

Originalan naučni rad  
UDC 314.74:364.56(4-67EU)  
Priljeno: 23.04.2016.  
Odobreno: 25.05.2016.

Zoran Kilibarda,

Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade

## **MIGRATION CRISIS AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION**

*„The threat towards Europe does not come from the uniformed people, but  
from the refugees dressed in rags“*

(Josef Joffe)

### **Abstract**

*Population migration is a well-known phenomenon, caused by a natural tendency of provide a safe shelter and more suitable living conditions. During the last few years, Europe is facing an increasing number of migrants coming from war-torn regions and so-called post-conflict states, mostly from the Middle East and North Africa. Most migrants tend to reach some of the highly developed European countries. The problem lies in the fact that the number of individuals wishing to cross into a specific state is much higher than the number of individuals given country is ready to accept. In such situation, the European Union (EU) tried to find a solution to a problem based on consensus and sharing of responsibilities. Unfortunately, this plan has failed. Instead of coordinated actions in accordance with Mutual security policy of the European Union, a series of actions carried out by single groups of states or unilateral moves occurred. Practically, during the migration crisis, the European Union did not show an enviable level of unit. Mutual security policy of the EU existed formally, but did not work. The inevitable result of that is the impaired reputation and geopolitical power of the EU, not only on the regional, but also on the global scene.*

**Key words:** *migrants, refugees, migration crisis, security challenges, European Union*

## INTRODUCTION

Every form of mass migratory movement of habitants is followed by serious problems. Those problems are, above all, facing migrants themselves, and the countries they wish to inhabit (temporarily or permanently), but also the countries which migrants are crossing while travelling to the wished destination, as well as the countries they come from. Of course, every each of them faces it in a different way. The main goal of migrants is to reach the “promised land” and legalize their stay within it. The priority of the states to which migrants are coming is how to cope with supernumerary and “unsuitable” migrants, that is, how to differentiate the ones that seek salvation from war sufferings and struggles in refuge from the ones that have joined in the lines of migrants for some different reasons.

Migration crisis inevitably occurs when the interests and expectations of those two sides are in a mutual discord. Predispositions for this occurring are, less or more, always existent. It is known that newcomers, wherever they appear in large numbers, are not looked benevolently upon.<sup>1</sup> Simply, when they are numerous, they obstruct the commodity of the host country. The care for them has a great cost. It is never known for sure how many individuals among them are “dangerous types” (terrorists, criminals, potential trouble makers...). The world-wide experience shows that they, as a rule, have troubles adjusting to the new environment. They remain attached to their ethnic or religious group concentrated in special parts of settlements, less or more distanced from the majority community, for a long time. On the other hand, mistrust towards newcomers, which is constantly being reheated by acts carried by the xenophobic-minded part of the public additionally decreases the stakes of them integrating into the host state’s society, which, at the same time, makes them suitable for recruitment by extremist and criminal groups.<sup>2</sup>

The situation in Europe, in which more than a million of migrants have entered during the previous year, has all the features of the state of crisis, to which the European Union hasn’t found a comprehensive solution yet. The consequences of that are greatly manifesting. Brussels’s administration is yet to face new ordeals, but of course, not just them. Since, what has been happening in Europe during the last few years regarding the migrants is just one expression of demographic and security movements in the global plan.

---

1 Barah Mikail, Refugees in the MENA region: what geopolitical consequences? <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/refugees-mena-region-what-geopolitical-consequences>, 15.02.2016.

2 The newcomers didn’t integrate well even in Holland – a country with highest rate of tolerance. As a rare positive example in this sense we should mention integration of Vietnamese in France and Hindus in the Great Britain.

## 1. CONTEMPORARY TRENDS OF POPULATION MOVEMENT

Population growth rates are extremely unequal and, generally speaking, they are inversely proportional to the level of economic development. As lower the level of state's development is, the level of population growth is, usually, higher. All prognosis point towards the fact that, this trend will not be soon changing to a greater extent. This means that the Global south region (developing and undeveloped countries), where more than 80 per cent of the world population lives, the number of habitants is still increasing, while in countries of the so-called Global north region (developed countries) the number of habitants is stagnating, or even decreasing. For example in 2001, the world population increased for 77 million of people, within which as high as 95 per cent of the continuing global growth occurred in the countries of the Global south.<sup>3</sup> It is estimated that a majority of the new 3 billion of habitants of the Earth in the following few decades will be consisted of the habitants of the developing countries (first of all, in Africa and Indian subcontinent) and that, if such trend proceeds to occur, the habitants of the Sub-Saharan Africa will, by the end of this century, be more numerous than the number of habitants of the entire Europe.<sup>4</sup>

According to the report of the UN economic and social department for 2010, 39 out of 55 African countries in total have a high fertility rate. In ten of them (in the period of 2005-2010), fertility was at the level 6, with numerous children per woman. At the same time, all European countries, apart from Ireland and Iceland, had a low fertility rate (less than 2, 1) which does not facilitate the basic reproduction of habitants.<sup>5</sup> Having in mind that for the most developed region is predicted, for the following period, that the fertility rate will be low (circa 1, 97), and that the undeveloped world will remain on an extremely high level necessary for basic reproduction, there are small chances that this trend of increase of the population density of the undeveloped south and the decrease of density of the developed north will be stopped.<sup>6</sup> That means that, in due course, the so-called demographic fissures between the „North” and the „South” will not be removed. It continues

---

3 Kegli Čarls i Vitkof Judžin, *Svetska politika*, Centar za studije jugoistočne Evrope, Fakultet političkih nauka i Diplomatska akademija, Beograd, 2004, str. 523-526.

4 Financial Times, New Demographics (Special issue), 18. okt. 2011..

5 *World Population Prospects*, United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs/ Population Division, New York, 2011.

6 According to existent demographic trends, until 2025 all „young countries“, the ones where habitants younger than 30 make up for 60 percent of its population, will be in Sub-Saharan Africa

to reproduce following differences which divide the world of rich from the world of poor. Over habitation of poor countries is additionally making the coming out of poverty difficult, while, on the other hand, insufficient population growth in the most developed countries has, as a consequence, a reduce of working age habitants, which, with previously existing high standards of social security, brings maintenance of the pace of economic development to question.

In such situation, when the undeveloped world is facing an insoluble problem of unemployment of the potentially most productive part of population in the terms of work, and when the most developed countries, caught up with the so-called anti-birth-rate conformism,<sup>7</sup> note the presence of some kind of demographic vacuum and deficit of local labour, population migration in the “South-North” direction becomes an indispensable occurrence.<sup>8</sup> This form of migrations (so-called *economic migrations*), is in the interest of both countries the migrants are arriving to and arriving from, under the condition that the inhabiting the “promised lands” is moderate and controlled. Vicelike, more developed ones need working force which is abundant on the other side, and to whom the biggest dream is often to reach the rich world.<sup>9</sup> However, the problem is in the fact that the „offer” is not adequate. The ones most interested in changing their permanent residence, and that are running from poverty, are usually unqualified or half-qualified working force which, is the states of so-called intellectualization of profession and intellectualization of work, which is characteristically for undeveloped countries, is of a lesser and lesser need. Due to that, governments of such countries tend to limit the migration of workers off such profile, and to limit their stay to the times when there is a need for such working force, for example during the seasonal agricultural work.

Reasons for establishing strictly controlled migration are not only economy or security oriented, but also politically oriented. The pressure of immigrants on

---

(*Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*, National Intelligence Council, Washington, 2008, p. 19)

7 Stepić Milomir, Demografski elementi ključnih geopolitičkih teorija, *Demografija*, knj. 1, 2004, str. 59.

8 According to the report of the UN economic and social department from 2010, during the first two decades of this century, an average of 3,4 million of people populated the most developed countries. Of that: North America, circa 1,33 million. Most of them arrived from Asia (1,6 million), them Latin America and Carribean (1,1 million) and Africa (0,6 million). (*World Population Prospects*, United Nation Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division, New York, 2011).

9 For example, in order for Japan to keep up its working power to a suitable level since 2000 to 2050, it will need 30 million of new immigrants (Kegli Čarls i Vitkof Judžin, n.d., str. 528).

developed countries is such that, if there were no restrictive policies regarding granting the migration, the demographic picture of these countries would be significantly changed in a short period. The only professedly desirable outcome of such change would be the stopping of decrease in numbers of habitants and improvement of age structure. In every other way, sudden change of demography of a state represents a potential factor of destabilizing of social-economic and political state.<sup>10</sup> This particularly applies to countries in which majority newcomers are members of nations or religions which are integrating slower into the new society.<sup>11</sup> In Europe, this is the case of Muslim immigrants. They are mostly present in France (circa 5, 5, million), then in Germany, the Great Britain and Italy.

The United States of America are also facing the problem of supernumerary migrants (the ones with unsuitable professional profile and insufficiently adaptive ones to the values of the states they are currently residing in). In their case, the problematic groups of migrants are Latin Americans, which make up to one third of their newcomers. Among them, the most numerous are Mexicans. The number of Mexicans that Live in the US illegally has increased in the period between 1990 and 2000 from 2 to 4, 8 million, by which their contribution to the total number of illegals in the United States of America has risen to circa 70 per cent.<sup>12</sup> When taken into consideration the different birth rates among Americans of different origins, we can conclude that the intake of US citizens of European origin will reduce from 80 per cent in 1980, to 64 per cent in 2020, while in that time the intake of Hispanic Americans in the total number of US habitants will increase from 6 to 15 per cent.<sup>13</sup> In the context of such foresight, there is a warning of a threat of hispanization of American society.<sup>14</sup> Even in 2000, in six out of 12 important

10 Regarding this, Josef Joffe warns that „...the threat towards Europe does not come from the uniformed people, but from the refugees dressed in rags (According to: Kaplan Robert, *The Revenge of Geography*, Random House, New York, 2012, str. 150).

11 After the disturbances in France in the end of 2005, a big majority of French people became sceptical regarding the integration of newcomers. According to a poll from the beginning of 2006, even 86 percent of respondents believed that it is possible for disturbances to occur. (Strah od predgrađa, *Politika*, 31. januar 2006. godine). According to the result of a research conducted in Holland in June 2006, 63 percent of this country's habitants believe that Islam is incompatible with the modern world (Oštro prema imigrantima u Holandiji, *Politika*, 21. jun 2006. godine).

12 Beker Joahim i Komlozi Andrea, *Granice u savremenom svetu*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2005, str. 217–226.

13 Eš Garton Timoti, *Slobodan svet*, Samizdat B-92, Beograd, 2006, 109.

14 In the book with an extremely provocative title, „State of emergency: The Third World Invasion and Conquest of America“, a former presidential candidate, Buchanan, prognoses that by the year of 2050, the US will have two to three times more habitants than in 1960, but that, by then, the

American cities on the border with Mexico was habituated by Hispanics by 90 per cent, and just in two cities (San Diego and Yuma) they consisted about 50 per cent of habitants.<sup>15</sup> According to the data from the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, Latino Americans made up 15 per cent of the US population in total, and it is estimated that by 2050, their intake will rise to 35 per cent, with the increase of intake of Africans and Asians from 19 to 24 per cent at the same time, which means that the majority of US population will make up habitants of non-European origin.<sup>16</sup>

The additional stimulus for population migration are climatic changes which consequences are, as a rule, most evident in the decrease of living conditions and enterprising conditions in the undeveloped countries. This is, above all, shown in the decrease of yields of agricultural crops and difficulties in supplying with water, which makes the habitants migrate towards the regions with bearable living conditions<sup>17</sup> and from undeveloped towards developed ones, and as a current type of migration emerges so-called *climatic migration*. According to some estimates, there is already about 25 million of „climatic refugees“. In the following 50 years there will be a need for taking care of additional 150 million of them.<sup>18</sup>

It is evident that in the following period, a significant part of climatic refugees will be consisted of habitants of coastal regions which are endangered by the rise of water level, which is attributed to global warming. By raising the level of the sea, lower, and by a rule always more densely populated, coastal land is flooded, by which communities are being endangered and arable land decreases. At the same time, global warming influences sea activity, but also its erosive effect. It is

---

Americans of European origin will become a minority, as it has already happened in California, Texas and New Mexico. Thereby, as the author states, this minority will be an „aging dying power in retreat“ (Kalifornija kao Kosovo, *Politika*, 29. avgust 2006. godine).

15 Kaplan, R., *The Revenge of Geography*, Random House, New York, 2012, str. 338.

16 The Economist, Nov. 12-18, 2011

17 In Europe is already living more than 35 million of people born outside the borders of Europe, and every year more that a million new migrants arrive. According to existing trends of urbanization, until 2025, the intake of city habitants will increase from current 50 to 57 percent of total world population. It is expected that, hand in hand with the already existing 19 megacities, 8 new cities will emerge, among which 7 of them will be located in Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa (*Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*, National Intelligence Council, Washington, 2008, str.23-24).

18 Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report, An Assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Valencia, 2007, [http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4\\_syr\\_spm.pdf](http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_spm.pdf), 23.12.2015.

registered that, for example, average height of waves around Thailand increased from 1-1, 5 meters to 2-4 meters.<sup>19</sup> Increased height of waves increasingly undermines the coast and destroys houses in communities located in the region which is just a little bit raised over the sea level.<sup>20</sup> Apart from that, increase of the sea level and increased sea activity are affecting the increase of salinity of the near-by non-flooded area, due to which valuable sources of drinking water are lost, and yields of agriculture are drastically decreased in this area, which, in the extreme cases, stands for its total degradation, not only in the sense of cost-effectiveness of treatment, but also in the sense of vegetation sustainability.

The problem of flooding and degradation of coastal area is particularly evident in Bangladesh, given the fact that 60 per cent of its territory is located on the elevation lesser than 5 meters, and that this region is the most densely populated part of the country.<sup>21</sup> The outreach of threat to Bangladesh by the side effects of global warming is best represented by the fact that, due to increase of sea level, an average of 11 habitants of this country loses their home per hour.<sup>22</sup> That means that, with the existing tempo of advance of the sea level (and without increase of number of habitants in the coastal region), in ten years, there would be about a million of new homeless people. If such pessimist prose on significant increase of the sea level would come true, Bangladesh would, by the year of 2050, have to permanently move about 17 per cent of its habitants.<sup>23</sup>

Apart from fleeing from poverty and unbearable natural living conditions, a common form of forced movement of population, not only in the past, but also nowadays, is refuge from war-torn regions. Namely, whenever and wherever there was a war, there were refugees too. Most common temporal shelter for most of them

<sup>19</sup> The village that swallowed by the sea, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6683865.stm> 25.5.2007.

<sup>20</sup> In this way, the sea has already „taken over“ almost 600 kilometers of the Thai coast. Faced with such danger, people are forced to move their houses outside the reach of waves. Most common protection measures for low coasts, which are planting a special kind of trees, does not have the same results anymore, since waves and winds tend to pull up the trees before they take roots (Vid: Kilibarda, Z. Bezbednostne i geoekonomske implikacije klimatskih promena, *Revija za bezbednost*, 3, 2011, str. 196-215).

<sup>21</sup> Vidal John, Migration is only escape from rising tides: climate change in Bangladesh, *Guardian*, Friday 4 December 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/dec/04/banglaclimate-refuges>, 23.01.2016.

<sup>22</sup> ade Matt, Rising sea level settles border dispute, <http://www.smh.com.au/enviroment/climate-change/rising-sea-level-settles-border-dispute-20100324-gwum.html> (25.3.2010).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

was always the neighbouring countries – for Palestinians, Lebanon and Jordan; for Afghans, Pakistan and Iran; for Eritreans, Ethiopia... Refugees from the war-torn regions are still most present in the neighbouring countries. Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey accepted the highest number of refugees from Syria and Iraq. However, armed conflicts in Iraq and Syria which are conducted by Islamic extremists in the form of fighters of the so-called Islamic State have fathered a relatively new form of war refuge. It is movement of high number of people from the war-torn regions, over the territories of numerous countries, towards previously selected countries, first of all, towards countries of the European Union with high living standard. Massive scale of these migrations in which is more and more often, probably not without reason, recognized some kind of migration, cannot be simply explained with security reasons – fleeing from war misfortune and sufferings.

That, of course, opens a door for various speculations about who, to which extent, with what intentions and with whose assistance manages the migrants; how many of them are the ones who are using a convenient opportunity to ride „on the back“ of the true refugees in order to reach the better life; how many of them were sent, with fake passports, in the whirlwind of refugee status, as so-called terrorist sleepers, wait for a suitable opportunity to of its own accord or by following „headquarters“ instructions start „revenge actions“. In the series of such speculations and hecklings, more and more often and more and more loud are the comments (made by different political analysts and politicians, including the ones from the West), which state that all this would not happen (at least not to this extent) if there were no crazy intentions of the US and their European assistants to, in the name of spreading democracy and protection of human rights, realise their interest worldwide by violent subversions of selectively chosen „dictatorships“.

## **2. MIGRATION FLOW FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA – BITTER FRUITS OF THE DEMOCRATIC INTERVENTIONISM**

According the data provided by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) during the year of 2015 about million and 35 thousands of migrants came to Europe. Big majority of them (a little bit over million) arrived by sea (most of them to Greece, about 844 000, then to Italy, about 153 000 and to Spain, about 4 000). The rest of them (about 34 000) arrived by land, came usually through Bulgaria. The fact that this is a growing flow of migrants is shown by the data stating that since January until November 2015, more than 920 000 individuals arrived

by sea, which is 3,3 times more than the number of migrants arriving to Europe by sea or by land during the entire year of 2014.<sup>24</sup> It was expected that, during the winter months, due to sailing difficulties, the number of migrants arriving by sea would significantly reduce. Those expectations came only partially true. Just during January and the first few days of February of 2016, about 75 thousands of new migrants arrived to Greece.<sup>25</sup> The second main refuge of migrants is south of Italy. There are indications that, due to enhanced control measures at the Greek-Macedonian border (in accordance with announced restrictive policy of European Union towards migrants coming from countries that are not hit by wars) in the following period, bigger pressure will be on the central Mediterranean route, and significantly bigger number of migrants would choose alternative land routes.

Where do most migrant come from?

When speaking of regions that are „main sources“ of the current migration flow, it is important to mention that among migrants that have asked for asylum for the first time in the countries of the European Union during 2015, after Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis, most numerous were the migrants from Kosovo and Metohija (so-called Republic of Kosovo).<sup>26</sup> Among migrants from the North Africa (mostly from Libya) arrive across the Mediterranean Sea to Italy (mostly to Lampedusa Island); most of them are from Eritrea, Somalia and Nigeria.<sup>27</sup> Still, they are most numerous in the total number of migrants. More numerous are migrants from Middle East and Afghanistan, which is, of course, connected to the consequences of the long-lasting war state in these regions. During 2014, Syria took first place from Afghanistan regarding the numbers of individuals which are leaving the country, running away from poverty and war sufferings. During that year, previous

<sup>24</sup>Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in graphics; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>; 28. 1. 2016.

<sup>25</sup>Migrant crisis: Nato offers Aegean people-smuggling patrols; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35549478>, 11.2.2016.

<sup>26</sup>Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in seven charts, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>, 10.3.2016.

<sup>27</sup>Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in graphics; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>; 28. 1. 2016.

<sup>27</sup> It is interesting that Lybians do not make up the majority of migrants who take the road towards Europe from the Lybian shores. Lybia is, thus, not (at least for now) one of the main sources of migration flow, but above all a suitable transition country for African migrants – main springboard on their way towards Europe. Apart from geographical position, Lybia took that role due to chaotic internal state which is suitable for all types of criminal, as well as for organizing illegal transport of migrants.

record of annual influx of migrants to Europe, which was recorded in 2011 as a direct consequence of the beginning of so-called Arab Spring, was surpassed.<sup>28</sup> Migrants from Syria made up about 60 per cent of migrants who came to Europe in 2014. Syria also took first place regarding the number of internally displaced individuals (about 7, 6 million) and regarding the number of individuals who found refuge in neighbouring countries – Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan (over 3 million).<sup>29</sup> Syrians made up a big majority of migrants who arrived in Europe in 2015, and according to data provided by UNHCR – for the month of January 2016, it is highly possible that they will keep the same positing in the following months too. After Syrians (over 44%), among a little bit over 100 thousands of migrants who arrived from Turkey to Greece in the period of January-February this year, most numerous were Afghanis (29 %) and Iraqis (17%).<sup>30</sup>

What do all this regions from which migrants arrive have in common? What occurrences preceded this mass migration?

Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, even the so-called Republic of Kosovo are all more of less hopeless countries in which a big part of population lives in incertitude and fear of bare existence; where ethnic, religious and political conflicts occur on a daily basis; where you cannot see the end of sufferings and poverty; where many people see their safer „today “and better „tomorrow “somewhere across the border. It is true that in Kosovo and Metohija, unlike other migrant homelands, is armed conflicts-free for the last 15 years, but there are still no reliable signs of economic growth, social security and human safety. The rate of unemployment is over 40 per cent; institutions are malfunctioning or are just formally existing; organized crime and corruption are an omnipresent phenomena; nark business and human trafficking (sex trafficking) are unmatched in the region.

Afghanistan does not succeed in transforming itself into a stable society and functional state, even though 14 years have passed since the takedown of the Taliban regime and a few election cycles under the sponsorship of „partners “from the West. One of main „economic branches“ are the production and trafficking of narcotics. Taliban regime definitely isn't defeated militarily, nor are they denied

28 Hammond Timothy, The Mediterranean Migration Crisis, *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 19, 2015, <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2015/05/19/the-mediterranean-migration-crisis/>, 03.02.2016.

29 Ibid.

30 Migrant crisis: Germany sends home rejected Afghans; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35649576>, 24.02.2016.

of the support from the part of population. Still, a big part of Afghanistan is still under their control.<sup>31</sup> It is very often that they advertise their attacks on security forces and violent acts against civil society which does not share their values.

In Iraq, under the violent overthrow of Saddam Hussein, with the assistance of foreign troops, a mirage of a country was kept in life for years in the process of consolidation, just to, after withdrawal of invasion forces that friable construction began to crumble abruptly. When followers of Wahhabi doctrine of Sunni Islam proclaimed a holy war for creation of Caliphate, and when their forces overtook the control of a few strategic cities and communications in 2014, the county basically came to the edge to crumble. The regime in Baghdad formally survived, but without a real control over big part of the country. The support coming to the warring parties from outside is additionally complicating this situation, increasing suffering and pain of habitants and postponing indefinitely finding a compromise. It is understandable that in such situation many decide to become a refugee, in order to find salvation from unbearable reality and highly uncertain future.

Syrian drama began in 2011 by mass protests by the opposition against the regime of Bashar al Assad, wholeheartedly supported by the leading Western countries. However, what was, according to the plan of the creators of the so-called Arab Spring, supposed to end with Assad's departure from power, escalated into the overall civil war with recognizable features of proxy wars.<sup>32</sup> Vacuum of power was created by conflicts between the regime forces and numerous rebel groups, from the Free Syrian Army as a main representative of the so-called moderate opposition, to typical terrorist organisations, used the forces of the Islamic State, and by the end of 2014, they have established control over bigger part of Syria, where not only non-Muslims were exiled, but also Shia Muslims, but also Sunni Muslims that did not accept the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam. Under the parole of fight against Islamic State, that is, first of all the fight for taking down or save

31 In the beginning of this year, Taliban forces announced that they have control over more than 30 districts and that they are fighting for dozens of them, while the government in Kabul admitted that only 4 districts were under Taliban control. According to one study of the *The Long War Journal*, Taliban control at least 38 districts and are fighting for 40 more. (Roggio Bill: Afghan intel, Taliban spar over captured commander dressed like a woman, <http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/02/afghan-intel-taliban-spar-over-captured-commander-dressed-like-a-woman.php>; 20.2.2016)

32 Rat preko posrednika (proxy war) je rat između država ili unutar neke države koji inicira i podstiče neka sila koja nije u njega direktno uključena. Prigodan prevod naziva „proxy war“ mogao bi se „pozajmiti“ iz tzv. kineskih strategema u kojima je ratovanje preko posrednika slikovito opisano kao „*ubistvo s pozajmljenim nožem*“.

Assad's regime, among the ones who joined in the Syrian conflict were, first of all, Lebanese Hezbollah, and various paramilitary formations from Iran, United States of America with their coalition partners and Russia. American and Russian side have restricted (for now) their engagement on air operations. Finally, in February this year, Turkey announced its direct participation in the war, doing it by performing artillery and rocket attacks on the positions of Syrian Kurds due to, as stated, their connection with Working Party of Kurdistan, which is supporting the creation of independent Kurdish state. Readiness for joining in the coalition in fight against the Islamic State was also unequivocally expressed by Saudi Arabia too, at the same time insisting on necessity of taking down Assad's regime.<sup>33</sup>

In the conditions of this overall chaos and conflict of interests of direct and indirect actors, the biggest victims are civilians for them; refuge into any non-war zone represents salvation from definite suffering, and asylum in some developed European country salvation from economic poverty and a chance for having a normal life. Lead by such existential motives, they do not miss the opportunity to reach those „promised lands“, consciously accepting not small risks that are lurking them on their journey. They do what many did before them, and majority of them are from Iraq and Afghanistan.

Characteristically for all mentioned cases of mass migrations toward European countries is the fact that they are all connected with projects of violent overtake of authoritative regimes which (regimes) were not cooperative enough in comparison to Western power centres, and as such, they are proclaimed as threats to peace and security, and are accused of terrorising their own people. Instead of those „dictators“ regimes, they should have established a political order by the standards of Western-type democratise. It turned out that all those projects ended ingloriously; it is uncertain if that happened due to the fact that they were badly constructed, or that they were half-cocked organized and awkwardly lead or those they started in the wrong time at the wrong place. It is not impossible that, clothed in attractive benevolent clothes, they were just a cover for exercising some other goals. Basis for such speculations is given by the fact that in the main array of fight for overtaking the authoritative potentates are some of the most undemocratic regimes. Doubts in the benevolent intentions of the „freedom givers“ for the bullied nations gives birth to the support of the United States to the opposition in the strategic partner countries, however their rulers are undemocratically

---

33 U tom tom cilju već je predisllocirala deo svojih borbenih aviona na aerodrome u Turskoj, a raspložena je da angažuje i kopnene snage, ako to učini Amerika.

inclined.<sup>34</sup> Either way, violent takedown of „unsuitable regimes“ in the name of democratization of society, protection of human rights and fight against terrorism and spread of weapons of mass destructions, ended up to be, in mentioned cases, contra productive from the interests of the European countries' point of view. Martin Rush and Nicholas Van Hear pointed out to that very plastically in the title of their work: *„Irregular Migration as a Response to Geopolitical Shocks: The Long-Term Effects of Short-term Policies.“*<sup>35</sup>

Migration crisis, as a direct consequence of chaos caused by military actions under the American leadership or with American support and help, which threatens to bring to question the unique security policy of the European Union, might be only the first big portion of bitter fruits of „democratic interventionism“, that is, forced „export of democracy“. Other options will show up later – when, for example, comes the time to resolve the problem of migrant integration and the question of their minority rights by the standards of the European Union.

### **3. INFLUENCE OF MASS INFLUX OF MIGRANTS ON THE SECURITY OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND GEOPOLITICAL CAPACITY OF EUROPEAN UNION**

Countries of European Union have many times by now shown remarkable affability towards migrants from the war-torn countries, not only regarding their acceptance and accommodation, but also in the means of provision of funds for meeting other existential needs. Citizens of former Yugoslavia, who searched for salvation from war sufferings during the 1990s in some of the developed European countries, had a chance to see this for themselves. Until 2015, European Union used to solve the question of migrants on the go, so to say, respecting usual procedures of solving asylum applications. Only when the so-called Balkan migration route to the first place over until then leading route – Mediterranean route – when the number of migrants who were travelling through Greece, Macedonia and Serbia

<sup>34</sup> Typical example for that is the relation of the US towards the regime in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Washington didn't find it convenient to support the „Arab Spring“ in Bahrain, nor did it have any remarks for Riyadh when it came to be the helping hand of the regime which was facing mass protests of opposition. Simply, the „spring“ was not welcome in the country which hosts the Fifth American Fleet. Democracy is not a priority there, nor is it in Saudi Arabia.

<sup>35</sup> Martin Rush and Nicholas Van Hear, *Irregular Migration as a Response to Geopolitical Shocks: The Long-Term Effects of Short-term Policies*, <http://www.eui.eu/Documents/RSCAS/PapersLampedusa/FORUM-RuhsVanHearFinal.pdf>, 21.01.2016.

towards countries of Western Europe has multiple times exceeded the number of the ones arriving from the coasts of northern Africa, it became clear that Brussels administration was not well prepared for managing an emergency of this character. That was another reason for, with solidarity with the troubles of migrants, expressing louder and more often worries and outcries due to their acceptance in such large numbers. This tone is used by individuals, groups, political parties. It is probable that they don't this for the same reason, or for the same cause, but their messages are usually similar – migrants are not humanitarian but security problem, which is getting bigger as the number of newcomers increases.

### *On the edge of discomposure*

The main reason for citizens of European countries (the ones where migrants run to and through which they run) recognizing in big number of migrant a security threat is widely spread assurance that among them (migrants) is a number of terrorists who are, under the false pretence of refuge, arriving to Europe, and are waiting there to get a signal from the „headquarters“ to attack. It is also believed that, during that time, they will try to recruit extremists from that particular region for carrying on terrorist attacks throughout Europe, or for departure to some war zone under the directive of the organization that has „put them“ in the row of migrants. It is possible that all those calculations regarding the migration flow as a cover for infiltrations of numerous terrorists are exaggerated, inspired by sensationalist and paranoid tendencies. Still, results of terrorist activities' investigations throughout Europe speak for the relevance of the presupposition that with increased flow of people across borders is reduced the reliability of identification of unwanted „guests“, as well as the possibility of additional control of their movement. After the terrorist attack on November 13 in Paris, it was found that one of the attackers came to Europe with migrants. He went through the registry procedure and was not marked as suspicious. It is sure that he was not the only one.<sup>36</sup> Of course, the ones who were already registered as suspicious probably won't even try to use the regular entrance points, and mass migrations always open new possibilities for avoiding legal border procedures. Belief in that is not a paranoid reaction, but a product of common sense reasoning and something learned from experience.

---

<sup>36</sup> According to the report issued by the Ministry of Justice from Holland, among the refugees who came to this country in 2015, they have discovered 30 individuals suspected of war crime. Such cases among the refugees which arrived in 2014 were 50. (Holandija: među izbeglicama 30 osumnjičenih za ratne zločine, *Politika*, 01.03.2016).

Europeans are the worries due to migration crisis explaining also by the fact that big majority of migrants come from environments which are culturally different from Europe; that they carry with themselves their habits, attitudes and beliefs, that is, forms of behaviour that are incompatible with European standards and as such, represent a real threat to European values. The basis for that lies in the fact that migrants coming from the Middle East and North Africa slowly integrate into the new society, that they stay loyal to the forms of behaviour characteristically for the environment they came from for a long time, which is especially characteristically for people of lower education and bad material status.<sup>37</sup>

At one time, it was believed that the descendants of migrants will not cause any problem regarding this issue. But, it turned out almost the contrary. Immigrants from Africa and Asia not only adhere to the habits and customs of their homeland, but many of them tend to impose them onto their children, and it seems that they succeed in that to a great extent.<sup>38</sup> Resistance to integration of younger generations of newcomers, which is usually explained by their frustration with their bad material status in comparison to their native peers, as well as with provoked fear of loss of ethno-religious identity, is recognized in the part of European public as a serious security problem. It especially becomes important when interpreted in the context of terrorist acts, whose culprits are newcomers or „old“ migrants, or maybe their compatriots. This is well shown by the strong reactions throughout Europe regarding the terrorist attack in Paris at the end of last year,<sup>39</sup> when one of suicide bombers was identified as a migrant from Middle East, as well as reactions regarding the mass

---

37 All developed countries that are targeted by migrants have long recognized this problem, and from this point of view, they clearly differentiate the more suitable from less suitable migrants. Governments of some countries are taking highly unpopular measurement for supression of uncontrolled increase in number of newcomers (especially the „unsuitable“ ones), from really restrictive regime for controlling legal entrance and residence of foreigners, to organising special guards and patrols at sea in order to intercept boats with migrants, to rising defense fences and walls along borders lines at which illegal migrants most often try to cross over. AT the same time, in the majority of developed countries, criteria for getting a citizenship are becoming more strict, as well as the ones for gaining political asylum.

38 Customary law in some contries allows, for example, a family to kill a woman that was raped, due to the dishonour that was made to her by this act. In the families of newcomers, there are some cases when it was discovered that a murder of a woman was committed for such reasons.

39 Paris terror attack: Everything we know on Saturday afternoon, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11995246/Paris-shooting-What-we-know-so-far.html>, 25.02.2016

abuse of women in public in Cologne and a few other European cities during the New Year's festivities, of which are accused younger men of non-European origin.<sup>40</sup>

Some of the comments regarding the attack on women in which (comments) was stated that among the culprits weren't any recently arrived migrants, but that the culprits were Africans and Arabs arrived earlier, that is, the children of former migrants, have just confirmed the thesis about their non-readiness to accept European values and integrate themselves into the host state's society. Not just this, but also the fact that terrorist attacks in Paris are linked to some jihadists who originated from the Middle East but were born in Europe, are the strongest arguments in the hands of the ones who raised their voices against the acceptance of migrants and have openly opposed the so-called open-door policy. Among the opponents of that policy are members and supporters of various right-wing and pro-fascist organizations. It is probable that, thanks to them, but also thanks to spontaneous unsolicited acts of xenophobic individuals and groups, anti-migrants protests occurred throughout Europe, and as well as series of attacks on migration camps. So, European Union, under the pressure of migration crisis, found itself in a situation that it had to show the face that is different from „open-hearted“ Europe and their „open door“ policy. It was forced to, for its own safety and commodity, review its own benevolent standards, to suffer and act, that is, to let its members to do what was previously harshly criticized.

### *Temptations of the „open door policy“*

On the special flight from Germany to Kabul, on February 24, 2016, a group of 125 Afghani migrants were deported to their country of origin.<sup>41</sup> By this act, Berlin directly sent its previously announced message that chances for Afghani nationals of getting asylum in Germany are minimal.<sup>42</sup> The same day, Macedonia stopped letting them cross its territory on their way to Western Europe, entering from Greece, even though there were thousands of migrants waiting on the other side. Only Syrians and Iraqis were allowed to enter Macedonia, so that thousands

<sup>40</sup> Germany shocked by Cologne New Year gang assaults on women; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35231046>, 12.01.2016.

<sup>41</sup> Migrant crisis: Germany sends home rejected Afghans; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35649576> (24.2.16).

<sup>42</sup> So, it is very cynical of the Minister of interior affairs of Germany to say that this was done in the name of restoring Afghanistan (Migrant crisis: Germany sends home rejected Afghans; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35649576> , 24.02.2016.)

of migrants who are „unsuitable“ for Europe, that is, the one „that are not arriving from war-torn regions“, were left on the other side, in Greece. Government in Skopje remind us that this decision of theirs is just a reaction to similar actions taken by other countries.<sup>43</sup> Among other things, a few days earlier, Austria, and then Slovenia and Croatia, made decisions about the number of asylum applications they will be receiving per day, and the number of migrants that will be allowed to continue their journey through these countries.<sup>44</sup> By this, open door policy, launched and supported by Germany, and because of which Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, was named „mother of migrants“, was practically suspended.

It is obvious that the „open door policy“ counted for a lot smaller migration pressure, with more time to apply regular procedures for determining who is a real migrant, and who are economic migrants. When the number of migrants surpassed all expectations in 2015, and when it became clear that there is no way that the quota accord can be made, by which every country of the European Union would accept to take in a certain number of migrants, the praxis of selective acceptance of migrants ended up to be some kind of salvation – less bad solution. Direct consequences of that are already apparent. The others can only be anticipated.

It is rightful, and in accordance with international conventions, to give advantage to taking care of the migrants from the war-torn regions. From this point of view, it is understandable that, first of all, are accepted migrants from Syria and Iraq. However, excluding the possibility of, from that point of view, giving the status of a refugee to one part of Afghani migrants presents denying the fact that there are also some regions which are practically war-torn, of which speak the fact that Taliban regime controls dozens of districts.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, it is undisputed that in some regions in Iraq, as well as Syria, there aren't any armed conflicts taking place, and that all those people arriving from those countries are not more endangered than the ones fleeing from the Taliban terror. So, the use of this geographic criterion of „suitability“ of migrants is a kind of giving an advantage to the form over essence.

Apart from that, by promoting this criterion, the cost of Syrian and Iraqi passports has increased on the market of counterfeit travel documents, which encourages

43 Migrant crisis: Germany sends home rejected Afghans; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35649576>, 24.02.2016.

44 Ibid.

45 Roggio Bill: *Afghan intel, Taliban spar over captured commander dressed like a woman*: <http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/02/afghan-intel-taliban-spar-over-captured-commander-dressed-like-a-woman.php>, 20.02.2016.

other criminal acts linked to illegal transport of migrants. According to some estimations, about 250 thousands of Syrian and Iraqi passports were stolen so far.<sup>46</sup> Production and sale of counterfeit passports has become a profitable business in the Middle East. Fake passport can be bought in Syria for 200 to 400 dollars. Ahmad Al-Mohammad, one of terrorists who carried out suicide bomb attack in Paris on November 13, 2015, arrived to Paris with such fake Syrian passport. He was registered in the beginning of October as „refugee from the war-torn region“ in several countries (including Serbia) on the so-called Balkan route.<sup>47</sup> How profitable is the „business“ of smuggling migrants is shown in the data provided by Europol, according to which group of smugglers of migrants have earned up to 3 to 6 billion euros, and that 40.000 people took part in such actions.<sup>48</sup>

For sure, due to selective laches of migrants on regular border points and restriction of their daily „influx“, number of attempts of illegal entrance will increase, thanks to already well-rehearsed and new smuggling channels. In order to prevent this, all endangered countries will be forced to tighten the control of their borders by different measures of physical and technical security – first of all by increased presence of security forces, and, if needed, by setting physical barriers in critical parts of the border.

### *The end of the dream of Europe without borders?*

When Hungary, under the pressure of migrants, rose a metal fence along the border with Serbia, and strengthened it with barbed wire, comments of outrage were heard from many sides, reminding everyone that this act is „not in accordance with European values“, and loud pronouncements that such praxis would not take roots anywhere else. Similar reaction was caused by setting up the fence on the border between Hungary and Croatia, but there were also statements of understanding present, with a reminder that every country has a right to first of all protect its national interests. When, however, Macedonia started building barriers on the border with Greece, no one was surprised by that. She just seasonably started preparing for the moment when one of the influential „partners“ from Brussels' family would call on her to take over the role of the gate for dozed laches of migrants on

---

46 „Doktor“ pravio pasoše teroristima, *Blic* (dnevne novine), 11. februar 2016.

47 Ibid

48 Evropa zatvara granice, Srbija u pripravnosti, *Politika*, 25.2.16

the Balkan route – to do what European Union failed to do on its outer borders in the Aegean sea.

In the lack of comprehensive European solution to migration crisis, temporary lifeline was seen in activation of this scenario. By keeping migrants on the border with Greece, Macedonia did an instant favour to all the countries migrants were planning on passing through on their journey towards their final destination. She provided them with at least one short time-out in order for them to prepare for „day after“. Of course, due to that, Greece has found herself in much bigger problems now. It was left to take care of about 15 thousands of already arrived migrants, and the ones that are yet to arrive by sea. This plan of leaving this „hot potato“ temporarily to Greece was probably the reason for Greece not to be invited to the meeting of ministers of internal affairs from the countries of the Balkan route which took place in Vienna, on February 18, 2016, where was discussed about the treatment of migrants in accordance with the decision of Austria to accept a limited number of asylum applications daily, with entire discount of acceptance of migrants that are not coming from the war-torn countries. It is not surprising that Athens expressed displeasure regarding these discussions „behind its back“, calling it an „unfriendly act“ which has created a humanitarian crisis on its territory.<sup>49</sup> On the same occasion, European Commission stated that actions of Austria are incompatible with the conventions on human rights. All this points out towards a tendency of, instead of a unique answer regarding to migration crisis, having all European Union countries resort to unilateral moves and act in „separate columns“.

It is evident that in some countries of the European Union, national and common interests are seen as mutually incompatible and that in that case, national interests have priorities. While Brussels administration is standing in place, not able to find a solution to migration crisis which would be acceptable to all 28 member states, some of them, individually or in „groups“, take up „self-defence“ measures to which transitional Balkan countries are, voluntary or involuntary, getting accustomed to.<sup>50</sup> In the name of protecting national interests, in order to prevent potential influx of numerous migrants from France (after closing the private centre near Calais),

<sup>49</sup> Migrant crisis: Germany sends home rejected Afghans, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35649576>, 24.02.2016.

<sup>50</sup> A few days after after the previously mentioned meetinf of the minister of internal affairs of Balkan coutries in Viena, Serbia received an official note from Croatia and Slovenia stating that they will not be accepting more that 500 migrants daily (Hrvatska i Slovenija primaju samo 500 migranata dnevno, *Politika*, 25. februar 2016).

Belgium suspended Schengen rules that let citizens of European Union pass the internal borders of European Union without a passport.<sup>51</sup> Similar measures, that is, temporary revival of former border lines and enhanced supervision of border lines in order to prevent entrance of unwanted and supernumerary migrants, were temporarily applied by some other member states, bringing up to question one of the biggest heritages of the European integrations – free trans boundary flow of people and goods.

It is difficult of believe that the European Union will waive the benefit of setting up physical security and customs, and also passport control in the Schengen zone on their inner borders.<sup>52</sup> Commodity of freedom of movement and financial effects of multiple transfers of goods, as well as huge savings on the basis of the border security service, are strong enough reasons for that heritage to be saved. But, still, as long as solving the migration crisis is being stalled, there are lesser chances that the dream of „Europe without borders“ will come true one day, since, due to „old“ internal problems and new disagreements among states regarding the acceptance and care of migrants, European Union will become more and more „tired of spreading“; and its membership would become less attractive. Because, as Charles Kupchan noted, such tendency of renationalisation of Europe undermines efforts of European Union to form a stronger collective foreign policy, due to which EU is facing a serious challenge of overturning such tendency and renew enthusiasm for deepening integration.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Fading of the reputation and political power of the European Union***

In November last year, German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, came forward with a very dramatic warning that, if Germany closes its borders for refugees, war would hit Balkan.<sup>54</sup> It is less possible that she saw that new war as armed conflicts between migrants and security forces of Balkan countries.<sup>55</sup> She rather anticipated

51 Evropa zatvara granice, Srbija u pripravnosti, *Politika*, 25.2.16.

52 Schengen Implementation Agreement allows member states to, in case of a serious threat to their security, reestablish border control on the inner borders during the period of 30 days (Vid: Mohler H.F Markus, Reflections on the schengen borders code and the re-establishment of cheks at internal borders, *Nauka i društvo*, broj 2, 2015, str. 35-52).

53 Kupchan Charles, *No One's World*, Oxford university Press, New York, 2013, str. 176 -177.

54 Merkel: Izbeglička kriza mogla bi izazvati rat na Balkanu: <http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/planeta.299.html:574964-Merkel-Izbeglička-kriza-mogla-bi-izazvati-rat-na-Balkanu> ,17. 11.2015..

55 Unless „B“ solution of that crisis meands that „unsuitable“ migrants, instead of being taken care of in the „promised“ countries of the European Union, they should find refuge in some thinly populated part of the Balkans. Such ideas were mentioned even in Serbia by some of government

it as activation of temporally extinguished focal point of interethnic conflicts, by which the presence of migrants would serve only as a trigger – a fuse for firing up the Balkan „powder keg“. In any case, this warning directly said that the relationship towards migrants is not only a humanitarian issue, but also a security issue of primary importance which asks for a unique answer from EU, as required by its Common Security and Defence Policy.

It is not accidental that Chancellor Merkel thought it was convenient to give such statements. Namely, Germany was under biggest pressure of migrants since the beginning of the crisis. It had most asylum application by the end of 2015, though, speaking of number of applications in comparison with the number of habitants, Sweden and Hungary are ahead of her.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, as a promoter of „open door“ policy and one of the most influential countries of the European Union, in the society of formally equal members states, it found itself in a position which is most responsible for managing the migration crisis. However, without a possibility of critical influence on behaviour of other member states, its initiatives did not transform into suitable actions. Agreement on quotas by which all member states should accept a certain number of migrants, which would more equitable distribute this burden failed in the same way.<sup>57</sup> Some members have removed themselves from the discussion on implementation of the agreement on quotas, to some it was an unacceptable act of giving quotas, and some did not agree with the number of migrants they were „given“.

In such situation, with the growing number of individuals seeking asylum and more often incidents in which the actors were migrants – as culprits or (more often) as targets of attacks by unfriendly citizens, open door polity received serious opponents even in Germany. Even some coalition partners of Chancellor Merkel started distancing themselves from it. Instead of a unique response came pain-

---

officials (Poverenica za zaštitu ravnopravnosti Brankica Janković: Naseliti migrante širom Srbije“, <http://www.dnevne.rs/aktuelno/poverenica-za-zastitu-ravnopravnosti-brankica-jankovic-naseliti-migrante-sirom-srbije-info>, 26.8.2015). Reactions to this suggestion were different. Some saw them as a personal opinion of a proponent motivated by benevolent preferences, others as a „test balloon“ set in motion by Brussels' order in order to test people (or, better said, to test the level of expected opposition of the citizens of Serbia regarding such project).

<sup>56</sup> Migrant crisis: Migration to Europe explained in graphics; <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911>, 12.02.2016.

<sup>57</sup> In September 2015, ministers of internal affairs of EU states have adopted a plan of predislocation of 120 000 of migrants in the following two years. Agreement between ministers of internal affairs has failed. Romania, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia decisively opposed to them, and the Great Britain distanced itself from the Union.

stakingly slow harmonization of views. Instead of joint action and division of responsibility, countries resorted to shifting responsibility to others, above all to ones that are not in a position to reprimand the weight of the given burden, and to a tactic of „putting it somewhere else“.

Evident disability of Brussels administration regarding the possibility of managing the migration crisis in the phase of its escalation has obviously served London as a favourable circumstance to set conditions to Brussels: Union should be reformed, or, elsewhere, the Great Britain will in shortest period of time decide whether it will remain a member of the Union or not. In essence, behind all these blackmailing „reformative“ conditions was the resolve of London to bring a part of prerogatives which were given to the authorities of the Union back to their jurisdiction. A compromise was made by giving Britain a „special status“ in the European Union by this „reform“, which basically means that London will be able to make independent decisions regarding their own matters, while the rest 27 states will have to seek for a solution which would be acceptable to all of them together.<sup>58</sup>

Even though both British government and Brussels administration expressed delight regarding the „reform“, we could not say that this glorified compromised strengthened the European Union. To the contrary, seen in the context of serious disagreements in the Union regarding the relation with migrants, Brussels' „affability“ towards London is just another link in the chain of events which show that, in this moment, Common security policies of the European Union are basically non-existent. It is not in action, since for moths there is no mutual response to a very serious and concrete security threat, by which Britain, with its special status in the Union, is enabled to elegantly distance itself from that problem and not participate proportionally with its possibilities in sanction of consequences that will occur afterwards. It is probable that, among other members who voted in favour of a compromise with Britain are the ones that wish a special status for themselves, in the sense of exemption from some common responsibilities. Besides, Hungary has already announced that the decision regarding the potential acceptance quota will be made only based on the vote of their citizens.<sup>59</sup> Since by non-functioning of the common security policy of the EU one of its main pillars was shaken, it is understandable that, as long as it stays that way, her voice will be less heard and

---

58 Cameron wins deal for special status in European Union: <http://www.bangalorewishes.com/378-news-headlines/40315-cameron-wins-deal-for-special-status-in-european-union.html>, 20.02.2016.

59 Evropa zatvara granice, Srbija u pripravnosti, *Politika*, 25.2.16.

less listened to, since, as simply and illustriously said, Europe does not speak one language anymore, and it is unclear which speaker should be listened to first.

Weakened by internal disagreements, EU is forced to „buy“ security – to bargain with Turkey about the price EU should pay Turkey for keeping migrants on their territory.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, Turkey is in a position to dictate to Europe the price of its good services, above all thanks to the fact that it is powerful enough and extremely important member of NATO in order to be given instructions regarding what it should do, but also due to the fact that it has already accepted merely 3 million of migrants, mostly from Syria – more than any other neighbouring country and more than all European countries together. Apart from financial compensation for cooperation in overcoming the migration crisis, Turkey is promised visa reliefs and speed up of her journey towards European Union membership. It is a fact that all this is done in the times when current Turkish regime is making a distinctive deflection from the heritage of Atatürk's Turkey, and is not trying to express its commitment to European values is a clear indicator of tarnished reputation and self-respect of European Union. From organisation that was prone to accusing the „shameless“, set rules and judge, European Union for a moment turned into an organisation which can be not only ignored, but also blackmailed.

European disorientation regarding migrants served for some actors as a reason for raising their own price, improve their reputation of get additional proofs of reasons for their own existence. So NATO, lacking arrangements suitable to their own power and renown of instruments of so-called hard power of global hegemony, readily accepted the call from Turkey, Greece and Germany to patrol the Aegean Sea in order to prevent migrant smuggling from Turkey to Greece. According to the statement of US Minister of Defence, Ashton Carter, execution of this task will have a great humanitarian effect.<sup>61</sup> By this, America is using a suitable opportunity to remind its European partners that they still need NATO, because they are first to come to the help when they are in troubles which they cannot resolve by themselves, and that something without which you cannot live in toughest times deserves to exist and to be respected.

By military engagement in the fight against Islamic State in Syria, on the side of current regime, Russia was already gotten some points for its geopolitical position.

<sup>60</sup> Migrant crisis: EU approves 3 bn-euro fund for Turkey: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35486655%20>, 03.02.2016.

<sup>61</sup> Migrant crisis: Nato offers Aegean people-smuggling patrols: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35549478>, 11.02.2016.

Even though it was criticized from many sides that it is, first of all, taking care of keeping Assad in power, and not of fighting Islamist, by change of balance of power, Russia has practically extorted a consent from western powers to talks about the cease-fire before president Assad leaves the government, to which they persistently insisted.<sup>62</sup> For the first time, Russia is standing side by side with the US, maybe not with the same influence, but at the same level, it has decided on creation of conditions for cessation of armed conflicts between government forces and forces of the so-called moderate opposition, as a prerequisite for final showdown with the Islamic State and extremist organisations close to it. By this, it has practically become an indispensable factor of denouement of the Syrian nightmare, and also a factor of managing the migration crisis which came out of it.

Transitional Balkan countries, Serbia and Macedonia, surely are not and will not have any significant profit from the fact that they have found themselves on the main trail of migration flow from the Middle East towards Western Europe. If European Union does not compensate for all their material expenses, in case migration crisis draws, there will be long standing, if not permanent unrepaired security consequences, above all the ones regarding criminal acts linked to migrant smuggling. Still, Serbia and Macedonia could, even for a moment, enjoy the illusion that by registering migrants arriving from one part of EU and by sending them off to some other, more suitable part of the EU, they have become its significant partners which are appealing to the agreement on further steps. Of course, that magic has expired when „agreements“ turned out to be dictating of demands from „partners“ from the south regarding the number and type of migrants they should let through, without clear instructions regarding what should be done with unsuitable and supernumerary ones.<sup>63</sup>

---

62 Irish John and Warren Strobel, W. *Syria Ceasefire Agreement Reached By World Powers*; [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/syria-ceasefire\\_us\\_56bd2370e4b0c3c55050ba22](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/syria-ceasefire_us_56bd2370e4b0c3c55050ba22), 11.02.2016.

63 It is ungrateful to predict how will EU react in case Macedonia and Serbia do not stop migrants at their borders, as Greece didn't stop them on the outer borders of the EU. Still, one is for sure – critics regarding their actions will not be absent. Maybe this will be a chance for a world to remind themselves of Serbia as a main culprit for all the troubles of the Balkan, as well as for the was that might – as Chancellor Merkel warns – might happen if Germany closes its borders for migrants. We cannot exclude the possibility that in this case, Serbia and Serbs would yet again face with some kind of collective guilt – one of most harsh forms of punishing, which tradition D. Simeunović marks with a reason as a main source of the culture of violence (Simeunović Dragan, *The Tradition of collective guilt as the main source of culture of violence*, *Nauka i društvo*, broj 2, 2014, str. 47-61).

Finally, by irony of destiny, with escalation of migration crisis, even colonel Gaddafi posthumously gain some form of satisfaction for its tragic end. Namely, it is seen as prophetic his last public speech in the summer of 2011, when he warned western leaders that if they destroy Libya, they will face a migration crisis. A few months later he was brutally liquidated. Libya was destroyed and a migration crisis happened. Politicians from the West usually do not like to think of Gaddafi's warning, but it is still never missed by the analysts, especially when some of more famous politicians, such as Chancellor Merkel, make ominous comments regarding the possible consequence of irresponsible reaction to migration crisis.

Of course, secondary consequences to the chaos in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya caused by subversion of regimes in these countries hasn't revealed themselves yet, and neither did all the consequences of chaos in Syria caused by armed conflicts between supporters and opposers of the current president Assad. Some of these „bills“ are yet to come or will come late. It is true; spread of the Islamic State in the Iraqi and Syrian region is stopped. Islamist forces are in some regions partially suppressed. That is, without any doubt, a good sign, though it is not all the same who helped that (US with assistants from NATO, Russia, Jordan, Iraqi and Syrian Kurds, regime forces in Baghdad and Damascus, Iraqi Shia militia, Hezbollah, Iranian Revolutionary Guard... ) and how will they exploit their merits.

Unfortunately, as a compensation for the losses in the Middle East, the Islamic State has in the meantime formed a strong backbone in the south of Africa. And, understandable, its main stronghold is Libya.<sup>64</sup> Armed forces of the countries that have supported the rebellion against Gaddafi's regime and that have openly celebrated his fall down, are after five years again in action in Libya (for now, mostly from air), or are preparing themselves to go there. Victims (terrorists and civilians) are greatly being counted.<sup>65</sup> Europe can soon enough expect a new flow of migrants – refugees from the war-torn Libya. Mediterranean route will deliver another portion of bitter fruits of the last great „export of democracy“ started, in the spring of 2011. Americans and British, thanks to their „special status“, will elegantly leave out their part to Europe, which will, of course, leave at least one part of it to Balkan. What is Balkan gets sick of it? So what? That's their problem. Besides, pseudo doctors in the form of great powers that have long been

---

64 Reals Tucker, Why ISIS is direct threat to Europe; <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/isis-in-libya-direct-threat-to-europe>, 23.02. 2016.

65 49 killed in U.S. airstrike targeting terrorists in Libya; <http://edition.cnn.com/2016/02/20/africa/libya-us-airstrike-isis/index.html>, 20.2.2016.

treating it without avail have stated that it is a bad „patient“, because, as it was seen, it has a habit of „*producing more history that it can be consumed*“. And history repeats itself.

## CONCLUSION

Current migration crisis, that is, the problem of accepting and taking care of enormous number of migrants that arrive to Europe from the Middle East and north of Africa in directly connected to the perennial chaotic, basically war state in the countries that have, after takedowns or attempts of takedowns of the authoritative regimes, become grounds of conflicts between different rival groups, supported or disputed by individual centres of power. It is shown that Charles Kupchan was right when he reminded the creators of foreign policies that it would be better if they stopped believing in the illusion that spreading democracy along the Middle East means at the same time spread of western values, and that western countries are only „harming their own interests when they pronounce governments that are not liberal democracies to be illegitimate“. <sup>66</sup>

Sharpening of the migration crisis was also influenced by the fact that, under the false pretences of being refugees from war-torn countries, many economic migrants and adventurers from those countries, or with a counterfeit passport from these countries, tend to reach some of the countries of western and northern Europe. There are various reasons for making such a decision. First, closest safe countries are already overwhelmed with hundreds of thousands of migrants. Secondly, treatment of migrants in developed European counties is probably far better than in any other part of the world. Thirdly, large number of their compatriots already lives in Europe, which give them a chance to „find their way“ there faster.

Countries of the European Union have already accepted hundreds of thousands of migrants. Germany took over the biggest burden, since it was a promoter of „open door policy“. However, an agreement at the level of the entire Union regarding the so-called quotas that is, regarding a divide of obligations and responsibilities did not occur. Instead of comprehensive mutual response to a crisis, partial solutions, which first of all take care of the national interests, and the of the mutual ones, took the stand.

By limiting the number of migrants that can enter some countries of the European Union daily, the open door policy was practically, to the contrary of Germany's

---

<sup>66</sup> Kupchan Charles, *No One's World*, Oxford university Press, New York, 2013, str. 125 i 189..

attitude, and without consulting Greece, who is first reached by migrants. By taking this responsibility of stopping migrants that wish to continue their journey towards central and Western Europe on their border with Greece, Macedonia has de facto accepted the role of protector of the outer borders of the Union. An absurd situation was created, in which a non-member state protects EU from migrants that are already in the EU. If migrants break the barrier on the Greek-Macedonian border, that role should be taken by Serbia.

This development of situation has unequivocally shown that common security policies of the EU is absent, that is, even though they formally exists, during the migration crisis they were not effective. Since this is one of the main pillars of the UE, its failure has a consequence of reduction of reputation and the political power of the Union. Since it did not shown that we can „speak the same language“ during a state of crisis, its speech will be less heard „and less listened to, not only among the „Brussels family“, but even outside it. As getting an agreement regarding a comprehensive response to the migration crisis is being postponed again and again, it will need more and more time to recover from this handicap. Other actors on the regional and global political scene have already shown that they will not miss a chance to use that – some of them to raise the cost of their „good services“, others to fix their rating in comparison to their geopolitical rivals, and some to get additional proofs of validity of their existence. And they are already doing that.

### References:

- An Assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, [http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4\\_syr\\_spm.pdf](http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_spm.pdf), 12.7.2012.
- Barah Mikail, *Refugees in the MENA region: what geopolitical consequences?* <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/refugees-mena-region-what-geopolitical-consequences>, 15.02.2016.
- Beker Joahim i Komlozi Andrea, *Granice u savremenom svetu*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2005.
- Climate Change 2007: Synthesis Report*, An Assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Valencia, 2007, [http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4\\_syr\\_spm.pdf](http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr_spm.pdf), 23.12.2015.
- Donaldson John and Pratt Martin, *Boundary and Territorial Trends in 2004*, *Geopolitics*, Vol. 10, 2005, No2, pp. 398-427.

Eš Garton Timoti, *Slobodan svet*, Samizdat B-92, Beograd, 2006

*Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*, National Intelligence Council, Washington, 2008, <http://www.cfr.org/world/global-trends-2025-transformed-world---national-intelligence-councils-2025-project/p17826>, 28.10.2009..

Halden Peter, *Geopolitics of Climate Ghange, Challenges to the International Sistem*, Swedish Defence Research Agenci, Stockholm, 2007, p.119.

Hammond Timothy, The Mediterranean Migration Crisis, *Foreign Policy Journal*, May 19, 2015. <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2015/05/19/the-mediterranean-migration-crisis/>, 03.02.2016.

Hecht Alan, Resolving the Climate Wars, *Sustaniable Development Low & Policy*, Winter 2009, 4-14. <http://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/sdlp/vol9/iss2/5/>, 25.07.2012.

Irish John and Warren Strobel, W. *Syria Ceasefire Agreement Reached By World Powers*, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/syria-ceasefire\\_us\\_56bd2370e4b0c3c55050ba22](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/syria-ceasefire_us_56bd2370e4b0c3c55050ba22), 11.02.2016.

Kaplan Robert, *The Revenge of Geography*, Random House, New York, 2012.

Kegli Čarls i Vitkof Judžin, *Svetska politika*, Centar za studije jugoistočne Evrope, Fakultet političkih nauka i Diplomatska akademija, Beograd, 2004.

Kilibarda Zoran, Bezbednosne i geoekonomske implikacije klimatskih promena, *Revija za bezbednost*, br. 3, 2011, str. 196-215.

Kupchan Charles, *No One's World*, Oxford university Press, New York, 2013.

Mohler H.F Markus, Reflections on the schengen borders code and the re-establishment of cheks at internal borders, *Nauka i društvo*, broj 2, 2015 (zima), str. 35-52

Parkes Roderick, *European Unionand the Geopolitics of Migration*, UI paper, No 1, Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 2015, <http://www.ui.se/eng/upl/files/111585.pdf>, 09.02.2016.

Podesta John and Ogden Peter, *The Security Implications of Climate Change*, [http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/rdenever/IntlSecurity2008\\_docs/Podesta\\_SecurityClimate.pdf](http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/rdenever/IntlSecurity2008_docs/Podesta_SecurityClimate.pdf), 18.11.2010.

Ponting Klajv, *Ekološka storija sveta. Životna sredina i propast velikih civilizacija*, Odiseja, Beograd, 2009.

Reals Tucker, *Why ISIS is direct threat to Europe*; <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/isis-in-libya-direct-threat-to-europe>, 23.02. 2016.

Ruhs Martin and Van Hear Nicholas, *Irregular Migration as a Response to Geopolitical Shocks: The Long-Term Effects of Short-term Policies*, <http://www.eui.eu/Documents/RSCAS/PapersLampedusa/FORUM-RuhsVanHearFinal.pdf>, 21.01.2016.

Simeunović Dragan, The Tradition of collective guilt as the main source of culture of violence, *Nauka i društvo*, broj 2, 2014 (zima), str. 47-61.

Stepić Milomir, Demografski elementi ključnih geopolitičkih teorija, *Demografija*, knj. 1, 2004.

Triandafyllidou, Anna, *Migration Policy in Southern Europe: Challenges, Constraints and Prospects*, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/publications/reports/pdf/SR017/Triandafyllidou.pdf>, 11.02.2016.

Vidal, John, Migration is only escape from rising tides: climate change in Bangladesh, *Guardian*, Friday 4. December 2009, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/environment/2009/dec/04/banglaclimate-refuges>, 23.01.2016.

## **MIGRANTSKA KRIZA KAO BEZBEDNOSNI IZAZOV EVROPSKOJ UNIJI**

### **Apstrakt**

*Migracija stanovništva je dobro poznat fenomen povezan sa prirodnom težnjom ljudi da obezbede sigurno sklonište povoljnije uslove za život. Poslednjih nekoliko godina Evropa se suočava sa sve većim brojem migranata koji dolaze iz ratom zahvaćenih regiona i iz takozvanih post-konfliktnih društava, uglavnom onih na Bliskom Istoku i Severnoj Africi. Većina migranata nastoje da se domognu neke od visoko razvijenih evropskih zemalja. Problem je u tome je broj onih koji žele da uđu u određenu zemlju mnogo veći od broja onih koje je ta zemlja spremna da prihvati. U takvoj situaciji, Evropska unija (EU) je pokušala da pronađe rešenje problema na bazi konsenzusa i podele odgovornosti. Nažalost, taj pokušaj nije uspeo. Umesto koordinisanih akcija, u skladu sa Zajedničkim bezbednosnom politikom Evropske unije, usledile su odvojene akcije grupe država ili unilaterálni potezi. Praktično, tokom migrantske krize EU nije pokazala zavidan nivo jedinstva. Zajednička bezbednosna politika EU je formalno postojala, ali nije*

*funkcionisala. Neizbežna posledica toga jeste smanjenje ugleda i geopolitičke moći EU, kako na regionalnoj tako i na globalnoj sceni.*

***Ključne reči:*** *migranti, izbeglice, migrantska kriza, bezbednosni izazovi, Evropska unija*