

On the Future OF EUROPE

Policy Papers 5

The Common Challenge - Members and Candidates
Facing the EU Future Migration Policy

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Written by:

Krystyna Iglicka
Sławomir Łodziński
Dariusz Stola
Jakub Boratyński
Grzegorz Gromadzki

Consultation:

Piotr Korcelli
Jacek Kucharczyk
Marek Kupiszewski
Agnieszka Siarkiewicz

Editor:

Adam Zieliński

Translation:

Witold Czartoryski

Typesetting:

Michał Poloński

Publisher:



Sapieżyńska 10 a, 00-215 Warsaw
phone (48-22) 536 02 00, fax 536 02 20
europa@batory.org.pl, forum@batory.org.pl
<http://www.batory.org.pl>

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Introduction

The present report is the fifth of a series of planned Policy Papers, which will present the views of Polish non-governmental communities concerning those international issues that are important from the point of view of European integration.

This project was initiated by the Stefan Batory Foundation. We invite various non-governmental organizations to co-operate on successive reports.

This text, which we have the pleasure to present to you, was prepared in co-operation with the Institute of Public Affairs and Institute for Social Studies of Warsaw University.

In the work on this Policy Paper also independent experts have participated. We thank all those persons who have contributed to the drafting of this paper for their kind assistance and valuable comments.

By using the formula of short policy papers, we wish to discuss in a comprehensible manner for the Western reader on matters that are important for the future of Europe, and also to contribute to the animation of the debate on this subject in Poland. We do not wish to limit ourselves to the presentation of the point of view of Poland and Poland's interests alone. It is our ambition that our proposals should take into account the general European perspective and provide a true contribution to the debate on the desirable shape of the external policy of the European Union.

We believe that an important role may be played in this discussion by the non-governmental organizations. They are not constrained by the numerous limitations resulting from the requirements of current politics and negotiations with the Union. It also seems that the opinions of Polish non-government communities might be found interesting, as we surely have a different way of looking at many issues than the present members of the European Union.

We have the pleasure to invite you to read and discuss these papers.

Stefan Batory Foundation

Already today, when approaching the challenges faced by Europe, for example concerning the issue of migrations, one ought to think in terms of the enlarged Union, forced to take into account its diversity and bordering with new neighbours. Therefore, although the negotiations concerning the terms of enlargement are still in process, these challenges need to be discussed as our common issues and solutions need to be looked for that will be adequate to the conditions of the year 2005 or 2010. It would be an unforgivable loss of time on the part of the present EU to design solutions, about which it is clear from the outset that by the time of implementation they would have become obsolete and disused.

International migrations and their consequences rank among the great problems of contemporary and future Europe. In the context of EU enlargement this issue was until recently limited to the subject of the flow of labour between the existing and the new members of the EU, which was essentially an answer to the anxieties of a significant part of the societies of the present member countries of the Union, fearing that together with the accession of new members such as Poland, the uncontrolled inflow of their workforce would destabilise the situation on the labour markets. In consequence the issue was brought down to the question concerning the duration and the nature of the restrictions to be imposed upon the freedom of movement of labour, which are still the subject of negotiations. On the other hand, the issue of the migrations to the candidate countries, for example, has been overlooked, ignoring the fact that during the past decade Central Europe has become the destination of intensive population flows. We believe that such an approach is short-sighted and anachronistic.

The weak co-ordination between two interconnected and concurrent processes is clearly visible: the process of formulation of the common migration policy and the EU enlargement process. The first one proceeds in the different member countries and on the level of the union. It is the process of transformation and improvement, and in some spheres of the emergence of a common policy. The nature of the migration problems causes the development of a common migrations policy to seem indispensable. According to the Amsterdam Treaty, the principles of such a common policy are to be determined by the year 2004. At the same time the Union is to be enlarged. We are therefore half way through the first process and at an advanced stage of the second one, which gives reason for reflection on their mutual relationships. ■

I.

I. Shaping Migration Policy – Fundamental Problems

1. Demographic Situation, Labour Markets

According to the most recent demographic forecasts until the year 2040, the number of inhabitants of the present EU countries will fall from 344 millions (at the beginning of the nineteen-nineties) down to 304 millions. For the EU this would imply a drastic decline of the population. Assuming that technological development will not contribute in any major way to the reduction of the demand for labour, and that there will be no radical increase of the number of employed women, the number of persons in production age, which amounted to 155 millions in 1990, by the year 2040 may fall to only 118 millions.

During the period 2001 – 2020 the forecast demand for the inflow of immigrants will attain the level of some 500 000 persons annually. Beginning from the year 2020, this demand may suddenly increase, as until that moment, even in countries such as France and Great Britain there will be a reduction and ageing of the population of persons in the productive age. Through the controlled immigration process, with the purpose of reducing the demographic gap, the size of the population of persons under the age of 65 may remain on an almost fixed level. As the result of the inflow of immigrants, the share of persons of young age in the total population will not decrease to such a substantial degree, and the burden related to the provision of care for persons in old age will be more evenly spread among the more numerous younger members of society. The most burning need to receive immigrants is observed in the countries, where starting from the nineteen-seventies the birth rate has been insufficient.

In Central and Eastern Europe no significant changes took place in the nineteen-seventies with respect to demographic behaviour. The notable decrease of the births number and the changes in the process of forming families as observed in the EU since the end of the nineteen-sixties, appeared in that region usually only as late as the nineteen-nineties. This phenomenon is linked with the profound social and economic changes, which took place in Central and Eastern Europe starting from the year 1989, leading to the drastic transformation of the value system. Until the year of 1989, in the Roman Catholic country such as Poland, the percentage of children being brought to the world by unmarried couples never exceeded the margin of five percent. In the year 2000 that percentage oscillated around the value of 13%. Amongst all of the factors indicating the increasing similarity of the demographic transformations of Central and Eastern Europe to the processes of demographic change in the West-European countries, one element should particularly strongly attract our attention. This factor consists in the births structure change. The total fertility rate, TFR, is a measure of the births number, which indicates the substitution of the generations of a given population from the time when the value of between 2.1-2.15 is reached. Already in the years 1985-1990 the TFR amounted to 1.95 in Bulgaria and in Hungary to 1.70, that is below the level of generations reproduction. For comparison, the TFR value amounted accordingly to: 1.40 in West Germany, 1.32 in Italy and 2.1 in Poland. In the nineteen-nineties in Poland the TFR value was systematically falling to reach the level of 1.43 in 1998. In the year 2000 the countries having the lowest fertility rate in Europe were two candidate countries: Bulgaria and Estonia, where the TFR oscillated around the level of 1.08 ! It is not surprising, therefore, that all the respective scenarios inevitably lead to the decline

of the population numbers in the candidate countries and to the acceleration of the population ageing process after the year 2005. The situation presents itself similarly in the countries remaining outside the European integration process (e.g. Belarus, Russia and Ukraine).

The changes under way in Central and Eastern Europe, the liberalisation and transformation of the political and economic system have generated a temporary outburst of development of the international migrations process occurring between the East and the West, as well as among the countries of Eastern Europe. The candidate countries have also become the target countries e.g. for immigrants from the third world countries. The most frequent cause of migration is the search for work. As a result of the economic invigoration taking place in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, the number of emigrants from those countries decreases. In spite of the fact that it was suspected that an exodus from these countries could happen, no such thing was the case. In the CIS countries, however, there exists and will continue to exist a potentially greater inclination toward migrations than in the countries of Central Europe, which are more advanced in the process of transformation. The migration trends in the CIS countries will first affect the countries of Central Europe, as it is to some extent already today.

In the candidate countries, since the early nineteen-nineties, a dual labour market develops, similar to the one existing in the countries of the present EU since some dozens of years. Apart from the primary labour market, a so called secondary labour market has emerged, providing employment, often illegal, to immigrants e.g. from the CIS countries. In this segment, in spite of generally high unemployment, the citizens of the candidate countries do not want to work. The full development of the secondary market in the countries that will probably soon join the Union will certainly lead to a further intensification of the persons flow. Hitherto, the migrations driven by the pursuit of jobs to the candidate countries, mainly from the CIS countries, are in their overwhelming part short-term, temporary migrations. It is probable that this nature of the employment migrations will persist after the entry of the candidate countries to the EU.

Similarities are also visible between the EU countries and the candidates with regard to the issue of the demand for qualified labour, which is in short supply on the local labour market. In the countries of the Union, e.g. in Germany, there is a shortage of information technology specialists, whereas in Poland there is e.g. an insufficient number of foreign language teachers, especially teachers of English. For specialists in selected fields, already today in the countries of the EU special quota based recruitment programmes are being created, such as the so called „green card” programme in Germany. Together with the economic development of the candidate countries, also in those countries there will most probably be a shortage of specialists in new high technologies.

2. Asylum, Illegal Migrations

The asylum policy of the European countries is full of paradoxes. Asylum for those oppressed is one of the basic human rights, and also one of the foundations of the European values. But today the asylum seekers give rise to serious controversies and aversion in many European societies, and asylum has indeed become an exceptionally difficult element of the migration policy. The current situation differs much from that existing in previous decades, when asylum was granted to refugees from Central and Eastern Europe. Their presence provided living evidence of the division of the continent, and at the same time a proof of the moral superiority of the West over the soviet block.

The turn around of 1989 brought about not only hopes, but also fears – i.a. concerning the possibility of mass inflow of refugees and migrants from the former Soviet Union. Although no such thing took place, the

wars in the Balkans have demonstrated that great refugee crises are not confined only to the countries of the Third World. Solidarity with the victims of conflict and the openness to refugees so clear at the beginning of the conflict in Bosnia (1992), rather quickly gave way to pragmatic and cool calculation, asking to make entry for the potential refugees difficult. In the case of those who already managed that, the rights traditionally granted to refugees, such as the liberty of access to employment were limited. This aversion to granting asylum became even more pronounced with respect to those who come from Africa and Asia.

Even before discussions began about any European migration policy, most countries applied policies of zero immigration. One of its important elements consisted of the restrictive visa system. The closing of most legal ways of entry and residence, as well as the increasing aversion to newcomers, were not able to stop the growing pressure of the determined people, who having been deprived of any prospects in their home country, perceived their only chances in emigration. Asylum, which for decades had been largely the gateway for the elites – dissidents from Eastern Europe or opponents of Pinochet, became in the nineteen-eighties the road to the dreamed migration. Apart from refugees, who fled from political repression or war, thousands of migrants wishing to escape from poverty and the lack of prospects reached Europe to seek asylum there. The asylum procedures, even in case of weakly motivated applications, allowed to prolong the stay or to avoid deportation. The once clear distinction between political refugees and immigrants began to be blurred, and it became increasingly difficult to discuss asylum without referring to the issues of immigration.

In 1992 in Europe almost 700 thousand applications for the status of refugees were filed (two thirds of that in Germany) and at the same time the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina broke out and several hundred thousand refugees were seeking exile. Under the banners of preventing asylum abuse by economic immigrants, the European countries introduced far reaching restrictions of asylum regulations: the procedures were simplified and the possibilities of appeal were limited, lists of safe countries were established, the citizens of which could be very promptly deported it became possible to detain the persons seeking asylum. Moreover, in many countries the institution of a safe third country was introduced, implying the possibility to refuse considering the contents of the requests for asylum of those persons, who had previously passed through a country regarded as safe, that is one where the fundamental human rights are observed and there is a possibility of seeking asylum there. This is the case, for example, of Germany, surrounded on all sides by states with the „safe country” status. Theoretically, no refugee who reaches Germany by land should receive any possibility of seeking asylum. But nevertheless, despite the visible decline of the number of asylum seekers in Germany, still nearly 100 thousand persons annually submit such applications in that country.

The restrictive instruments of asylum policy, generally accepted today by the European countries and promoted as an infallible recipe for the candidate countries to the Union, have dangerous side-effects. Indirectly they cause a dramatic rise of the demand for illegal immigration brokerage – the smuggling of persons, which implies a highly profitable business (according to some experts even more profitable than drugs) for international criminal groups. A large part of the persons seeking asylum in Europe reach it illegally, as they have no chances of legal entry. The phenomenon of illegal migrations today is intricately tied with asylum. The response to the restrictive policy consists in the forced criminalizing of the immigrants’ behaviour – making use of the services of trafficking gangs, using forged documents, and eventually once the destination is reached, functioning in the shadow economy. The harmonisation of the restrictive standards will not cure the situation. On the other hand those standards, although they are not part of the *acquis communautaire* yet, exert a major influence upon the particular countries policies.

After the turning point of 1989, a revolutionary change took place – the states of Central and

Eastern Europe, whose citizens had for years fled to Western Europe, began themselves to receive refugees. In a period of just a few years in the candidate countries of Central Europe the basic asylum system structures were established. Most of the asylum seekers initially regarded the countries of that region as transit territory, both because of the general economic situation and the difficulties connected with integration. Gradually this situation has been changing, and already today Hungary receives more asylum seekers than such members of the Union as Finland or Portugal. The problems and dilemmas facing the countries of Central Europe seem to be increasingly similar to those that are characteristic of Western Europe.

3. External Policy

An important issue consists of the presence of the problems related with immigration in the EU external relations. Special agreements signed by the Union with the countries remaining outside of it contain elements of immigration policy. Examples are provided by the Lome I-IV Agreements with the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific, the Maghreb Agreements, or the arrangement with Turkey. Apart from the Union as such, also the particular member countries include the issues related to immigration in their foreign policies. The former colonial countries (e.g. Great Britain or the Netherlands) treat the newcomers from their former colonies differently than inhabitants of other countries. Spain has a very specific policy with respect to Latin America. Some EU countries provide exceptional treatment for their compatriots who emigrated from them in the past. Such is the case of Italy, which enables the granting of Italian citizenship to Italians, who had been sometimes living in other countries for several generations. Germany has conducted a sweeping course of action to relocate its compatriots from Central Europe and the former Soviet Union territories.

The European Union also assures special treatment to the citizens of the associated countries from Central Europe, which are conducting negotiations for accession. A good example is the recent ruling of the European Court of Justice issued on the grounds of the association agreements.

According to that sentence, the citizens of the candidate countries presently enjoy the right to self-employment in the EU, which they were denied in the past. The conduct of self-dependent business activity without employing other persons allows the citizens of the associated countries from Central Europe to obtain long term legal residence in the EU.

Certainly in the future the foreign policy of the EU will also be connected with immigration issues. It will have to take into account to a greater extent than hitherto the community regulations owing to the successive transfer of the immigration and asylum policy to the first pillar. It may be presumed that the individual member countries will still strive to have their own interests related to the immigration policy taken into account in the framework of the EU external relations. The new EU members will contribute their own experiences related to immigration, which will probably exert an impact on the external policy of the EU. A substantial Hungarian minority lives in the countries that are not conducting any accession negotiations (Serbia, Ukraine) or in countries, which will probably enter the EU with a sizeable delay (Romania). A similar problem, although on a lesser scale also concerns Poland. Polish minority lives, for example, in Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. The Central European countries have strong historical ties with their neighbours, which will remain outside the EU (e.g. Romania with Moldavia). They favour the current close contacts, which certainly translates also into migration related preferences. It should be noted that the problems that will be introduced by these new members are similar to the problems of the present member states of the Union (heritage from the past, compatriots

living abroad). They only differ in geographic terms. It may be supposed that the new members experiences will force the enlarged EU to change its policy with respect to the eastern part of the continent and the Balkans in terms of the immigration problem, too.

Both the European Commission and the EU countries are convinced that with respect to the issue of the migration control very important role is played by the prevention or possibly prompt resolution of conflicts in different parts of the world (which cause the rise of waves of exiles finding their way also to Europe). The possibilities of exerting influence on the part of the EU will increase if its significance on the international scene will increase. This will be possible only in the case of a truly common foreign and security policy introduction.

4. Tension between Migration and Security

Since at least 20 years the phenomenon of migrations is perceived by most societies of the Union member countries as a threat. This problem was sharply disclosed after the events of September 11th. In the next few years the problem will have to be resolved of how to combine a new migrations policy resulting from the EU demographic situation with the fear of immigrants. It is difficult to say at present, whether the more radical stance with respect to immigrants will make it impossible to introduce an „immigration strategy“, assuming the partial opening to newcomers from abroad, which would replace the „zero immigration“ policy currently dominant in the EU.

The internal security of the EU has become a particularly important value in the past few years. This should not be surprising. As a result of the single market formation, the removal of internal frontiers, the inhabitants of the different member states of the Union wish to be sure that the new situation will not cause any increase of the threats posed, e.g. by the rise of criminality. Therefore, enormous importance is attached to the protection of the external EU borders. They must be impermeable for illegal immigrants and for organised crime. But two issues are frequently confused: that of the impermeable features of the border with that of the introduction of obstacles to its legal crossing by establishing restrictions in the visa system. It is well known, however, an example being provided by the latest events in the USA, that even a restrictive visa system does not provide protection against e.g. the international terrorist activities. To combat those it is necessary to have effectively operating intelligence and police forces. Their effective activities may also prevent the penetration by organised criminal groups dealing with drugs or laundering illicit money.

5. Problems of Foreigners' Integration

At the end of the nineteen-nineties in most EU countries immigrants represented between 5% and 10% of their populations. This fact caused the Union to become in the past decade an actual immigration area and also a multi-cultural one. The populations of immigrants, especially those originating from non-European countries, distinctly different in terms of race and culture from the host societies, have become a permanent element of the economy and society in those countries. Growing unemployment within their area, concentration of immigrants in certain regions of a country, the difficulties with assimilation, have caused that their presence has become increasingly visible and felt. The reaction to the growth of significance and social visibility of the immigrant communities, and the raising by them of claims for equal rights, has resulted in a radical change in the immigrants perception. They

began to be seen not only as beneficial for the economy (cheap and „silent“ labour), or as a factor of the society and culture enrichment of the host country, but also as a threat for national identity. The multi-cultural features of the European societies that they gave birth to is qualitatively different from the previously existing traditional regional or ethnic differentiation. Political parties have called for the „protection“ of the nation („national culture“) from the immigrants with their alien cultures threatening social cohesion. They have introduced into public discussions the issue of limiting and controlling the immigrants entry and presence. The increase of the number of immigrants and also of their political and social significance, has presented a challenge both to the governments and to the public opinion of the EU countries of how to live up to these profound ethnic and cultural changes in the structure of their society. The question concerning the attitude toward the legally resident immigrants, in other words the policy of integration, has remained.

Each country of the European Union has taken up this challenge and has introduced different solutions regulating this problem area. They are different in each country, as they are connected with different historical experiences related with immigration, adopted legal systems, attitudes of the public opinion, and expectations concerning the nature and scope of government intervention into this matter. But generally the policy for integrating the immigrants is intended, above all, to increase their participation in social life, which is supposed to provide a counter-balance for the process of their marginalisation and the formation of minority groups.

Similar challenges are also to be faced by the countries of Central Europe that are candidates to the European Union. The inflow and presence of foreigners in the nineteen-nineties, although it had been a new phenomenon, has become a permanent and lasting fact. Both for state authorities and for society it is a problem, the positive solution of which is not easy to achieve, as can be learnt from the of the Union countries experience. The difficulties result from economic and social conditions (aliens are a threat for the labour market and the economy, or they require the state to incur the costs, for example of maintaining the refugees), as well as from social and psychological factors (arrangement of contacts with persons different in terms of culture). Although these countries are not yet exposed to such challenges of multi-cultural society, as those existing in the Union countries, it is just a matter of time. Problems related to the functioning of a multi-cultural society have already emerged, such as the presence of „new national minorities“ consisting of immigrants (e.g. the Vietnamese, Chinese, or Armenians), the sensitive issue of the names by which the minority groups (ethnic, cultural, racial, etc.) are called, and their relations with the majority. The integration of these countries with the European Union creates new challenges concerning the foreigners, greater, it seems, than what has been the case in the last years of democratisation. European integration implies not only making of the laws and the economies similar, but also sharing a common destiny and adopting related social attitudes, including those concerning the immigrants.

Among the candidate countries an exceptional situation prevails in Latvia and Estonia. As the result of mass migrations after the second world war, in the period when they belonged to the USSR, their nationality structure changed radically. Nowadays the non-Latvians constitute almost a half of the Latvia's population. In the case of Estonia, immigrants represent about one third of the population. Both countries have enormous difficulties with the their naturalisation. Their situation may to some extent be compared to the situation of the present EU states, e.g. Germany.

II.

II. Recommendations

- 1.** Allowance of the candidates to take part in the works on the EU common migration policy. Recently the commissioner JHA Antonio Vitorino has mentioned the necessity to consult with the candidate countries on the issue of a common migration policy. It is not clear, however, how broad their scope might be. The previous experiences of consultations between the EU and the candidate countries in various areas do not give any grounds for optimism. In the case of developing a common migrations policy real cooperation is necessary in working it out, the more so, as the conclusion of the first stage of these works will probably coincide in time with the entry of the first wave of the states from Central Europe to the EU.
- 2.** A harmonised migration policy for the enlarged Europe should include demographic scenarios for the candidate countries. One ought to be prepared for the most pessimistic projections. When planning for a harmonised European migration policy, it should be remembered that in the future the labour markets of Central Europe might experience a sudden outbreak of demand for foreign labour (as a result of the same demographic and social processes, though proceeding at a somewhat slower pace). Specific solutions should therefore be adopted with due regard for the fact of existence of lower segments on the labour markets in the regions of Central and Eastern Europe, which have developed, among other factors, owing to the immigrants. The enlarged EU needs to move away from the „zero migration“ policy and to introduce a policy of „migration management“.
- 3.** Regulation of the labour market - legalising the grey zone in the „low sector“ of the labour market. The maintenance of the present state of affairs will imply the perpetuation of the pathological situation, in which hundreds of thousands of people work without adequate legal and social security protection, marginalized by the force of circumstances and inclined to other forms of illegal behaviour. Incidentally, this problem concerns not only the immigrants, but also the local workers in the EU-15 as well as in the candidate countries. Behind the development of the „shadow economy“ stand mighty global forces that are transforming the labour markets combined with numerous particular interests on the local level. It is a form of deregulation of the labour markets, when the reforms do not keep up with their transformations. Labour market reforms are therefore a common and urgent task. Among other things, they should simplify the procedures and reduce the costs of employment of temporary workers, including migrants.
- 4.** Expanding the possibilities of legal migration. Greater possibilities of legal immigration would reduce the pressure upon the asylum system, which would help in turn in avoiding paradoxes: those who come to Europe as classical immigrants wish to start a normal life and work as soon as possible, but as asylum seekers they have no right to work and unnecessarily enjoy the benevolence of the taxpayers by living in governmental centres for refugees or in municipal housing.

5. European solidarity in caring for refugees. It is desirable to construct the system in such a way, as not to lead to the continuing deterioration of the standards of human rights protection. The European states are afraid of possible asylum shopping in the situation, when the asylum seekers choose that country, which has liberal laws on asylum and offers the most convenient social benefits: this leads of course to unequal distribution of the respective burdens.

A mechanism of community policy, the objective of which would be to equalise such burdens, could exist according to two alternative options:

- a.** The establishment of a fund, from which the maintenance of the asylum seekers would be subsidised, proportionately to the number of refugees in the country. One could also consider keeping the asylum seekers in those countries, where their accommodation is cheaper. A good step in this direction undoubtedly consists of the establishment of the European Refugee Fund.
- b.** The determination of estimate quotas (rather in percentage terms with possible limits of absolute numbers) of asylum seekers, which should be hosted by the particular countries. The following criteria could be taken into account: the level of economic development, the number of inhabitants, possible (preferred) ties of the member state with the country of origin of the refugees concerned. When the quota of any given country would be exceeded, the asylum seekers ought to be accepted by another member state.

The above indicated mechanisms ought to be applied with great wisdom and care not to prejudice the most important element of the asylum policy - the integration of the refugees with society, in the cases when repatriation is out of the question. Excessively inflexible allocation of refugees to the different member states could deny any chances of integration, which might for example be tied with a given ethnic group having good roots in a given member country.

6. Global solidarity -preventive actions. Dramatic differences in the level of development of different countries and the serious internal or international conflicts cause migration movements with inter-continental range: hence the presence in Europe of many emigrants from Nigeria or refugees from Afghanistan. The EU, which is the greatest donor to the Third World countries ought to devote even greater commitment to the prevention of conflicts and of increasing disparities in the standards of living. Such activities will at least partially prevent the generation of the phenomenon of mass migrations. Undoubtedly, the development of common foreign policy mechanisms should enhance effective preventive activities. In spite of the bitterness accompanying the present situation in Kosovo, it may be claimed that the response of the West to the crisis in Kosovo was to some extent the result of having drawn the appropriate conclusions from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that thanks to this the great refugee crisis was that much shorter lived. In any case, it was undoubtedly the threat of mass movements of refugees that counted among the most important factors behind the mobilisation of the European states to take effective action.

7. It would be important to develop a new EU policy with respect to its new neighbours (CIS, Balkan countries), including clearly defined possibilities of immigration from these states to the EU. It is important that the EU migrations policy concerning these countries should not be limited to only implying a brains drain policy. Sustainable migrations policy would alleviate tensions between the enlarged EU and its neighbours.

8. The policy of integrating aliens in the European societies has presently come to face new challen-

ges, which are above all related with the terrorist attacks in the USA on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon of September 11 of the current year. The attitude toward immigration has radically turned to its disfavour in general, and in particular toward foreigners originating from Islamic countries. This is witnessed by the public opinion polls conducted in the European countries. For this reason, at present, as part of the policy of integration, it seems to be appropriate to return to the findings of the most important and most extensive European document in that regard, adopted in September 1991: *Community and Ethnic Relations in Europe. Final report of the Community Relations Project of the Council of Europe*. The solutions proposed in this paper are based on the assumption that integration is a long term process and that it requires a long term policy. Such policy should be based on the recognition that legal immigrants living in a given country will stay there permanently and will constitute an integral part of that society. Therefore, they should be provided with the right to obtain the permission for permanent residence and for bringing their families together. One should also introduce facilitation for the obtaining of citizenship by immigrants permanently resident or born in a given place (naturalisation). Such actions should also assist the development of the sense of belonging to the new country of residence.

9. As part of the policy of integration one should seek to assure equal opportunities for the immigrants, by removing legal barriers limiting their access to education, housing, employment, health care, etc., and by combating discrimination, above all by means of developing anti-discrimination legislation and implementing it in practice. Therefore, greater political impetus should be given to the implementation of the so-called *Anti-Discrimination Package* adopted by the European Union in the autumn of 1999. This package includes: *Council Directive establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment* (November 2000) and, above all, *Council decision establishing a Community Action Programme to combat discrimination 2001 - 2006* and *Council Directive implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin*. This last document (the so called Race Directive of June 2000) implements the principle of equal treatment of persons regardless of racial or ethnic origin and covers, apart from the issues of employment related situations, all other aspects of racial and ethnic discrimination.

It is therefore necessary to create within the framework of the EU as a whole a special programme for the second (third) generation of immigrants. It should grant them the possibility to obtain such education, as to enable the children of immigrants to come out of the ghetto and find employment on the core labour market. Employment in that sector would enhance the improvement of their social status.

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Stefan Batory Foundation

ul. Sapieżyńska 10a, 00-215 Warszawa

tel. (48-22) 536 02 00, fax 536 02 20

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Institute of Public Affairs

ul. Flory 9, 00-586 Warszawa

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Institute for Social Studies – Warsaw University

ul. Stawki 5/7, 00-183 Warszawa

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