

Tetiana Zatonatska
Doctor of Economic Sciences, Professor,
Economic Cybernetics Department,
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv,
Kyiv, Ukraine
tzatonat@ukr.net
ORCID 0000-0001-9197-0560

Olga Anisimova
Ph.D, Senior Researcher,
State Scientific Institution «Institute of Educational Analytics»,
Kyiv, Ukraine
olgaanisimova@ukr.net
ORCID 0000-0002-6721-3030

EU MIGRATION POLICY AS A RESPONSE TO THE HYBRID WAR

JEL Classification: F22

Abstract

In the context of the hybrid war threatening national and economic security of the EU members, the development of a decisive migration policy becomes especially important, as the refugees are used as a weapon of war to destabilize the situation at the borders of the EU. It became obvious that it is necessary to distinguish between those who could really receive a refugee status and those who only try to use the environment to their advantage. To facilitate that process, we propose to create an independent international organization as a part of the UN to assess new arrivals and to return them home if needed.

Keywords: hybrid war, migration policy, refugee crisis

Introduction

Migration is not something new, but until recently its scale and distance were rather small. Economic development and technological progress created vast possibilities to expand the migration process. As a result, the states became cautious and started closing their borders to immigrants to regulate the incoming arrivals. That led to the division of the migration to legal and illegal. With the development of globalization processes and sufficient free movement of labor, skilled personnel, the problem of legal and illegal migration has gradually become part of public policy for many

countries. International migration and the state migration policy have recently become especially important for national and economic security. Among the main components of migration policy are the principles of attracting international immigrants to the national economic system, the treatment of illegal immigrants and refugee policy. An example of the attempts of the formation of national and supranational migration policy is the migration policy of the EU, which showed significant differences and inconsistencies between the national migration policies of the member states.

Research Results

There are two main components of modern migration: legal migration and illegal migration and refugees. Legal migration implies that the state deliberately attracts certain categories of the population to enter the country for the purpose of further employment or other purposes that contribute to the economic growth and development of the host state. Illegal migration policy defines the treatment of refugees and immigrants who enter the country illegally. It can provide for both the immediate expulsion of illegals from the country and a program for the integration of such immigrants into the economic system and labor market of the state.

The problem of refugees has become particularly acute in the scientific literature with the unfolding of the "refugee crisis" in Europe. The issue is that there is a difference in international law between illegal immigrants and refugees. And if a country has every right to deny an illegal migrant a stay in its territory, it must give refugees the opportunity to apply for asylum, consider that application and make an informed decision. All this time, refugees have the right to stay in the country, which poses a threat to national and economic security. It should be noted that the very concept of refugees is one of the most controversial in theories of international politics and international security. The issue is that there is no clear concept and criteria for defining a "refugee".

At the end of the twentieth century, not only international migrants but also refugees began to grow rapidly, which is a problem for host countries because they are recipients of social protection. As a result, developed countries, which have encouraged not only legal but also illegal migration, have faced the need to fund refugee support programs amid the global economic crisis. As a result, the priorities of the state migration policy have undergone significant changes. The priority of the

countries was to attract legal target groups of immigrants, which will bring the maximum benefit to the national economy and pose the least threat to the national and economic security of the country. The inability to develop a common migration policy, to create universal principles and priorities showed deep economic differences in the level of development of different EU countries and created all the preconditions for the development of the migration crisis in these countries.

For a long time, EU countries have pursued a policy of attracting immigrants, especially from low-income countries. This was due to the demographic crisis, the reluctance of the local population to work in positions that do not require qualifications and work experience, i.e. are low-paid. As a result, favorable conditions were created for immigrants, they received help and support in obtaining citizenship. However, as the political and economic situation in Africa and the Middle East worsened, the number of immigrants began to grow. In addition, the crisis in the world economy has reduced the ability of the EU countries to provide support to migrants. Gradually, this led to an influx of illegal migrants and refugees into the EU. This has forced EU countries to reconsider their national migration policies. In fact, already in 2014, the countries of the European Union almost lost control over migration flows.

From the beginning of the XXI century, the regulation of migration processes has gradually become a priority in shaping the policy of the European Union in the field of economy and international relations. In particular, the EU sought to establish a "comprehensive migration policy", which provided for the definition of general basic principles for the admission of third-country nationals to the territory of the EU Member States, while ensuring the protection of the EU's common border. However, during the negotiation process it turned out that, since the EU countries differed significantly in the level of development, economic structure, national migration policies, it was very difficult to agree on a common strategy in the field of migration policy. The problem was also that the migrants themselves preferred only certain EU countries, so they were not satisfied with moving to the least developed members of the European Union, which they considered as transit zones. The global economic crisis of 2008 created additional problems on the way to forming a unified EU migration policy. This was due to the fact that in some member states there was a significant reduction in funding for the implementation of pan-European initiatives, which included migration policy. This was especially true in the southern EU countries, as well as in Ireland, where there

was a significant reduction in budget expenditures, which were among the first to reduce the cost of immigration integration programs. Moreover, some EU countries have begun to refuse to allow refugees to stay in their territories while they are awaiting asylum, citing a lack of resources.

Another problem with refugees was that most of them themselves did not want to stay in less developed countries, so they actually became transit points. For example, at the peak of the crisis in 2015, about 50% of refugees came from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and Albania, and they wanted asylum in Germany and Sweden. They used Hungary, Greece, Italy, Austria, Croatia and Finland as transit points. In response, Hungary closed its border with Serbia, and Germany imposed temporary border controls with Austria. Austria, Slovakia and the Netherlands have also taken similar steps. Moreover, in Hungary, any illegal border crossing, regardless of the cause, has become a criminal offense. Another problem for national and international security has been the behavior of refugees in host countries and the attitude of the local population towards them. The reluctance of refugees to abide by local laws, norms and traditions, disrespect for national culture provoked opposition from the local population and internal conflicts, which became a threat to the internal security of the host countries.

As a result, the EU was faced with a new task, which was to develop new principles and action programs for immigration policy that would be acceptable to all member states. Unfortunately, EU countries have failed to develop a common immigration policy, as each country has its own approaches and needs for immigrants. Moreover, some EU members categorically objected to the so-called "migrant quotas" because they did not want to allow refugees into their territory. In particular, one of the slogans of the British political forces that supported Brexit was to prevent new immigrants from entering the country. It should be noted that the EU's "common" immigration policy does not provide for a single set of rules that is identical for all countries, but only follows common principles, goals and principles based on subsidiarity.

In response to the migration crisis in the EU and a number of other countries, in September 2016 the UN adopted the New York Declaration on Refugees and Migrants, which provided for future global agreements to regulate international migration, creating common standards for migrants and refugees. In December 2018, the UN

General Assembly considered the Global Compact on safe, orderly and legal migration, the basic principles of which were state sovereignty, non-discrimination, respect for human rights, division of responsibilities and development of international cooperation, awareness that all countries have an interest in safe and legal migration, as well as respect for the rights of migrants. The agreement provides for the achievement of 23 migration management goals at various levels, from local to global. The main focus of the agreement was on obtaining reliable statistics, facilitating legal migration, eliminating the causes of migration in general, preventing human trafficking, combating discrimination, facilitating remittances and more. Although the Treaty has been adopted as a basis, its terms and principles are currently being incorporated into the national legislation of the signatory countries. This raises some problems, as not all countries agree with the provisions of this Treaty.

Discussion and Conclusions

Using the lack of common international law regulating the migration and refugees they became a tool of the hybrid wars. It's rather obvious that ordinary citizens of the countries that have conflicts on their territories are not capable to migrate far without external assistance due to the deficit of resources, border control etc. So, to get from such countries as Syria, Iraq, and other African countries the migrants need to use the services of the intermediaries. They have to pay for it and are attracted by the promises of better life and social benefits of the developed countries. As we can see, one of the examples is the situation at the border between Poland and Belarus. The "refugees" are recruited at their home countries, delivered to the border and are used as a weapon to destabilize the situation. Using the principles of the international law, that refugees are to be granted an opportunity to plead their cases and seek asylum, they became a burden for the host country. The host country is forced to create detention centers, feed the migrants, process their applications and in case of the refusal return them home at their own expenses.

To facilitate the resolution of the crisis we propose to create a special commission as a part of the UN financed by the fees paid by all the member states to regulate the situation of the refugees. It needs to become a law that the applicants denied the "refugee status" are to be returned home and fined heavily to finance the operational costs of the Commission. That way the 'refugees' will be less willing to risk been denied

the asylum and their home countries will be more careful with their policy to use their citizens to burden other countries.

References

1. Bendel, P., & Servent, A. R. (2017). Asylum and refugee protection: EU policies in crisis. *The Routledge Handbook of Justice and Home Affairs Research*, 59-69. URL: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315645629-5/asylum-refugee-protection-petra-bendel-ariadna-ripoll-servent>
2. Collett, E., McCarthy, H., & Benton, M. (2018). Immigrant integration mainstreaming at the EU level. In *Mainstreaming Integration Governance* (pp. 93-124). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. URL: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-59277-0_5
3. De Haas, H., Czaika, M., Flahaux, M. L., Mahendra, E., Natter, K., Vezzoli, S., & Villares-Varela, M. (2019). International migration: Trends, determinants, and policy effects. *Population and Development Review*, 45(4), 885-922. URL: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/padr.12291>
4. Estevens, J. (2018). Migration crisis in the EU: developing a framework for analysis of national security and defense strategies. *Comparative migration studies*, 6(1), 1-21. URL: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s40878-018-0093-3>
5. Riddervold, M., Trondal, J., & Newsome, A. (Eds.). (2021). *The Palgrave handbook of EU crises*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. URL: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-51791-5_1