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## **The EU foreign policy elite in the context of migration process: the case of Ukrainian refugees**

The article provides an analysis of the long-term difficult migration situation in the European Union in the era of a pandemic around the world. The main factors influencing the growth of migration flows are substantiated, namely, such reasons as the military-political situation, the example of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which contributed to the growth of Ukrainian refugees in European countries, destructive migration policy, shortcomings in the foreign policy of the European Union, economic problems of neighboring states. The article indicates the positions and decisions of the EU foreign policy elite on the issue of complex migration. Based on the analysis of the decisions made by the EU foreign policy elite, it can be argued that the migration situation at this stage is only the beginning of further reforms that should and will take place both in the migration system of the European Union and in the sphere of international relations.

*Keywords:* European Union, foreign policy elite, migration process, Ukrainian refugees, consequences, military conflict, suggestions, pandemic.

### *Introduction*

The given topic is relevant today as it is connected with human relations and rights accordingly to foreign political decisions and in some cases with cultural and religious features too. Also, the migration issue, being one of the significant issues in European countries and a problem in the current system of international relations, attracted our attention. Thus, we would like to introduce several reasons why we chose this topic:

- a deeper understanding of the EU migration policy;
- causes of migration trends;
- solutions by the EU foreign policy elite to migration policy issues;
- further prospects of the EU migration policy.

The COVID-19 pandemic has affected not only the global economy as a whole but also its most valuable asset, human capital. In particular, one of the most important consequences of the pandemic was its large-scale impact on migration flows and the volume of remittances.

The dramatic decline in remittances exacerbates the imbalances in the world economy associated with the gap between developed and emerging economies. This, in turn, requires concerted action on the part of the global community, primarily multilateral international organizations, as well as regional development institutions, which must provide priority assistance to economies affected by the adverse effects of the pandemic.

For all segments of the world economy, the most disproportionate impact of the crisis and quarantine was the area of movement of people and remittances. Cross-border flows of capital and goods and international trade were affected. However, the damage caused by quarantine measures to human capital and migration seems much more significant. According to the World Bank, in 2020, the volume of remittances in the world economy will decrease by 20%, with the most significant drop observed in Europe and Central Asia (27.5%), as well as in Sub-Saharan Africa (23.1%), South Asia (22.1%), Middle East and North Africa (19.6%). This is the largest global recession in recent years.

The decline in remittances is not the only blow to developing countries during the current crisis. Another consequence of the quarantine and the return of migrants to their countries of origin has been increased unemployment and pressure on the budget to expand social support and fight poverty. Low labor mobility and a stagnant labor market can exacerbate social unrest and increase crime. In some cases, the terms of quarantine measures are extended due to the second wave of the pandemic. In developing countries, they are causing further deterioration in the labor market, lower incomes and increased poverty.

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At present, the main factor of increasing the migration flow in Europe is a politico-military reason, which provides geopolitical shifts as we can see in the example of the Ukraine-Russian conflict.

### *Experimental*

This research aims to analyze the main reasons for the failing migration policy in the EU and decision-making process by foreign policy elite of the EU. We used the following methods: content analysis, statistical and secondary databases, systemic, historical and structural, and functional methods.

### *Results*

#### *EU migration policy: expert opinions, causes and consequences*

Let us consider the different viewpoints about the Euroscepticism of migration policy, what is the position of migration policy in the EU as the main weapon of solidarity and unity in the system of international relations.

Stefano Stefanini, who is a former permanent representative of Italy at NATO and senior adviser to the Podesta Group, in his article, notes the settlement of the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. The secretary general of NATO made it clear to Greece and Turkey that they must resolve the contradictions that have arisen as soon as possible, using the recently created mechanism to prevent a military conflict, only then, they can count on the full participation of the Alliance support in the field of security. For Athens, this may be an aid to counteract illegal migration and, in the case of Ankara, it is most likely expressed in Brussels' policy of non-interference in Turkish affairs in Syria and Nagorno-Karabakh [1].

Thus, we can say that at the moment there is a normalization of the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, it should be noted that the absence of a complete agreement between all parties to the conflict and an effective mechanism to prevent crises in this region at any time can lead to an escalation of tension. NATO and Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg contributed personally to the resolution of the crisis, however, it is clear that the Alliance did not play a leading role in this process, rather, a positive intermediate result was achieved owing to a combination of factors and the efforts of various actors. At the same time, in the NATO framework, dividing lines reappear in history. As an example, the latent Greco-Turkish conflict, escalated more severely in the mid-1970s and 1990s, is already a traditional internal Alliance problem. Thus, the joining of France, Spain, and Italy to this dispute seriously undermines the inter-allied solidarity and raises the question of the unity of the Organization in the future.

James Kanter, correspondent for The International Herald Tribune and The New York Times, mentions that since 2015, a new era of Euroscepticism has begun in Poland. With the arrival of PiS to power, nationalist programs began to be carried out, the level of aggression in society towards the left and the liberals increased. One of the points was the negative impact of the refugees, as well as the fight against them, which added political points to the conservatives, but worsened relations with the EU. Little by little, Kaczynski shows himself as an authoritarian ruler with conservative opinions. Soon, Poland joins with Hungary in confrontation with the EU; they take a particularly tough stance on refugees. The anti-Russian rhetoric gradually escalated. However, in this context, the Polish economy showed good indicators, which only strengthened the authority of both the PiS party and the entire conservative wing in particular. Gradually, the contradictions between the Polish government and the EU began to intensify. The peak was the election of Tusk to the presidency of the European Council, despite Warsaw's demand to postpone the elections, Brussels probably decided in this way to balance Poland, electing an unpopular politician for a second term. The contradictions with the EU gave rise to three postulates of Poland [2]:

1. Introduction to the rules of the provision on the impossibility of such a nomination (on the situation with Tusk), which means an increase in the subjectivity of the EU members.
2. Strengthening the role of governments and national parliaments in the EU.
3. The need to change agreements related to migration.

According to Simas Grigonis, who is a Professor at Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuania, Institute of International and European Union Law, few countries appreciated oppositional party's speech which concentrated on the migration policy position of Poland and Hungary at its true value, although it introduced a slight disagreement with the idea of the European Union. In the context of these events and the deterioration of relations with the EU, the PiS opposition has already managed to play the European card, raising the alarm about the future of Poland in the EU. Summoning their own and not just their supporters to the rally, the collective opposition declared that society should not allow the current leadership of Poland to withdraw the

country from the EU. This shows once again that even at that time, despite PiS declaring its intention to leave the EU, many citizens and political scientists began to worry about this. However, there are other views on this situation, one of which is that Kochin's Euroscepticism is ostentatious since Poland has chosen a balancing act between three geopolitical centers: the United States, Germany, and Russia, to which it is assigned the role of a global enemy. At the same time, the liberal agenda is being replaced by a conservative one, not only in the chambers of sessions but also on the screens and tabloids of the media, which are gradually violating their rights. In this context, Poland was demoted in Freedom House's ranking and now cannot be a full-blown democracy. Some predict the fate of Hungary, which has become a full-blown autocracy within the European Union [3].

The Observer's award-winning chief political commentator of The Guardian, Andrew Rawnsley described the positions of migrants on the example of the member of British Parliament Nadhim Zahawi, his origin is an ethnic Kurd who fled from Iraq to Europe. His story is identical to any story of any migrants seeking a better life in Europe. All challenges related to migrants happen because of the noise of information around migrants, and all of this would not have happened, even for technological reasons. Today any "jamb" of law enforcement agencies in relation to migrants is studied under the microscope of the public eye and put on information radars. Time itself carries the wind of change. The problem is that immigration officials are clumsy. The level of activity and literacy of migrants is low. Migrants are divided into different groups: active, weak-willed, uneducated, religious. However, there is another problem. The current generation of migrants, compared to previous years, is closer to new technologies, is capable of listening and hearing. Migrants have a kind of naive feeling, an almost childlike joy, when they find work, send money home for the best welfare. Attitudes towards migration will change for the better only if the economy rings and rings the bells, and business leaders ask their rulers to take concrete steps to support migrant workers. In any case, policymakers suggest different schemes for migrant's position but the implementation has some drawbacks, for instance, Boris Johnson offered the individual scheme for Afghan migrants, for whom the British government made a commitment, but it did not work out [4].

Now migration as a world, in general, is facing a serious crisis. The leaders of the EU member states have instructed the Eurogroup and the European Commission to develop a financial plan for the recovery of the EU economy after the COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic. "These proposals must take into account the unprecedented nature of the impact of the coronavirus that has affected all our countries, and our response will intensify as necessary", said the head of the Council of Europe at a press conference. After the coronavirus, the world economy will face great challenges. On March 26, 2020, the G20 promised to inject more than \$ 5 trillion into the global economy and increase overall cooperation. Falling oil prices and the global coronavirus pandemic will certainly affect us. To be honest, a sense of anxiety about the future prevails, especially for those migrants who live and work far from their homeland. There is still hope. Because there are processes that no longer depend on anyone, including presidents and kings. These are historical and technological processes: migrants do not live in a vacuum. Given the modern means of communication, when information spreads at lightning speed around the world, it is difficult to keep anything secret. People's conscience is a great advantage [4].

According to A. İçduygu and D. Şimşek, accusing the EU of non-compliance with the 2016 agreement (i.e., non-payment of the 6 billion euros owed) and lack of solidarity with the Syrian issue, Turkish President R.T. Erdogan announced the opening of borders for all who want to move to Europe. Tens of thousands of refugees immediately rushed to seize this opportunity. However, on the other side of the border, they were not so well received. From the Greek side, they were able to observe border closures, barbed wire at checkpoints, freezing of asylum applications, use of tear gas by border guards, fire on boats with refugees and extremely disapproving local residents. During the first four days of the crisis, President R.T. Erdogan announced: "hundreds of thousands who crossed the border" and promised that it would soon be "millions". The Greek leadership promised to use all forces and means to protect the borders, involving both the police and the armed forces. In less than a week, around 35 thousand cases of illegal border crossing were prevented, detained illegal immigrants were sent back to Turkey. Nevertheless, Ankara was in no rush to get them back and sent 1,000 police to the Greek border (although, to minimize casualties, Turkey prohibited refugees from crossing the Aegean Sea). The EU Council expressed solidarity with the Greek authorities, accused Turkey of blackmail and the use of "migratory pressure", and the External Border Security Agency Frontex announced its readiness to begin deploying rapid reaction teams. Brussels also outlined support measures for Athens [5]: € 700 million (350 of which is allocated immediately).

*Ukrainian refugees flow in European countries*

Several European countries have faced financial and reputational problems due to the admission of refugees from Ukraine. Some countries are running out of promised money for Ukrainian immigrants, some are having a hard time moving them. Politicians say that the European Union was not prepared for the influx of refugees, which was discussed even before the start of Russia's special operation.

Refugees from Ukraine continue to move toward Europe because of the situation in their homeland, where a Russian special military operation is taking place. Already on March 15, the UN reported nearly 3 million refugees who had left the country since February 24. Europe is preparing for the number of refugees to reach 4 million people. According to French President Emmanuel Macron, the influx of Ukrainian refugees in the near future will become the most serious challenge for Europe in recent decades. Meanwhile, European countries have already started to experience problems due to increased migration. Marlene Chiappy, acting deputy minister for citizenship in the French government, said that 10,077 people have been under border police control in the country since February 25. A day earlier, around 7,500 Ukrainian refugees were reported to have arrived in France, but their numbers soon increased considerably. According to the country's Interior Minister Gerald Darmanin, some 2,000 refugees from Ukraine have arrived in France in recent days. Most of them travel to Paris and the Île-de-France metropolitan region. It was also noted that the country cannot accept more than 25 thousand people [6].

On March 14, 2022, Germany appealed to Poland with a request to suspend the departure of trains with Ukrainian refugees. The "bottleneck" is the limited bandwidth. According to Schaefermaker, 28,000 people left for Germany in three days by special trains from Warsaw, Krakow, and Katowice. At the same time, he expressed hope that other EU countries would continue to accept Ukrainian refugees. The federal states of Germany are also experiencing difficulties with the reception of people. Burgomaster of Berlin Franziska Giffel noted that the capital cannot cope with the reception on its own and expect help from both the federal government and the Bundeswehr [7].

Poland took over the main flow of Ukrainian refugees. It was in this country, which has more than 500 km of a common border with Ukraine, that on the morning of March 18, the border service recorded the two millionth refugee from a neighboring country. This situation requires significant expenses from the republic. Against the backdrop of a large influx of refugees, on March 8, Warsaw decided to create a trust fund for targeted assistance to Ukrainians who arrived in the country for a total of 8 billion zlotys (\$ 1.75 billion). The head of the Standing Committee of the Council of Ministers of Poland, Lukasz Schreiber, expressed the opinion that this amount should be enough to ensure the stay of Ukrainian refugees in the country for the first weeks. Subsequently, the amount of the fund can be increased. Ukrainians are now guaranteed a two-month stay in the country, housing and food, and Schreiber says Poland is well prepared to receive people. Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki said that at the same time, the European Union is already preparing to allocate more than € 1 billion to Poland to receive people from Ukraine [8].

However, in Estonia, in the financial matter, everything is not as good as in Poland. As Minister of Social Affairs Signe Riisalo said in an interview with Delphi, the country will soon run out of € 1.3 million allocated for the accommodation of Ukrainian refugees in the republic. According to her, now it is impossible to say exactly how much money Estonia has spent on events related to the reception of migrants. At the meeting of relevant EU ministers on March 14, according to Riisalo, it was already decided that an additional financial mechanism should be created in addition to existing funds against the backdrop of an increase in the number of refugees [9].

Czech Prime Minister Petr Fiala said on March 17 that about 270,000 refugees from Ukraine had arrived in the republic, and the authorities were already running out of resources to accept everyone who wanted to stay there without any problems. According to him, the Czech Republic needs to continue to take measures to cope with a further increase in the number of incoming refugees. He also announced changes to the laws that govern visa issues, security, education, and employment of people. According to the Associated Press, the Czech government is making efforts to grant refugees long-term residence permits, access to health care and education. In addition, the parliament is discussing the possibility of allowing refugees to be hired even without documents authorizing the performance of work [10].

Great Britain also found itself in a difficult situation due to the influx of refugees. The government of the United Kingdom is under constant criticism due to problems with issuing visas to Ukrainian refugees, wrote Politico. According to him, the bureaucracy of the British Ministry of Internal Affairs made the whole situation with the help of migrants from Ukraine chaotic, the migration crisis showed London's unprepared-

ness for such conditions. From February 24, not too many people managed to get into the UK. Initially, the British Home Office only issued visas to Ukrainians who had close relatives in the United Kingdom, while the European Union announced that it would abolish the visa regime for refugees for three years. London, in response to criticism, decided to take several steps to alleviate the situation: to allow Ukrainians to issue other types of visas, as well as to enter the country for those refugees whom British families agree to shelter - they promise to pay a monthly allowance of 350 pounds for the placement of migrants. At the same time, the British government assures that up to 200,000 Ukrainians will be able to receive asylum in the country in the coming months [11].

London, according to Politico sources, is facing security problems, for example, with the threat of "Russian agents" entering the country under the guise of refugees from Ukraine. In addition, the UK Home Office, as the newspaper notes, is facing a lack of funds and resources to process visa applications. This explains the fact that by the time only 3,000 Ukrainians received permission to enter the United Kingdom, the EU had already received hundreds of thousands of migrants.

#### *The position of EU foreign policy elite in terms of Ukrainian migration flow*

German Foreign Minister Burbock called on all European countries to accept Ukrainian refugees. In addition, Burbock said that compared to the Hannover refugee center, where there are just under a thousand Ukrainians, the situation at the external borders of the European Union, the pressure is much higher. The minister stressed that in the coming weeks Europe will need even more cohesion to give many children, adolescents, adults, and the elderly the protection they need [12].

The Czech Republic expects that the costs associated with the accommodation of Ukrainian refugees will be reimbursed from the funds of the European Union. This was stated by the Czech Foreign Minister Jan Lipavsky. According to Lipavsky, the Czech Ministry of Finance is already drawing up an estimate of operating expenses. The arrival of almost 300,000 refugees places a burden on the health system and school education, stressed the Czech Foreign Minister [13].

The number of Ukrainian refugees arriving has become the biggest challenge for Europe in recent decades. This was announced on March 17 by the French president, Emmanuel Macron, during a large press conference during the presentation of his electoral program. He noted that the country will face and is already facing a large influx of women and men who have fled Ukraine. For Europe, this is one of the greatest challenges of recent decades. The French president pointed out the need to develop a plan to control immigration. In particular, he proposes to speed up deportation proceedings. Macron suggested that a refusal to grant asylum would mean a person is forced to leave the country. The multiplicity of legal remedies reduces the effectiveness of our eviction procedures [14].

British Prime Minister Boris Johnson said that refugees from Ukraine arriving in the country will help solve the problem of labor shortages. According to him, the economy is experiencing difficulties due to a shortage of workers, and Ukrainian specialists will contribute to further growth of the economy. There were just under 1.25 million job openings in the UK at the end of December 2021, 462,000 more than pre-pandemic levels, according to the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The pandemic and Brexit have become the reasons for the departure of foreign personnel, and in addition, people over 50 years of age are beginning to leave the labor market. Now refugees from Ukraine are arriving in the UK under two new programmes: family (for those with relatives in the country) and sponsorship (for those ready to be taken in by friends or strangers). Under the family member program, a visa is issued immediately for three years [15]. Within the framework of the Homes for Ukraine program, for six months with the possibility of a subsequent extension of up to three years. By the end of March, the Home Office had approved some 25,000 visas. At the same time, according to government estimates, up to 200,000 people could arrive in the country.

#### *Discussion*

The current wave of refugees from the territory of Ukraine in the first two weeks has already overcome the migration crisis of 2015-2016; then some 3 million refugees entered the EU in two years. In 2015 alone, the EU received a record 1.3 million asylum applications from Syrians. The influx of refugees from the Middle East to Europe as part of the previous crisis revealed the existence of problems with the reception of migrants and disagreements between member countries on this issue. During the current wave of refugees from Ukraine, EU countries are more prepared to welcome people on their territory, which, as the newspaper points out, is due to several factors. The factor of racism plays into this issue: it is easier for Europeans to

accept Ukrainians, who are perceived as neighbors, than Afghans or Syrians. Also during the previous crisis, the main flow of refugees was made up of young men, but now it is women and children.

However, problems with receiving Ukrainians may soon come to light. Therefore, most of the refugees settled in Poland, a significant number of people remained in Hungary. At the same time, it was these two countries that previously opposed the admission of immigrants to the European Union and criticized the current system of distribution of people by country. In addition, the politicians of the host countries are counting on the fact that the refugees will return to Ukraine after the end of the military conflict. However, a similar calculation was already made during the conflict in Yugoslavia, and then most of the refugees did not return to their homeland, but settled in the host countries.

Now, in response to the influx of refugees from Ukraine, the European Union has for the first time enacted a Temporary Protection Directive (TPD) aimed at providing immediate protection to people fleeing conflict. While welcoming this decision, Amnesty International noted several shortcomings and problems with it and continues to call for the following actions:

- EU member states should apply for temporary protected status under the TPD directive as quickly and widely as possible, including those who are not citizens of Ukraine.

- Member States must quickly grant asylum or another temporary status to those who are not entitled to temporary protection status. People fleeing Ukraine should be given a secure status that allows them to enjoy the same rights and services that citizens of Ukraine and other temporary protected status holders can expect.

- Member States must help those who can safely return to their country of origin to travel and provide them with financial assistance when necessary.

Share the responsibility to protect people fleeing Ukraine and help them. No country can take responsibility for so many people in need of protection. While neighboring countries must ensure rapid access to their territories and priority humanitarian needs, long-term protection needs and durable solutions depend on the support and solidarity of other states in the region and beyond.

### Conclusions

In conclusion, we can say that migration is a complicated process. To our mind, the main problem of this process is that no well-organized migration policy of the EU as we can see from the case of Ukrainian refugees flow, especially the EU's policy is a failure in getting out of control migrants and refugees. As a result, it means that European countries have contradictions and challenges in solving this issue. In this sense, European values that are interpreted in the statutes of the European Union cannot exceed the national interests of each individual European country. It means that one or two countries should not dictate their terms and not give proper attention to such concepts as interests, security and stability as we can see from decisions of foreign policy elite of the EU.

Analyzing the EU migration policy we can say that the above-mentioned authors/experts submitted facts and their arguments about this process. It should also be noted that all the authors suggest that the long-term solutions are not for this problem, as the scale of problem is global and it is difficult to find a solution that would suit all countries and attract to the problem. The reason for this is the security problem of terrorism, religious contradictions, and economic expenses on migrants.

Additionally, it should be noted that in a pandemic in developing countries, the migratory factor negatively affects the balance of payments, the budget, the labor market and the development of human capital. The situation requires the intervention of the global community, which must support countries especially affected by the reduction of migratory flows and the volume of remittances. Global and regional development institutions must develop a comprehensive strategy to help developing countries cope with financial and budgetary constraints caused by declining remittance inflow.

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### Көші-қон үдерісі аясындағы Европалық одақтағы сыртқы саяси элита: украин босқындарының кейсі

Мақалада бүкіләлемдегі пандемия дәуіріндегі Еуропалық одақтағы (ЕО) көпжылдық күрделі көші-қон жағдайына талдау жасалған. Көші-қон ағындарының өсуіне әсер ететін негізгі факторлар негізделген, атап айтқанда, Украина босқындарының өсуіне ықпал еткен Ресей мен Украина арасындағы қақтығыс мысалындағы әскери-саяси жағдай, Еуропа елдеріндегі себептер, көші-қон саясатын бүлдіруші, Еуроодақтың сыртқы саясатындағы кемшіліктер, көрші мемлекеттердің экономикалық мәселелері. Сонымен қатар күрделі көші-қон мәселелері бойынша ЕО сыртқы саяси элитасының ұстанымдары мен шешімдері көрсетілген. ЕО сыртқы саяси элитасы қабылдаған шешімдерді талдау негізінде, қазіргі кезеңдегі көші-қон жағдайы ЕО көші-қон жүйесінде де, сондай-ақ халықаралық қатынастар саласында орын алуы тиіс және жүзеге асырылатын әрі қарайғы реформалардың бастамасы ғана деп айтуға болады.

*Клт сөздер:* Еуроодақ, сыртқы саяси элита, көші-қон процесі, украин босқындары, салдары, әскери жанжал, қолдау, пандемия.

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### Внешнеполитическая элита Европейского союза в контексте миграционного процесса: кейс украинские беженцы

В статье проведен анализ многолетней сложной миграционной ситуации в Европейском союзе (ЕС) в эпоху пандемии во всем мире. Обоснованы основные факторы, влияющие на рост миграционных потоков, а именно такие, как военно-политическая обстановка, на примере конфликта между Россией и Украиной, которые способствовали росту украинских беженцев, причины в странах Европы, разрушительная миграционная политика, недостатки во внешней политике Евросоюза, экономические проблемы соседних государств. В статье указаны позиции и решения внешнеполитической элиты ЕС по проблеме сложной миграции. На основе анализа решений, принимаемых внешнеполитической элитой ЕС, можно утверждать, что миграционная ситуация на данном этапе является лишь началом дальнейших реформ, которые должны и будут происходить как в миграционной системе Евросоюза, так и в сфере международных отношений.

*Ключевые слова:* Евросоюз, внешнеполитическая элита, миграционный процесс, украинские беженцы, последствия, военный конфликт, поддержка, пандемия.