

OPPONENT'S OPINION

„MIGRATION POLICIES AND SECURITY IN GERMANY AND THE EU: BORDER CONTROL DILLEMAS IN THE 21ST CENTURY“

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According to the author, “the major aim of the thesis will be, on the one hand, to discuss evolution and implications of migration policies based on border control, also in terms of illegal migration [...]; on the other hand, broader implications of migration management will be outlined, which make it necessary to go beyond the territorial aspect of security“ (p.9). The author bases her work on two major assumptions: i) international migration is a dependent variable, the understanding of which is shaped by institutions within receiving states and by relations between the states; and ii) governments and the EU have handled migration predominantly under its security aspects. The author aims to demonstrate that through presenting a mosaic of political, economic and legal factors, and using statistical data where appropriate. The macro-level of analysis has been chosen with the international system (including international law and organisations), the European Union level and the national level represented by Germany being its primary units. Many primary sources (legal texts, speeches, statistics) as well as a broad range of secondary sources including relevant research articles, books and news articles has been used.

The main body of the thesis is divided into four main chapters. The author, however, begins with introducing the topic and its relevance, assumptions, hypotheses and methodology used.

The first chapter („**THE CHALLENGE OF MIGRATION TO NATIONAL SECURITY POLICIES**“) defines and further analyses concepts of security and migration. It also examines the consequences of security and migration as two interconnected phenomena. The author draws attention to migration blurring the line between the traditional external and internal security dimension. It is being proposed that if migration is only one of the new dimensions of the new global landscape, it has important impacts on the redefining process of security. The chapter is also dedicated to outlining how migration challenges various kinds of boundaries.

The second chapter („**EMERGENCE AND IMPLICATIONS OF EU MIGRATION POLICIES**“) explains in detail the evolution towards initiatives in migration policies on the level of the European Community/European Union. It presents the Nineties of the Twentieth Century as particularly important period for setting up migration policies. The author expands these perspectives further into the area of Central Europe on its way to the Schengen area. The author correctly builds on the assumption that migration policies are influenced by the interests of the former (Western) members of the European Union fearing that the enlargement of the European Union to the East would bring crisis regions even closer facilitating further flows of migrants into the European Union; these interests potentially neglecting human rights of individual migrants.

The third chapter („GERMANY'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES: DIFFICULT ADAPTATION TO THE 21ST CENTURY“) explores the 'national' level of the analysis, it presents the case study of Germany specific for its geo-strategic position, historical evolution and contemporary political debates. Indeed, Germany became a promoter of the Europeanization of migration policies. The analysis in this chapter goes even beyond the 'national' level, exploring the 'Länder' level. The chapter also outlines negative impacts of (il)legal migration and public debates in Germany, it also deals with the question of the effectiveness of stricter territorial controls to resolve illegal immigration problems. In this connection, illegal border crossing, residence status and crime rates related to migration are further explored as they provide arguments for calling for stricter border controls.

The fourth chapter („EMBEDDING GERMANY IN CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION PROCESSES“) synthesises German and European Union policy developments (the interconnections which are being called 'Politikverflechtung' or as the author translates 'interwovenness of politics'). Herein, the author also deals with the last unit of analysis – she presents some international and intergovernmental cooperation initiatives imposing duties on Germany beyond the framework of the European Union. The author thus interlinks all three units defined when proposing methodological construction of her study.

The conclusion makes it clear that the author is well-acquainted with the problem and after a thorough analysis got to a serious conclusion: “there is an increased recognition that migration is just as intimately linked with development as with security. The problem is that it remains unclear what consequences can be expected from supporting the economic development in main countries of origin ... Furthermore, another main cause root for migration remains environmental catastrophes, which are by definition not “manageable”, but can have just as many damaging and life-threatening impacts as security. Migration pressure is therefore not easily manageable, because despite being a global phenomenon, it has such a variety of causes, implications and far-reaching effects [...] that measures have to be just as encompassing” (p. 99).

“Out of the tragic past of the country [Germany] emerged a particular dedication to the protection of HR and asylum seekers...” (p. 91). One could also say that the political will to adopt and implement measures to combat illegal migration and to 'secure security' took precedence over the need to protect the persons who justifiably seek to enter Europe for the well-founded fear of persecution and whose legal options to enter have been minimized. I would even warn that that the international law on protecting refugees collides with the immigration policies of the European Union, and thus with the immigration policies of Germany as well. The author may wish to develop whether our views could in any way be reconciled. In this connection, does it also mean that the international law is toothless and the European Union or the states themselves do not have to comply with it?

The author definitely managed to analyse and explore the concepts of migration, security and how they are interconnected – analysing these phenomena at the European Union, German and partly also at the international level. The author has thus attained the main objective of the thesis.

The study follows a well-arranged and logical structure. The thesis also contains glossary and elaborated contents thus adding to the clarity and style. The author correctly attributes to the sources throughout the whole work; one can even speak about an exemplary standard of citation.

Master Thesis of Evgenia Belyaeva „ Dynamics of the Arab States Positions in the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Perspectives for Peace”.

As a supervisor of this thesis I have consulted with the author regularly this work. A topic of the thesis is clear and structure of the work is logical. Author is using a relatively large number of related literature. Appendix 1-10 is a good documentation of main sources.

I think that work fully fulfils requirements of master thesis.

I have got a couple of questions. First: Do you think that realistic and pragmatic Arab states policies prevail also toward Palestinian representation, not only toward Israel?

Second: Is it also possible to argue that Syrian policy toward Israel is based on realism?

Third: How important is Israeli factor in a rivalry between main powers of the region (Egypt, Syria, Iran)?

For grading my suggestion is A (excellent).

20.6.2006.

B. Hnizdo.