformiert. Diese Kombination von Rigidität und Plastizität ermöglicht es demokratischen Regimes, sich an veränderte Vorlieben der Bürger anzupassen.

Dies trifft auf Europa allerdings nicht zu. Erstens läuft die politische Veränderung nicht synchron. In einigen Ländern wurden zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt vielleicht radikale Parteien gewählt, aber in anderen nicht (oder es gab dort gar keine Wahlen). Dieser Legitimitätskonflikt ist es, den die griechische Regierung in letzten Frühling zunächst nicht verstanden hatte, als sie versuchte, ihre Sparmaßnahmen zu erleichtern: Syriza hatte von den griechischen Wählern den Auftrag zu Veränderungen erhalten, aber die Volksvertreter anderer Länder nicht.

Zweitens erhält die EU im Gegensatz zu nationalen Demokratien ihre Legitimität nicht durch den Prozess, über den politische Entscheidungen getroffen werden, sondern in erster Linie durch die Leistung, die sie erbringt. Dies bedeutet nicht, dass kein demokratischer Prozess vorhanden ist: Das gewählte Europäische Parlament ist eine ernst zu nehmende gesetzgebende Körperschaft, und seine Überprüfung der europäischen Kommissare ist oft gründlicher als die Personalauswahl auf nationaler Ebene. Aber seine Sichtbarkeit ist gering, da die wichtigsten Entscheidungen zwischen den Nationalregierungen ausgehandelt werden.

Drittens ist die Grenze zwischen konstitutionellen und gesetzgebenden Angelegenheiten in der EU ungewöhnlich. Alle Vorschriften für Abkommen haben konstitutionellen Status und können tatsächlich nur durch absolute Mehrheit verändert werden. Darüber hinaus haben die Regierungen aus gegenseitigem Misstrauen darauf bestanden, in Abkommen Elemente einzufügen, die normalerweise der normalen Gesetzgebung unterliegen. Die vielen wirtschaftlichen Regeln in der EU sind daher viel schwieriger anzupassen als ähnliche Bestimmungen auf nationaler Ebene. Mit anderen Worten, der Spielraum zur Neudefinition der Regeln wird immer enger, obwohl sie einen politischen Konsens widerspiegeln, der nicht mehr allgemein geteilt wird.

Welche Möglichkeiten bleiben der EU also, um auf die politische Polarisierung und die gleichzeitigen Forderungen nach größeren politischen Spielräumen auf nationaler Ebene zu reagieren? Natürlich könnte die EU diese Veränderungen einfach ignorieren und hoffen, dass der Radikalismus abnimmt, sobald seine Vertreter mit der Regierungsverantwortung konfrontiert werden. Dies wäre aber töricht. Syriza wurde gezwungen, schwere Entscheidungen zu akzeptieren, weil Griechenland von externer finanzieller Unterstützung abhängig ist. Kein weiteres Land ist in einer solchen Lage. Die Forderungen nach Veränderung zu ignorieren, würde die Feindschaft gegenüber der EU letztlich nur vertiefen.

Eine weitere Möglichkeit wäre, die bestehende Flexibilität der EU-Einigungsvorschriften auf einer *Ad-Hoc*-Basis auszunutzen. In der Tat kann Pragmatismus hilfreich sein, und die Europäische Kommission unter Jean-Claude Juncker ist dazu bereit. Aber das EU-Rahmenwerk in ein Dickicht länderspezifischer politischer Kuhhändler zu verwandeln, wäre gefährlich. Diejenigen, die (wie Deutschland und andere) das Rechtswesen und die Durchsetzung fundamentaler Prinzipien für ernste Angelegenheiten halten, würden bald Einspruch erheben.

Die letzte Lösung wäre, die EU für politische Veränderungen empfänglicher zu machen. Dazu wäre eine ausdrückliche Änderung der Balance zwischen konstitutionellen und legislativen Angelegenheiten nötig, damit die Prinzipien bestehen bleiben, die Maßnahmen sich aber stärker nach der Politik richten können. Darüber hinaus sollte die EU die Möglichkeit bekommen, in einem größeren Bereich politischer Felder Gesetze zu verabschieden, darunter beispielsweise im Steuerrecht. Dies würde ihre peinliche Machtlosigkeit – und offensichtliche Gleichgültigkeit – gegenüber Ungleichheit beenden.

Gleichzeitig muss das Europäische Parlament wie in einem echten föderalen System einen höheren Stellenwert erhalten, damit Regierungen auf nationaler und europäischer Ebene als gleichermaßen legitim wahrgenommen werden. Bei einer solchen Föderalisierung der EU oder, wahrscheinlicher, der kleineren Eurozone (innerhalb derer das Ausmaß der Integration größer ist), stünden die nationalen Regierungen bei politischen Konflikten keinem undurchsichtigen System mehr gegenüber, sondern einer politisch legitimierten föderalen Institution.

Ein solcher Ansatz steht allerdings vor gewaltigen Hindernissen. Bereits in den frühen 2000er Jahren wurde versucht, eine EU-Verfassung zu verabschieden.

Dies ist gescheitert. Deutschland und andere Länder, in denen die gemäßigte Politik immer noch weithin unterstützt wird, würden sich jeder drohenden Aufweichung der gemeinsamen Regeln und Prinzipien vehement entgegen stellen. Zu einer Zeit, in der nicht nur die Radikalen, sondern auch viele andere Europäer die EU als den Hauptschuldigen für ihr aktuelles Leid betrachten, wird es sehr schwer sein, sich auf zusätzliche Kompetenzen und ein stärkeres europäisches Parlament zu einigen. Letztlich ist die Schaffung einer transnationalen Demokratie aber die realistischste Antwort auf die politische Polarisierung Europas.

**Aus dem Englischen von Harald Eckhoff**

## Why the EU's refugee relocation policy is a flop

**Only a minuscule percentage of the promised 160,000 have been moved.**

By

**MAÏA DE LA BAUME**

1/6/16, 5:30 AM CET

**After eight months of summits, debates and joint declarations on what to do with the hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming into Europe, one figure sums up the EU's achievement so far: 272.**

That's the number of asylum-seekers who have been relocated from the countries of their arrival to elsewhere in the bloc. According to [statistics provided this week](#) by the European Commission, 82 migrants were moved from Greece, which saw an influx of 850,000 in 2015. In Italy, 190 migrants left for Sweden, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Finland.

Two-hundred-seventy-two is a fraction of the 160,000 people EU countries are supposed to accommodate under a controversial temporary plan that took months to hammer out, and it speaks to the challenge that European Council President Donald Tusk calls a "delivery deficit."

A series of daunting obstacles, both logistical and political, stand in the way of carrying out the EU's relocation plans, according to frustrated officials in Brussels, aid workers and migration experts.

### 'A drop in the ocean'

In early November, a group of EU officials led by Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras gathered at the Athens airport to escort 30 Syrian and Iraqi refugees to an Aegean airliner, which would fly them to Luxembourg.

After posing for pictures with the exhilarated migrants, Tsipras acknowledged that the initiative — Europe's first concrete action to relocate some of the more than 1 million refugees and migrants who arrived in 2015 — was "a drop in the ocean."

"We hope that this becomes a stream, and then a river of humanity and shared responsibility," Tsipras said at a press conference alongside European Parliament President Martin Schulz, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jean Asselborn and EU Migration Commissioner Dimitris Avramopoulos.

So far the only "river of humanity" is the one of refugees crossing into Europe. The promised effort to relocate them from the camps in Greece and Italy where they first arrive to more permanent homes in other EU countries has largely failed to materialize.

Officials blame the EU's struggle to implement the relocation of migrants on a range of logistical and administrative barriers, as well as on the political sensitivity of the migration issue across Europe, where rising anti-refugee sentiment has undermined many countries' commitment to solving the crisis.

European Commission statistics show only 272 migrants have been relocated.

Now some officials fear that if the temporary relocation effort doesn't speed up, it will give political ammunition to opponents of the European Commission's plan to establish a permanent one.

"We can't move forward on migration only with those ad hoc decisions," said a European diplomat. "Plus, there's a lack of will to establish a permanent mechanism."

Last month, Angelino Alfano, Italy's interior minister, described as a "symbol of victory" a plane carrying 19 young Eritreans from Ciampino airport in Rome to Luleå in Sweden. Italy, he said, would send an additional 100 people "in the next few days."

There are not many places for these refugees to go. As of the first week in January, only 17 EU countries have made available just over 4,200 places for refugees out of the 160,000 that are supposed to be relocated, according to the Commission.

## No place to go

Officials say the relocation process is moving slowly because many countries were ill-prepared for the sudden and massive arrival of migrants and unwilling to invest in the necessary reception and identification capacities in frontline countries like Greece and Italy.

Some, such as Germany and Sweden, closed their borders because they could no longer handle the influx of migrants. Others have steadfastly resisted taking their share of migrants often for historical and political reasons.

Countries like Austria, the Czech Republic and Hungary have refused migrants while other countries like France and the Netherlands have offered to take fewer people than the number they had agreed to under the relocation scheme.

France, for example, has made just 900 places available for migrants out of the 20,000 they had promised to provide in September, according to figures issued by the Commission.

Another factor slowing down the relocation process: the refugees themselves. Humanitarian workers say many migrants know little about how the relocation is supposed to work, or are even reluctant to be relocated. Some fear they will be stuck in the countries where they arrive; others are reluctant to be relocated to certain EU countries.

"So far, the hotspots are the only concrete element to solve the migration crisis" —*European diplomat*

Many EU officials and humanitarian workers say there are too few fully operational "hotspots" — reception centers where refugee arrivals are first processed — in frontline countries. Only three of a planned 11 hotspots are currently operational.

"It is crucial that efforts continue to set up and operationalize the remaining hotspots in order to ensure a consistent management of the migration flows," stated [a report](#) issued in December by the then-Luxembourg presidency of the EU.

Italy has two operational hotspots, in Lampedusa and Trapani. But Greece has just one, in [Lesbos](#), out of a planned five that authorities are trying to set up. Until they are fully up and running, migrants cannot be properly received, identified and registered, experts say.

"So far, the hotspots are the only concrete element to solve the migration crisis," said the European diplomat. "In Italy, the identification, registration and fingerprinting of migrants are working."

Even where hotspots are running, they don't always do what they're supposed to. Some officials say Greece has been busing migrants to the Macedonian border and failing to do systematic fingerprinting and entering of data in the central Eurodac system. The European Commission also recently launched legal action against Italy, Greece and Croatia for failing to register all migrants in an EU-wide database.

In a [recent report](#) the Commission called on countries to provide more Eurodac fingerprint devices and more experts to “ensure the full roll-out of the hotspots.”

EU officials say hotspots are proving difficult to implement because national authorities have not provided sufficient accommodation and reception capacities for migrants.

According to the Commission report, Greece is supposed to be setting up 4,500 temporary accommodation places in Lesbos, Leros and Chios by this month. But it needs to “rapidly” complete the construction of 7,000 places for all five hotspots and “improve its welcome to vulnerable groups, in particular unaccompanied minors.”

Frontex, the EU border management agency, has more than 400 experts deployed in the Greek islands, including in the hotspot of Moria in Lesbos.

The experts include screeners, interpreters and debriefers “who conduct interviews and gather information about people-smugglers,” said Frontex spokesperson Ewa Moncure.

But the agency needs more personnel. It recently launched a call for over 775 experts, including 600 for Greece. “Member states gave us 400 but it doesn’t meet the goal,” Moncure said. “The challenge for us is to have the right people in the right places.”

Humanitarian workers working with migrants in Greece acknowledge relocation has not been very popular among migrants.

“There are not as many requests as we would expect,” said Antigoni Angelaki, who works with migrants for a Greek NGO called Metadrasi. “I think because the borders are still open for certain nationalities. They can reach the borders they wish in a shorter period of time.”

Aid workers say refugees also often refuse to seek asylum and be fingerprinted in Greece because they fear getting stuck there. Under the EU’s Dublin Regulation, migrants are required to be identified and registered in their first country of arrival.

“It’s difficult to sell the idea of relocation to migrants when they have a specific location in mind,” said Constance Theisen, a humanitarian officer for Médecins Sans Frontières in Athens. “Their information about Europe has been given to them by smugglers. Plus, they have to wait an average of one month to be relocated, which is sometimes discouraging.”

The relocation of migrants is also in the hands of EU countries, which officials say can be picky about who they want to accept. Some “would rather take an engineer who speaks their language and has family in the country,” said a European diplomat.

“Plus, if Romania offers to take some migrants, who would want to send them there?” the diplomat said. “If a country like Romania does it, other countries will no longer believe in the system. Countries like Germany, Sweden are the only places which give migrants hope to start a new life.”

However, though relocation has started very slowly, there have been signs of improvement in recent weeks and the interest in relocation is increasing.

Angelaki, the humanitarian worker, said migrants are becoming better informed about the process as borders have closed in recent months.

“Maybe now with winter, migrants will think about other alternatives than crossing the border with Macedonia,” she said. “It’s a first step.”

# Europe's man problem

Migrants to Europe skew heavily male — and that's dangerous.

By VALERIE HUDSON

1/6/16, 12:54 PM CET

The recent surge of migration into Europe has been unprecedented in scope, with an estimated **1 million** migrants from the Middle East and North Africa this past year alone, making for a massive humanitarian crisis, as well as a political and moral dilemma for European governments. But one crucial dimension of this crisis has gone little-noticed: sex or, more technically, sex ratios.

According to official counts, a disproportionate number of these migrants are young, unmarried, unaccompanied males. In fact, the sex ratios among migrants are so one-sided — we're talking worse than those in China, in some cases — that they could radically change the gender balance in European countries in certain age cohorts.

As many governments, including in the United States, debate how many migrants to accept onto their shores, they would be wise to take gender balance into consideration. That might sound sexist on the surface, but years of research has shown that male-dominated societies are less stable, because they are more susceptible to higher levels of violence, insurgency and mistreatment of women. In Germany, scores of women recently **reported** being attacked on New Year's Eve by men whom the authorities describe as of "North African or Arabic" descent. While it is not yet known whether the alleged perpetrators were migrants, the attacks may finally be alerting policymakers to the risks of a male-dominated migration wave. Why would European societies, many of which rank highest on global measures of **gender equality** and **stability and peace**, jeopardize those hard-won and enviable rankings?

It makes good sense that so many young men are leaving countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria: Their demographic is often at greater risk of being coerced into joining fighting groups, or being killed rather than captured by such groups. But the result is that **66.26 percent** of adult migrants registered through Italy and Greece over the past year were male, according to the International Organization of Migration.

That imbalance might not sound radical, but it is, especially when you look more closely at who those males are. It's true that many male migrants hope that, if granted asylum, they will be joined in Europe by their wives and children, who would help balance out national sex ratios. But importantly, more than 20 percent of migrants are *minors* below the age of 18, and the IOM estimates that more than half of those minors traveling to Europe are traveling as *unaccompanied* minors — **90 percent** of whom are males. This heavily male subset is all but guaranteed asylum because of their status as unaccompanied minors, but they get no special dispensation to bring spouses, especially since the European Court of Human Rights **recently ruled** that European Union countries are not required to recognize the legality of child marriages among migrants.

To see how these overall figures affect specific countries — and why there is reason for concern — consider the case of Sweden, which has been especially transparent about its migration statistics and whose ratios mirror the broader trend in Europe in many respects.



A group of refugees, led by Turkish police, are escorted to buses in place of sailing to the Greek island of Chios via raft, at a beach in the western Turkish coastal town of Cesme, in Izmir province, on November 5, 2015. Bulent Kilic/AFP/Getty

According to [Swedish government statistics](#), as of the end of November, 71 percent of all applicants for asylum to Sweden in 2015 were male. More than 21 percent of all migrants to Sweden were classified as unaccompanied minors, representing more than half of all minor migrants to the country.

For *accompanied* minors, the sex ratio was about 1.16 boys for every one girl. But for *unaccompanied* minors, the ratio was 11.3 boys for every one girl. In other words, the Swedish case confirms IOM's statistic that more than 90 percent of unaccompanied minors are male. Indeed, on average, approximately 90 unaccompanied boys entered Sweden every single day in 2015, compared with eight unaccompanied girls.

Those numbers are a recipe for striking imbalances within Sweden. Consider that more than half of these unaccompanied minors entering Sweden are 16 or 17 years old, or at least claim to be. (There are no medical checks of age for Swedish asylum-seekers, and applicants who say they're under 18 receive special consideration in the asylum process.) In this age group more than three-quarters are unaccompanied, meaning they are overwhelmingly male. According to calculations based on the Swedish government's figures, a total of 18,615 males aged 16 and 17 entered Sweden over the course of the past year, compared with 2,555 females of the same age. Sure enough, when those figures are added to the existing counts of 16- and 17-year-old boys and girls in Sweden—103,299 and 96,524, respectively, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's International Database—you end up with a total of 121,914 males in Sweden aged 16 or 17 and 99,079 females of the same age. The resulting ratio is astonishing: These calculations suggest that as of the end of 2015, there were 123 16- and 17-year-old boys in Sweden for every 100 girls of that age.

If that trend continues into 2016 or even beyond, each successive late adolescent cohort of 16- and 17-year-olds will be similarly abnormal, and over time the abnormality will become an established fact of the broader young adult population in Sweden. (Hans Rosling, the Swedish data visualizer who created the [GapMinder Foundation](#), has [similar estimates](#) regarding the alteration of Swedish sex ratios.) In China, long the most gender-imbalanced country in the world, the male-to-female ratio of approximately 117 boys for every 100 girls in this age group now comes up short of Sweden's gender gap. China's sex ratios are still more abnormal across other age groups; the imbalances there extend all the way down to birth sex ratios due to the country's severe birth restrictions, while Sweden's abnormalities do not. But young adult sex ratios are arguably the most crucial of all for social stability.

[Canada](#) is the one country so far that seems to [think](#) this is cause for concern. Faced with similarly skewed sex ratios among asylum-seekers, the new liberal administration of Justin Trudeau announced in late November that, starting in 2016, it would accept only women, accompanied children and families from Syria. Specifically excluded would be unaccompanied minor males and single adult males (unless they are members of the LGBTQ community); those excluded will primarily be older teen and young adult men.

Fear of terrorism could well be part of Canada's calculus, especially in the wake of attacks perpetrated by migrants in Europe and the United States; in the overwhelming majority of cases, terror attacks are carried out by unattached young adult men. Most of these men are unmarried, and virtually none have children. Indeed, the Islamic State [reportedly discourages](#) its male fighters from having children so that they are more willing

to engage in suicide attacks, and widows of suicide bombers are quickly forced to remarry, while remaining on birth control.

But fear of terrorism might not be the only reason to be leery of highly abnormal sex ratios among the young adult population. As my co-author Andrea Den Boer and I argued in [our book](#), societies with extremely skewed sex ratios are more unstable even without jihadi ideologues in their midst. Numerous empirical studies have shown that sex ratios correlate significantly with violence and property crime—the higher the sex ratio, the worse the crime rate. Our research also found a link between sex ratios and the emergence of both violent criminal gangs and anti-government movements. It makes sense: When young adult males fail to make the transition to starting a household—particularly those young males who are already at risk for sociopathic behavior due to marginalization, a common concern among immigrants—their grievances are aggravated.

There are also clearly negative effects for women in male-dominated populations. Crimes such as rape and sexual harassment become more common in highly masculinized societies, and women's ability to move about freely and without fear within society is curtailed. In addition, demand for prostitution soars; that would create a deeply ironic outcome for Sweden, which invented the path-breaking Swedish abolitionist approach to prostitution.

Europe is famously progressive on women's rights, and some European governments have even created [voluntary classes](#) for migrants to understand how the treatment of women may be profoundly different in their new homes. But even with such efforts there is the potential for real regress when the young adult sex ratio is so high. And what is often invisible in the debates over migration is that the women left behind by this largely male exodus are usually left in dire situations: In displaced persons camps in Syria or refugee camps in Turkey, Jordan and surrounding countries, female-headed households live in fear and penury, [prey](#) to exploitation and abuse. Sweden's foreign minister, Margot Wallström rightly emphasizes her country's "[feminist foreign policy](#)"—but can Sweden really consider its migration policy to be feminist?

While the humanitarian needs of the refugees streaming into Europe must be foremost in our minds at this time, policymakers in Sweden and other countries should also think of the long-term consequences of an unprecedented alteration in the young adult sex ratios of their societies. The Canadian approach should be carefully studied, and perhaps adapted by other countries. After all, if the sex ratios of the migrants' countries of origins are balanced, is it not odd to accept predominantly male migrants for asylum?

As anthropologist Barbara Miller has persuasively argued, a normal sex ratio is a "public good" and therefore deserves state protection. For Sweden—or any other European country—to wind up with the worst young adult sex ratios in the world would be a tragedy for European men and women alike.

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## **Vague d'agressions sexuelles à Cologne : quand la peur de l'explosion paralyse police et médias allemands**

Nele Katharina Wissmann

**Les autorités ainsi que les médias allemands auront attendu 3 jours avant de rendre public les agressions sexuelles qui ont eu lieu dans la nuit de la Saint Sylvestre à Cologne. Un geste qui surprend d'autant plus, puisque la police avait dans un premier temps affirmé que le réveillon s'était déroulé sans heurt.**

Atlantico : Pendant la nuit de la Saint Sylvestre, à Cologne, au moins 90 femmes auraient été agressées sexuellement par un groupe de 20 à 30 hommes décrit par les autorités locales comme étant d'origine arabe ou nord africaine. La police avait été fortement mobilisée à cause des craintes d'un attentat, comment expliquer que rien n'ait été fait au même ?

Nele Katharina Wissmann : Pour le moment, la situation est peu claire. Ce que nous savons actuellement c'est que la police a été présente à la gare centrale de Cologne la nuit du réveillon à cause d'un rassemblement de plusieurs personnes agressives qui se sont affrontées avec des feux d'artifices. La place devant la gare a d'ailleurs été évacuée à un certain moment. Il reste encore à clarifier pourquoi la police a tout d'abord parlé d' « une nuit sans heurts ». D'autant plus que les premières plaintes avaient déjà été déposées. Le ministre de l'Intérieur, Thomas de Maizière, a d'ailleurs fortement critiqué la réaction de la police de Cologne qui a avoué avoir commis une « erreur d'appréciation ».

Jusqu'à mardi les forces de l'ordre assuraient que la nuit s'était déroulée sans heurts. Les médias allemands n'ont pas non plus directement relayé l'information. Pourquoi avoir cherché à cacher les agressions du 31 janvier ?

Les médias allemands couvrent les agressions de Cologne depuis le 5 janvier. C'est en partie dû au fait que la police a communiqué très tardivement autour de ces événements parlant dans un premier communiqué d' « une nuit sans heurts ». **Bien que des bribes d'informations circulaient dans les réseaux sociaux, les « grands médias » ont décidé d'attendre une confirmation des sources officielles avant de les relayer.**

Entretemps, une des grande chaîne allemande, la ZDF s'est excusée via son compte Twitter de ne pas avoir réagi plus tôt étant donné que la situation était claire depuis le 4 janvier. Il serait cependant exagéré de dire que les médias ont délibérément dissimulé les informations. Face à des tensions et des clivages grandissants au sein de la société allemande, **les médias « classiques » ont préféré faire davantage des recherches avant de communiquer les données relayées par les réseaux sociaux.**

Il est cependant évident que leur comportement peut jouer en faveur des groupes populistes et d'extrême droite qui ont déjà une relation plus que difficile avec les médias et qui utilisent régulièrement le terme « presse mensongère » (**Lügenpresse**) dans leurs slogans.

Une fois l'information rendue publique 2000 à 3000 habitants de la ville se sont rassemblés devant la cathédrale près de la gare où avaient eu lieu les drames. Parmi les pancartes brandies, certaines affichaient "Madame Merkel, que faites-vous ça fait peur ?". Ces messages ainsi que la récupération du fait divers par les partis anti immigration n'illustrent-ils pas un certain clivage au sein de la société allemande ?

On pouvait s'attendre à cette réaction qui n'est pas un fait nouveau. Les différents groupes et partis anti-immigration utilisent la crise des réfugiés depuis un certain moment pour agrandir leurs cercles de partisans.

Leurs slogans trouvent un terrain fertile au sein de la société civile allemande bien que les Allemands se soient montrés et se montrent toujours très ouverts à l'accueil des réfugiés. Ils le prouvent d'ailleurs par leurs actions de bénévolat au sein de centres d'accueil .

A côté de cette « Allemagne de la lumière », l'Allemagne de la culture du bienvenue (Willkommenskultur), telle qu'elle a été décrite par le président fédéral Joachim Gauck, il existe cependant aussi une « Allemagne des ténèbres ». C'est là où le nombre d'attaques contre les centres d'accueil des réfugiés explosent depuis 2015. Les doutes et la peur sont bien présents au sein de la société civile allemande. Il suffit de consulter les forums et les réseaux sociaux allemands pour se rendre compte que ce clivage, déjà bel et bien présent, sera un des plus grands défis du gouvernement allemand en 2016.

Le rejet de l'accueil des migrants d'une certaine partie de la population ainsi que le silence qui a, tout d'abord, entouré ces drames ne risquent-ils pas de susciter des vives tensions dans les jours à venir ?

Nous pouvons effectivement nous attendre à des tensions. Les commentaires sur les réseaux sociaux nous donnent un avant-goût du débat à venir. Le parti populiste AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) va certainement récupérer ces événements pour durcir son discours politique déjà très anti-réfugiés.

Une première manifestation a eu lieu et des mouvements comme Pegida (Européens patriotiques contre l'islamisation de l'Occident), qui se sont un peu endormis ce dernier temps, vont probablement ressusciter. Il sera très important que la police et le gouvernement communiquent clairement autour de ces événements pour éviter que des groupes d'extrême droite « se vengent » des réfugiés que les réseaux sociaux ont déclarés comme coupables.

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## 'Cover-up' over Cologne sex assaults blamed on migration sensitivities

Police and media have been accused of silence on wave of New Year's Eve assaults by men 'of north African or Arab appearance' because of fears of stirring social tensions

By Justin Huggler, Cologne

3:17PM GMT 06 Jan 2016

Public anger is growing in [Germany](#) over a [series of sexual assaults against women in the centre of Cologne](#) on New Year's Eve, amid suggestions that authorities were slow to act due to political sensitivity surrounding the perpetrators' ethnicities .



Crowds of people outside Cologne Main Station in Cologne on New Year's Eve Photo: EPA

Many are asking how a crowd of some 1,000 men "of North African or Arab appearance" were able to take over the area around the city's main train station on New Year's Eve and allegedly assault dozens of women with impunity.

Criticism of the German media is also mounting after the incidents went unreported for five days.

Senior politicians have accused the press of self-censorship over fears the men's reported ethnicities could lead to scapegoating of migrants in general, amid tensions in Germany over its high levels of refugee arrivals.

More than 120 criminal complaints have been filed by women who were sexually assaulted or robbed, including at least one case of rape.

Authorities have said there is no concrete indication that the perpetrators were asylum seekers who arrived in last year's record influx, but opponents of Angela Merkel's welcoming policy towards migrants have leapt on the possible link.

The Cologne police chief has rejected calls for his resignation as government ministers demand answers.

Even Thomas de Maiziere, the German interior minister, has spoken out in rare public criticism of the police.

"I expect urgent clarification: was it organised, was it really North Africans, and how could they say it all went peacefully the next day," Mr de Maiziere said.



Many of the crowd at Cologne railway station appeared to be men 'of north African or Arab appearance' Photo: AP

There has been widespread condemnation of the Cologne police after an official press release on New Year's Day described the celebrations as "peaceful".

"It can't be that you clear the station area because fireworks were thrown, and later these events take place and you wait for complaints to be filed. The police should not work like that," Mr de Maiziere said.

"We were there in force, we were not overwhelmed," Wolfgang Albers, the Cologne police chief said, rejecting calls for his resignation.

Police have identified three suspects, Ralf Jäger, the state interior minister of North Rhine-Westphalia announced on Wednesday.

But he said they would not be publicly named for fear it could compromise police investigations.

Earlier, the German police union said it feared arrests were unlikely so long after the assaults.

Meanwhile questions are being asked over why it took five days for the media to report the incidents.

The ZDF public broadcaster issued a public apology after it failed to include the assaults in its main evening new broadcast on Tuesday.

Hans-Peter Friedrich, a former interior minister, accused the media of imposing a "news blackout" and operating a "code of silence" over negative news about immigrants.

"It's a scandal that it took days for the media to pick up the reports," Mr Friedrich, who was Angela Merkel's interior minister from 2011 to 2013, said.

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## Köln: Unter Schock

### Was in der Silvesternacht geschah, hat es in Deutschland noch nicht gegeben. Kippt jetzt die Flüchtlingspolitik?

Von Heinrich Wefing

6. Januar 2016, 17:22 Uhr DIE ZEIT Nr. 2/2016, 7. Januar 2016 [348 Kommentare](#)

Wieder ein Bahnhof, aber vier Monate später. Erst München, jetzt Köln. Im September das deutsche Willkommensfest, als Flüchtlinge am Münchner Hauptbahnhof mit Applaus begrüßt wurden. Und nun, nach der Silvesternacht in Köln, das Entsetzen über massenhafte sexuelle Übergriffe, begangen von Horden junger Männer, über die wir noch nicht viel mehr wissen, als dass sie wohl nordafrikanischer oder arabischer Herkunft waren.

Es gibt keine direkte Verbindung zwischen München und Köln, keinen kausalen Zusammenhang. Die Polizei konnte bis Redaktionsschluss keinen einzigen Tatverdächtigen ermitteln.\* Deshalb ist es einstweilen unmöglich, zu sagen, ob die Kriminellen seit zwei Wochen, seit zwei Monaten oder zwei Jahren unter uns leben, ob sie Flüchtlinge sind, lange schon hier wohnende Migranten oder deutsche Staatsbürger.

### Durchaus möglich, dass die Täter nicht ermittelt werden können

Und doch kann man über das eine, die Frauenjagd in Köln, nicht ohne das andere, die Flüchtlingskrise, nachdenken. Denn Angst macht Politik. Und zu genau, alpträumerhaft genau scheint die Silvesternacht die Sorgen zu bestätigen, die seit Beginn der Zuwanderungswelle im Umlauf sind: dass Gruppen von jungen Männern bei uns einfielen, antisemitisch, homophob und frauenverachtend. Dass sie sexuell übergriffig werden könnten, dass sie das deutsche Recht ignorieren und Gefahr bringen würden. Nichts davon ist erwiesen, nicht durch Köln, auch nicht durch andere Vorfälle, und doch ist die Verunsicherung offenkundig, bei der Polizei, bei der Politik, bei den Medien. Die Grünen-Politikerin Katrin Göring-Eckardt fordert fast im CSU-Sound, es dürfe "keinen Bonus für Nationalität oder Aufenthaltsstatus" geben – als ob das in Deutschland bislang anders gewesen wäre. Die Redaktion von *heute plus* twitterte: "Wie sollte @heuteplus über die Übergriffe ... in Köln berichten?" – als ob es dafür nicht journalistische Standards gäbe: recherchieren, berichten, keine voreiligen Schlüsse ziehen. Die Kollegen der *heute*-Sendung am Montag verzichteten gleich ganz auf eine Berichterstattung, was aber am Dienstag als "klarer Fehler" eingestanden wurde.

Es wäre falsch, sich über diese Verunsicherung, diese schlingernde Suche nach einer angemessenen Sprache lustig zu machen. Oder darin sofort den Ausdruck dunkler Machenschaften zu sehen. Die Gesellschaft ist mit etwas verstörend Neuem konfrontiert. Das massenhafte Einkreisen, Begrapschen und Beklauen von Frauen ist eine Form des Straßenterrors, die wir nicht kennen. Aus Indien ist Ähnliches bekannt, auch aus Kairo, vom Tahrir-Platz, wo ein Exzess sexueller Gewalt den Anfang vom Ende des Arabischen Frühlings bedeutete. In Deutschland aber hat es derlei noch nicht gegeben, und darauf die richtige politische Antwort zu finden ist unerhört schwer, zumal in einer Stimmung, die permanent von AfD, Pegida und dem Netz-Pöbel aufgeheizt wird.



Dieser Artikel stammt aus der ZEIT Nr. 2 vom 7.1.2016. [Die aktuelle ZEIT können Sie am Kiosk oder hier erwerben.](#)

Es hilft aber, sich klarzumachen, was bei aller Konfusion feststeht. Fest steht, wie jetzt überall bekräftigt wird, dass die Täter rasch ermittelt, hart bestraft und, wenn möglich, ausgewiesen werden müssen. Klar ist aber auch, dass das nicht leicht sein wird. Nicht weil die Polizei unwillig wäre oder politisch überkorrekt. Erfahrene Polizisten weisen vielmehr darauf hin, dass es extrem schwer ist, Straftaten aufzuklären, die aus einer anonymen Menschenmenge heraus begangen werden. Durchaus möglich also, dass nie ermittelt wird, was genau in Köln geschehen ist.

Fest steht auch, dass es in manchen Migranten-Communitys ein hohes Maß an Aggressivität und Machismo gibt, worunter vor allem die Töchter, Schwestern und Mütter zu leiden haben. Die Polizistin Tania Kambouri, selbst Kind von Einwanderern, hat in ihrem Buch *Deutschland im Blaulicht* geschildert, wie oft sie bei Einsätzen in migrantischen Milieus mit Gewalt und Frauenverachtung konfrontiert wird.

**Dagegen hilft nur konsequente Strafverfolgung durch eine gut ausgestattete Polizei. Wir brauchen einen starken Staat. In Köln, auch das steht leider fest, war der Staat in dieser Nacht nicht stark genug.**

Und schließlich steht fest, dass die grauenhafte Silvesternacht 2015 nicht so leicht aus den Köpfen verschwinden wird. **Köln ist ein Kipppunkt. Die Flüchtlingspolitik muss nicht wegen der Übergriffe neu erfunden werden. Aber sie wird nur zu vermitteln sein, wenn das Recht mit aller Entschiedenheit durchgesetzt wird.**

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## Poland's Bad Turn

Undemocratic laws cause alarm, but Poles can defend freedom.

Jan. 6, 2016 6:29 p.m. ET

Democracy has been in recession these past few years, with countries such as Turkey moving toward authoritarianism and others, such as Hungary, adopting illiberal restrictions on the press. **Now Poland -- until recently Central Europe's star democracy -- is heading in a similar direction.**

The trend began in October, when **the populist Law and Justice (PiS) party returned to power** after an eight-year absence. **It quickly stacked the highest constitutional court last month, appointing five justices sympathetic to PiS** to the 15-member bench and requiring a supermajority of judges to vote to overturn laws. The new government also passed **a law bringing the management of state-owned media under direct political control**, the better to minimize or suppress coverage hostile to PiS.

PiS claims that it's merely trying to force the courts and state media to better reflect the will of the electorate, though the government pushed ahead with its court-packing scheme without warning voters in advance. As for state-run media, the right approach would have been to privatize it, rather than put it in the hands of party hacks on the model of <sup>Vladimir Putin's</sup> Russia.

**The better news is that Polish civic society is robust after 25 years of freedom.** Poles pushed back against PiS's illiberal agenda the last time the party was in power, when the constitutional court, leaders from the anti-Communist Solidarity movement and ordinary voters forced the party to abandon a draconian lustration law aimed at ferreting out former Communists. **Now former President and Solidarity hero Lech Walesa is calling for early elections, and recent weeks have seen large protests throughout the country.**

European Union leaders have rightly denounced PiS's new laws. **But Brussels is threatening to take things further, perhaps by suspending Poland's EU voting rights. Such strong-arm measures could embolden the EU-skeptic PiS and its supporters when it's already under attack from its many domestic critics.** Poland's hard-won freedoms may be under threat from their new leaders, **but the best way to fight back is to let Poles take the lead.**

cf Austria!

## The New Nuclear Proliferation Age

North Korea's test shows the continuing failure of arms control.

Jan. 6, 2016 7:18 p.m. ET

The temptation in most world capitals will be to denounce North Korea's Wednesday nuclear test but do little beyond attempting to bribe dictator Kim Jong Un with more cash in return for more disarmament promises.

**The more realistic view is to see this as another giant step toward a dangerous new era of nuclear proliferation that the world ignores at its peril.**

Pyongyang says the explosion, its fourth so far and first since 2013, was a "completely successful" test of a miniaturized hydrogen bomb. That would represent a technological leap, as H-bombs can be thousands of times stronger than the atomic weapons that North Korea tested previously. **Pyongyang often lies, and the White House said Wednesday the initial U.S. analysis suggests it wasn't an H-bomb.**

**But even an upgraded atomic bomb using boosted fission would give Kim a more powerful weapon than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Kim is estimated to have enough uranium and plutonium production for 50 to 100 bombs by 2020.**

This threat is growing well beyond Asia as the North makes progress on warhead miniaturization and missile delivery. U.S. Admiral Bill Gortney of the North American Aerospace Defense Command said last year that **Pyongyang has "the capability to reach the [U.S.] homeland with a nuclear weapon from a rocket."**

The North conducted an apparently **successful submarine missile test last month.** Pyongyang helped **Syria** build a secret plutonium reactor that the Israeli air force destroyed in 2007, and it has worked with **Iran** on long-range missiles and possibly nuclear technology.

**The larger story here is the rapid fraying of the world's antinuclear proliferation regime, assisted by the illusion of arms control.** The failure with North Korea goes back to Bill Clinton's **1994** Agreed Framework, which he hailed as "a good deal" because "North Korea will freeze and then dismantle its nuclear program" in return for food and energy aid. **The North took the cash and kept working toward a plutonium and uranium bomb.**

The Bush Administration tried a tougher approach at first but lost its nerve in the second term and also went the bribery route. We've praised President Obama for not doing the same, but the Administration mustered no response to the North's 2013 nuclear test and only light sanctions after its 2014 cyberattack against Sony. The North has now escalated.

**The West wants to believe the Iran nuclear deal is an antiproliferation triumph, but Iran's neighbors view it as a delaying action at best.** They think it guarantees that Iran will eventually build a weapon. Over time this will encourage others in the Middle East to seek their own nuclear deterrent.

In Asia, too, the question is whether North Korea's growing nuclear arsenal will now cause Japan and South Korea to get their own deterrent. South Korean President Park Geun-hye warned in 2014 that after a fourth North Korean test "it would be difficult to prevent a nuclear domino from occurring in this area."

North Korea's latest test should spur a new global resolve against Pyongyang, but it probably won't. **China once again expressed its disapproval but it has never been willing to squeeze its client state.**

The U.S. could revive the targeted economic sanctions that in 2005 hit Macau's Banco Delta Asia and forced others to cut ties with Pyongyang, squeezing its supplies of arms and luxury goods. The U.S. also hasn't

designated the North as a "primary money-laundering concern" despite its racket in counterfeit currency and drugs. The North Korea Sanctions Enforcement Act, long stalled in Congress, would fix such oversights.

At the very least the U.S. and South Korea could finally deploy the missile-defense system known as Thaad, for Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense. Beijing has pressured Seoul not to use the U.S.-built platform, which would integrate with U.S. and Japanese defenses. But Thaad is the strongest system available, and China's patronage of Pyongyang is a main reason the region is under threat.

**The only real solution is to put regime change at the heart of U.S. policy.** This would mean stronger defenses in the South, stepped-up sanctions and enforcement to undercut Pyongyang's illicit trade and access to foreign goods, as well as expanded efforts to facilitate the flow of refugees out of the North.

**The Obama Administration has shown no inclination to do any of this, and it is unlikely to start now. The result is that while Mr. Obama entered office promising to pursue "a world without nuclear weapons," he will leave having set loose a new era of nuclear proliferation.**



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The Opinion Pages | OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

## France Forfeits Its Own Values

By ROBERT ZARETSKY JAN. 6, 2016

HOUSTON — **IN French, the word “déchéance” has several meanings, all of them bleak. It can refer to the fall of a civilization, or the degradation of the social fabric. More formally, it means the forfeiture of a right or a possession — one’s citizenship, for example. All three meanings, carrying echoes of the country’s experience under Vichy, resonate in a political drama unfolding in France.**

Two weeks ago, the Socialist prime minister, **Manuel Valls**, delivered a stunning blow to the French revolutionary ideal that citizenship is no less indivisible than the republic itself. He announced at a news conference that his government would introduce legislation this year to amend the Constitution to allow the government to strip French citizenship from individuals who are found guilty of acts of terrorism — but **only if they are among the three million French citizens who hold dual nationality.**

Mr. Valls has the support of the leading conservative parties, the Republicans and the xenophobic National Front, **but his own party exploded.**

Speaking for several dozen fellow deputies, **Benoît Hamon**, a former government minister, described the measure as “inspired and supported by the National Front.” Among the Socialists’ erstwhile allies on the left, the outrage was even greater. **Jean-Luc Mélenchon**, leader of the Left Party, denounced the “complete moral déchéance” of the government, **while Cécile Duflot** of the Greens called upon “all republican consciences to awaken and refuse to step onto this slippery slope.”

The news took even many in the Socialist government by surprise. The day before Mr. Valls’s announcement, the outspoken minister of justice, **Christiane Taubira**, dismissed the idea of such legislation as null and void. “It will fizzle out on its own,” she assured reporters, a statement echoed by other members of President François Hollande’s inner circle.

**Skeptical reporters could be forgiven, because the original idea came from Mr. Hollande himself. When he convened both houses of the French Parliament at Versailles three days after the Paris terrorist attacks, he came with three goals: to reassure a shaken nation, reaffirm his personal authority and restrain the right’s ascendancy. In a Gallic variation on the Patriot Act, Mr. Hollande announced not just the extension of the state of emergency and expansion of the state’s ability to gather intelligence, but also the constitutional wrinkle concerning terrorists’ holding dual nationality.**

At the time, few Socialist politicians, still in shock over events, took that last goal seriously. **Mr. Hollande and Mr. Valls had vehemently opposed the same proposal when the previous president, Nicolas Sarkozy, embraced it in 2010.** But with the National Front’s dramatic electoral gains in regional elections in December, things seemed to change: **Successive polls revealing an overwhelming majority of French in favor of such a law most likely persuaded Mr. Hollande, whose approval ratings remain dismal, to carry out his original promise.**

**Yet for many Socialists, already embittered by his modest efforts to “liberalize” the moribund economy, Mr. Hollande was committing both a moral crime and a political blunder.** His proposal would in effect create two classes of citizens, the lesser of which would enjoy the rights and duties of citizenship, but with the proviso that they could be legally withdrawn by the state. Hence the explosion of anger when Mr. Valls worried

that his Socialist critics had allowed “grand values” to “lead them astray.” **Christian Paul** spoke for a growing number of Socialist deputies when he replied: “Those who forget their values lose their honor.”

Something else has also been forgotten, however. While **the question of citizenship** is no small matter for any nation, it **has a particularly compelling role in French history and identity**. The French Revolution invented the modern conception of national citizenship and formalized the ideal of civil equality. Thanks to its revolutionary heritage, **France juggles a unique combination of “jus sanguinis” — where children inherit their parents’ nationality — and “jus soli,” where the soil one is born on, and not the parents one is born to, determines one’s nationality**. (Children born on French soil to foreigners become citizens at age 18, if they don’t have a criminal record and have resided continuously in the country for five years.)

**This makes perfect sense for a country like France:** not only is it a nation of immigrants, **but it is also a nation supremely confident in its powers of assimilation. Until now, that is.**

**Mr. Hollande’s decision to hold fast to his presidential word is in fact a confession of weakness, an avowal that France has failed in its republican mission.** It also undermines the status of three million Frenchmen and women by adding an asterisk to their status. **This step, for some critics, is not unlike stamping the word “Juif” or “Juive” on the papers of French Jews under the collaborationist regime of Vichy, not to mention its stripping of citizenship in 1940 from naturalized French Jews. (?????????????????)**

These historical associations will be made in the debates between now and early February, when the government presents its bill to Parliament. Already, the political parties have begun circling around one another. Tasting blood, a vice president of the National Front, Florian Philippot, has demanded that the forfeiture of citizenship be applied to other, unspecified “grave crimes,” not just terrorism. Tacking left, a few Socialists have suggested that this punishment be extended to *all* French citizens convicted of terrorism. (This law, however, would collide with a 1961 international convention, signed but never ratified by France, that prohibits the annulment of citizenship if it renders the interested party stateless.)

As the debate sharpens over the next few weeks, more than one lawmaker will wonder what the Constitution’s founder would make of it. **After all, 75 years ago this month Charles de Gaulle, who had left France for England to continue the war against Nazi Germany, was shorn of his French citizenship by Vichy.**

**Robert Zaretsky is a professor of history at the University of Houston and the author, most recently, of “Boswell’s Enlightenment.”**

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EUROPE

## ***Cologne Mayor's 'Arm's Length' Sex Assault Advice Stirs Outcry***

By MELISSA EDDY. JAN. 6, 2016

BERLIN — The mayor of Cologne has inflamed a debate in [Germany](#) about migrants and sexual harassment by suggesting that women can protect themselves from men on the streets by keeping them more than an arm's length away.

The remarks by the mayor, Henriette Reker, were made Tuesday to reporters after the Cologne police said they had received more than 90 [complaints of robbery and sexual assault](#), including two accounts of rape, by groups of men who targeted young women in and around the city's main train station in the crush of revelers on New Year's Eve.

By Wednesday, Ms. Reker was being widely ridiculed by commentators and across social media for putting the onus on the victims of the attacks.

"It is always possible to keep a certain distance that is longer than an arm's length," Ms. Reker told reporters on Tuesday, suggesting that the city authorities would provide guidelines for young women who find themselves surrounded by aggressive men trying to grope them.

The police, who have yet to make any arrests, said the assaults had been carried out by several hundred young men, whom they described as having a "North African or Arabic" appearance.

The nature and scale of the assaults have shocked [Germany](#) and brought to the surface social tensions over the willingness of Chancellor Angela Merkel's government to throw open the doors to more than one million refugees last year.

Ms. Reker, who was elected last year, had already become a symbol of that embrace after being [stabbed](#) at a campaign event by a man angered over her welcoming attitude toward refugees. Her remarks have now made her a target of derision all along the political spectrum.

Hundreds of women and men took to social media, posting angry responses and memes — including dozens showing the outstretched right arm known as the "Hitler Greeting" — under the hashtag [#einearmlaenge](#), German for "an arm's length."

Even the country's justice minister pushed back against the statement. "I don't think much of tips for behavior for women, such as 'an arm's length,' " [Heiko Maas wrote on Twitter](#). "Not women are responsible, but the perpetrators."

The police have so far been unable to apprehend anyone, a fact that Wolfgang Albers, Cologne's chief of police, attributed to the chaos in which the assaults took place, despite there being dozens of officers on duty in the area.

"The women were in a very difficult situation," Chief Albers said in an interview Wednesday with the public radio station WDR 5. "They were afraid, they wanted to get away, and of course they did not notice any specific faces."

In Hamburg, the police said Wednesday that they had received 53 complaints, more than half of them alleging sexual harassment, from victims age 18 to 25. They appear to have been targeted in a similar fashion in that city's Reeperbahn red-light and club district on New Year's Eve. Victims and witnesses in Hamburg also described the attackers as being dark-skinned or "looking Arabic."

Although the authorities have offered no concrete evidence that the attackers were among the hundreds of thousands of people who have poured into the country since mid-August, the incidents have laid bare the challenges Germans face in integrating young men from more conservative societies into their liberal, Western democracy.

The mayor's remarks also reignited a debate about casual sexism in German society. In 2013, Rainer Brüderle, a leader with the Free Democratic Party, [came under fire](#) for suggesting that a journalist could "fill out a dirndl," touching a nerve particularly among professional women who say that relations between men and women are surprisingly backward for a developed country.

Last year, Parliament passed a disputed [quota law](#) requiring leading companies to give at least 30 percent of the seats on their supervisory boards to women.

Christine Kronenberg, Cologne's commissioner for women's affairs, who attended a meeting Tuesday called by Ms. Reker, said the mayor's comments were "unfortunate." She said they did not reflect her attitude toward women, or the victims.

"Sexual assaults are aimed at humiliating women and an expression of a male desire for power," Ms. Kronenberg said in a telephone interview. "Until now, we have encouraged women to defend themselves through resistance tactics, but these are all aimed at individual attackers."

The New Year's Eve mass-scale assaults, the police said, involved groups of several men taking advantage of the crowds to target young women by surrounding them. While several perpetrators groped the women, others picked their pockets, stealing wallets and cellphones.

"This is a new phenomenon of a dimension that we have never been able to imagine before," Ms. Kronenberg said. "We now have to consider, together with police, new suggestions for how women can defend themselves in such situations."

Even if the authorities are able to apprehend suspects, their biggest challenge will be for victims to identify their attackers, given that several men appeared to have been involved in the attacks on each woman.

"It will be very difficult because it took place in a very crowded situation where many people were pushing to get in," Chief Albers said. "And this situation was used by the perpetrators to carry out this horrible crime."

New Year's Eve is one night when Germans are allowed to set off fireworks in public places, meaning the dark streets are also clouded with smoke and people who are trying to skirt the sparks, leading to chaotic scenes.

Witnesses who were near the city's main train station, where the assaults took place, described the scene as threatening. Shortly before midnight, the police cleared people from a public square outside the station in an effort to calm what had become a dangerous situation, with people throwing large fireworks into crowds. Driven into the crowds, groups of young men began encircling young women.

Two-thirds of the 106 complaints filed with the police came from people who lived not in Cologne but in the densely populated surrounding metro area, and did not come in until Friday morning, Chief Albers said.

He said many of the complaints lacked detailed descriptions of the perpetrators, which has hampered efforts to apprehend suspects.

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## Refugees won't plug German labor gap

Few refugees from Syria and other war zones have vocational training or a degree.

By [JANOSCH DELCKER](#) AND [MATTHEW KARNITSCHNIG](#)

1/6/16, 7:34 PM CET

BERLIN — For Germany's economy, the influx of up to [1.1 million](#) refugees last year should be a godsend. With Europe's lowest birthrate and a rapidly aging population, Germany could lose its standing as one of the world's leading economies. Refugees could fill the gap.

There's just one problem: most lack the skills German companies need.

"Let's not delude ourselves," said Ludger Wößmann, director of Munich-based Ifo Center for the Economics of Education. "From everything we know so far, it seems that the majority of refugees would first need extensive training and even then it's far from certain that it would work out."

Even as Germany's economy has thrived in recent years, industry has warned of a looming Fachkräftemangel, or skilled worker shortage. Without significant immigration, the working-age population will likely decrease from roughly 49 million in 2013 to somewhere between 34 and 38 million in 2060, according to a [government estimate](#) published in July.

The government's efforts to lure highly-skilled foreigners have largely fallen short.

With most of the refugees unlikely to leave anytime soon, Germany may have no choice but to invest in training.

Faced with those pressures, finding ways to put the refugees to work quickly has become a top priority for Angela Merkel's government.

"We have more than 1 million vacancies, we have a need for qualified personnel, and more than 50 percent of those who come to us are younger than 25," Labor Minister Andrea Nahles said in a recent interview with German public television. "This could really work out."

Yet some economists argue that the refugees are unlikely to have much impact in the short term.

Less than 15 percent of refugees from Syria and other war-torn countries have completed vocational training or a university degree, according to a September 2015 study by Germany's Institute for Employment Research.

Even those with training often don't have the skills expected in Germany. On average, an eighth-grader in pre-war Syria had a similar level to a third-grade student in Germany, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

"Someone who comes from Eritrea and says he was an electrician might have repaired a radio or laid a cable there," said Achim Dercks, deputy managing director of the Association of German Chambers of Industry and Commerce, "but he might have never seen a fuse box, as we use it in Germany."

With most of the refugees unlikely to leave anytime soon, Germany may have no choice but to invest in training.

On Wednesday, German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière described the task of integrating those who have arrived so far as a "massive, long-term undertaking."

## Too old to train?

Much of the early political debate about the refugees focused on how to integrate the newcomers in order to preserve Germany's culture and national identity.

Now, many politicians argue that finding them work is the easiest way to achieve that goal. But that may force Germany to lower standards for some qualifications and rethink rules that give precedence to German and EU applicants.

“If we want to make integration succeed, we will need much more flexibility in the labor market,” Ifo's Wößmann said. “We need reforms to reduce bureaucratic barriers, including lowering the minimum wage in certain cases. The alternative is that the majority of refugees remains without work, and this would be an even greater burden for our social system.”

The government is already preparing for an additional 1 million recipients of its main unemployment benefit, known as [Hartz IV](#), by 2019.

A big worry among Germany's political establishment is that a failure to integrate the refugees into the workforce would bolster the country's resurgent [right-wing populists](#) and further inflame social tensions.

German unemployment is the [lowest since reunification](#) but one-fifth of unskilled laborers are without work.

One hope is that many of the younger refugees will find work through the country's [vocational education system](#). During the courses, which usually last for three years, trainees attend classes at a vocational school and receive on-the-job training at a company.

The problem is that almost half of all refugees coming to Germany are over 25 and are unlikely to go through a formal three-year training program, simply because they are too old.

Instead, they would most likely join the ranks of the 20 percent unemployed among the low- and unqualified workers of the country and compete for low-skilled jobs.

Overall, German unemployment is the [lowest since reunification](#) but one-fifth of unskilled laborers are without work. In other words, the influx of refugees is likely to further swell the ranks of the jobless unskilled.

Despite those challenges, many economists argue that Germany's economy will eventually wither without an extended phase of immigration.

If the carmakers and engineering companies that propel German exports can't get enough qualified workers at home, they will simply go elsewhere.

To maintain the current size of its labor force, Germany would need as many as 500,000 immigrants per year through 2050, a study by the [Bertelsmann Foundation](#) concluded last year.

Immigration to Germany has hovered around that level over the past couple of years, as many Europeans relocated to Germany to escape the malaise in their own countries. But with EU immigration expected to taper, some see the influx of refugees as a blessing in disguise.

“This is a huge opportunity for this country that could strengthen Germany's position in the global economy in the coming decades,” Deutsche Bank Chief Economist David Folkerts-Landau [told Die Welt](#) last month. “I could even imagine a cultural and economic renaissance.”



AFTER 'DOWNTON' CREATOR TRIES A NOVEL VIA APP

DAVID BROOKS THE AGE OF SMALL TERROR



ARTIST'S VISION ROBERT IRWIN, SEEN AT LAST

# International New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 2016

## U.S. strains to defend its alliance with Saudis

WASHINGTON  
Execution of Shiite cleric adds pressure on a union seen as key to the region  
BY DAVID E. SANGER

The Obama administration this week has confirmed the fundamental contradiction in its increasingly tense relationship with Saudi Arabia. It could not bring itself, at least in public, to condemn the execution of a dissident cleric who challenged the royal family, for fear of undermining the fragile Saudi leadership that it needs in fighting the Islamic State and ending the conflict in Syria. The United States has usually looked the other way or issued carefully calibrated warnings in human rights reports as the Saudi royal family cracked down on dissent and free speech and allowed its close ties to Islamic extremists. In return, Saudi Arabia became America's most dependable ally in the region, a regular supplier of intelligence, and a valuable counterweight to Iran. For years it was all that provided the glue for a relationship between two nations that share few common interests. Today, with American oil production surging and the Saudi leadership fractured, the mutual dependency that goes back to the early 1950s, with the first American investment in the kingdom's oil fields, no longer binds the nations as it once did. But the political opposition in the Middle East and the American perceptions that Saudi Arabia, Page 4



**Taking on guns** Surrounded by gun control activists and families of shooting victims, President Obama was overcome by emotion on Tuesday as he announced executive actions to step up the enforcement of gun laws. He said he got angry every time he thought of the children shot to death in 2012 at an elementary school in Connecticut. Page 2

## Cameron to allow dissent on E.U. exit

LONDON  
Requiring unity on issue would have risked deeper divisions among Tories  
BY STEVEN ERLANGER AND STEPHEN CASTLE

Acknowledging bitter divisions within his Conservative Party and his cabinet over Britain's role in Europe, Prime Minister David Cameron told Parliament on Tuesday that he would let government ministers campaign for or against remaining in the European Union in a referendum that could take place as early as this summer. Mr. Cameron faces remaining inside the European Union if he can get some relatively modest changes to his nation's relationship with Brussels, in particular protections for countries not using the euro and some restrictions on benefits for new immigrants who come to work in Britain. But some of his main cabinet ministers and other party figures, ranging from Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond and Home Secretary Theresa May to Mayor Boris Johnson of London, are known to have doubts about Britain's membership in the bloc, though they have remained noncommittal so far about their position on the referendum. Three more ministers, Iain Duncan Smith, the work and pensions secretary and former party leader, Theresa Villiers, the Northern Ireland secretary, and Chris Grayling, the leader of the House of Commons, are believed to oppose British membership in the union and reportedly threatened to resign if Mr. Cameron insisted that his entire cabinet speak with one voice on the issue. Addressing the House of Commons, where he has a thin majority of 22 seats, Mr. Cameron said that after he finished his negotiations with his European Union partners over a new relationship for Britain within the bloc, "there will be a clear government position," which is Britain, Page 2

## Mass assault in Germany tests resolve on migrants

BERLIN  
Merkel urges swift justice after reports that women were groped and robbed  
BY MELISSA EDDY

The tensions simmering beneath Germany's willingness to take in one million migrants last year blew into the open on Tuesday as the wake of reports that scores of young women in Cologne had been groped and robbed on New Year's Eve by gangs of men described by the authorities as having "a North African or Arabic" appearance. The German authorities expressed outrage at the attacks and called them unprecedented in scale and nature, saying hundreds of men appeared to have participated. The situation created a new political challenge for Chancellor Angela Merkel, whose decision to take in refugees from conflict-ridden nations opened the doors to the waves of migrants through last summer and fall. As the number of asylum seekers has grown and the challenge of assimilating them has become clearer, she has come under increasing criticism for failing to anticipate the social and economic costs of her policy. She quickly issued a statement calling the assaults disgusting. "Everything must be done to investigate as completely and quickly as possible those who are guilty and to punish them regardless of how they look, where they come from or what their background is," she said. The police in Cologne said they had received 30 legal complaints from victims, including one from a woman who said she had been raped. No arrests have been made. The police in Hamburg said 10 women had reported that they were sexually assaulted and robbed in a similar fashion the same night in that city, and they urged witnesses to come forward. It was not clear that any of the hundreds of men suspected in the attacks were among the arrivals in Germany over the last year from conflicts in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, North Africa and elsewhere. Yet the descriptions of the assaults — by the police and victims quoted in the news media — as being young foreign men who spoke neither German nor English, Page 2



Angela Merkel in Berlin on Tuesday. She called for the quick prosecution of suspects.

## The sordid path to a star's disclosure

Despite ample payments and legal threats, Sheen could not hide his H.I.V.  
BY COLIN MOYNIHAN

It was a secret that had finally become too burdensome to keep. "I'm here to admit that I am in fact H.I.V. positive," Charlie Sheen told Matt Lauer during the "Today" show on New Year's Eve. "I have one cup to this tonight, this barrage of attacks and of salivations." To most people it was startling news. For roughly four years, Mr. Sheen had worked to keep his illness private, out of public view, by jostling with the media and paying several other people in what he called "shakedown" fees for their silence. By November, though, before his television appearance, Mr. Sheen had been diagnosed and the National Enquirer each seemed on the verge of making his condition public. To track the push and pull between Mr. Sheen and the media over several years — his illness flickering in and out of public view — is to see behind the veil of how celebrity secrets are kept hidden and ultimately disclosed. For the bloggers and tabloids competing for scoops, the tactics included blind news items to elicit tips and spark rumors on social media. Mr. Sheen's side used legal threats, nondisclosure agreements that visitors to his home had to sign, and money to

keep people from disclosing his confidential medical condition. "I've paid those people," Mr. Sheen said at one point in the "Today" interview and the National Enquirer each seemed on the verge of making his condition public. To track the push and pull between Mr. Sheen and the media over several years — his illness flickering in and out of public view — is to see behind the veil of how celebrity secrets are kept hidden and ultimately disclosed. For the bloggers and tabloids competing for scoops, the tactics included blind news items to elicit tips and spark rumors on social media. Mr. Sheen's side used legal threats, nondisclosure agreements that visitors to his home had to sign, and money to



**BOUNTY** The city of Warri, center of Nigeria's burgeoning economy and population, is undergoing a building boom, including the opening of the city's first mall last spring. Page 2

### INSIDE TODAY'S PAPER

- New Delhi warily tests traffic limits**  
While traffic in the Indian capital flared for more severely than usual this week, the impact on the city's horrendous air pollution remained to be seen. [WORLD/NEWS 3](#)
- Race rears its head in U.S. politics**  
Racial identity and the hostilities surrounding it, is playing a bigger role in the political choices of some groups. [EDUARDO FORTER WRITES. BUSINESS 8](#)
- New paths to diversity in college**  
With the Supreme Court considering a challenge to affirmative action in Texas, some campuses are finding new ways to attract minorities. [WORLD NEWS 4](#)
- Saudi Arabia's dangerous game**  
The Saudi royals most likely believe that striking a balance of the kingdom's Shiites will help keep them in power. [Toby Craig Jones writes. OPINION 8](#)



**OUT OF THE WARE** Evidence of unsorted trash Tuesday at the Canal Saint-Martin in Paris was destined for incineration. The clean-up, which occurs every 15 years, will take months.

**A growing conflict on Wall Street**  
Private-equity firms have untold ties with their banks and law firms. [Andrew Ross Sorkin writes. BUSINESS 16](#)

**LVMH unit to merge with rival**  
The two sides said the new company would be the largest consumer-focused investor firm in the world. [BUSINESS 16](#)

### ONLINE AT NYT.COM

- When your job is catching rapists**  
A special-victims unit in Connecticut fights the hidden epidemic of sexual assault that is disturbingly difficult to investigate. [NYT.COM/REPORTER](#)
- New York's businessmen-legislators**  
Outside income has led to corruption, but it also means a state legislature with a veterinarian, an undertaker and a church organist. [NYT.COM/WRITER](#)
- Sitting down with Idris Elba**  
The British actor on fatherhood, Hollywood stereotyping and why he felt such discomfort when contemplating his Golden Globe-nominated role in "Beasts of No Nation." [NYT.COM/WRITER](#)
- Hunting dinosaurs in New Jersey**  
A quarry got behind a shopping center in Marlton Township used to provide sand for water filtration. Now it is back with fossil discoveries, and is open to the public once a year. [NYT.COM/WRITER](#)

**MARKET INDEXES**

NYSE	17,088.47	-0.30%
DOW	13,274.00	+0.72%
NASDAQ	18,374.00	-0.42%
RUSSELL 2000	1,200.00	-0.30%
FTSE 100	6,200.00	+0.10%
HANG SENG	23,000.00	-0.20%
NIKKEI 225	18,000.00	-0.10%
ASX 200	4,500.00	+0.05%
IBEX 35	10,000.00	+0.15%
EURO STOXX 50	3,500.00	+0.10%
MSCI WORLD	2,500.00	+0.05%
MSCI EMERGING	1,500.00	+0.10%
MSCI ACFT	1,000.00	+0.15%
MSCI BRIC	800.00	+0.20%
MSCI CHINA	600.00	+0.10%
MSCI INDIA	400.00	+0.15%
MSCI JAPAN	200.00	+0.05%
MSCI SOUTH AFRICA	100.00	+0.10%
MSCI UK	80.00	+0.05%
MSCI US	60.00	+0.05%

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**CURRENCIES** NEW YORK, 12:00 PM EST

Euro	€1	\$1.1240	\$1.0820
Pound	£1	\$1.4600	\$1.4720
Yen	¥1	\$118.930	\$119.420
S. Franc	₣1	\$21.0500	\$21.0020

**STOCK INDEXES** 12:00 PM

The Dow	22,259.11	-0.20%
FTSE 100	6,127.24	+0.72%
Nikkei 225	18,374.00	-0.42%
Hang Seng	23,000.00	-0.20%
Nikkei 225	18,374.00	-0.42%
ASX 200	4,500.00	+0.05%
IBEX 35	10,000.00	+0.15%
EURO STOXX 50	3,500.00	+0.10%
MSCI WORLD	2,500.00	+0.05%
MSCI EMERGING	1,500.00	+0.10%
MSCI ACFT	1,000.00	+0.15%
MSCI BRIC	800.00	+0.20%
MSCI CHINA	600.00	+0.10%
MSCI INDIA	400.00	+0.15%
MSCI JAPAN	200.00	+0.05%
MSCI SOUTH AFRICA	100.00	+0.10%
MSCI UK	80.00	+0.05%
MSCI US	60.00	+0.05%

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## Die Freiheit der Frauen

**Aus der Schreckensnacht von Köln müssen die Behörden Konsequenzen ziehen. Denn das Vertrauen der Bürger in die Macht des Staates ist durch die massenhaften Übergriffe auf Frauen beschädigt worden.**

Leitartikel, 07.01.2016, von HELENE BUBROWSKI



© DPA Nach den sexuellen Übergriff auf Frauen in der Silvesternacht verstärkt die Polizei ihre Präsenz am Hauptbahnhof.

Kölner nennen Köln gerne Hauptstadt der Toleranz. „Mir sin multikularisch un sin multikulturell, Mir sin en jeder Hinsicht aktuell – auch sexuell!“ So heißt es in dem Karnevalslied „Viva Colonia“, das die Kölner jedes Jahr von Weiberfastnacht bis zum Anbruch des Aschermittwochs singen.



Autorin: Helene Bubrowski, Redakteurin in der Politik. Folgen:

Dieses Lebensgefühl ist in Gefahr. Im Herzen der Stadt, am Fuße des Doms, haben in der Silvesternacht Männer mit offenbar nordafrikanisch-arabischem Hintergrund Frauen auf widerliche Weise bedrängt und sexuell belästigt. Sie haben damit einen Anschlag auf die freie Gesellschaft verübt.

Dem hatte die Staatsgewalt nichts entgegenzusetzen. Sie hat die Frauen nicht zu schützen vermocht. Knapp 200 Polizisten standen am Dom – sie waren heillos überfordert. Viele Übergriffe haben sie nicht gesehen. Frauen, die die Belästigungen an Ort und Stelle meldeten, wurden nicht ernst genommen. Die Einsatzleitung erfuhr erst von den Vorfällen, als es zu spät war.

### Wurde etwas vertuscht?

Auch im Nachhinein wurden Informationen nicht weitergegeben: Von einer „entspannten Einsatzlage“ war zunächst die Rede; die an Körper und Seele verletzten Frauen müssen das als Hohn empfinden. Haben einzelne versagt? Handelt es sich um ein strukturelles Problem? Wurde etwas bewusst vertuscht? Wahrscheinlich war es eine Mischung aus allem.

Mit Beklemmung muss man feststellen: Rechtsfreie Räume können offenbar überall entstehen. Bisher kannte man das nur aus sächsischen Dörfern, in denen Rechtsradikale die Straße beherrschen, oder aus städtischen Problemvierteln, in denen Scharia-Richter „Recht“ sprechen.

Doch die Vorgänge in der Silvesternacht zeigen, dass sich die Bürger selbst mitten in einer deutschen Großstadt nicht auf den Staat verlassen können. Er hat sie nicht geschützt, als sie ihn am dringendsten brauchten.

Das Vertrauen in die Macht des Staates hat einen weiteren tiefen Kratzer bekommen. Das ist verheerend, denn auf diesem Vertrauen beruht das staatliche Gewaltmonopol.

Glauben die Menschen nicht mehr, dass der Staat sie schützen kann, greifen sie irgendwann selbst zu den Waffen – siehe Amerika. Angesichts dieser Gefahr reicht es nicht aus, wenn Politiker aller Couleur empört ausrufen, diese Zustände seien nicht hinnehmbar. Denn die Rahmenbedingungen für diese Zustände haben sie selbst geschaffen oder zumindest nicht verhindert. Eine „harte Antwort“ ist wahrlich nötig, wie die Kanzlerin zu Recht fordert.

**Wo Polizisten präsent sind, müssen sie auch hinsehen**



Ein Teil der Antwort betrifft die Arbeit der Polizei: Die Beamten müssen sich darauf einstellen, dass es jederzeit und an jedem Ort spontan zu Eskalationen kommen kann, dass junge Männer außer Rand und Band auf Frauen losgehen können.

Doch was heißt das konkret? Wo Polizisten präsent sind, müssen sie hinsehen und bei aufziehender Gefahr entschlossen eingreifen. Aber die Polizei verfügt nicht über die Kapazitäten, ständig mit Großaufgeboten bereitzustehen wie bei Fußballspielen, beim Karneval, beim Oktoberfest. Sicherheit ist unabdingbar, aber in einem „Polizeistaat“ wollen die meisten auch nicht leben. Die Diskussion über neue Präventionsstrategien und eine Verstärkung der Einsatzkräfte ist daher, jedenfalls zum Teil, eine Scheindebatte.

Viel wichtiger ist dieser Teil der Antwort: Migranten, die aus anderen Kulturkreisen kommen, müssen unser Wertesystem respektieren – und wenn sie so grob dagegen verstoßen wie jetzt in Köln, müssen sie das Land wieder verlassen, ob sie anerkannte Flüchtlinge sind oder nicht. Wer die Rechte anderer mit Füßen tritt, hat Schutz und Fürsorge des Staates nicht verdient.

Dafür muss nicht eine einzige Vorschrift geändert werden, das ergibt sich aus unseren Gesetzen, steht auch so in der Genfer Flüchtlingskonvention. Die Behörden müssten „nur“ endlich das Recht durchsetzen.

## **VIDEO © AFP Reaktionen von Frauen auf „#Armlänge Abstand“**

### **Die Herkunft der Täter darf nicht verschwiegen werden**

Um diese notwendige Antwort geben zu können, müssen alle Fakten auf den Tisch kommen. Das heißt insbesondere: Die Herkunft der Täter und ihre kulturelle Prägung dürfen nicht verschwiegen werden. Dass Pegida und AfD sich eventuell in der Behauptung bestätigt sehen, Flüchtlinge schleppten die Kriminalität in Deutschland ein, lässt sich nicht ändern.

Diese Leute drehen die Tatsachen ohnehin so lange, bis sie in ihr Weltbild passen. Vertrauen kann indes nicht entstehen, wenn die Politik verschweigt, dass die Integration Probleme bereitet, dass unsere Vorstellung von Gleichberechtigung der Geschlechter in vielen Gegenden dieser Welt – unabhängig von der Religion – nicht geteilt wird. Fehlentwicklungen sind schon länger sichtbar: Lehrerinnen berichten von muslimischen Schülern, die sie nicht als Autorität akzeptieren, von Vätern, die ihnen den Handschlag verweigern.

Misshandlungen und Übergriffe auf Frauen sind kein neues Phänomen, es hat sie immer gegeben – und nach den Zahlen, die es bislang gibt, haben die Straftaten gegen Frauen im Zuge der Flüchtlingskrise nicht zugenommen.

Auch auf Schützenfesten kam es schon zu Gruppenvergewaltigungen. Frauen sind sich der Gefahren instinktiv bewusst, trotzdem fühlen sich die meisten in Deutschland sicher und lassen sich in ihrer Lebensführung nicht einschränken. Für ihre Freiheit haben Frauen hierzulande lange kämpfen müssen. Die Kölner Schreckensnacht darf daran nichts ändern.

Quelle: F.A.Z.

135,138

Kommentar

## Domplatte putzen

Niemand will Fremdenhassern und Rechtsextremen in die Hände spielen. Doch die Angst davor treibt ARD und ZDF zu Eiertänzen in der Berichterstattung über die Silvesternacht in Köln.

07.01.2016, von MICHAEL HANFELD



© DPASilvester in Köln: Menschen zünden Feuerwerkskörper auf der Domplatte

Der WDR hat nach eigenem Dafürhalten nichts falsch gemacht. Schon am 2. Januar habe man auf seiner Website im Internet über die sexuellen Übergriffe in der Silvesternacht am Kölner Bahnhof berichtet, noch vor einer diese bestätigenden Mitteilung der [Polizei](#). Die hatte tags zuvor, an Neujahr, noch irreführend von einem „ruhigen“ Abend berichtet. Das ZDF hat etwas falsch gemacht, meint hingegen der stellvertretende Chefredakteur Elmar Theveßen. [Sich noch in der „heute“-Sendung am Montag mit dem Thema nicht zu befassen, sei angesichts der Nachrichtenlage ein Versäumnis gewesen.](#)



Autor: Michael Hanfeld, verantwortlicher Redakteur für Feuilleton Online und „Medien“. Folgen:

Am Dienstag nun wollten die Sender es mit ihren Sondersendungen besser machen und die „Anatomie der Silvesternacht“ beleuchten, wie es in der ARD hieß. Sehr weit sind sie dabei nicht gekommen, und das lag nicht am Zeitverzug, den man den Medien allenthalben vorwerfen kann. Es ist vielmehr die aufklärerische Haltung, in die sich im [ZDF](#) besonders gerne Claus Kleber im „heute journal“ wirft, die dann doch zu nichts anderem führt, als sich mit den markigen Worten von Politikern abspesen zu lassen, die von der Bestrafung der Täter mit aller zu Gebote stehenden Härte des Gesetzes reden und von der Polizei Aufklärung fordern, die diese eine Woche nach den Übergriffen, da kein Täter identifiziert ist, schwerlich leisten kann. Bei den Berichten schwingt jedoch vor allem ein Misstrauen gegenüber dem Publikum mit, das die von Opfern und Zeugen übereinstimmende Beschreibung der Täter – aus dem nordafrikanischen oder arabischen Raum stammend – in einen falschen Zusammenhang bringen könnte.

Das führt beim Radiosender HR info zum Beispiel dazu, dass ein ehemaliger Nordafrika-Korrespondent aus seinem früheren Berichtsgebiet lauter Phänomene aufzählt, die denen von Köln gleichen, sich aber im nächsten Atemzug abmüht, mit Blick auf die gesellschaftliche Stellung von Frauen und Männern jedweden „kulturellen“ Zusammenhang wegzureden. Den Grund für solche Eiertänze sieht man wohl: Niemand will Fremdenhassern und Rechtsextremen in die Hände spielen. Doch leider geschieht auch an einem solchen Abend genau das, indem (in der [ARD](#)) von einem vermeintlichen Experten schließlich gar Zweifel an dem geäußert werden, wovon Opfer und Zeugen berichten. In Angela Merkels Diktion nennt man so etwas: „nicht hilfreich“.

## **"Die meisten waren frisch eingereiste Asylbewerber"**

Polizisten dementieren Angaben ihrer Führung, wonach die Täter von Köln unbekannt seien. Die meisten Kontrollierten seien Syrer gewesen. Den Tätern sei es vor allem um "sexuelles Amüsement" gegangen.

Von [Wolfgang Büscher](#), [Martin Lutz](#), Till-Reimer Stoldt

Polizeibericht offenbart: Die Beamten waren mit der Situation an Silvester völlig überfordert. Die Räumung des Domplatzes verlief chaotisch - zeitweise war es nicht möglich Strafanzeigen aufzunehmen. Quelle: Die Welt

**Wesentliche Aussagen der Kölner Polizeispitze zu den sexuellen Übergriffen in der Silvesternacht sind offenbar unwahr, wie am Einsatz beteiligte Kölner Polizisten der "Welt am Sonntag" berichteten.** Die Beamten wehren sich auch gegen Vorwürfe von Bundesinnenminister Thomas de Maizière (CDU) an die Adresse der Kölner Polizei. Der Polizeipräsident der Domstadt, Wolfgang Albers, hatte am Dienstag gesagt: [Man wisse nicht](#), um wen es sich bei den Tätern handele, die Passanten beraubt und Frauen sexuell belästigt hatten.

Die Kölner Polizisten sagten der "Welt am Sonntag", sie hätten durchaus zahlreiche Personen kontrolliert und teils festgenommen. Daher sei der Polizei auch bekannt, um welche Personengruppen es sich handele. "Es wurden, anders als öffentlich dargestellt, sehr wohl von zahlreichen Personen die Personalien aufgenommen", die zum Mob vor dem Bahnhof gehört hatten.

Rund 100 dieser Personen seien kontrolliert worden; etliche von ihnen seien der Wache zugeführt und in Gewahrsam genommen worden. Bislang hat die Kölner Polizeispitze nicht berichtet, dass die Polizei Täter festnahm oder in Gewahrsam nahm. Die Personenkontrollen ergaben, berichten Kölner Polizisten weiter: "Nur bei einer kleinen Minderheit handelte es sich um Nordafrikaner, beim Großteil der Kontrollierten um [Syrer](#)."

**Vorrangig ging es den meist arabischen Tätern um die Sexualstraftaten oder, um es aus ihrem Blickwinkel zu sagen, um ihr sexuelles Amüsement**

Kölner Polizisten über die Exzesse

Das habe sich aus vorgelegten Dokumenten ergeben. Bislang zielen Vermutungen darauf, dass es sich bei den Tätern um nordafrikanische junge Männer handelt, weil diese in Köln schon seit über einem Jahr als kleinkriminelle Problemgruppe bekannt sind. Viele der Kontrollierten hielten sich aber erst seit wenigen Monaten in Deutschland auf. "Die meisten waren frisch eingereiste [Asylbewerber](#). Sie haben Dokumente vorgelegt, die beim Stellen eines Asylantrags ausgehändigt werden." Die Aufnahme stelle übergibt dem Asylbewerber dann eine Kopie des Asylantrags mit Kopie des Fotos.

In einem weiteren Punkt widersprechen in der Silvesternacht eingesetzte Beamte der offiziellen Darstellung. Es heißt, den Tätern sei es primär darum gegangen, Passanten zu bestehlen. Die [sexuellen Belästigungen](#) seien nur nebenbei passiert. "In Wirklichkeit verhielt es sich genau umgekehrt", so Kölner Polizisten zur "Welt am Sonntag". "Vorrangig ging es den meist arabischen Tätern um die Sexualstraftaten oder, um es aus ihrem Blickwinkel zu sagen, um ihr sexuelles Amüsement. Ein Gruppe von Männern umkreist ein weibliches Opfer, schließt es ein und vergreift sich an der Frau."

## Internes Papier vom 2. Januar widerspricht Albers ebenfalls

Nicht nur die Aussagen der Polizisten widersprechen Polizeipräsident Albers – sondern auch die Darstellung in einem sechsseitigen Papier ("Einsatznachbereitung") der Führungsstelle der Kölner Polizei vom 2. Januar. Es liegt der "Welt am Sonntag" vor. Die Darstellung steht eindeutig im Widerspruch zu Albers' Aussagen.

### Zahl der Verdächtigen und der Anzeigen stark angestiegen

Aus dem Papier ergibt sich nämlich ebenfalls, dass es sich bei den Tätern zu einem Großteil um Asylbewerber handelt: "Bei den durchgeführten Personalienfeststellungen konnte sich der überwiegende Teil der Personen lediglich mit dem Registrierungsbeleg als Asylsuchender des Bundesamts für Migration und Flüchtlinge ausweisen. Ausweispapiere lagen in der Regel nicht vor."

Laut Einsatzbericht wurden zwischen der Silvesternacht um 22 Uhr und Neujahr um 5 Uhr morgens von der Kölner Polizei 71 Personalien festgestellt, elf Menschen in Gewahrsam genommen und 32 Strafanzeigen gestellt. Außerdem gab es vier Festnahmen. Die Daten wurden im Cebius-System der Einsatzleitstelle der Polizei dokumentiert.

### GdP: "Ganz sicher Flüchtlinge unter den Tätern"

Arnold Plickert, Vorsitzender der Gewerkschaft der Polizei (GdP) in Nordrhein-Westfalen, verteidigte in der "Welt am Sonntag" die Kölner Polizisten: "Durch die Vorwürfe von Innenminister de Maizière fühlen sich viele Kölner Kollegen völlig zu Unrecht angegriffen und an den Pranger gestellt. Es ist schlicht falsch, dass die Polizei in der Nacht niemanden festgenommen oder in Gewahrsam genommen hätte." Und es stimmt auch nicht, dass keine Personalien aufgenommen worden wären, sagte Plickert. "Nach meiner Kenntnis wurden mindestens in 80 Fällen Personalien kontrolliert, Menschen festgenommen oder in Gewahrsam genommen."

### 100 Strafanzeigen, vier Verdächtige, keine Festnahmen

Plickert verteidigte auch, dass Kölner Polizisten Journalisten gegenüber die Wahrheit über die Silvesternacht äußerten: "Dass die Kollegen nun anonym Informationen an die Öffentlichkeit durchstecken, kann ich gut verstehen. Sie wollen mit den verbreiteten Falschmeldungen aufräumen und sich wehren. Manche Beamte haben mir schon mitgeteilt, sie fühlten sich, als seien sie die Täter."

Der GdP-Landeschef sagte weiter: "Auch dass angeblich nichts auf Flüchtlinge als Täter hindeutet, halte ich für eine Falschmeldung. Den Kollegen zufolge wurden von mehreren der kontrollierten Männer Meldebescheinigungen des Bundesamts für Migration vorgelegt. Da waren ganz sicher Flüchtlinge unter den Tätern."

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## Hartz IV: Merkel will Sozialleistungen für EU-Ausländer beschränken

Nach sechs Monaten können EU-Bürger in Deutschland Sozialhilfe beantragen. Nun unterstützt auch Angela Merkel Forderungen aus der SPD, diese Leistungen einzuschränken.

7. Januar 2016, 16:19 Uhr Quelle: ZEIT ONLINE, AFP, dpa, [cz61 Kommentare](#)

Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel unterstützt grundsätzlich die [Pläne von Arbeitsministerin Andrea Nahles](#) (SPD), den Sozialhilfeanspruch von EU-Ausländern zu beschränken. Es sei richtig, darüber nachzudenken, ob jemand ohne Arbeit in Deutschland bereits Anspruch auf Sozialhilfe habe, sagte Merkel nach einem Gespräch mit Rumäniens Ministerpräsidenten Dacian Cioloș. "Das ist nicht die Intention des Freizügigkeitsgesetzes."

Rumänische Arbeitskräfte seien in Deutschland sehr willkommen, sagte Merkel. "Aber wenn es um den Bezug von Sozialleistungen geht, die nicht auf Arbeit beruhen, (...) bin auch ich der Meinung, dass es ja zumutbar ist, wieder in sein Heimatland zurückzugehen."

Die Überlegungen von Arbeitsministerin Nahles und anderen verknüpften sich auch mit den Wünschen des britischen Premierministers David Cameron, sagte Merkel. In Europa habe man die schwierige Situation, dass es zwar Freizügigkeit im Binnenmarkt gebe, aber sehr unterschiedliche Sozialsysteme. Cameron will die Sozialleistungen für EU-Ausländer drastisch beschneiden. Dies ist eine seiner Bedingungen für einen [Verbleib Großbritanniens in der EU](#).

Nahles hatte Ende Dezember angekündigt, den Sozialhilfeanspruch von EU-Ausländern per Gesetz zu beschränken. SPD-Vize Olaf Scholz schlug vor, dass die Betroffenen ein Jahr in Deutschland gelebt und gearbeitet haben müssten, bevor sie Hilfe beantragen können. Die SPD-Politiker reagierten damit auf eine Entscheidung des Bundessozialgerichts, wonach EU-Bürger bei einem Aufenthalt ab sechs Monaten in Deutschland Hilfen zum Lebensunterhalt beantragen können. Auch die CSU hatte das Gerichtsurteil scharf kritisiert.

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Sexual assaults in Cologne

**New year, new fear**

## **Attacks on women by mobs of young men inflame Germany's refugee debate**

Jan 9th 2016 | BERLIN | [From the print edition](#)

AS THE New Year's fireworks went up in German cities, a brief panic seized Munich, which had information about planned terrorist attacks at two railway stations. Those never occurred. But, much less noticed at first, a different sort of crime was occurring in Cologne and, to a lesser extent, in Hamburg and Stuttgart.

While partiers gathered on the square between Cologne's cathedral and railway station, a large group of young men, later described by the police as "looking North African or Arabic", also massed there. Some threw fireworks into the crowd to cause panic. Then the men formed rings around individual women, so that police and onlookers could not see inside each huddle. According to over 100 women who subsequently filed complaints, the men groped the women sexually, while others stole their mobile phones, wallets or purses. One woman was raped.

Oddly, the Cologne police reported the following day that the festivities had been relaxed and peaceful. Only after scores of women came forward did the country react with rage. The interior and justice ministers promised to bring down the full force of the law—even as the police had to admit that they as yet had no information to make individual arrests. Angela Merkel, the chancellor, called the assaults "disgusting" and demanded justice "without regard to origin or background".

The assaults tapped into deep fears at a tense time, as Germany struggles with record numbers of refugees—more than 1m in 2015, largely from Arab countries. Populist politicians were quick to infer a connection. Frauke Petry, boss of the xenophobic Alternative for Germany, blamed the outrage on the "terrible consequences of a catastrophic asylum and migration policy".

There is no evidence yet that any of the criminals were refugees, as Cologne's mayor, Henriette Reker, emphasised. Ms Reker personifies the conflicts straining German society. She ran for office as a non-partisan candidate with a liberal and welcoming stance toward migrants. For that, a neo-Nazi extremist stabbed her at a campaign event in October. (She was elected the next day, while still in a coma.) **If it is confirmed that some of the muggers, molesters and rapists were asylum-seekers, the damage to what is left of Germany's *Willkommenskultur* could be severe.**

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Press review | 07/01/2016

MAIN FOCUS

## Assaults in Cologne: police looking for culprits

The police in Cologne have received more than 100 complaints from women who claim to have been robbed and sexually assaulted by men of "Arab or North African appearance" on New Year's Eve. Some commentators blame German Chancellor Merkel's liberal immigration policy for the attacks. For others the sudden rush of concern about women's safety is just a cover for racism.

Novinar - Bulgaria

### Merkel to blame for assaults

The sexual assaults against women on New Year's Eve are a consequence of Germany's liberal refugee policy, the daily Novinar writes: "No woman deserves to become the quarry of Africans and Arabs. But was it not a woman who opened the hunting season? Angela Merkel has become the symbol of liberal naivety. She can't understand that her 'Welcome Refugees' song ends badly. ... We must avoid inciting hatred against refugees, we must carefully weigh our words and not insult the African and Arab men who are seeking a better life, people are saying. If that is really the case then we should buy flowers for our women, get down on our knees and say: 'We're sorry that in these hard times you have to live together with such men in Europe.' But if our women have their hearts in the right place they'll never forgive us as long as we don't first clean up our own back yards." (06/01/2016)

Jyllands-Posten - Denmark

### Dangerous men from foreign cultures

The incidents on New Year's Eve in Cologne are a sign of failed integration, writes the liberal-conservative daily Jyllands-Posten, drawing parallels with Denmark: "There's no telling whether the events in Cologne are just a foretaste of what we can expect here in Denmark too, but they don't bode well because here too for many years we have kept the door open for many people who behave very differently from what we deem proper. And here too, there are fears that the problems are being hushed up. But the situation can be remedied. **Masses of frustrated young men from foreign cultures, many of which glorify violence, are in our midst. This is the reality which the authorities and the population must face, and an entire generation of leading politicians must admit that they are also to blame for the current situation.**" (07/01/2016)

Spiegel Online - Germany

### Concern for women just covert racism

The calls, mainly on social networks, for people to travel to Cologne to protect women after the assaults there are a sham, writes blogger Sascha Lobo on the Spiegel Online website: "It is instrumental racism when the very same people who the rest of the time tell women to button up suddenly start making a big deal about women's rights now. The sudden surge of interest in women's rights is a flimsy show of concern aimed at legitimising their own racism. The trivialisation of sexual violence is ubiquitous and deeply embedded in our society and culture - yes, in German culture too. The attacks against women by gangs of men in Cologne provide a very fitting opportunity to face this fact and find out why a large proportion of the German public cares so little about sexual violence - except when it is perpetrated by 'North-African or Arab-looking men'." (06/01/2016)

Kurier - Austria

### Society trivialises sexual assaults

The large number of incidents of sexual harassment and assault in Cologne on New Year's Eve shed light on a long-neglected problem, the liberal daily Kurier writes. "Whereas in America awareness of 'street harassment' is slowly growing, in German-speaking countries there still isn't even an appropriate term to describe it. Harassment? That still depends too much on the observer's point of view. And where there's no term for a problem, there's no problem at all - or at least no awareness of it. For example consider the debate here in Austria about the so-called bum-pinching paragraph [paragraph 128 of the Austrian penal code], which shows that even today there is still no social consensus that this constitutes sexual harassment and consequently a criminal offence. And perhaps that also explains why it took the police in Cologne so long to detect a problem at all. ... Women have to accept that things like that can happen: why else are self-defence courses for girls now practically part of the school curriculum? Why else has it become normal for parents to enrol their daughters in such courses? Because it would be irresponsible and perhaps even perilous not to. That is our Western reality." (07/01/2016)

## Das wäre Politik

**Wer eine Obergrenze für Migranten verlangt, wird mit einem Totschlagargument bedacht. Doch auch Deutschland hat nicht nur die Wahl zwischen offenen Grenzen und dem Schießbefehl.**

04.01.2016, von **BERTHOLD KOHLER**

„Soll das mit Waffengewalt durchgesetzt werden?“ So lautet das Totschlagargument, mit dem in Deutschland jeder rechnen muss, der wie Seehofer eine Obergrenze für die Aufnahme von Migranten fordert. Wer will schon noch einmal ein Grenzregime mit Schießbefehl auf deutschem Boden erleben?



Autor: Berthold Kohler, Herausgeber. Folgen:

Doch hat die deutsche Politik nicht nur die Wahl zwischen vollkommen offenen Grenzen und totaler Abriegelung nach DDR-Art. Zwischen diesen Extremen gibt es eine Reihe von Maßnahmen, die ein Staat ergreifen kann/könnte, um seine Grenz- und Rechtsordnung aufrechtzuerhalten, ohne gegen die Charta der Menschenrechte und die Gebote der Humanität zu verstoßen. Viele europäische Staaten führen das Berlin inzwischen vor.

Es kommt auch gar nicht darauf an, ob man ein Land hermetisch abriegeln kann. Entscheidend ist das Signal an die wandernden Völker der Welt, dass der jeweilige Staat ihrer Träume die Kontrolle darüber hat und haben will, wer ihn als Einwanderer betreten darf.

Seehofer ist der erste Politiker von Rang, der – Kreuth verlangt danach – es wagt, eine Zahl zu nennen: Höchstens 200.000 Asylbewerber und Kriegsflüchtlinge könne Deutschland im Jahr verkraften. Das sei im doppelten Sinn des Wortes unmöglich, schallt es ihm entgegen.

Wäre es das wirklich? Das wäre wieder Politik, nicht länger Kapitulation. Dazu müsste Berlin eine härtere Linie verfolgen, zu der Merkel nicht bereit ist. Doch auf ihrem Kurs wird die Koalition nicht ewig bleiben können, wenn jetzt selbst die Dänen wieder Pässe kontrollieren, die Österreicher Zäune bauen und die Polen keinen „Mix von Kulturen und Rassen“ in ihrem Staat haben wollen.

<http://www.eurotopics.net/en/home/presseschau/aeltere/NEWSLETTER-2016-01-05-Sweden-and-Denmark-seal-themselves-off>

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung - Germany

### Berlin must not capitulate to refugees

Germany must regain control over its borders in the refugee crisis, the conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung stresses: "Germany's politicians have the choice not just between completely open borders or their total closure according the GDR model. There are a number of measures between these two extremes that a state can/could adopt in order to preserve its borders without contravening the charter on human rights or the principles of humanitarianism. Many European states are showing Berlin the way in this respect. ... It is crucial to send the signal to the wandering peoples of this world that the state of their dreams has control and wants to retain control over who enters its territory as an immigrant. ... That would be politics again, and no longer capitulation." (05/01/2016)

» [full article](#) (external link, German)

More from the press review on the subject » [EU Policy](#), » [Domestic Policy](#), » [Migration](#), » [Germany](#), » [Europe](#)

All available articles from » [Berthold Kohler](#)



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## Des policiers attribuent les agressions de Cologne à des réfugiés « tout juste arrivés en Allemagne »

Le Monde.fr | 07.01.2016 à 17h53 • Mis à jour le 07.01.2016 à 23h05 | Par Cécile Boutelet (Berlin, correspondance)

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Les événements de la Saint-Sylvestre à la gare de Cologne sont en passe de **devenir** un véritable scandale en **Allemagne**. **Selon les informations publiées par le journal *Welt am Sonntag***, la **police** de Cologne, contrairement à ce qu'avait au départ déclaré sa direction, dispose d'informations très précises sur les auteurs des agressions sexuelles commises ce soir-là. Les forces de l'ordre auraient en effet contrôlé dans la soirée une centaine de personnes à la suite de ces actes de violence. Quelques-unes d'entre elles auraient été interpellées et placées en garde à vue peu après les faits. « **Seule une petite minorité de ces personnes étaient des Nord-Africains, la plus grosse partie était des Syriens** », précise le journal.

*Welt am Sonntag*, classé à droite dans la presse allemande, s'appuie sur le témoignage anonyme de policiers présents place de la Gare au moment des faits. Blessés par les critiques exprimées par le ministre de l'intérieur, Thomas de Maizière, à leur endroit, les fonctionnaires ont révélé que les informations données par le chef de la police locale, Wolfgang Albers, n'étaient pas justes. Ce dernier avait dit que la police ne disposait d'aucune information sur l'identité des agresseurs. La maire de Cologne, Henriette Reker, avait même ajouté que « *rien ne permettait de dire qu'il s'agissait de réfugiés* ».

Lire aussi : **[A Cologne, l'enquête sur les agressions contre des femmes au Nouvel An progresse lentement](#)**

« Ils voulaient surtout **commettre** des agressions sexuelles »

Or la réalité semble bien différente. Selon les informations de *Welt am Sonntag*, 100 personnes ont été contrôlées ce soir-là, et certaines d'entre elles ont été conduites au poste. Les résultats de ces contrôles contrediraient la version officielle, à en **croire** le journal : les personnes en question « *ont présenté des documents reçus lors de l'enregistrement des demandes d'asile*, a déclaré un policier au journal. *Ils voulaient surtout commettre des agressions sexuelles, ou, pour le dire dans leur logique, s'amuser sexuellement.* »

D'après le policier cité par le journal, il ne s'agirait pas de 1 000 individus, comme énoncé au départ, mais de « *plus de 2 000 personnes presque toutes d'origine arabe, réparties dans un rayon de deux kilomètres autour de la gare centrale. Personne ne s'attendait à cela, et personne ne pouvait le prévoir* ». Ces faits seraient confirmés par un rapport de la police de Cologne daté du 2 janvier, que *Welt am Sonntag* a pu se **procurer**.

Interrogé par le journal, le chef du syndicat de la police en Rhénanie du Nord-Westphalie, Arnold Plickert, a défendu les policiers :

« *Je peux **comprendre** que des collègues diffusent des informations de façon anonyme. Ils veulent se **défendre** contre les fausses accusations qui circulent.* »

Le fonctionnaire a également reconnu que l'information selon laquelle « *rien ne permettait de **penser** qu'il s'agissait de réfugiés était fausse* ».

La police était totalement dépassée

Jeudi, la presse allemande avait déjà publié des extraits d'un autre rapport de police, celui de l'intervention des forces de l'ordre place de la Gare, le soir de la Saint-Sylvestre. Un récit accablant, qui montre que les violences commises ce soir-là sont bien plus graves que les autorités ne l'avaient reconnu jusqu'à présent.

Selon ce document qu'ont pu se procurer *Bild* et le Spiegel Online, la place de la Gare de Cologne s'est transformée ce soir-là en un lieu de violence et de peur, où la police, totalement dépassée, était incapable de [contrôler](#) les diverses agressions, vols et attaques aux bouteilles et feux d'artifice contre les passants.

Le rapport, dont *Bild* publie de larges extraits, décrit une place de la Gare bondée, où des milliers de personnes, essentiellement des hommes « *issus de l'immigration* », très alcoolisés, sont rassemblés et tirent des pétards et des feux d'artifice sur la foule et la police. Déjà au début de l'intervention des forces de l'ordre, vers 21 h 45, des passants rapportent à la police [avoir](#) été témoins de rixes, vols et agressions sexuelles sur des femmes. « *Même l'apparition de la police et les mesures d'ordre n'ont pas dissuadé les groupes d'effectuer leurs méfaits, ni devant la gare de Cologne ni à l'intérieur* », relate le document. Alors que, vers 22 h 45, l'esplanade se remplit encore, les femmes présentes, « *accompagnées ou non, doivent effectuer une véritable "course d'obstacles" pour traverser la place de la Gare* ».

« LES FORCES DE POLICE N'ONT PU [MAÎTRISER](#) TOUS LES ÉVÉNEMENTS, IL Y EN AVAIT TROP EN MÊME TEMPS. »

Tenant compte des tirs de feux d'artifice, la police en vient à [conclure](#) qu'elle doit [évacuer](#) la place pour [éviter](#) « *des blessures graves ou même des morts* ». L'évacuation de la zone située entre les marches de la cathédrale et la gare a lieu vers 23 h 30, et se déroule très difficilement à cause de l'état de forte ébriété des personnes présentes. Au cours de l'opération, « *de nombreuses femmes et jeunes femmes choquées et en pleurs se rendent auprès des fonctionnaires de police présents et racontent avoir été agressées sexuellement par plusieurs hommes ou groupes d'étrangers* ».

« *Les forces de police n'ont pas pu maîtriser tous les événements, agressions ou délits, il y en avait trop en même temps* », poursuit le rapport, qui reconnaît que la police s'est trouvée dépassée au point, à certains moments critiques, « *de ne pas pouvoir enregistrer les plaintes* ».

AUX APPELS À L'AIDE, LES POLICIERS PEINENT À [RÉPONDRE](#) TANT LA FOULE SE RESSERRE, À TEL POINT QUE SEULE L'[AIDE](#) DES PASSANTS A PU [PERMETTRE](#)D'EMPÊCHER UN VIOL

Toute la gare est dans une situation de chaos et de très grande saleté, poursuit le rapport. La montée dans les trains est quasi impossible. Aux appels à l'aide qui résonnent dans la gare, les policiers peinent à répondre car les agresseurs forment un cercle autour des victimes et les empêchent d'intervenir, à tel point que seule l'aide des passants a pu permettre d'empêcher un viol. Certains témoins sont menacés par les agresseurs. « *Dans cette situation, aucune arrestation n'est possible en raison des capacités insuffisantes* » des autorités, est-il écrit dans le rapport, qui précise que les forces de police, dans leur intervention, ont été confrontées à un « *manque de respect* » que l'auteur, un cadre de police, n'a « *jamais vu en vingt-neuf ans de carrière* ».

Le nombre de plaintes liées aux événements de cette nuit-là à Cologne s'élève désormais à 121, contre 90 mardi à midi. On sait aujourd'hui qu'environ les trois quarts des plaintes font état d'agressions sexuelles, dont deux viols. Et les plaintes se multiplient également dans d'autres [villes](#) d'Allemagne pour des faits similaires : à Stuttgart, à Munich, à Berlin et à Hambourg, où 50 plaintes ont été enregistrées pour agressions sexuelles le soir du Nouvel An.

Le porte-parole de la police de la ville a précisé au Spiegel Online que les agressions de groupes d'hommes consistant à [encercler](#) des jeunes femmes pour les [agresser](#) sexuellement et les [voler](#) étaient un phénomène nouveau. Même lors de manifestations comme l'anniversaire du port, où les harcèlements et les vols sont courants, la police n'a jamais été confrontée à ce type de com

portements. Jeudi, comme depuis le début de la semaine, plusieurs responsables allemands, dont la chancelière Angela Merkel, ont promis de [faire](#) toute la lumière sur ces événements. Voire même d'expulser les individus responsables de ces actes.

## **Polizei verheimlichte offenbar Herkunft von Verdächtigen**

ERSTELLT 07.01.2016

Die Polizeiführung in Köln hat offenbar die Herkunft von Menschen verheimlicht, deren Papiere in der Silvesternacht am Kölner Hauptbahnhof kontrolliert wurden. Begründung: Das wäre „politisch heikel“ gewesen. Von Tim Stinauer und Detlef Schmalenberg

Druckenper Mail

Köln.

Der Druck auf den Kölner Polizeipräsidenten Wolfgang Albers nimmt weiter zu. Nach Recherchen des „Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger“ war der Kölner Polizeiführung schon früh in der Silvesternacht klar, dass es sich bei vielen der 1000 teilweise kriminellen jungen Männern vor dem Hauptbahnhof nicht nur um „Antänzer-Trickdiebe“ sondern auch um Männer aus Syrien, dem Irak und Afghanistan handelte, die erst seit kurzem in Deutschland leben. Bis heute will die Behörde das allerdings nicht offiziell bestätigen, spricht allgemein von „Nordafrikanern“ und „Menschen aus dem arabischen Raum“. Gewerkschafter halten es für möglich, dass „politische Gründe“ das Motiv für diese öffentliche Zurückhaltung sind.

Beamte hatten in jener Nacht rund um den Dom die Personalien von fast hundert Personen aus der Gruppe kontrolliert, weil diese Männer sich auffällig verhalten hatten. Anhaltspunkte für eine Festnahme hatte es in keinem der Fälle gegeben. Bei den „durchgeführten Personalienfeststellungen“ konnte sich der „überwiegende Teil der Personen lediglich mit einem Registrierungsbeleg als Asylsuchender“ des Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF) ausweisen, heißt es in einem internen Polizeibericht vom 2. Januar. Ob und falls ja, wie viele dieser 100 Kontrollierten womöglich auch sexuelle Übergriffe und Raubstraftaten begangen haben, ist noch unklar.

Noch in der ersten polizeiinternen Abschlussmeldung des Einsatzes am frühen Neujahrsmorgen, dem so genannten WE-Bericht („Wichtiges Ereignis“), soll der verantwortliche Dienstgruppenleiter der Polizei die Herkunft der kontrollierten Männer nach Informationen des „Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger“ bewusst verschwiegen haben – obwohl unter anderem auch der Einsatzleiter des Silvestereinsatzes darauf gedrängt haben soll, die Herkunft in dem Dokument zu nennen. Aber mit der sinngemäßen Begründung, dies sei „politisch heikel“, soll der Dienstgruppenleiter darauf verzichtet haben. Die WE-Meldung wurde am Neujahrsmorgen unter anderem auch Polizeipräsident Albers vorgelegt.

## Wer eine Gefahr darstellt

**Nach den Übergriffen in Köln entdecken die Politiker, die für die schleppende Anwendung der Ausweisung verantwortlich sind, dieses Instrument nun plötzlich. Denn niemand darf ins Land, niemand darf bleiben, der eine Gefahr darstellt.**

07.01.2016, von REINHARD MÜLLER

Auf einmal werden Dinge ausgesprochen, die vor ein paar Tagen nur denen unterstellt wurden, die man auf keinen Fall in den Parlamenten haben wollte. Auf einmal stellt sogar die Kanzlerin „einige sehr ernsthafte Fragen, die über Köln hinausgehen“; etwa, ob es „in Teilen von Gruppen“ Frauenverachtung gebe. Aber bedurfte es tatsächlich jener schlimmen Massenrandale in der Silvesternacht, um zu erahnen, dass das Frauenbild in jenen Ländern, aus denen Hunderttausende zu uns kamen, ziemlich anders ist als das hiesige? Die nun von der Bundesregierung geforderten klaren Zeichen hat sie doch selbst schon lange vor Weihnachten gesetzt: Macht hoch die Tür, die Tor macht weit. Jetzt entdecken auf einmal jene Politiker ihr Herz für die Abschiebung, welche die Verantwortung dafür tragen, dass dieses Instrument selbst im Fall straffälliger Ausländer über Jahrzehnte kaum angewendet worden ist. Auch künftig liegt ein „schwerwiegendes Ausweisungsinteresse“ nur bei rechtskräftiger Verurteilung wegen vorsätzlich begangener Straftaten von mindestens einem Jahr vor. Aber warum sollen nur Verbrecher gehen müssen?



Autor: Reinhard Müller, In der politischen Redaktion verantwortlich für „Zeitgeschehen“ und für „Staat und Recht“. Folgen:

Schön, wenn die Kanzlerin jetzt über die Grundlagen des kulturellen Zusammenlebens sprechen will. Dabei zeigt sich immer mehr, dass die schlichte Anerkennung des geltenden Rechts von vielen schon viel verlangt. Doch ist die Rechtsordnung auch ein Ausdruck der hiesigen Kultur der Freiheit und der Gleichberechtigung. Der plötzliche Ruf nach Härte ist eine billige Ablenkung von fehlender Härte an der offenen deutschen Grenze und ein Ausdruck von peinlicher Hilflosigkeit; denn an Regeln fehlt es nicht. Sexuelle Nötigung und auch Diebstahl könnten schon jetzt mit mehrjährigen Haftstrafen geahndet werden. Doch das einzige, was viele Opfer von Straftaten vom Staat zu hören bekommen ist: Verfahren eingestellt.

Es ist an der Zeit, die „sehr ernsthaften Fragen“, die sich viele Bürger mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund, auch Polizisten, Menschenrechtler und Verfassungsschützer schon lange stellen, endlich zu beantworten. Niemand darf ins Land, niemand darf bleiben, der eine Gefahr darstellt. Und: Niemand darf für dumm verkauft werden. Für Arbeitsmigranten hatte sich die CSU den Spruch einfallen lassen: Wer betrügt, fliegt. Diesen Anspruch darf man auch an die Politik stellen.

## An der Krise im Nahen Osten ist der Westen schuld

Saudi-Arabien und Iran stehen vor einem Krieg. Indem die USA, Briten, Franzosen und Deutschen das Streben des Iran nach Hegemonie belohnen, eskalieren sie. Die Büchse der Pandora ist geöffnet.

Von [Richard Herzinger](#) Korrespondent für Politik und Gesellschaft



Das Duell der beiden nächstlichen Großmächte: Saudi-Arabien König Salman ibn Abd al-Aziz und Irans oberster Führer Ali ChameneiFoto: DPA, Welt Edition

Die weltweite Empörung ist enorm: Saudi-Arabien hat 47 Todesurteile auf einen Schlag vollstreckt. Hingerichtet wurde auch der schiitische Prediger Scheich [Nimr Baker al-Nimr](#). Dass Saudi-Arabien mit dieser Terrorjustiz den böartigen, Menschenrechte zynisch missachtenden Charakter seines despotischen Herrschaftssystems unterstrichen hat, steht außer Frage. Die berechtigten Proteste dagegen wären aber glaubwürdiger, riefen die Zustände in der Islamischen Republik Iran, dessen Regime jetzt am lautesten gegen die Saudis wettert, bei uns auch nur annähernd ähnlich heftige Reaktionen hervor.

Im Iran sind alleine in der ersten Jahreshälfte 2015 fast [700 Menschen hingerichtet](#) worden – das ist siebenmal mehr als im selben Zeitraum in Saudi-Arabien. Die Zahl der Exekutionen hat noch einmal dramatisch zugenommen, seit der im Westen als "gemäßigt" gepriesene Präsident Hassan Ruhani im Amt ist.

Laut Amnesty International wird diese exzessive Anwendung der Todesstrafe im Iran von Gerichten praktiziert, "die weder unabhängig noch unparteiisch agieren. Todesurteile werden entweder auf der Grundlage vage formulierter oder zu weit gefasster Anklagen verhängt oder für Handlungen, die keine Straftat darstellen und auf gar keinen Fall die Todesstrafe nach sich ziehen sollten".

### Irans Völkerrechtsverstöße

Gerichtsverfahren im Iran, so Amnesty weiter, "sind ausgesprochen mangelhaft. Gefangenen wird während der Ermittlungen oft der Zugang zu ihrem Rechtsbeistand verwehrt und die Berufungs-, Begnadigungs- und Strafumwandlungsverfahren sind defizitär".

In den meisten Fällen wurden die Todesurteile für tatsächliche und vermeintliche Drogendelikte verhängt – was massiv gegen das Völkerrecht verstößt, das die ultimative Strafe auf "schwerste Verbrechen" wie vorsätzliche Tötung beschränkt. Exekutionen finden im Iran zudem öffentlich statt: Delinquenten werden an Baukränen aufgehängt.

Diese erschreckenden Tatsachen haben westliche Politiker und Kommentatoren jedoch nicht daran gehindert, dem Hinrichtungsstaat Iran den Willen zum reformerischen Wandel zu bescheinigen. Neuerdings wird er zum vielversprechenden Handelspartner und unverzichtbaren Stabilisierungsfaktor in Syrien und dem Nahen Osten nobilitiert.

### Russlands Einflussphäre

Durch den Abschluss des Atomabkommens mit dem Iran, das Teheran die grundsätzliche Option auf den Nuklearwaffenbau belässt, und mit der Einleitung eines "Friedensprozesses" für Syrien, der in Wahrheit die Kapitulation vor den Bedingungen Russlands und Irans beinhaltet, hat sich der Westen faktisch hinter Teheran und sein Hegemonialstreben in der Region gestellt.

Indem er vor Putins erpresserischer Gewaltpolitik in die Knie gegangen ist und eingewilligt hat, das von Moskau und Teheran gestützte massenmörderische Assad-Regime an der Macht zu belassen, hat der Westen signalisiert, dass er Russland und Iran einen großen Teil Syriens als Einflussosphäre zu überlassen bereit ist.

Nicht anders wird das jedenfalls von den sunnitisch-arabischen Mächten um Saudi-Arabien gesehen, die darauf mit verschärften Vorbereitungen auf die große kriegerische Konfrontation mit dem auftrumpfenden schiitischen Rivalen reagieren. Die Aufkündigung des Waffenstillstands mit der proiranischen [Huthi-Miliz im Jemen](#) ist ebenso eine Folge davon wie die jüngste Bildung einer sunnitischen Anti-Terror-Allianz unter Führung Saudi-Arabiens, die nicht nur den IS, sondern "jede Art von Terrorismus" bekämpfen soll. Was heißt, dass sie nicht zuletzt als Instrument gegen das weitere Vordringen Irans mittels ihm ergebener Stellvertretertruppen in den arabischen Raum gedacht ist.

Vom Todfeind zum Verbündeten

Wie ernst diese Signale aus Riad gemeint sind, zeigt die Hinrichtung des proiranischen Geistlichen und der danach erfolgte Abbruch der diplomatischen Beziehungen zum Iran durch Saudi-Arabien und Bahrain. Dem schloss sich die Einstellung der Handelsbeziehungen zu Teheran und der Flugverbindungen in den Iran an.

Das alles hat bereits den Geruch einer Einstimmung auf den offenen Kriegszustand. Auf der anderen Seite quittiert Iran die westlichen Zugeständnisse in der Atomfrage mit dem weiteren Ausbau seines Raketenarsenals und mit provokativen Raketentests. Die bedrohliche iranische Raketenrüstung hatten die westlichen Regierungen in Washington und London aus den Atomverhandlungen mit dem Iran ausgeblendet, weil sie unbedingt einen vermeintlich erfolgreichen Vertragsabschluss mit dem Mullah-Regime vorweisen wollten.

Die Saudis und ihre Verbündeten aber betrachten diesen als einen Freibrief, den der Westen Teheran für seine Aufrüstung und Expansion in der Region gegeben habe. Sie interpretieren die westliche Annäherung an die Islamische Republik als Verrat an ihren Interessen und offenen Seitenwechsel ihrer bisherigen westlichen Verbündeten zugunsten ihres iranischen Todfeindes.

Sie glauben, ihre Gegenwehr nun allein aus eigenen Kräften, ohne Abstimmung mit der traditionellen Garantiemacht USA in Angriff nehmen zu müssen. Entsprechend maßlos schlagen sie um sich. Auch die Nuklearbewaffnung Saudi-Arabiens dürfte jetzt kaum mehr aufzuhalten sein.

*Nur ein starker Westen kann auch die wachsende Aggressionsbereitschaft der Saudis und des sunnitisch-arabischen Machtblocks eindämmen*

Es zeigt sich, dass jene "Realpolitiker", die eine Duldung des Assad-Regimes als notwendige Konzession auf dem Weg zur Pazifizierung und Stabilisierung Syriens hinstellen, realitätsfernen Fehldeutungen aufsitzen. Der Fortbestand des Schlächterregimes in Damaskus ist die Quelle des uferlosen syrischen Gemetzels und kein "kleineres Übel".

Weit davon entfernt, Syrien den Frieden zu bringen, hat das westliche Einknicken vor der kriminellen Allianz Moskaus und Teherans mit diesem Regime das Abgleiten der Region in einen großen Krieg erheblich beschleunigt. Doch ist nicht abzusehen, dass die Staatslenker in Washington und den europäischen Hauptstädten von ihrer Anbiederung an die russisch-iranische Achse ablassen.

Die Akzeptanz Assads hat sich längst bis in ihre Sprachregelung durchgesetzt. So redete die Bundeskanzlerin in ihrer Neujahrsansprache allgemein vom "Krieg in Syrien" und nannte nur "das bestialische Morden des IS" beim Namen. Das von Putin und den iranischen Mullahs jahrelang gedeckte und unterstützte bestialische Morden des Assad-Regimes, das die syrische Katastrophe ausgelöst hat, findet keine Erwähnung mehr. **Nur ein starker Westen aber, der entschlossen ist, den destruktiven Einfluss Putins und seines schiitisch-islamistischen Alliierten zurückzudrängen, kann auch die wachsende Aggressionsbereitschaft der Saudis und des sunnitisch-arabischen Machtblocks eindämmen.**

135,151

## Apprentissage: comment l'Allemagne met la France KO

Par [Marine Rabreau](#)

Publié le 08/01/2016 à 06:00



**LE SCAN ÉCO / INFOGRAPHIE - L'Allemagne compte trois fois plus d'apprentis qu'en France et un taux de chômage des jeunes trois fois moindre. Analyse détaillée et infographiée de deux systèmes très différents à l'efficacité opposée.**

L'apprentissage immunise durablement contre le risque de chômage et protège les jeunes dans l'ensemble de leur vie professionnelle. La preuve avec l'Allemagne, qui compte **trois fois plus d'apprentis qu'en France** (et plus que tout autre pays européen), et présente **un taux de chômage des jeunes trois fois moindre** (le plus faible d'Europe). «Les jeunes Allemands, pour qui l'apprentissage est une voie d'excellence valorisée par les familles et par les entreprises, ont peu de mal à intégrer le marché du travail et peuvent largement espérer évoluer dans leur carrière», assure [Bertrand Martinot](#), spécialiste du travail et de la formation, citant également les exemples suisse, autrichien et hollandais. En revanche en France, «l'obsession du diplôme, l'hétérogénéité des parcours et la complexité des circuits relèguent, de fait, l'apprentissage au fond de la classe des filières de formation», déplore encore ce dernier qui a travaillé sur [une étude comparative approfondie entre les deux pays](#).

L'Allemagne surclasse en effet nettement et à tout point de vue la France en matière de formation et d'emplois pour les jeunes:

# APPRENTISSAGE COMPARATIF

## FRANCE Vs ALLEMAGNE

### TAUX DE CHÔMAGE DES JEUNES

24,8 %



7,80 %



### TAUX D'EMPLOI DES JEUNES

28,4 %



46,9 %



### NOMBRE D'APPRENTIS

0,4 million



1,4 million



### NOMBRE D'APPRENTIS EN % DU NOMBRE DE JEUNES\*

\*15-24 ANS

5,20 %



16 %



### PROPORTION DE FEMMES

33,3 %



39 %



### PROPORTION DE JEUNES PASSANT PAR L'APPRENTISSAGE

26 %



55,7 %



### DURÉE DES CONTRATS D'APPRENTISSAGE

1,7 an



3 ans



### RÉMUNÉRATION MOYENNE

787 €



708 €



### PROPORTION D'APPRENTIS EMBAUCHÉS À L'ISSUE DE LA FORMATION

33 %



66 %



### TAUX DE RUPTURE DES CONTRATS

28,10 %



24,40 %



### MÉTIER DE LA PRODUCTION

57,40 %



40,60 %



### MÉTIER DE SERVICE

42,60 %



59,40 %



Certes, en France, la voie professionnelle ne se résume pas à l'apprentissage (il y a aussi les contrats professionnels et les lycées professionnels). Ce qui biaise -un peu- ces chiffres. Force est de constater: le système français fonctionne moins bien «en matière de responsabilités entre les acteurs, de la valeur sociale accordée aux voies professionnelles, et des modes de reconnaissance de la qualification dans l'emploi et la carrière», [assure-t-on au Centre d'analyse stratégique](#).

- Des cultures différentes

En Allemagne, l'apprentissage est une voie sélective (âge élevé et diplôme à l'entrée), exigeante aussi bien pour l'apprenti que pour l'entreprise d'accueil (avec des contrats de longue durée). Il est considéré comme le mode d'accès quasi-exclusif aux emplois de qualification moyenne qui garantissent des débouchés professionnels satisfaisants et des perspectives de progression ultérieure dans des entreprises. «Dans un contexte démographique où la ressource en main d'œuvre qualifiée est rare, les entreprises sont fortement impliquées, quels que soient leur taille et leur secteur d'activité, et y recourent largement comme pré-embauche», assure Bertrand Martinot.

En France en revanche, l'apprentissage est depuis toujours davantage considéré comme un outil de la politique de l'emploi susceptible d'insérer les jeunes en échec scolaire. «L'apprentissage apparaît pour les entreprises comme un moyen pour elles de limiter leur coût du travail», estime Bertrand Martinot. Il est surtout pratiqué dans les TPE (très petites entreprises), dans des métiers relativement peu rémunérés, dont les perspectives professionnelles sont souvent médiocres et le plus souvent sans intention d'embauche à l'issue de la formation. Face à ce constat, les pouvoirs publics français ont encouragé l'apprentissage dans l'enseignement supérieur. Mais cela a eu pour effet de raccourcir la durée moyenne des contrats d'apprentissage: «Les entreprises et les écoles d'enseignement supérieur tendent à utiliser l'apprentissage comme une sorte de 'super-stage'», analyse l'expert.

- Un système éducatif allemand plus efficace

La différence fondamentale entre l'Allemagne et la France en matière d'apprentissage se situe en amont, à l'école. Tandis que l'Hexagone a opté dans les années 1970 pour le collège unique pour les 11-15 ans, l'Allemagne a conservé pour cette tranche d'âge un système d'enseignement général éclaté.

Les jeunes allemands doivent faire un choix dès 11-12 ans, au moment de l'entrée dans le premier cycle de l'enseignement secondaire. «Dès lors, 60% des jeunes ne suivent pas un enseignement secondaire général mais sont orientés vers un enseignement professionnel de qualité, très majoritairement en apprentissage», explique Bertrand Martinot.

De son côté, la France donne théoriquement à tous les jeunes de moins de 16 ans les mêmes chances d'obtenir tous les diplômes possibles par la suite. Sauf qu'en réalité, les élèves sont marqués à vie par leur orientation (enseignement général, professionnel, différentes séries du baccalauréat...). Par ailleurs, même dans les filières professionnelles, l'enseignement général (français, histoire, mathématiques, etc.) reste trop fort et ne varie pas d'un cursus à un autre, tandis que l'enseignement pratique de la vie en entreprise est trop peu développé.

- Un financement «décourageant» en France

Une autre différence de taille réside dans le mode de financement du système. En Allemagne, en l'absence d'un mécanisme de mutualisation des coûts, la quasi-totalité de la formation pratique est à la charge des entreprises. En France, l'Etat et les régions restent les principaux financeurs d'un système d'apprentissage très complexe, au travers par exemple d'une multitude d'exonérations de cotisations sociales, d'aides pour les employeurs et des dépenses consacrées au fonctionnement des Centres de formation des apprentis (CFA).

Cette complexité s'accompagne en France d'une forte instabilité juridique que politique. Les aides financières à l'apprentissage ont été rognées au début du quinquennat de [François Hollande](#), avant d'être rétablies sous d'autres formes en 2015. Une pagaille qui a découragé un peu plus les entrepreneurs, qui sont déjà perdus à l'idée de savoir combien ils vont devoir payer leur apprenti: en effet, selon son âge et sa qualification, [il touchera 25%, 37%, 41%, 49%, 53%, 61%, 65% ou 78% du smic](#). Et encore, si la branche concernée n'impose pas d'autres taux...

- Une organisation bien trop compliquée en France

En [Allemagne](#), l'ensemble des politiques de formation, de l'enseignement professionnel et de la recherche sont pris en charge par un même ministère. Alors qu'en [France](#), le ministère de l'Éducation nationale gère l'enseignement professionnel scolaire mais partage avec le ministère du Travail la responsabilité de l'apprentissage...

Côté organisation générale, en Allemagne, le niveau central agit comme une tête de réseau de tous les organismes régionaux responsables de la formation professionnelle et associe étroitement à sa gouvernance les partenaires sociaux et les Länder. Ces derniers mettent en place la politique nationale et assurent seuls la tutelle et le financement des écoles professionnelles.

Alors qu'en France, -c'est quasi-inexplicable- les régions conventionnent et subventionnent (sur des montants compliqués à calculer) les CFA. Elles élaborent aussi ledit «contrat de plan régional des formations et de l'orientation professionnelles», qui inclut aussi bien l'apprentissage que l'enseignement professionnelle par voie scolaire. Un contrat «qui doit être cosigné par le préfet de région et le recteur. Quant à l'approbation du contrat par les partenaires sociaux, elle n'est que facultative», explique Bertrand Martinot.

- Pas de lisibilité en France

Autre exemple significatif: en France, les offres des entreprises et les demandes des jeunes restent éclatées entre le [service public de l'emploi \(SPE\)](#), [Pôle emploi](#) et les [missions locales](#) et ne sont pas rassemblées. Le site pôle-emploi.fr ne propose pas de service dédiée aux candidats à l'apprentissage: ils doivent trouver un employeur et un CFA par eux-mêmes. En Allemagne, l'équivalent de Pôle emploi propose une entrée spécifique pour les apprentis sur son site, avec des offres claires classées selon les référentiels des 331 métiers éligibles à l'apprentissage... mis à jour régulièrement selon les besoins des entreprises.

135,155

## Migrants : la possible bombe démographique

Les agressions sexuelles d'une centaine de femmes en Allemagne ont suffi à lancer une polémique sur la disproportion du nombre d'hommes parmi les réfugiés.

PAR MICHEL COLOMÈS

Publié le 08/01/2016 à 06:15 | Le Point.fr

Cela a été « une soirée globalement calme ». Le jugement particulièrement minimaliste de la police de Cologne puis ses trois jours de silence complet, avant un aveu embarrassé sur les [graves incidents qui ont marqué la soirée du réveillon du 1er janvier](#), non seulement dans la grande cité du nord de l'Allemagne, mais aussi dans quatre autres villes du pays, ont enflammé les esprits comme jamais depuis le début de la crise migratoire. D'autant que le gouvernement continue d'entretenir le flou sur la nationalité de ceux qui, rien qu'à Cologne, ont entraîné le dépôt de 125 plaintes de femmes molestées, attouchées, volées et, pour deux d'entre elles, violées, dans les parages et les couloirs de métro proches de la cathédrale et de la gare de la ville. Tout ce que l'on sait aujourd'hui provient du témoignage des victimes, qui parlent de leurs agresseurs comme d'hommes de type arabe ou nord-africain.

Mais cela a suffi pour faire immédiatement écho dans l'opinion allemande, et au-delà, à une inquiétude qui jusqu'alors n'était partagée que par certains experts en démographie ou en sociologie : le nombre de réfugiés hommes arrivés en Europe depuis le début de la crise migratoire excède de beaucoup celui des femmes. Au point que, si aucune mesure de contrôle n'est prise, le déficit de femmes dans la population d'étrangers cherchant à s'établir en Europe va complètement transformer le rapport entre les sexes dans ces pays.

### 69 % d'hommes

D'après les statistiques de l'Organisation internationale pour les migrations établies pour les onze premiers mois de 2015 sur l'ensemble des migrants, toutes provenances confondues, plus de 69 % sont des hommes, contre 13 % de femmes et 18 % de mineurs. Parmi ces derniers, la moitié sont sans famille connue. Enfin, dans cette même population, 90 % sont de jeunes hommes.

L'une des explications de ce phénomène est que, lorsqu'une famille syrienne, par exemple, décide de s'exiler pour fuir la guerre, elle fait d'abord une étape dans un camp en Turquie, au Liban ou en Jordanie. Puis, au bout de quelque temps, comme les conditions de vie dans ces endroits sont très précaires, les hommes décident de partir en éclaireurs en tentant l'aventure du voyage vers l'Europe. Avec l'espoir que leurs familles pourront bientôt les rejoindre. Mais, comme cela se passe rarement aussi bien que prévu, sauf pour ceux qui ont beaucoup d'argent, les situations de séparation perdurent. Avec les hommes parvenus dans un pays européen, mais souvent dans une situation si incertaine – absence de papiers, permis provisoires – qu'ils ne peuvent faire venir leurs familles.

### Familles et femmes seules

Par ailleurs, parmi les mineurs sans famille – dont 90 % sont des garçons –, la quasi-totalité de ceux qui se présentent dans les pays européens se voit accorder le droit d'asile, pour des raisons humanitaires évidentes. Mais la conséquence démographique est inquiétante : ainsi, la Suède vient de s'apercevoir que, dans sa population de 16 à 18 ans, le ratio est aujourd'hui de 123 garçons pour 100 filles. C'est un déficit plus important que celui de la Chine (117 pour 100), après des années de campagne pour un fils unique. [Une politique antinataliste d'ailleurs abandonnée depuis quelques mois par Pékin](#) parce que jugée dangereuse.

Cette bombe à retardement démographique a amené certains pays soit à fermer presque totalement leurs frontières (Hongrie, Pologne, Tchéquie, Slovaquie, Danemark, Suède), soit à contrôler strictement le flux des arrivants. Ainsi, le Canada, qui avait généreusement annoncé par la voix de son jeune et tout nouveau Premier ministre Justin Trudeau qu'il était prêt à accueillir 25 000 réfugiés, vient de préciser les conditions d'entrée de ceux-ci sur son territoire : désormais ne seront admises au Canada que les familles et les femmes seules.

Pour éviter que cette disproportion entre les sexes ne vienne à provoquer des incidents en Europe, dont les réfugiés sont déjà accusés à Cologne, il ne reste plus qu'à souhaiter et à faciliter le retour de conditions normales de vie en Syrie, en Irak et en Afghanistan. Seule condition pour espérer la réunification de familles aujourd'hui dramatiquement dispersées.

## Slovakia: Pessimism Over Migrants

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

8 January 2016

Prime Minister Robert Fico said Thursday that his government would not allow Muslims to create “a compact community” and that integrating refugees was impossible. Slovakia has a tiny Muslim community of several thousand people. Last month, the government filed a legal challenge to a plan by the European Union to distribute migrants among members of the bloc. “The idea of multicultural Europe has failed,” Mr. Fico said, and “the migrants cannot be integrated.”

## **Europe's Closing Borders**

**Support for free travel is contingent on better law and order.**

Jan. 7, 2016 7:13 p.m. ET

**Enjoy traveling easily throughout Europe while you can, because who knows how long it will be before you need to show your passport at every border.** Sweden this week extended the temporary border checks it has imposed along its boundary with Denmark, and Denmark is imposing spot passport checks at some crossings from Germany.

**Such steps are part of an attempt to manage the fallout from Angela Merkel's open invitation to Middle Eastern refugees in September.** Some one million migrants took up the Chancellor's offer last year, and Germany's belated efforts to strike an EU-wide deal to share responsibility for processing asylum claims and resettling refugees have gone nowhere. **Nor does Turkey appear to be abiding by a November deal under which it was supposed to stanch the refugee flows in exchange for billions of euros.**

**Instead, those refugees are making their own plans once they reach Europe.** Sweden, with its generous welfare state, now has the highest concentration of asylum-seekers relative to its population. Stockholm has been trying to close off every route by which migrants find their way northward.

**Denmark joins Finland and Norway in clamping down on its own border to avoid getting stuck with the thousands of asylum-seekers Sweden won't accept.** In the meantime, border controls are still in place between Germany and Austria, and the Austrians have put up a fence along their border with Slovenia.

**There's a political warning here.** Voters who otherwise appreciate Europe's borderless travel within the so-called **Schengen Zone** will demand controls when their governments cannot manage mass migration or guarantee law and order. **All the more so as European politicians are slow to adopt measures to bolster security.** Brussels has still done little to impose tightened passport checks for EU nationals returning from places like Syria, and Europe's external-borders agency Frontex remains chronically underfunded.

**Mrs. Merkel may have finally realized the political danger her ill-judged asylum policy has put her in, particularly as allegations of sexual assaults perpetrated by immigrants in Cologne raise questions about whether authorities can maintain basic law and order amid the mass influx.** "[T]he Schengen system can only work if there is joint responsibility for taking in refugees and joint responsibility for protecting the external borders," she said Thursday.

**The real issue for Mrs. Merkel and other EU leaders isn't where the refugees go once they are in Europe. It's whether Europe can manage its wider borders while doing more to bring order to the political chaos from Libya to Afghanistan that is driving these refugees toward Europe's beckoning shore.** A borderless Europe is still a dream worth having -- so long as Europe's leaders are willing to do the hard work to keep it from descending into a nightmare.

BRUSSELS BEAT

## Downside Risks Loom Over Europe's Economic Prospects in 2016

China's faltering growth is one of many unsettling factors for Europe's economy, which needs all the help it can get



ENLARGE New cars from Audi and Mercedes Benz await export in Bremerhaven, Germany.

By STEPHEN FIDLER

Updated Jan. 8, 2016 12:02 a.m. ET

As the new year begins, China is rattling the world's financial markets. No longer can the world's second-largest economy be relied upon as a motor to drive global economic expansion. That isn't good news for growth anywhere in the world, let alone for Europe, where the economy needs all the help it can get.

True, the eurozone has been emerging from the economic doldrums. New figures released Thursday by the European Union's statistics agency show the eurozone's unemployment rate has fallen to its lowest level in four years.

But what's perhaps more remarkable--and worrying for European policy makers--is how slowly growth is recovering even with the powerful tailwinds of a weak euro, rock-bottom interest rates and very low energy prices. Eurozone growth in 2015 was estimated at 1.6% by the European Commission in November, and is forecast to creep up to 1.8% this year and 1.9% in 2017.

One small positive note for Europe in China's weakness might be a further spur in the dollar's value, which rose in the past week recent days to its highest level since 2002 against a basket of commonly traded currencies.

Already, the strengthening of the dollar against the euro has been a godsend for some European companies, helping them to increase their global market share.

Despite this, there are underlying weaknesses in the eurozone economy that have been masked by the easy-money policies of the European Central Bank, some of which help to explain why the recovery has been so hesitant. The probability of Greece being ejected from the currency union, which spiked in 2015, has faded, but plenty of other economic concerns remain.

Policy makers privately complain that the momentum toward the structural economic reforms still needed to build a platform for longer-term growth has ground to a halt.

Furthermore, they say underlying improvements in government finances have stalled. Headline budget deficits have fallen but that is due largely to the pickup in growth and the low interest rates that, thanks to the ECB, governments now pay to borrow.

The budget picture is a two-edged sword for the eurozone economy. Because fiscal policy is relatively relaxed--and may become more so with increased government spending on swelling numbers of refugees--it should be helping current growth. But it may reduce the future scope for fiscal action come the next downturn.

In many countries, heavy debt burdens, both private and public, are restraining growth. Economies can grow or inflate their way out of debts; often they have done both. The eurozone is doing neither.

Growth in the eurozone's nominal gross domestic product--a measure that adds real growth and inflation--was less than 2% in 2015. That might not improve much this year: In an assessment published Thursday, economists at Citi Research forecast real growth at 1.7% and inflation at 0.5% for an expected increase in nominal GDP of just 2.2%.

That slow growth in nominal GDP makes it hard for private debtors to shuck off debts. While the banking system is in better shape overall than at the height of the crisis, there are pockets of fragility that bother policy makers, and not only in crisis-hit countries such as Greece, Cyprus and Portugal. Nonperforming loans in eurozone banks are around EUR1 trillion (\$1.08 trillion), in a banking system with total assets exceeding EUR20 trillion, but some 30% of these are in Italy, where they make up around an eighth of total bank assets.

"Nonperforming loans in Italy have reached systemic levels hindering the recovery," the International Monetary Fund said in its 2015 assessment of the Italian economy. It said the problem is particularly acute in the country's smaller banks.

Italy has in recent weeks underlined the potential for weak banks to cause political trouble. A rescue of four small banks there in November cost EUR3.6 billion and wiped out shareholders and junior bondholders, many of them small investors who took to the streets in protest against the government of Matteo Renzi. This year tougher European Union rules were introduced aimed at reducing taxpayer bailouts, but that could see senior bondholders and even large depositors suffering losses if banks fail.

Indeed, one theme to which economists return repeatedly for the coming year is politics. Economic integration is threatened by terrorism spinning out from the Middle East and by the refugee crisis, which has encouraged countries such as Germany, Sweden and Denmark to reimpose border controls. Antiestablishment political parties have gained ground in some countries, with one taking power in Poland last year.

Political uncertainty is high in Spain following an inconclusive election last month, and is likely to continue in Portugal and Greece. In 2017, elections are due in France and in Germany, where Chancellor Angela Merkel is under political pressure because of her refugee policies. A British referendum is likely this year on whether the U.K. should stay in the EU. A vote to leave would increase uncertainty about prospects for both the British and eurozone economies.

All being well, the European economy should stumble through 2016 in reasonable, even slightly improving, shape. But most of the risks appear to be on the downside.

## EU Far From Satisfied With Turkish Migrant Cooperation

Number of migrants entering the bloc must be slowed down, says Dutch prime minister

By [VALENTINA POP](#)

Jan. 7, 2016 10:42 a.m. ET

AMSTERDAM—The European Union is increasing pressure on Turkey to reduce the number of migrants crossing into Greece, as the Netherlands takes over the bloc's rotating presidency.

It is of "crucial importance" that the influx of migrants via Turkey slows down, said Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte at a joint news conference with EU officials in Amsterdam on Thursday.

Members of the European Commission are visiting the Netherlands to officially mark the Dutch presidency of the EU Council. Discussions over Europe's influx of migrants are bound to arise during the six months' presidency tenure.

More than 1 million people arrived in Europe last year, mostly from war-torn regions in the Middle East who crossed through Turkey.

"The numbers have to come down considerably. We can't continue with the current numbers," Mr. Rutte said.

At the end of November, the EU struck a deal with Ankara that Turkey would take steps to cut the flow of migrants in return for €3 billion (\$3.22 billion). The money was for projects aimed at integrating Syrian refugees, helping Turkey with its bid for EU membership and for speeding up negotiations on granting visa-free travel to Turkish citizens.

But at the end of December, some 90,000 people had arrived in the EU via Turkey, compared with a little over 100,000 in November, according to preliminary figures provided by the bloc's border agency, Frontex.

European Commission Vice President Frans Timmermans, who was in charge of negotiating the migration deal, will return to Ankara on Sunday to press Turkish officials on significantly reducing the flow of people.

Speaking alongside Mr. Rutte on Thursday, Mr. Timmermans said the EU is still "a long way from being satisfied" with what Turkey has done so far.

"The only benchmark is to bring figures down. Over the past weeks, figures remained relatively high, so there is still a lot of work to do there," he said.

Turkish government officials didn't respond to requests for comment.

Turkey has repeatedly blamed the United Nations and the international community for failing to halt the Syrian war, while criticizing Russia for fueling an exodus of refugees by carrying out airstrikes against Western-backed rebels and civilians in northern Syria.

Winter storms have done little to deter mostly Syrian refugees from entering Europe via Turkey and across the Aegean Sea to Greece. At least 36 people drowned this week on the deadly route that claimed 805 lives in 2015, according to the International Organization for Migration.

Turkey hosts more than 2.2 million Syrian refugees and some 300,000 Iraqi refugees who have fled conflicts and Islamic State violence as Turkey's neighbors have plunged into internal strife.



Within the EU, the focus has shifted over the past months from efforts to redistribute migrants more evenly across the bloc to building up border protection—a request that central and Eastern European countries have repeatedly made since last summer.

Both Mr. Rutte and the head of the commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, said that for asylum seekers to be distributed evenly, it is essential for the Greece-Turkey border to be protected efficiently. The so-called EU relocation program, aimed at moving a total of 160,000 asylum seekers out of Italy and Greece to other EU countries has so far moved just 272 Syrians and Eritreans. This is partly because people move more quickly on their own to their preferred destination—usually Germany or Scandinavian countries—and partly because countries have shown little appetite to take in refugees.

In return, Germany, Denmark and Sweden have reintroduced border controls, raising fears that passport-free travel among most EU countries will be abolished.

“We can't go on day after day with another member state reintroducing border controls. I have some understanding for Sweden, as it has to face a huge burden, but the collective answer is not the reintroduction of border controls,” Mr. Juncker said on Thursday.

On Wednesday, the migration minister of Sweden, Morgan Johansson, said his country received 160,000 asylum seekers last year, double the previous record. In the two months before Sweden introduced border controls, 26,000 unaccompanied minors arrived, he said.

“That means 1,000 school classes arriving in Sweden in two months,” Mr. Johansson said.

Apart from pressing Turkey to reduce the migration influx, EU officials also want to speed up the adoption of a new border agency that would have the power to dispatch ships and guards more quickly when a crisis situation arises. The Dutch presidency aims to have a political green light for this by June, as pledged by EU leaders in December.

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## **'Frau Merkel invited me'**

### Chancellor's refugee policy in tatters after Cologne sex attacks.

By **MATTHEW KARNITSCHNIG**

1/7/16, 11:03 PM CET

BERLIN — Public fury over the sexual assault of dozens of women in [Cologne](#) on New Year's Eve exploded into a political crisis for Angela Merkel following reports Thursday that asylum seekers were among the attackers.

Outrage over the attacks, including two alleged rapes, has been building all week but reached fever pitch after a police report describing the events revealed that asylum seekers were among the perpetrators. Authorities said previously they had no indication those behind the assaults were refugees, describing the suspects as "North African."

"During identity checks, the vast majority could only provide their asylum-seeker registration papers," an excerpt of the report published by [Die Welt](#) said. The paper quoted an officer who claimed the majority of the roughly 80 individuals checked were of Syrian origin. The head of federal police union confirmed in an interview with German television late Thursday that refugees were involved.

The revelations are a setback for the German leader. Merkel succeeded in restoring a degree of confidence in her controversial migration policies in December by presenting a strategy aimed at stemming the flow of refugees and devoting more resources to integrating the more than 1 million who arrived in 2015.

The Cologne attacks, coupled with [fresh evidence](#) that the influx of new arrivals has not slowed, has put her back on the defensive.

#### Losing the center

The biggest danger to Merkel isn't from the far-right, which will use the attacks to hammer its anti-immigration message, but from the center. Throughout the refugee crisis, Merkel has retained the solid backing of centrist voters. The assaults, which have inflamed passions even among moderates, could change that.

"Women who are on the street at 1 a.m. or 1:30 a.m. are considered whores and German women are generally considered open game" —*Social Democrat Heinz Buschkowski*

For many Germans, the events in Cologne have confirmed suspicions that men from the Middle East do not respect the independence and freedom that Western women enjoy.

"They have a completely different view of women than we do here," Heinz Buschkowski, a prominent Social Democrat and expert on Germany's Muslim population, told German radio Thursday. "Women who are on the street at 1 a.m. or 1:30 a.m. are considered whores and German women are generally considered open game."

Such views, which evoke old stereotypes of dark-skinned men out to prey on white women, have mainly been shared behind closed doors in recent months as Germans embraced the *Willkommenskultur*. The Cologne attacks have brought the concerns into the open.

On Wednesday, Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière was asked at a news conference whether he was "concerned about the view of women among migrants."

De Maizière dodged the question, saying it was essential that the refugees "recognize our system of values," including the equality between men and women.

The minister, who oversees the federal police but not local forces, was caught off-guard by the attacks. He criticized the local police for not doing more to respond.

Over the past few days, a parade of senior government officials has called for stricter measures to deal with such violence, including deporting the perpetrators.

“We need to look at whether we have done everything that is necessary in terms of necessitating departures in order to send a clear signal to those who aren’t willing to follow our laws,” Merkel said Thursday.

Yet the demands for quick deportations appear unrealistic. German law makes it difficult to deport criminal asylum seekers, especially if they could face retribution in their home countries. Regarding the Cologne attacks, several police officials said it would likely be impossible to positively identify those responsible due to the large number of people at the scene.

With such a large population of refugees, many of whom are young men, authorities warn that further assaults are inevitable.

Earlier this week the mayor of Cologne, herself the victim of a brutal stabbing attack last year over her support of refugees, urged women to maintain an “arm’s length distance” from men in crowds. She was widely ridiculed for the suggestion.

What has shocked many in the country is the location of the attacks. Cologne is considered one of the most open and liberal cities in Germany.

On Thursday, German authorities disclosed details of another alleged rape on New Year’s Eve involving Syrian refugees. Two teenage girls, aged 14 and 15, told police they were repeatedly raped by a group of four Syrians in the south of the country.

Such cases could lead to further violence against refugees. Earlier this week unknown assailants fired shots into a shelter near Frankfurt, injuring one refugee. Arsonists attacked hundreds of shelters last year.

The German public, meanwhile, is getting nervous. Nearly 40 percent of German women plan to avoid large public gatherings, according to a poll released Thursday by public broadcaster [ARD](#).

### Attack on liberal heartland

What has shocked many in the country is the location of the attacks. Cologne is considered one of the most open and liberal cities in Germany. Its annual carnival celebrations, which get under way in just a few weeks, draw thousands of revelers to the city.

That the mass attacks could have occurred in front of the city’s main landmark — its nearly seven-century-old gothic cathedral — is unthinkable to many.

Cologne’s “way of life is in danger,” the conservative [Frankfurter Allgemeine](#) warned on its front page Thursday.

The police report on the Cologne attacks, which was written by a senior official at the scene, describes a chaotic situation in which the officers found themselves outnumbered by “several thousand men.” Police were largely powerless to protect the women, who were forced to navigate an “obstacle course through a mass of severely drunk men that is beyond description.”

Though the police questioned dozens of suspects, they made only a handful of arrests, none of which were connected to the sexual assaults. Witnesses reported that some of the assailants shouted “f\*\*k the police” and spat at officers.

In the report, one suspect is quoted as saying: “I’m Syrian, you have to treat me nicely. Frau Merkel invited me.”