Magdalena Molendowska

Uniwersytet Jana Kochanowskiego
w Kielcach, Polska

THE CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION POLICY IN PROGRAM ACTIVITIES OF THE GROUP OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLE`S PARTY (CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS) IN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Europe is currently experiencing the most serious refugee crisis since the Second World War. The security of the European Union is threatened by a growing number of Middle Eastern populations, mainly from Syria, who try to illegally cross the borders of the EU every day. In the present situation, the EU Member States are considering the introduction of effective border management, which will make it possible to reduce the number of refugees in the medium term. The European People's Party (Christian Democrats) believes that a comprehensive plan should be developed at the outset. In addition, all migration activities must be based on the principle of solidarity, and integration must be a two-way process. However, while protecting the EU's borders, persons covered by protection should be kept in mind. These people must be given all their due rights but, at the same time, respect for the Union's values must be enforced. According to the Christian Democrats, in the long term, there is a need for greater commitment to solving geopolitical issues affecting the root causes of migration; war, poverty, corruption, hunger and the lack of perspectives means that people will still feel forced to flee to Europe unless it also looks for ways to support the reconstruction of these countries[1].

Each approach to migration must be comprehensive; all aspects should be considered as part of a multidimensional strategy. The principle of solidarity should be central to solving the problem of migration. In 2014 more than 276 thousand migrants with an unregulated status came to the EU, which is an increase of 155% in relation to the previous year. During attempts to cross the Mediterranean Sea in 2014, 3200 people lost their lives, and more than 2,000 since the beginning of 2015, of which 700 are fatalities of the most serious incident on the Libyan coast. The number of asylum seekers in the European Union has increased to almost 650 thousand in 2014, which means an increase by 40% compared to 2013. The number of Syrians applying for asylum amounted to 124 thousand people in 2014 in the EU, which accounts for nearly 20% of all requests from all third countries. Additionally, one cannot overlook the pressure from the East (Ukraine). The refugees are mainly

---

[1] O.C. Sterck, *Diagnosing the Securitisation of Immigration at the EU Level: A New Method for Stronger Empirical Claims*, ”Political Studies “Vol. 63, 2015, p. 1120-1121.

sent to five Member States (Sweden, Germany, France, Italy and Hungary). These countries process 70% of applications of all asylum seekers, while Member States located at the EU's external borders (Italy, Malta, Greece and Bulgaria) are struggling with disproportionate migration pressures. In 2013, EU Member States issued 425,875 return decisions, but the actual number of people who left was 166,975, i.e. less than 40%[2].

On 15 December 2015, the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (Frontex) drew up a report showing that the number of migrants arriving in Greece in November 2015 decreased by more than half compared to the previous month, i.e. up to 108,000. This was the first recorded decrease in the number of refugees. Experts believe that the lower migration was mainly caused by deteriorating weather conditions at this time of year. Another constraint may be the more restrictive border control policy introduced recently on the so-called Western Balkan route, which discouraged some migrants from traveling. The Frontex report shows that despite slowdown in the number of people arriving in the Greek islands in November 2015, the total number of refugees in the first 11 months of 2015 has increased to over 715,000, which means that 16 times more migrants came in 2015 than in the same period in 2014. Of all the refugees, the largest number of people are of Syrian origin, followed by a large group of Afghans and Iraqis.

The number of illegal immigrants detected on the route between Libya and Italy in November 2015 was 3,200, down by two-thirds in relation to the previous month. By the end of 2015, a total of 144,000 people were detained trying to cross the border illegally. Italy receives mainly citizens of Eritrea and Nigeria.

The number of people illegally crossing the border has also fallen in the Western Balkans, reaching 164,000 in November 2015. Between January and November 2015, the number of refugees detected at the EU's external borders in this region reached almost 667,000.

In total, at all border crossings the number of illegal migrants detected reached 1.55 million by the end of 2015[3]. In February 2016 EU countries registered 108,490 asylum applications, an increase of 11% compared to January 2016, as shown in the graph[4].

---

[2] EPP Group, *Position Paper on Migration*, EPP Group in the European Parliament Press and Communications Service Publications Team, Brussels 2014, p. 5.

[3] Frontex, *Number of migrants arriving in Greece dropped by half in November*, http://frontex.europa.eu/news/number-of-migrants-arriving-in-greece-dropped-by-half-%20 in-Listopad-cITv3V [16.04.2016].

[4] European Asylum Support Office, *Newsletter – March 2016*, ISSN: 1977-4818, https://easo.europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/EASO-Newsletter-March-2016.pdf [16.04.2016].

Graph 1. Growth of refugee numbers
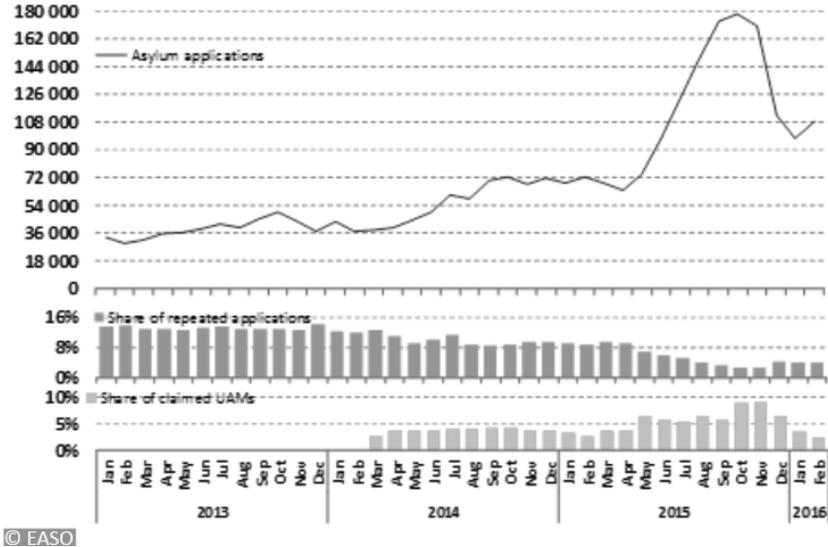
Source: European Asylum Support Office, *Newsletter – March 2016*, ISSN: 1977-4818, https://easo. europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/EASO-Newsletter-March-2016.pdf, s. 2.

Syrian refugees – 18 EU countries registered 38,190 applications by Syrian citizens in February 2016, an increase of 14% compared to January 2016, and more than four times more in relation to the level recorded in February 2015.

Afghan refugees – the number of applications submitted by Afghan citizens has fallen for the third time in a row. In total, 12,625 applications were registered in February 2016, 7% less than in January 2016, but the number of applications is three times higher than in January 2015.

Iraqi refugees – by the end of 2015 there was a decrease in the number of asylum applications; however, in February 2016 an increase was recorded – a total of 13,368 requests were submitted, which is a 22% increase compared to the end of 2015.

Graph 2. Number and type of decisions issued at first instance in the eu countries in 2016

	January	February	%change
Syria	31 226	34 050	→ 9.0%
Iraq	3 951	5 394	↗ 37%
Albania	5 824	4 880	↘ -16%
Eritrea	3 522	4 191	↗ 19%
Afghanistan	2 010	2 725	↗ 36%
Serbia	2 844	2 554	↘ -10%
Kosovo	2 565	2 392	→ -6.7%
Pakistan	1 745	2 022	↗ 16%
Nigeria	1 736	1 878	→ 8.2%
Unknown	1 982	1 579	↘ -20%

All Decisions — Refugee status / Subsidiary protection / Negative

© EASO
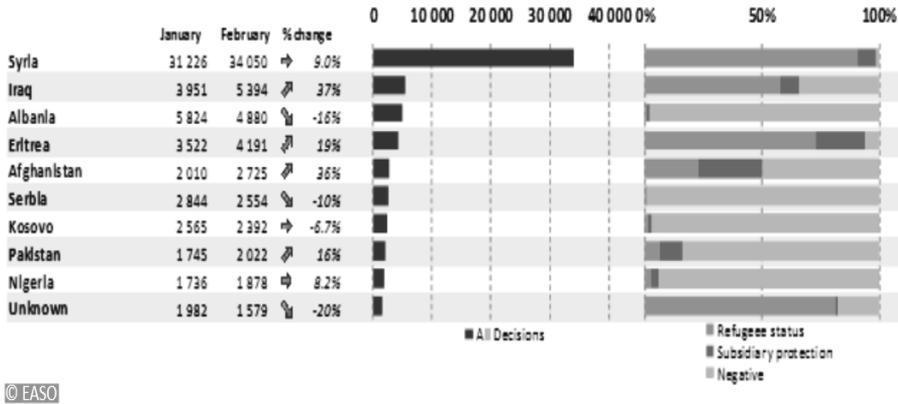
Source: European Asylum Support Office, *Newsletter – March 2016*, p. 3.

It is worth emphasizing that the experiences of European countries concerning the reception of immigrants vary. The most positive, resulting from the smooth and liquid absorption of foreign labor by the economy, come from Spain and Portugal (their agriculture would cease to produce without a steady influx of low-paid workers from Maghreb). Until recently, Italy and Greece, employing thousands of foreigners in the tourism sector, were a positive example, but the economic crisis has changed this. However, in most countries the experiences of migrants, especially Muslims, are not positive, with the best examples being France or Germany. The problem is primarily a different lifestyle and value system, the other is the approach to education (the problem of resigning to educate girls) and the attitude towards work, including escape from the labor market and taking advantage of social welfare[5].

Besides European Union countries, Norway is also not coping too well with the problem of the assimilation of foreigners, despite the implementation of extensive care, education and integration programs. Norway has about 5 million inhabitants, of which the number of immigrants has already exceeded 12 percent; foreigners are divided into two distinct groups. The first, assimilated and universally accepted, are educated European specialists employed where there is a shortage of skilled Norwegians: in healthcare, the IT sector, drilling platforms and the service industry. The second group consists of migrants living in Africa and Asia (represented by 200 countries and dependent territories), mostly Muslims who live in self-contained ethnic enclaves in larger cities[6].

---

[5] E. Mazur-Cieślik, *Polityka migracyjna państw europejskich a wyzwania migracyjne dla Polski*, "Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe", no. 20, 2011, p. 129-130.

[6] Ibidem, p. 132.

Reaction to the crisis of the asylum system

The refugee crisis is a European problem that can only be solved by European solutions. The Group of the European People's Party in the European Parliament was the first to call for a realistic, responsible and common European response to the current crisis of refugees. First and foremost, it is important to remember that not every migrant who comes to Europe can stay there. Therefore, immigrants who do not receive asylum should be systematically sent back to their home countries. Humanitarian aid needs to be further strengthened in order to stabilize the crisis regions. The priorities of the EPP Group in migration policy are, firstly, reduction of the number of migrants arriving in Europe; secondly, organization of a fair division of burdens and fair division of refugees between the Member States; and thirdly, ensuring the tightness at the EU's external borders.

The immigration and asylum policy is a very sensitive issue for the European Union because it addresses complex international problems. As the external dimension of EU policy is becoming more important, there are greater expectations about the role of the EU as a global player. Within the EU, asylum has not been uniformly resolved, despite the fact that much of the territory of the European Union has no internal borders[7].

The EPP Group believes that one of Europe's strategic priorities must be a common approach to immigration. With the enlargement of the Schengen area, which removes internal borders and strengthens the external ones, Member States are moving towards greater mutual dependence in the field of immigration and asylum.

In the late nineteen nineties, the European Union introduced a Common European Asylum System (CEAS) on the basis of the Treaty of Amsterdam and in line with the Tampere European Council guidelines in October 1999. Since then, CEAS has made progress towards achieving harmonization of asylum legislation. It also aims to improve its efficiency to ensure higher standards of personal protection and more effective handling of situations in which the Member States' asylum systems are under particular pressure. On 24 September 2008, the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum was adopted. The Pact provided the current basis for the migration policy of the European Union and referred to mutual accountability and solidarity between the Member States. The adoption of the Pact was preceded by numerous actions of Member States in the area of immigration and asylum: the implementation of the Tampere program and the Hague program, and above all the Stockholm program[8]. In a broader perspective, the Pact imposes on the EU requirements such as:

---

[7] D. Wunderlich, *Towards Coherence of EU External Migration Policy? Implementing a Complex Policy,* "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 29.

[8] P.J. Cardwell, *New Modes of Governance in the External Dimension of EU Migration Policy*, "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 55-56.

- the organization of legal immigration, taking into account the priorities, needs, and possibilities for the Member States adopting and supporting the integration of immigrants;
- controlling irregular immigration and supporting voluntary returns to countries of origin or transport of immigrants;
- improving the effectiveness of border controls, creating European legal framework for asylum;
- establishing a comprehensive partnership with third countries in order to promote synergy between migration and development.

In 2012, a package of six legislative proposals was adopted in relation to[9]:

- the establishment of the European Asylum Support Office (EASO): facilitating the exchange of information, analysis and experience between the Member States, and developing practical cooperation between administrations;
- the establishment of "Eurodac" for fingerprint comparison;
- defining the minimum standards for the reception of asylum seekers: appropriate assistance (e.g. medical, social and legal aid);
- the application for international protection lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national or a stateless person;
- the proposal for a directive on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third-country nationals or stateless persons as beneficiaries of international protection;
- the directive on the establishment of minimum standards for the procedures applied by the Member States with regard to the granting and withdrawal of international protection.

Despite all the efforts that have been made in recent years, there are still a number of significant obstacles to a truly effective joint European system. In order to overcome them, the EPP Group is currently working on the following priorities:

- granting refugee status and subsidiary protection for humanitarian and asylum reasons;
- creating a uniform act on the EU's asylum law, determining common definitions to counteract the lack of transparency and inconsistency;
- creating fast and efficient procedures;
- providing support for countries with large numbers of permanent or temporary asylum seekers and refugees.

Due to the growing migration problem in July 2015 the EU Member States developed a new asylum package. The key feature of the package was the solidarity of its implementation by all EU countries. The EPP Group appealed for greater co-responsibility and complementary provisions by a so-called binding mechanism for dividing the number of asylum seekers if a certain ceiling is reached in a Member

---

[9] *Legal & Home Affairs, EPP Group's Priorities for 2011*, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) in the European Parliament, Brussels 2010, p. 17.

State. The application of such a mechanism can be based on criteria such as the size and population of a country, its economic situation or the number of migrants already accepted by them. In addition, a new refugee relocation system within the EU should be developed. All Member States agreed on one point: the EU's policies should clearly distinguish persons eligible for asylum from migrants with unregulated status. Furthermore, it was decided to conclude agreements with third countries to control and limit the influx of migrants before they reach EU borders. In the era of the migration crisis, there is also a need to redefine concepts[10]:

- "third countries which are not safe" (war zones) - the aim was to speed up the processing of applications coming from those countries;
- "safe third countries" (mostly the Western Balkans) to speed up procedures and returns in the case of unjustified requests.
- a "humanitarian visa" should be considered especially for unaccompanied children.

The response of individual EU Member States to the problem of migration was and is very different. The Chairman of the EPP Group, Manfred Weber, expressed his opinion in the following words: "We have to come back to law and order in asylum policy. Europe needs more cooperation within a fairer common asylum system"[11]. The migration crisis, according to Weber, is yet another lesson and test for the EU. A solidarity mechanism should, therefore, be encouraged to adopt common principles, criteria, and procedures within the European Asylum System. At the same time, the EPP Group has supported all the above proposals while stressing the need for rigorous application of return decisions in relation to those whose applications have been rejected. Moreover, the task of the Christian Democrats, the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), should be supplemented with additional financial and human resources, so that the response capacity of the Member States and their readiness plans can be assessed at an early stage. "There should be a computerized platform created at EASO to facilitate the sharing of best practices and information, and to increase coordination capacity to support Member States' activities in the areas of resettlement, relocation, information and training"[12]. An effective migration policy must also include sanctions against people trafficking humans. For this reason, it is necessary to tighten controls at the EU's external borders.

First and foremost, migration cannot be a source of benefit to traffickers and smugglers who use new routes to the EU and apply new methods to the exploitation of migrants (ghost ships). The EU and its Member States must prevent criminal and terrorist organizations from exploiting profits to strengthen their businesses and

---

[10] EPP Group, *Time to act in the field of migration*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/our-priority/Czas-na-dzia%C5%82anie-w-dziedzinie-migracji [10.04.2016].

[11] EPP Group, *Solidarity, cooperation and common asylum rules are the key to managing migration flows*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/press-release/Managing-migration%3A-solidarity%2C-cooperation%2C-common-rules [10.04.2016].

[12] EPP Group, *Time to act*.

structures. The EPP Group appealed for an EU-UN military maritime operation off the coast of Libya aimed at ending human trafficking, ending the network of smugglers, and systematically taking over and destroying all ships used by traffickers. The following institutions are required to perform the above tasks: EUROPOL (European Police Office), Frontex (European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union) and EUROSUR (European Border Surveillance System)[13]. In the current situation, the potential of the Member States and EUROPOL to work with law enforcement agencies in third countries, including through joint smuggling network operations and organized crime, should be strengthened. In addition, external border control should be extended: if Frontex is responsible for any operation, it should carry it out instead of the requesting Member State. We need to step up cooperation with Turkey, Mali, and Nigeria (as part of ongoing CFSP activities), which must play a key role in combating irregular migration, organized crime and human trafficking. Frontex should also implement a rigorous policy of sending back unregistered migrants[14].

It is undoubtedly a priority in the EU's migration policy to increase security, mainly through careful control at the external borders. Huge support in this area is new technologies that enable the implementation of SIS II (new generation Schengen Information System) and VIS (Visa Information System). The task of the EPP Group is to further enhance the efficiency of border crossing safety; the Member States should introduce the obligation to collect fingerprints of every new person entering – Eurodac (European Automated Fingerprint Recognition System)[15].

Diplomatic UN missions must be supported under so-called preventive actions in the field of EU external border security. The task of this type of mission is to stabilize neighboring conflict zones (Libya, Syria, Ukraine), where wars and the collapse of state systems facilitate illegal trade of all kinds. The rapid development of the Islamic state will have a huge impact on the mass influx of migrants in the near future. The European Council summit in December 2015 has shown that the Heads of State and Government agree on the main directions of the EU's migration policy: strengthening border protection, adapting Frontex's rights to a genuine EU border guard, implementing the refugee deployment mechanism and sending illegal immigrants back to their countries.

---

[13] S. Carrera, L. den Hertog, J. Parkin, *The Peculiar Nature of EU Home Affairs Agencies in Migration Control: Beyond Accountability versus Autonomy?*, "European Journal of Migration and Law", No 15, 2013, p. 337.

[14] EPP Group, *Position Paper*, p. 11.

[15] N. Aslı Şirin Öner, *In Which Direction Do The Efforts Proceed? The European Union's Attempts To Develop A Common Immigration And Asylum Policy,* "Marmara Journal of European Studies", Vol. 20, no 2, 2012, p. 137.

Legal migration

In the fight against illegal migration we cannot forget or destroy the rules of legal migration. It should be based on the needs of the labor market of the Member States, both in the field of low and highly skilled workers as well as in the capacity of Member States to integrate migrants while taking into account demographic challenges and economic crisis in their countries. Legal migration is primarily related to the introduction of uniform legislation across the EU. The EPP Group appealed, among others, to adopt directives: on one permit (specimen), on seasonal workers, and on the transfer of workers within a company, as well as the speedy completion of works on the directive concerning students and researchers and the revision of the Blue Card Directive[16]. In addition, the European Union must ensure that the reception of migrants is linked to a common integration policy (compulsory language courses, education on EU values, social inclusion, etc.). The Christian Democrats believe that when planning the current migration policy, it is better to coordinate the use of EU funds from which projects can be implemented for this purpose[17].

All EU Member States must make a clear distinction between genuine refugees whose aid is subject to the Geneva Convention and economic migrants. The EPP Group explicitly stresses that "while we strive to pursue a common European migration policy, we believe that each country should manage migration flows according to its own situation. The left seems to think the solution is an 'open door policy'. This policy, however, would only exacerbate the problem, as it would increase the attractiveness factor and lead to further problems in many countries and on the seas."[18]

The right to asylum is a fundamental right enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and in all constitutions. The EPP Group is deeply committed to the respect for and protection of refugees and asylum seekers. The Christian Democrats support, among others[19]:

- A balanced migration policy based on solidarity and shared responsibility, a policy that should focus on attracting and retaining talents without undergoing migration pressure.
- Simplified procedures and one permit: procedures and conditions for the entry and stay of migrants belonging to certain categories (employees, students, and researchers) have been simplified and clear employment rights

---

[16] EPP Group, *Time to act.*

[17] Ch. Roos, *How to Overcome Deadlock in EU Immigration Politics*, "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 72-73.

[18] EPP Group, *Let's not expose migrants to unnecessary risks*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/our-priority/Nie-nara%C5%BCajmy-migrant%C3%B3w-na-niepotrzebne-ryzyko [10.04.2016].

[19] EPP Group, *Clear rules on migration and asylum*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/topic/Jasne-przepisy-dotycz%C4%85ce-migracji-i-azylu [10.04.2016].

defined. One permit is a confirmation of the rights of workers from outside the EU who legally reside in the Member States.

- Integration of non-EU citizens: effective integration is essential to optimize the opportunities offered by legal immigration. The EU strongly supports European cooperation and exchange of information on this issue.
- Enhanced dialogue and closer partnership with countries of origin and countries of transit: a global approach to migration and mobility is taking place with a dialogue with countries of origin aimed at improving the organization of legal migration and facilitating mobility, as well as preventing illegal migration and reducing it in an efficient but humanitarian way.
- Measures to prevent the employment of unregistered workers.

The EPP Group plays a leading role in the scope of developing new rules for a modern set of rights for refugees. The Christian Democrats believe that the duty of the EU as an area of open borders, where there is freedom of movement, is to respond to this disturbing situation by using a coordinated approach to guarantee high standards in the field of refugee protection. The EPP Group also benefited from the amendment of the Dublin II Convention, which now extends the protection of asylum seekers in the process of determining the Member State responsible for examining the asylum application. This system allows early detection of problems in national asylum systems and reception systems.

With strong support from the EPP Group, it was possible to increase control at the external borders of Europe, as well as streamline the tools to monitor the EU's external borders and prevent illegal entry. This has ensured greater security for both Member States and the Union as a whole. Among the most important solutions, the following should be mentioned[20]:

- Improvement in the management of European borders (increasing the role and widening the scope of Frontex agencies; launching EUROSUR)
- A common registration system for legal migration ("smart borders") – the EU has invested in technologically advanced methods to facilitate external border controls and surveillance of these borders. They are essential to ensure that EU citizens enjoy full freedom of movement. Th Entry/Exit System makes it possible to register the time and place of entry and exit of third country nationals.
- Second generation Schengen Information System (SIS II): SIS is used by border guards, police and customs, visa and judicial authorities throughout the Schengen area. It contains information about people who may be involved in serious crimes or who may not be eligible to enter or stay in the EU. There are also entries for missing persons. In SIS II, introduced in 2013, the functionality of this system was improved to make it more effi-

---

[20] EPP Group, *Reinforcing the Schengen external borders*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/topic/Wzmocnienie-granic-zewn%C4%99trznych-strefy-Schengen [10.04.2016].

cient while providing better data protection. SIS is currently one of the largest IT systems used in the field.

In addition, it is important to remember that among refugees looking for shelter in the EU countries, there are also children and the elderly. For these people, the European Union must take into account the issue of social security, which depends to a large extent on three factors: migration history, socio-legal status and location in the EU Member State[21].

Cooperation with neighbors

The European Union draws more and more attention to the management of external borders to prevent and combat illegal migration. Already in 2004, just before the expansion of the EU, priority was given to strengthening cooperation and joint training, among others, Border patrols in EU-27[22]. The training was aimed at providing high-tech new equipment to the new Member States of Central and Eastern Europe and transferring knowledge and skills to using advanced know-how. In addition, more emphasis was placed on the European Neighborhood Policy. Its mission was to promote friendly relations, political and economic stability in Eastern Europe. Between 2006 and 2007, the European Neighborhood Policy was extended to countries south of the EU. This was due to the fact that the issue of illegal migration was mainly in the Mediterranean, specifically Spain and the Canary Islands. Since 2006, the management of the maritime borders became an important element of the EU's migration policy[23].

For external relations, the development policy and humanitarian aid to be effective, they must be interlinked and coordinated with the internal and external security of the EU. According to the EPP Group, the effectiveness of current instruments (mobility partnerships, return and readmission agreements and regional cooperation networks) should be assessed. In addition, humanitarian aid and support systems need to be improved to relieve bordering countries (e.g. Jordan, Tunisia, and Lebanon in the event of a conflict in Syria). The Christian Democrats stress that "we must help develop stable states that provide the conditions of life that allow people to stay in their country of origin. We must face the enormous challenge of millions of refugees in the Middle East and the African continent, especially in the sub-Saharan region. The EU needs to develop more programs that increase regional relocation and support regional development and cooperation networks. Therefore, we emphasize the importance of operations in Mali and Niger under the CFSP"[24].

---

[21] P. Dwyer, D. Papadimitriou, *The Social Security Rights of Older International Migrants in the European Union,* "Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", Vol. 32, No. 8, November 2006, p. 1315.

[22] A. Triandafyllidou, *Multi-levelling and externalizing migration and asylum: lessons from the southern European islands*, "Island Studies Journal", Vol. 9, No. 1, 2014, p. 7.

[23] Ibidem, p. 7-8.

[24] EPP Group, *Time to act.*

In matters of justice and home affairs, greater attention should be paid to security and counter-terrorism aspects and it should be more integrated with regard to the impact of Islamic development on the mass influx of migrants and asylum seekers.

Members of the European Parliament's Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, in 2015, prepared a report on migration and the refugee crisis. The report emphasized that in the migration problem one should be guided by the idea that "a Union of common values must become a unity of co-responsibility"[25]. Robert Metsola, a member of the EPP Group, as a Member of the Commission, said that the problem of migration cannot be solved by quick decisions. Indeed, they are also needed, but they are of an ad hoc nature. First and foremost, migration needs to be looked at in broader terms in order to create a comprehensive multi-year action plan. The first line of the text of the Commission's report was related to the principle of solidarity because only the cooperation of all EU countries can solve the growing crisis of refugees.

The abolition of checks at the internal borders of the Schengen area must now go hand in hand with the strengthening of the external borders. The maintenance of the Schengen area depends on the maintenance of basic security and the free movement of persons. Every citizen of the EU must feel secure in his own country. Concerns about the influx of people exist in all Member States, and the task of their governments is to clarify all relevant issues related to the migration policy[26]. This means that the European Commission and the Member States must adopt a common action strategy to strengthen and enforce asylum systems, contribute to better border management, and coordinate legal and judicial systems. In addition, it is necessary to help third countries build their asylum systems and integration strategies to enable people to live safely in these countries. The European Parliament's Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs in its report appealed in this regard, for instance, to the established Emergency Fund for Africa, which has funds to the amount of € 1.8 billion[27].

The Speaker of the EPP Group, Manfred Weber, stressed during his speech on 10 September 2015 that the migration crisis was not the fault of the EU but a result of national egoism. In his view, Europe is facing an unprecedented migration crisis. Hundreds of thousands of people migrate, fleeing from war zones or looking for better living conditions. In contrast, Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission, has shown that Europe's current actions have been effective. The Group of the European People's Party recognized that in the issue of the "Dublin Convention"[28],

---

[25] EPP Group, *Roberta Metsola maps out EU plan on migration*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/news/Roberta-Metsola-maps-out-EU-plan-on-migration [10.04.2016].

[26] J. van Selm, *Are asylum and immigration really a European Union issue?*, "Forced Migration Review", January 2016, p. 60.

[27] EPP Group, *Roberta Metsola*.

[28] The Dublin Convention of 1990, replaced in 2003 by Dublin II, provides that refugees can seek asylum in only one country. The members of this convention are all EU countries as well as Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

some of its provisions need to be reviewed a little[29]. First of all, the "Dublin Rules" should include a mechanism for the fair distribution of asylum seekers between EU members, taking into account the size of the country, its economic situation and the number of migrants already present in the country. So far this mechanism has been treated too flexibly. Secondly, concrete action should be taken in the fight against smugglers. Thirdly, the external borders of Europe must be better protected against illegal crossing. Schengen, according to the EPP Group, is "our common home, whose doors are our external borders and must be open to refugees but also need to be better guarded"[30]. The most powerful task within reach is effective control at entry into the free movement zone, one of the most valuable achievements of the EU. If we want to protect Schengen area, we must make sure that strict rules are applied by all Member States. Refugees should be effectively registered when crossing the EU border. Then a fast decision-making system must be created, determining whether asylum can be granted or not. If a Member State is unable to meet its obligations, the EU should be able to act directly.

The European Parliament's (EP) response to migration in Europe is a draft resolution on the situation in the Mediterranean region. This draft establishes that the European Union must take into account the following legal acts on migration policy[31]:

- Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union,
- European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms,
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948,
- The Geneva Convention of 1951 and the Additional Protocol thereto,
- EP Resolution of 29 April 2015 on the current situation in migration and asylum policy in the Mediterranean and other EU countries,
- EP Resolution of 10 September 2015 on Migration and Refugees in Europe.

In addition, all parliamentary reports on the Commission on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs on migration and asylum policies were included.

The report included, among others, article 80 of TFEU, which deals with solidarity and fair burden-sharing of all EU countries. Solidarity can take the form of internal and external solidarity. Internal Solidarity refers to the mutual recognition of asylum decisions, operational support measures, the interpretation of the current Dublin Regulation, and the Interim Protection Directive. On the other hand, resettlement, humanitarian, search and rescue operations at sea involve external solidarity. The document also includes issues related to the Strategy for cooperation with third countries, particularly in the areas of regional protection, resettlement, return, and addressing the causes of

---

[29] EPP Group, *Keep Europe's door open – but guard it*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/ news/Keep-Europe%E2%80%99s-door-open-%E2%80%94-but-guard-it [10.04.2016].

[30] Ibidem.

[31] *Draft Report on The situation in the Mediterranean and the need for a holistic EU approach to migration* (2015/2095(INI)), Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Co-Rapporteurs: Roberta Metsola, Kashetu Kyenge, 18.01.2016 r., PR\1083522EN.doc.

migration. This Strategy is based on the EU's cooperation with third countries. It uses political instruments such as regional dialogue, bilateral dialogue, joint mobility, mobility and mobility partnerships; legal instruments, such as: "global agreements", migration clauses, agreements on visa facilitation and visa waiver agreements as well as operational instruments such as: Regional Protection Program (RPP) and Regional Development. In addition, bearing in mind the individual Member States, the European Union still needs to develop intensive external action on migration at the bilateral level. In this respect, external cooperation with third countries on migration and asylum needs to be intensified in order to react appropriately to the current crisis of refugees and new cooperation initiatives, such as the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan, the commitments undertaken under the Western Balkan Route, and the Action Plan adopted at the summit in Valetta.

The report will also refer to the Directive on the so-called Temporary Refugee Protection (Council Directive 2001/55/EC). This Directive, since its adoption in 2001, has not been used in practice. It provides for the possibility of evacuating displaced persons from third countries through humanitarian corridors. In addition, if a given EU Member State is "overburdened" with the number of refugees, then the other countries should jointly and severally receive the given group of people. The revision of the Interim Protection Directive forms part of the review of the Dublin system. The Member States must provide refugees with support and integration opportunities in a new society. Directive 2001/55/EC of 20 July 2001 lays down minimum standards for temporary protection in the event of a mass influx of displaced persons and measures to promote a balance of efforts between the Member States concerning the admission of such persons and their consequences (OJ L 212 7/8/2001, p. 12). On the other hand, Directive 2011/95/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011 lays down standards for the qualification of third-country nationals or stateless persons as beneficiaries of international protection by granting a uniform status of refugees. The content of the protection granted is set out in the Directive (OJ L337 of 20.12.2011, p. 9), underlining that integration is a bi-directional process, taking into account respect for the values on which the European Union is built. It is worth pointing out that according to art. 15 of the Directive on the rules of receiving refugees, Member States define the conditions for granting access to their labor markets to applicants for international protection, provided that such access is effective and complies with the timetable set out in § 1 of this article. In article 15 (2), it is explicitly stated that due to labor market policy, Member States may give priority to their own citizens.

The EP report emphasized that the best and fair way to treat indigenous people and refugees is to recognize foreign qualifications. Then, those who have been covered by EU protection can better integrate into the new country. The European Commission encourages the creation of private and social integration programs for persons admitted to resettlement, in particular, the implementation of such programs should be addressed by local authorities.

Conclusions

The EU migration policy is now primarily focused on assessing the enforceability of the rules adopted by all Member States. It is worth emphasizing, however, that migration policy is a part of a broader European Union that can be treated as an integrated market with an international decision-maker. The following arguments should be taken into account when evaluating EU migration policy. Firstly, at EU level, migration policy and migration law are merely an illusion of policy coherence, which applies to all Member States, including newcomers and residents. These seemingly coherent elements of EU policy have always coexisted with three factors: 1) the variability of migration policy at national and local level; 2) the changing labor market situation in different Member States and 3) the changing economic situation in EU countries[32].

Th migration policy with comprehensive solutions based on the principle of coherence should include "migration control"; this term conceals the use of repressive measures to combat illegal migration, while the migration policy should also be "preventive". Its tasks must be focused on the study of the "original cause", i.e. why people leave their country of origin and where they migrate; this is what the EU is currently aiming for. The implementation of the migration policy in the EU depends on a large and heterogeneous group of countries and international and non-governmental organizations since the EU currently has no legal or physical capacity to implement its migration policy in the countries of origin of most migrants. Hence the necessity of a cross-cultural dialogue and the implementation of good/friendly neighborhood policy[33]. The most serious mistakes made by countries accepting immigrants are[34]:

- allowing a situation in which an ethnically homogeneous group of immigrants arrive in a country (e.g. France, where the Muslim population is gathered in voluntary ghettos defined by ethnicity). This hampers cultural diffusion and integration, and it can even be assumed that it completely undermines it;
- endorsement and institutional support for the parasitism of immigrants in the host country's social system (immigrants are accepted to work for the welfare of the host country, and not to add to the social security system);
- silent approval of the "import" of crime: clans and mafia criminal organizations from the Arab countries, the Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia, Turkey, China, etc. have taken over entire sectors of activity in the EU and are beyond the control of host country authorities.

---

[32] E. Carmel, *With what implications? An assessment of EU migration governance between Union regulation and national diversity*, "Migration Letters", Vol. 11, No 2, 2014, p. 137.

[33] D. Wunderlich, *Towards Coherence of EU, External Migration Policy? Implementing a Complex Policy,* "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 27.

[34] E. Mazur-Cieślik, *Polityka migracyjna*, p. 135-136.

Summary

Immigration is a crucial political issue in the European Union (EU), both because of its electoral impact, which has led to the rise of new parties and challenges to existing party systems, and because of its importance to the evolving EU single market. In an 'age of migration' migration and immigration policies are increasingly central and should be thoroughly scrutinised from various angles. Immigration policies provoke highly polemical discussions, mainly because of visible 'hard security' elements such as detention camps or fortified walls. The analysis of EU migration policy has been focused primarily on evaluating its relationship to EU law, or its application to individual member states. At the EU level, EU policy and law on migration creates the illusion of policy coherence, applied to all member states, incomers and residents. Yet these apparently coherent EU policies always co-exist with three confounding factors: 1) national and local variation in migration policies; 2) national and local labour market variation, particularly in the role of informal economy, and 3) profound member state hierarchies in the EU's political economy, reinforced by the ongoing crisis. Underlying these evaluations and ambitions are notions of policy coherence. However, political statements about coherence have little relevance if projects have unintended effects on migration movements or threaten migrants' lives.

Streszczenie

WSPÓŁCZESNA POLITYKA MIGRACYJNA W DZIAŁANIACH PROGRAMOWYCH GRUPY EUROPEJSKIEJ PARTII LUDOWEJ (CHRZEŚCIJAŃSCY DEMOKRACI) W PARLAMENCIE EUROPEJSKIM

Migracja jest obecnie jedną z najistotniejszych kwestii politycznych w Unii Europejskiej (UE), zarówno ze względu na jej wpływ wyborczy, co doprowadziło do powstania nowych stron i wyzwań wobec istniejących systemów partyjnych, a także ze względu na jej znaczenie dla rozwijającego się jednolitego rynku UE oraz bezpieczeństwa Europy. Polityka imigracyjna wywołuje bardzo kontrowersyjne dyskusje, głównie z powodu widocznych elementów „twardego bezpieczeństwa", takich jak obozy dla osób zatrzymanych lub murów obronnych. Dotychczasowa analiza polityki migracyjnej UE koncentrowała się przede wszystkim na ocenie jej związku z prawem UE lub jego zastosowaniu do poszczególnych państw członkowskich. Na szczeblu unijnym polityka i prawo UE w zakresie migracji stwarza iluzję spójności, stosowaną do wszystkich państw członkowskich, zrzeszonych i rezydentów. Jednak te pozornie spójne polityki UE zawsze współistnieją z trzema czynnikami zakłócającymi: 1) krajowe i lokalne zmiany w polityce migracyjnej; 2) zmiany na rynku pracy na poziomie krajowym i lokalnym, oraz 3) głębokie hierarchie państw członkowskich w polityce gospodarczej UE, wzmocnione przez trwający kryzys. Podstawą tych ocen i ambicji są pojęcia solidarności i spójności polityki. Jednakże oświadczenia polityczne dotyczące

spójności mają niewielkie znaczenie, jeśli projekty są nieskuteczne w kontekście nielegalnych ruchów migracyjnych lub zagrażają życiu migrantów.

Keywords: migration, European Union, EPP Group (christian democrats).
Słowa kluczowe: migracje, Unia Europejska, Chrześcijańscy Demokraci.

Bibliography

Aslı Şirin Öner N., *In Which Direction Do The Efforts Proceed? The European Union's Attempts To Develop A Common Immigration And Asylum Policy*, "Marmara Journal Of European Studies", Vol. 20, no 2, 2012, p. 121-140.

Cardwell Paul James, *New Modes of Governance in the External Dimension of EU Migration Policy*, "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 54-66.

Carmel Emma, *With what implications? An assessment of EU migration governance between Union regulation and national diversity*, "Migration Letters", Vol. 11, No 2, 2014, p. 137-153.

Carrera Sergio, den Hertog Leonhard, Parkin Joanna, *The Peculiar Nature of EU Home Affairs Agencies in Migration Control: Beyond Accountability versus Autonomy?*, "European Joumal of Migration and Law", No 15, 2013, p. 337-358.

Draft Report on The situation in the Mediterranean and the need for a holistic EU approach to migration (2015/2095(INI)), Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Co-Rapporteurs: Roberta Metsola, Kashetu Kyenge, 18.01.2016 r., PR\1083522EN.doc.

Dwyer Peter, Papadimitriou Dimitris, *The Social Security Rights of Older International Migrants in the European Union*, "Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies", Vol. 32, No. 8, November 2006, p. 1301-1319.

EPP Group, *Clear rules on migration and asylum*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/ topic/Jasne-przepisy-dotycz%C4%85ce-migracji-i-azylu [10.04.2016].

EPP Group, *Keep Europe's door open –but guard it*, http://www.eppgroup. eu/pl/news/Keep-Europe%E2%80%99s-door-open-%E2%80%94-but-guard-it [10.04.2016].

EPP Group, *Let's not expose migrants to unnecessary risks*, http://www.eppgr oup.eu/pl/our-priority/Nie-nara%C5%BCajmy-migrant%C3%B3w-na-niepotrze bne-ryzyko [10.04.2016].

EPP Group, *Position Paper on Migration*, EPP Group in the European Parliament Press and Communications Service Publications Team, Brussels 2014.

EPP Group, *Reinforcing the Schengen external borders*, http://www.epp gro-up.eu/pl/topic/Wzmocnienie-granic-zewn%C4%99trznych-strefy-Schengen [10.04.2016].

EPP Group, *Roberta Metsola maps out EU plan on migration*, http://www.eppg ro-up.eu/pl/news/Roberta-Metsola-maps-out-EU-plan-on-migration [10.04.2016].

EPP Group, *Solidarity, cooperation and common asylum rules are the key to managing migration flows*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/press-release/Managing-migration%3A-solidarity%2C-cooperation%2C-common-rules [10.04.2016].

EPP Group, *Time to act in the field of migration*, http://www.eppgroup.eu/pl/our-priority/Czas-na-dzia%C5%82anie-w-dziedzinie-migracji [10.04.2016].

European Asylum Support Office, *Newsletter – March 2016*, ISSN: 1977-4818, https://easo.europa.eu/wp-content/uploads/EASO-Newsletter-March-2016 [16.04.2016].

Frontex, *Number of migrants arriving in Greece dropped by half in November*, http://frontex.europa.eu/news/number-of-migrants-arriving-in-greece-dropped-by-half-%20in-Listopad-cITv3V [16.04.2016].

Legal & Home Affairs, EPP Group's Priorities for 2011, Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) in the European Parliament, Brussels 2010.

Mazur-Cieślik Ewa, *Polityka migracyjna państw europejskich a wyzwania migracyjne dla Polski*, "Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe", no. 20, 2011, p. 127-149.

Roos Christof, *How to Overcome Deadlock in EU Immigration Politics*, "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 67-79.

Sterck Olivier C., *Diagnosing the Securitisation of Immigration at the EU Level: A New Method for Stronger Empirical Claims*, "Political Studies "Vol. 63, 2015, p. 1120-1139.

The Dublin Convention of 1990, replaced in 2003 by Dublin II, provides that refugees can seek asylum in only one country. The members of this convention are all EU countries as well as Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Liechtenstein.

Triandafyllidou Anna, *Multi-levelling and externalizing migration and asylum: lessons from the southern European islands*, "Island Studies Journal", Vol. 9, No. 1, 2014, p. 7-22.

van Selm Joanne, *Are asylum and immigration really a European Union issue?,* "Forced Migration Review", January 2016, p. 60-62.

Wunderlich Daniel, *Towards Coherence of EU External Migration Policy? Implementing a Complex Policy,* "International Migration", Vol. 51(6), 2013, p. 26-40.