» INTERNATIONAL SECURITY «

Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security

Bachelor Thesis in Political Science

Author: Simona Gruici 850504-0561
Tutor: Prof. Benny Hjern
        Prof. Per Viklund

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Simona Gruici

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

9/11 → 11 September 2001 when terrorists bombed the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington
911 → terrorist attack in Madrid that occurred 911 days after 11 September 2001
Acquis → the legislation, legal acts, and court decisions which constitute the body of European Union law
AU → African Union
ASEAN → The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ETA → Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, is an armed Basque nationalist and separatist organization in Spain
EC → European Community
EU → European Union
IOM → International Organization for Migration
IL → International Law
IR → International Relations
LTTE → Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, is a terrorist organization from Sri Lanka fighting with the Colombian government for creating their own independent state of Tamils
NATO → The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD → Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PLO → Palestine Liberation Organization, is a political and paramilitary organization in Palestine
PKK → Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, is a Kurdish terrorist organization fighting with the Turkish state in the effort to create an for the creation of an independent Kurdistan
RMA → Revolution in Military Affairs
SEMC → South and East Mediterranean countries
SIS → Schengen Information System
UN → United Nations
WMD → Weapons of Mass Destruction
1. Introduction

This chapter presents the topic of the thesis. It starts by giving the background information concerning the importance of the international security and continues with the problem discussion related to migration phenomenon. Afterwards, the problem is narrowed down to the overall purpose and research questions.

1.1. Background

This thesis originates out of a great interest in the areas of international relations theory and security politics; topics about which I have a degree of knowledge, but still fill me with a continuous curiosity and urging for further intensive exploitation.

The entire working paper will try to reach a consolidated understanding of international security with a special concern over the phenomenon of migration, which became a focal point within the security agenda. A large awareness is directed towards migration’s negative consequences, known as suitable tools for the spread of international terrorism. Furthermore, migration is correlated to national security by three central aspects: state’s recognized status, governmental power, and the nature of violent attacks.

Firstly, in order to have better understanding of the topic, a concrete definition of international security is needed. According to UN’s statement within Article 1, international security can be positively achieved by “taking effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace...adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.”

It is well known that the first dimension (traditional) of security is exclusively focused on matters of war and peace. After massive research, I found the second dimension (non-traditional) of security having as well a crucial importance towards international security, dealing with the international migration issue, by preventing the flow of immigrants with the help of governmental power and control.

Thus, this working paper incorporates a special attention towards second dimension, but nevertheless having the spotlight on migration – terrorism relationship; with other words, between the well being of citizens and threat to national security.

1.2. Problem Discussion

One of the most dynamic events of our time is the large extent of population movements within and across national boundaries. The causes of this movement of people include economic hardship due to various natural calamities such as earthquakes, droughts, famine and floods, as well as economic hardship due to lack of income. Political instabilities represent a central factor that is forcing the population movements at both national and international level.

Standing at the beginning of the 21st century, global arena gives a tremendous attention towards security. ‘Security’ notion covers certain areas such as environment, societal events, political stability, etc.; security refers as well to control (autonomy + influence).

According to P. Bröms, a state’s national interest is not necessarily associated with international welfare. But far from it, in most of the cases we see a different reality; if international security is enhanced, so is national security. However, the phenomenon of migration is perceived as being a greater challenge in the field of security towards failure states, rather than it might affect any welfare postindustrial states. Nowadays we are facing a more globalized security environment, fact that is actually providing other states with the possibility to create a better security for their own nations. In order to gain this security immunity, the states should be able to enforce and protect the migration policies within international security.

For a strong state, argue the researchers, the concept of ‘national security’ is primarily about ‘protecting its independence, political authority and way of life from external threats, rather than from threats arising within its own fabric’.  

1.3. Purpose of Study
The purpose of this thesis is to examine which factors have an impact on international security, within a continental similarity. The central focus reflects over the Euro-Mediterranean area and to certain extends over the United States. The considered factors are: migration, loss/gain of governmental control, the political reaction after the attack of 9/11, spread of democracy (e.g. globalization), and creating citizenship.

The relationship between migration and security became increasingly complex in the new millennium. As it follows, the focus of this theme is the correlation between migration’s consequences, both positive and negative, towards national security of host states. Furthermore, the topic of this paper is extending over ‘what terrorism implies’. In order to reach a clear understanding, I will analyze the phenomenon of globalization and its forthcoming implications within both terrorism and migration. As a result of this transformation, terrorism has the power now to threat much more countries in the global area.

1.4. Research Questions
In order to have a better structure of this study, three essential questions are introduced to create a clear, planned base for the thesis. The questions are presented below:

1) In which way is the phenomenon of ‘migration’ correlated to security and terrorism?

2) Why is a state facing terrorism problems?

3) How does migration affect the process of globalization, and vice-versa?

2. Method

This chapter describes the procedures used during the study paper, in order to obtain the useful information. The first part comprises the research method; while the next section carries on with the source information. The chapter’s aim is to clarify and extend the reader’s understanding regarding the required process of collecting information.

2.1. Qualitative Research

The entire process of collecting information may be divided into two main categories – qualitative and quantitative methods. The main difference is that qualitative method is mostly dealing with broader themes rather than the quantitative analysis, and focuses instead on the whole rather than the specific.  

Qualitative methods presuppose an increased interest within the 'real world', and highlight the “why”, not the “how” of its topic. Qualitative methods play a major role in political science, from gaining insight into people’s political attitudes, behaviors, concerns, motivations or culture.

Strictly concerning the topic of this thesis, the qualitative study has been chosen due to three central arguments, which eventually leads us to the expected results of this research method:

- It is used in understanding and describing the real world of human experience and to explore it → The idea of ‘international security’ - we need to protect our borders to prevent criminals and terrorists from entering the country.

- It is wanted to gain insight into a target audience’s lifestyle, culture, motivations, behaviors and their future expectations → People crossing the borders of homeland - countries need to control who goes in and out.

- The qualitative method is considered necessary, in order to review and analyze the reasons behind the results from quantitative research, to get a clear image → The country is overrun by illegal immigrants - why immigration is actually considered a problem.

Ghauri and Grønhaug argue that in order to reveal an untouched phenomenon, it is definitely required a qualitative research.

Having already the broad definition of qualitative method, I will specify now the particular methods used in the paper. Dealing with a political topic, I relied heavily on previous sources from various archival records. This kind of source collection, known as document analysis, is based on ‘the record-keeping activities of government agencies, private institutions, interest groups, media organizations, and even private citizens’. More than that, researching the

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political phenomenon of migration–security, which cannot be measured through personal interviews, questionnaires or by direct observations, I appealed to written record method of gathering information (part of document analysis).

According to J. Buttolph and H.T. Reynold’s classification of written record, I used the episodic record including temporary records of organizations, or the memoires and statements of past presidents and members of Congress. The next utilized method is the running record which is more likely to be released by the official organizations as UN, EU, IOM or EC, rather than by private citizens, giving a higher level of trustworthiness for the entire paper. As a last technique, the content analysis procedure helped me to “take a verbal, nonquantitative document and transform it into quantitative data”, describing the focus of individual and institutional attention, and examining international political trends.

2.2. Source Information

The researchers Miles and Huberman create a clearer picture of the research method, by dividing sources in primary and secondary data. In this paper, both of the sources have been used with relevant approaches presented below.

Primary data is generally being collected when the paper deals with a specific phenomenon and the results are achieved after certain questionnaires or recorded information. A relevant example for this paper is the source collection out of international treaties and agreements concerning EU, migration and counter-terrorism; considered as primary data. In addition, secondary data has been used here as well by gathering information directly from documentation that already exists within books, daily articles or even newspapers.

How to conduct the literature review? I started by checking the catalog in library, and identify books addressing to my topic – in the area of immigration and security. From there I began to develop and focus over the specific three research questions. Another step was to review some professional journals which happened to have articles in my area of interest. Most of these sources are elaborated from Jönköping University and Lund University, and their available databases.

A further approach for my literature was the use of electronic sources such as internet pages, which facilitated my research. Due to the internet I could increase trustworthiness of the thesis, by reading governmental reports and organizations’ homepages, such as the UN, EU, EC and IOM.

Each time I found a useful resource, I checked even its list of notes and references; this way guiding me to more potentially useful papers. In this point I knew I am on the right track of discovering all the relevant literature.

The material of the thesis is mixed, nonetheless centrally focused on literature. The paper is stretching from an introductory stage where basic acronyms and abbreviations are described, to a more profound composition. Thus, after the fundamental knowledge has been established, the paper turns to heavy research and analysis.

The intention has been to build up a structured format that is clear and logical for the reader. Each part of the paper builds on previous one(s) and so references are always quite close to each other. The conclusions and solutions depend exclusively on the material handled through the different sections of the paper work.
3. Migration and its Enemies

This chapter provides answers related to the purpose and the research questions of the thesis. For a systematic understanding, I will try to elucidate how borders can be associated with the delivery of security. For this, the fundamental connections of migration and security borders are first presented. By the end of the chapter, the main concept, migration, and its consequences are broadly described.

3.1. Controlling Frontiers

The border is a political and geographical notion, referring to the separation of different territories by the most fiction line within international relations. So long there is a border between states, we can finally think about migration; this implies that people belong to one side or the other of the border.

The borders issues became increasingly a central focus into the heart of the European political discussions. Consequently, the movement of people crossing borders has been drastically highlighted by all the appropriate restrictions, in order to reduce the potential danger for EU internal security.\(^9\)

According to all these new changes, the immigration policy has suffered as well some transformations within the European context. The current situation is characterized by the enforcement of more stringent conditions of entry, the hardening of border controls, and as well as the deportation measures. More concrete, the first case indicates the introduction of visa issue with a higher grade of identity checks inside the EU territory, followed by the establishment of immigration controls before and after the border line exercised in the second case; and eventually the deportation measures presents the introduction of penalties for transporting illegal migrants and also the increased co-operation with the third countries.\(^10\)

Any loss of the mentioned border controls is considered a security risk, and furthermore might raise political issues for liberal democracies.

3.2. Global Migrants

Migration is defined as an increased interdependence of people around the world with the clear purpose of establishing a new residence within another country. The movement of people is usually justified by the so-called “push and pull” factors. The push factors are forcing the people to move outside their own country due to the civil wars, political oppression, either due to simply poverty occurring on their territory. On the other side, the pull factors represent the main reasons which encourage the people to move. These factors are present in the host country, generally including a better future with peace, security, safety and as well as political and religious freedom.

\(^9\) Bigo, D., and Guild E., (2005), Controlling Frontiers – Free Movement Into and Within Europe, Ashgate, England

\(^10\) Bigo, D., and Guild E., (2005), Controlling Frontiers – Free Movement Into and Within Europe, Ashgate, England
Nowadays, we are facing a transformation of the global security agenda. From the beginning of the Westphalia era until the end of the Cold War, security was traditionally defined in terms of national peace and safety from foreign attack. Even though the states are still facing the threat from other countries, increasingly it is other kinds of behavior that frighten us. We fear that other states may fail to control the production of biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons and these might be used accidentally or by terrorists groups. We are even afraid that other states may fail to develop economically; this way creating an increased frustration within the citizens, which will result in migration, violence, and environmental damage.

Related to the phenomenon of migration, there exist some decisive global trends which should definitely be taken in consideration:

a. Migrants’ percentage is enough to constitute the fifth most populous country in the world.¹¹

b. During the last 10 years, the number of international migrants has increased from an estimated 150 million in 2000 to 214 million migrants today.¹²

c. Today, one individual out of each 33 persons in the world is a migrant (whereas in 2000 it was one out of every 35 persons).

d. However, analyzing on a broader scale, immigration has remained relatively stable per the total percentage of population. It increased by only 0.2 per cent (from 2.9 to 3.1 per cent), during the last 10 years.¹³

e. Nowadays the migration phenomenon is extended across more countries. As result, the top 10 countries of destination had seen a decrease of migrants, than it was in 2000.

f. Remittances, which represent the total amount of money, send back home by migrants, has increased dramatically: from an estimated USD 132 billion in 2000 to the massive USD 414 billion in 2009, despite the slow decline caused by the economic crisis.¹⁴

g. According to the US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, the percentage of refugees remained quite stable: 13,599,900 in 2009 compared to 14 million in 2000.¹⁵

Interdependence is able of complicating the relationship among societies. But in the same time, an increased interdependence implies a higher degree of attention towards security agenda; furthermore, despite their fear and suspicious, states can collaborate with each other with the help of the international and transnational institutions, dealing with issues that secure their national borders.

3.3. Illegal Immigration

The purpose of this section is to review the recent experience of host countries with illegal immigration and examine their immigration policies designed to control the inflows and activities of illegal citizens.

The illegal aliens, undocumented immigrants are actually those foreigners who by unlawfully meanings enter, reside, or work in a country. Gradually, in the last couple of decades the number of such persons has increased significantly, residing in the industrial or in the rapidly growing countries. From the host country’s perspective, the illegal immigrants can cause a range of problems for their society; the authorities are even concerned that the irregular aliens might challenge the cultural hegemony of the natives or pose a threat to internal security.¹⁶

Confronted with the enlarged number of illegal immigrants, the host countries have reacted towards it by implementing a variety of measures designed to have a bigger control over the problem. There are two categories of measurements; the first one includes the internal measures which restrict both the employment opportunities and the access to public services for the immigrants. The second category of measurements refer to a large increase in expenditures on border control, with more severely rules under which a person can claim asylum, and with a new legislation in order to accelerate the deportation procedures of illegal aliens. Even more, the border control measurements introduced harder penalties for those who collaborate within the alien smuggling activity.

As we can notice below, the hot spot on the global map of illegal immigration, in terms of volume, has been during the last decades the US-Mexico border. According to the last official estimation of IOM, the number of illegal aliens residing in the US has grown from 3.9 million in 1992 to 5 million in 1996. In the year 2000, there was broad agreement that the figure was around 6 million. The other aspect of migration is passing from the legal stage to the illegal one. The large proportion of illegal Mexican aliens (41 percent in 1996) arrives to the US legally, through airports, with tourist, student, and other types of visas.¹⁷

Graph 1 gives us a general idea over the significant number of illegal immigrants that have entered in the US, and represents an essential source of data collection within international migration. The obvious result here is the large number of Mexican and other Latino unauthorized immigrants which are residing in the United States. Furthermore, they cause ethnically political problems; issues which will be broader explained within the next chapter, as a negative consequence of migration.

This graph helps the governmental authorities like United States Citizenship and Immigration Services to find out how are the illegal emigrants going to affect the total population. Namely, all these collected numbers can be extremely helpful for channeling and controlling security state.

Graph 1: The number of people immigrating to the US

The next step for the immigrant is illustrated by Slobodan Djajic, when they become illegal aliens by overstaying their visas and/or engaging in activities incompatible with their status, such as when tourists accept paid employment. The characteristic of visa overstayers differ significantly from those of illegal border crossers. They are usually perceived as being better educated, better connected or related to well-established legal residents of the host country. The visa overstayers tend to have higher earnings and occupational status and a lower probability of being bothered by the immigration authorities. It may also be a tendency to name such visa overstayers as “first-class” illegal aliens.18

By contrast, the illegal border crossers end up in the “economy class” categorization. Their strategically way of crossing the border can be seen in the cases of Indian, Pakistani, Chinese and other immigrants. The tactic is to firstly arrive legally into Canada and then slip into US due to its less guarded frontier, rather than trying to enter the United States directly.

Another international concern within the ‘Illegal immigration’ is created by the human trafficking. A huge number of 500,000 people are crossing the United States´ border illegally per year, equally with the illegal persons which are entering in European Union.

Additionally, there are two ways of becoming illegal immigrant; the first one represents the voluntary migrants – ‘people smuggling’ – who are paying the smugglers huge amounts, as $35,000 fee for the route China- New York. The second category of immigrants – ‘trafficking people’ – represents those people who are sold and bought internationally, as commodities.

The U.S. Congressional Research Service had been registering that between 1 million and 2 million people are trafficked across borders per year, the majority of them are women and children.19

The efforts and the measures to control the entire illegal immigration have been eventually reflected within the Budapest Process, which is a unique process in Europe, and it will be presented in the following chapters. After two crucial ministerial conferences on illegal immigration (1991) and uncontrolled migration (1993), the Budapest Process was developed. The 1993 meeting established a steering group, the Budapest Group, with representatives of the EU Presidency, Schengen, EFTA and four other states. The Budapest Process has since expanded to include 43 states and 10 intergovernmental organizations and is now looking to extend its focus beyond central and Eastern Europe towards Mediterranean countries.

According to Andrew Geddes, the main characteristic of Budapest Process is to achieve: cooperation among countries on border guards, combating the ´trafficking people´, training in the EU/Schengen acquis; “business input into co-development projects designed to stem migration flows and the development of asylum and refugee systems”.20

No-one makes the aggregate decision. Michael Nicholson clarifies that it is simply the result of a lot of individual decisions and indeed the significance of the overall consequences of these decisions may go unnoticed for a long time.21

3.4. The Consequences of Migration: positive and negative

In the end of the ‘journey’, each immigrant is facing two extremes: either a positive one with the great reward of a successful future, either the negative extreme receiving horrifying penalties in the case of failure. Despite this significant difference, there is always a huge temptation for a better life, making the immigrant to take the risk and bend the laws.

The positive consequences of being an immigrant are enormous. It is described as a life without any fear or worries of what the next day might bring. It includes a more positive future for your children, with any danger around them, either corruption. This is the reason why too many people are struggling to cross their home borders – and why immigration is a difficult phenomenon to manage.

The positive understanding regarding migration is making hostility milder in four continents: the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – that are basically built on immigration. From the analysis undertaken, their governance believes that a well-managed flow of ‘voluntary travelers’ might strength the economic development and cultural interest.

From the perspective of older societies as Europe and Japan, they perceive international migration as a new phenomenon and their reaction is less receptive to such a change.

Still, on balance, the impact of migration has had beneficial economic consequences.

Evidence from Europe, Canada, Australia and the United States shows that: ‘As immigrants fill the bottom rungs of the labor market, the native workforce moves into higher paid employment’.  

As expected, there are even **negative consequences** of migration, which are represented through cultural meetings. Many types of cultural collision are taking place in various industrialized nations, where groups of immigrants (“**Diasporas**”) from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, or Latin America find themselves within the Western societies, where both the culture and value is greatly different from their own. In some parts of the world, the issue of “**cultural collision**” implies certain negative consequences of movement of people. Consequently, the immigrants could end up into culturally, or ethnically political problems with the host population.

For a better insight of migration’s negative consequence, Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington debates over the previous topic of ‘cultural collision’. He argues that the United States faces unprecedented challenges in assimilating Mexican and other Latino immigrants. He also mentions the fact that the current Hispanic migration into the United States threatens American identity and the fundamental nature of its nation. His provocative argument is actually blaming the Hispanics for not assimilating themselves into America as the previous waves of immigrants from Europe did, and they do not accept core Anglo-Protestant values on which United States was build. Huntington highlights that Hispanic immigration is even appropriate for dividing America into two cultures and two languages.

The problem which Huntington raises is if culturally dissimilar populations can be part of a common nation. Consequently, his concern is related to one of the research questions – what is the migration’s effect over the host country’s security?

Immigration’s research has a long history in sociology and political science, and its consequences are counted among the central themes by the scientists. The significant political consequences are seen as a threat towards the security of nation-state. This is particularly argued by globalization which undermines state’s sovereignty. Facing these global changes, the countries are becoming less and less able to control the flow of immigrants. S. Sassen considers this aspect as a national warning for “the decline of state sovereignty and the rise of an international human rights regime”, finalizing with security political problems.

### 3.5. Summary

This section begins by defining migration as a new phenomenon – reflecting the increased interdependence of people around the world. In the previous decades, states’ well-known danger was the attack from other states. Nowadays, countries started to be aware of different kinds of threat, as the international behavior that weakens their security.

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A central idea indicates that during the last 10 years, the entire percentage of immigrants has increased drastically from 150 million (2000) to 214 million (2010). However analyzing on a larger scale, the migration has been widespread in more than a few countries than before, which makes the entire phenomenon relatively stable per the total percentage of population. Consequently, the top 10 countries of destination have been facing a decrease of migrants.

This chapter is also mentioning the two main illegal groups of immigrants: the voluntary immigrants and the trafficked people. The first group represents those voluntary people who are paying the smuggler to “take” them to their desired destination, by paying big amounts of money. The second groups illustrate the sorrowful category of trafficked people, which are traded as animals/commodities, against their approval.

The consequences which a migrant is facing are presented as being either positive, either negative. Several states find that a well-organized flow of new incomers could collaborate for economic growth and cultural interaction. Contradictory, this so-called ‘cultural collision’ is considered by the less perceptive states as a negative consequence, threatening the rise of economically or ethnically political problems.
4. The Challenge of Terrorism

This chapter outlines the terroristic act of violence, which became nowadays more dangerous than never among international peace and security. Firstly, the link between failure state and security will be presented, followed by the challenge of terrorism in reaction to September 11. The section will be finalized with a contrasted aspect to the introductory part, the welfare states and people’s high expectations concerning security and migration.

4.1. Failed States

The phenomenon of ‘failed states’ has an incredible importance within political arena, especially due to its consequences involving the spread of international conflicts, as well as the increasing percentage of poverty, disease, and the movement of people. These consequences have sufficient capacity in order to develop themselves for decades to come.

Analyzing throughout history, the government’s concern over the power has been facing many changes. In the period of Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, or the Imperial Japan, the governments have been worried of too much power enrolled within just one big state. Nowadays, the situation looks different, and the failing states are representing the biggest threat for the global stability and security.

Scholars have been discussing that states can fail from different causes. Although the researcher Harvey Starr reflects over this image, he identifies two major qualities that states must reach in order to remain stable – effectiveness and legitimacy. Effectiveness refers to government’s outcome - assuring national security, growing economy, decision law making, and promoting social services. Legitimacy on the other hand, describes whether government’s results are taken in consideration by the population as “just” or “reasonable”, with the focus on the social norms.25

It is highlighted that effectiveness and legitimacy are mutually, and those states that have lost both of them are in no doubt of becoming failed states. There are cases where states have either higher effectiveness or higher legitimacy; however, they can survive for some years. A first case can be characterized as follows: the harsh dictatorship might last even decades if it is quite effective in providing revenues and security, but its entire process of carrying out those tasks is done with excessive violence, thus ending to lack legitimacy. On the contrary case, a state could even survive during some years when it is totally engaged within the law rules and thus working legitimately, but it will end up as a failed state, hence to lack of effectiveness. All these because it has obstacles to enforce on its programs, the state struggles to enhance the governmental power , to deliver economic growth, or to suppress violence, however it finds itself in a big gap of effectiveness.

In sum, the American author and researcher H. Starr, concludes the following: “Yet governments that lack either effectiveness or legitimacy remain unstable until they have acquired the other element. States depending only on effectiveness for support can fail when they lose the means to provide the economic benefits or coercive strength that sustains them.

States depending only on legitimacy for support can fail when they reveal themselves to be corrupt, incompetent, too dependent on foreign powers, or become perceived as unjust through their policies or actions.”

Due to J.A.Goldstone’s professional contribution, H. Starr is entitled to warn us – if the state is facing too many evident failing factors; then the highest priority should be the establishment of security and political legitimacy. If these are established immediately, the state is clearly heading on the right direction of developing economic growth and health care services. With other words, to avoid state failures and to (re)build strong foundation for stable states, governmental institutions with considerable legitimacy and effectiveness must be developed.

Since the society is divided into so many smaller parts, it is difficult to reach a joint decision. The negative consequences will appear on the long term decline, when the conflicts with neighbor states will increase so drastically, that failing states will end up as collapsed states. If we are willing to analyze a broader definition of state failure, Robert Rotberg suggests us a four-fold division based on the state’s control of violence.

- “Weak states” are states in which the government is not investing within public goods and services, and is facing an increased percentage of crime and corruption.
- “Failing states” are characterized as an increased number of crimes; violence that is politically or communally motivated.
- “Failed states” represent the organized violence within a state; armed oppositions groups which are challenging the central government, and ending with civil wars.
- “Collapsed states” is the most extreme form of state failure, where the central government collapsed entirely. The country is ruled by armed organizations and competing militias, none of them being able to dominate over the other one.

Rotberg accomplished a set of maps with those states considered to fall in the year of 2003. The result indicated 28 weak states, 7 failing states, 6 failed states and only one collapsed state (Somalia). As it can be observed, Graph 2 represents the most systematic ongoing effort to comprehend all the levels of failure states, which is published annually in each July/August issue of Foreign Policy magazine.

26 Starr, H., (2009), Dealing with Failed States – Crossing Analytical Boundaries, Routledge, New York, pp.6
The aim of this chapter had a central relevance towards the spread of terrorism, by founding that civil wars are the major factor in the collapse of states. It has also been concluded that the negative consequences of state failure, including political instability and civil war does diffuse to the neighbors of collapsed states.

Preventing state failure is thus strategic and moral imperative. According to the research paper of Iqbal and Starr, the 45th appearance of The Economist in 2005, stated that “the chief reason why the world should worry about state failure is that it is contagious”30, consequently creating the spread of global terrorism.

4.2. The Spread of International Terrorism

The relevance of this section is a further and more profound research of previous results, regarding the “failed states”. My focus will be directed towards terrorism, as being a crucial consequence of the failure state, taking advantage of the many problems that a nation faces. These problems include the political instability, civil war, international conflict, and the state failure itself, which have been already mentioned in previous subchapter.

In the United States, the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) is providing the Department of State with a reliable open source information defining terrorism as “...premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience...”31

It is essential to know why the terroristic acts are called “international”. The reason is the large number of national backgrounds involving the terrorists themselves and their victims of the attacks; as well as the territory where the violence has actually occurred. On the other side, domestic terrorism is when both of the terrorists and victims come from the same country and even the attacks are carried out in that country.

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Many people believe that terrorism began on September 11, 2001, with the al Qaeda attacks in the United States. Despite these strong beliefs it is important to mention that terrorism has actually a longer history. Weinberg and Eubank are pointing out even the worst single act of terrorism on American territory before September 11, which occurred on April 19, 1995, when antigovernment activists Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols detonated a truck-bomb in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City and killed 166 people.\(^{32}\)

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO - founded in 1893) go back in history even more than a century; which means that terrorism cannot be considered as a new phenomenon.\(^{33}\) Nowadays it is also very important and surprisingly to know that IRA, the long active in paramilitary movements in Northern Ireland, is following to peaceful political participation.

We look at terrorists as irrational, but they see themselves as rational. Their steps are calm, calculated, and purposeful. Basques, Kurds, Palestinians, and Tamils desire to have their independent state. Spain, Turkey, Israel, and respectively Sri Lanka, do not agree with them to create their own states, and try to interfere on each of their operations. As a response, the organizational groups were born, respectively, ETA, PKK, PLO, and Tamil Tigers (LTTE - who do the most suicide bombings). There is always a reason behind each of those terrorist attacks. In these cases, it is concerned with the national liberation.\(^{34}\)

A certain attention should be given to terrorism by trying to understand “why does it happen?” All the answers guide us towards a political motive. A relevant example is the nationalist goal, as the independence from Sri Lanka for the ethnic group calledTamils or separation of Northern Ireland from Great Britain.

For a wider explanation of “why are the terrorists doing it?” professors Weinberg and Eubank reveal the terroristic tactic and its immediate benefits:\(^{35}\)

- **Spreading fear:** terrifying the audience will leave people with the impression of vulnerability and that anything can happen to them in daily routine, ending up to blame the government for their security loss; (how it happened to many residents of New York City, after 9/11)
- **Achievement of publicity:** by carrying out acts of violence, terrorists bring the spotlight over their causes/goals and hoping that by sending a message to audience it will change their emotions and behavior.


\(^{34}\) Roskin, G. M., and Berry O. N., (2010), *IR: The New World of International Relations*, (8th Ed.), Pearson Education, United States

Provoking the authorities into overreacting: terrorists can use government´s own strength to help achieve their own objectives.

Raising the morale of the “victim” people: populations which find themselves helpless in front of their repressive government or foreign occupation; they represent the population that the terrorist organizations hope to lead.

Thus, it is possible to respond to my initial purpose of this section, “if the international terrorism takes advantage of the problems which a state is facing”. According to Weinberg and Eubank, there are some weak governments unable to maintain law and order, already defined as a lack of legitimacy and respectively effectiveness. In “failed states” such as Somalia, the terrorist groups are taking advantage of the weak systems of law and security, enable them to organize freely the plan attacks and build training camps. This is not happening because the official government is supporting them, but basically because the government has no power to stop them.

Al Qaeda is a relevant illustration that had taken advantage of a failure state, of a government which had either a poor economy, either a dreadful leader. This way, al Qaeda was on the right track to create their own infrastructure (religious schools, training terrorist exercises) and to raise the morale of victim people in two of the most conflicted nations in the world; Afghanistan and Sudan.

4.2.1. September 11

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 or 9/11, decisively influenced the world politics by the evolution of the international security system and the enlargement of immigration system. In the research book “What is Terrorism”, L. Weinberg along with W. Eubank give us a concrete description of what really happened during that terrifying day. Two hijacked airlines loaded with highly flammable jet fuel are crashing into World Trade Center’s Twin Towers (New York City), continuing with a third hijacked plane crashing The Pentagon (Arlington, Virginia – Washington D.C.). There is even a forth suspected hijacked plane having the target of White House in Washington D.C., but which crashes before on a field in the south part of Pennsylvania (Shanksville).

The entire attack killed 3,025 U.S. citizens and other nationals. The first response of President Bush and Cabinet officials is to primarily suspect Osama bin Laden as the terrorist attack leader; this day made them proclaim the United States as being a state of war within international terrorism.36

The September 11 terrorism had a crucial impact over two international issues, such as failed nation-states and migration, which gain much more concern from the stable states. As we can observe further, Graph 3 is a relevant illustration of migration’s change in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. In the whole world, 9/11 caused a drastically slowdown transformation in the percentage of immigrants entering in the United States territory.

Soon after the attacks, the United States gives rise to the Global Coalition Against Terrorism. All of a sudden it was internationally understood that a new security threat had appeared, one that is not state-centric, has no definite territory and is fundamentally transnational in its way of action.37

Most nations strongly condemned the terrorist activities and accepted the challenge in forming the widest alliance ever seen in history, a US-led coalition against global terrorism and its state-sponsors. As a significant reaction of these attacks, a large chain of agreements had been made even within the Euro-Mediterranean territory. One of those agreements is the already known central Barcelona Process, which is elaborated in more details within the next chapter of ‘national security’.

Since the beginning, the failed states have been witnessed about eight million victims. In the aftermath of September 11 attacks, all these states received an immediate importance concerning its humanitarian intervention. In the wake of the terrorist attacks, the powerful governments had finally realized that failure states are posing a real, central threat for global peace and security. As it was mentioned in previous sections, these states are considered a threat not only for themselves but also towards their neighbors.

This tragedy of September 11th had a significant impact over America’s approach and concern to immigrants; by establishing a higher level of supervision towards Muslim students and the negotiation agreement with Mexico.

Contrary, there are big debates supporting open immigration, and have tried to de-link 9/11 terrorism from security concerns. These supporters are claiming that there is no correlation between immigration and terrorism; either that 9/11 can be associated to some unsuccessful immigration laws.

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Mary Ryan, for example, former head of the State Department's Bureau of Consular Affairs, having her role to issue visas, testified in January 2004 before the 9/11 Commission that: “Even under the best immigration controls, most of the September 11 terrorists would still be admitted to the United States today...because they had no criminal records, or known terrorist connections, and had not been identified by intelligence methods for special scrutiny.”

The essential fact is that the horrors of 9/11 convinced most Americans to begin the use of armed force to overthrow any terroristic regime against us. A relevant example of using armed forced is the bombings that occurred in Europe, which eventually unified and stiffened the resolve of Europeans. Indians demanded war with Pakistan after the Mumbai massacre. Thus, all these reactions represent the perfect strategic plan, desired by the terrorists. They want this anger to increase within other states, arguing that the more the target strikes back, the more recruits they will gain Lenin’s revolutionary idea of “the worse, the better”. This terroristic tactical approach has been mentioned before as ´provoking the authorities into overreacting´.

As a final point, Aviva Chomsky points out an essential reality, “the planes which flew into the twin towers on September 11 happened to take off in Boston...But they could just as well have taken off from some other country. Hijackers, like invaders, have proven capable of crossing frontiers and kill people without any permission. However, terrorist can be born anywhere in the world, including the United States.” However, there is just no logical relationship between border security and the prevention of terrorism.

4.3. Welfare States

In contrast with the previous explanations of failed states, it is noticeable that more is required from the modern state, than ever before. This section examines migration from a positive point of view, when immigrants are taking advantage of rich countries. These welfare states are considered “welfare magnets” for people from poorer countries; and they perceive migration as an opportunity, not a threat to the state.

The term of ‘welfare state’ describes what good governance implies in reality; first of all to secure its citizens from any outside threat by sustaining the public order, and also national and individual security. That promise includes security of property and legally valid contracts. The welfare state’s comprehensive list of goals is as follows:

- promoting the health care system and educational system
- achieving a prosperous economy by having the basic needs for population
- increasing citizens’ spirit of national pride

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38 http://www.cis.org/node/380
39 Roskin, G. M., and Berry O. Nicholas (2010), IR: The New World of International Relations, (8th Ed.), Pearson Education, United States
Focusing on the main purpose of this thesis, we observe the correlation between migrants and their desired destinations; influenced by a number of welfare factors. Economics clearly plays an important role: most of the people tend to migrate to richer countries; although not always, there are many Westerners working in developing countries. Anyhow, having Sweden case, as a relevant welfare state example, Sweden opened its borders to the A8 countries (the eight ex-communist countries that joined the EU in 2004)\(^{41}\); Furthermore, Poland has become the second-biggest source of migrants. Refugee policy is particularly important in Sweden: it received 17,500 asylum applications in 2005, and admitted 8,100 foreigners on humanitarian visas, with Iraq the third-biggest source of migrants overall.\(^{42}\)

Is has been analyzed the fact that ‘national welfare states cannot co-exist with the free movement of labour’. The conclusion is that immigration is perceived as one challenge to the welfare state.

4.4. Summary

Within this chapter, I tried to create a triple association of failed states- terrorism- welfare states. Each of them have been separately presented and in the end correlated to each other, where the phenomenon of terrorism had its major role.

Failed states are most common characterized as being weak states which represent a significant threat not only to their own nation, but also to their neighbors and even towards global security. Terrorism is defined as a threat towards regional or global security, and being on the other extreme of nuclear threat; it includes smaller fragmented violence actions against public. For a clear understanding, the terrorist organizations exist in the hope to achieve a nationalist or separatist goal. They either hope to create a new, independent country in a territory that previously was part of another one, or they want to detach some region of one country and merge it with another.\(^{43}\)

In other mentioned variant, terrorism exists in order to send a message through the mass media, in hope to influence different audiences. In order to understand the third part, of what welfare states stand for, I will underline the fundamental explanatory model: they can be clarified as the logic of industrialism. Welfare policies are changing in response to new outside challenges, new actors (migrants) which are entering the country and their expectations from the welfare state themselves.

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\(^{41}\) The A8 are the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia

\(^{42}\) Legrain, P., (2008), *Is free migration compatible with a European-style welfare state?*, Expert report nr.11 to Sweden’s Globalization Council, Print Edita, Västerås

5. National Security

The aim of this chapter attempts to elucidate the procedures needed in order to protect a state. It continues by clarifying why there is still so much international insecurity. As a starting point, it is presented the security aspect of the Barcelona Process or so called Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) within the theoretical framework. It is finalized with the migration – security interaction, clarified from another perspective, the United States.∗

The end of the Cold War gave a first impression of reducing the security problems of major states, but the horror attack of September 11 notified unexpected threats, and demonstrated that countries, both rich and poor, must be always on guard.

International wars still present the greatest danger of our days towards national security. In an age where is a continuously enlargement of nuclear, chemical, and biological WMD and where national disputes cross the boundaries; or where ethnic and religious power, refugees, human rights, and trade create conflicts, then security remains high on every state’s agenda.

5.1. How States Protect Themselves

Focusing over the concept of ‘security’, it is clearly emphasized what a state does in order to safeguard its sovereignty. Virtually all countries are trying to appeal as many international organizations, such as the UN, the African Union (AU), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), or the Arab League, to resolve different conflicts that jeopardize security.

A nation’s security has always depended on the type and level of military technology which the country is possessing at a given time. If technology is gradually changing, then even the governmental decisions must adapt to the changes, finding new solutions to secure the nation.

State authorities have a strong interest in knowing who is on their territory. This interest is expressed by L. Salter as “a sovereign right to control borders and the movement of persons across those borders.”∗∗ According to E. Guild’s research, the validations for controlling frontiers, and the movement of non-nationals across them, have been classified within security area as follows:∗∗∗

- Military security: protection of the state against any invasion of the foreign army. The state must hold all sources of information regarding who is entering the country, this way identifying which individuals are likely spies, or sympathizers with the enemy.
- National security: protection of the state against foreigners who seek to harm national interests (for instance those seeking to commit acts of political violence); here the political violence or terrorism raises issues concerning its association with foreigners.
- Public security: protection of the state against foreigners who commit crimes.
- Identity security: protecting the integrity of the people against different types of influences brought by the foreigners’ appearance on their territory.

∗ Salter, L., (2003), Rights of Passage: The Passport in International Relations, Boulder; Lynne Reiner
5.2. Euro-Mediterranean Security: The Barcelona Process (BP)

To reach a more solid understanding of what national security involves, it is better to focus over a concrete part of the world. Thus, this section will analyze security just from the European perspective, exemplified by the unique Barcelona Process. The research and the following up to the various subchapters will be realized in accordance with the beliefs in the Barcelona Process.

EU: which identity is estimated as the supranational body established by six European states commencing in 1957 and which enlarged 15 Member States up until May 2004 and 27 thereafter. The EU was created as a security project – the purpose was to diminish the probability of war in Europe. The strategic mechanism to achieve international security was to remove the obstacles towards the four freedoms: free movement of goods, persons, services and capital.

States became more vulnerable because of the global changes. The immediate response to this vulnerability is the need of international cooperation, which set up regional security partnership among states. The establishment of Euro Mediterranean security partnership is the relevant case analyzed below.

The Barcelona Process is a very ambitious initiative, established with the historical Declaration in 27 November 1995 by all the 15 member states of the EU at that time, and 12 South and East Mediterranean Countries (SEMC’s)\(^\text{46}\), comprehending the arch starting from Turkey to Morocco, including even Israel. Its objective was very simple and clear: to make the Mediterranean a peaceful, stable and economically developed area. This Declaration claims that “they stress the strategic importance of the Mediterranean” and “agree to establish a comprehensive partnership” among them\(^\text{47}\).

First, the Barcelona Process was born in a period when the image of Middle East Peace Process was quite optimistic. From a European perspective, the BP is well known as a unique process, in the sense that its single goal is to establish a privileged relationship with SEMC’s; a relation that truly wants to go beyond the EU borders, in order to reach any other region in the world, be it Asia, Africa or Latin America.

In fact, the BP has become nowadays even more necessary than ever before, especially after the terrifying attacks from September 11, 2001. In the aftermaths of those events, we have all discovered that the cultural dimension is indeed a key dimension in international relations. And this cultural dimension requires a maximum attention, in order to be properly managed.

“Dialogue of civilizations” has been the response by some experts\(^\text{48}\); issue that has already been exemplified in chapter 3, by the political scientist S. Huntington, arguing that this ‘cultural dimension’ is perceived as a negative consequence of migration, and needs to be

\(^{46}\) SEMC includes the 12 Mediterranean partner countries (MPC-12): Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Cyprus, Malta and Turkey.


solved out by international collaboration. Consequently, Barcelona Process represents exactly this dialogue of increased political co-operation, a dialogue of economic integration, a dialogue of social and cultural exchanges. And all these are the issues which characterizes the BP.

5.2.1. The Political and Security Partnership

So it is important to emphasize that the response of the EU to September 11 attacks cannot solely be concentrated on Afghanistan or Central Asia. But of course as it was expected, EU must be present in this region, and not forgetting the real fact that the Mediterranean is its closest border in terms of cultural frontier. Therefore, it seems logical to claim that the reaction to September 11 should be focused on the Mediterranean as this is the closest border of the Union and its objective situation is no less urgent than it is in Central Asia.

The Barcelona Process chapter is opening a prospect for adopting a Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Peace and Stability. Terrorism has been considered for many years an issue of misunderstanding among Europeans and Arabs. Besides all the European historical background, the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington had a crucial impact over the Euro-Mediterranean area, creating further instable effects within its national security. Moreover, the established UN Coalition against terrorism has obliged the EU and their Southern partners to reach a common way for honest and serious dialogue towards terrorism.

The initial Barcelona Declaration from 1995 has not devoted enough concern over the international terrorism, and either how can it be eventually combated. The logical explanation is that terrorism has not been perceived so crucial that time, as we can feel it nowadays. But this conception is significantly changing after 10 years, in response to September 11, when during the Barcelona Summit 2005, it is established the Euro- Mediterranean Code of Conduct on Countering Terrorism. This event has a crucial importance in European area; for the first time the anti-terrorism issue gains political framework of regulatory reference. This agreement will be able to reach the expected results within the internal cooperation of security issues, by adding as many as possible EU members and non-EU members from the same geopolitical region (countries located on both south and north shores of Mediterranean). This way the Mediterranean region is on the right path to prevent future violence attacks and even to stop the spread of international terroristic groups crossing their borders. For a successful result, a better system for exchanging information between European countries is needed.

Now, moving to a further understanding of security, the next section will eventually reach a wider connection of migration to national security examined throw the US perspective. After many research, despite the fact that Europe was populated by waves of migration from the Mediterranean area and from Central Asia; I found the US migration model more relevant.

This migration model was strengthened by the scholar Aviva Chomsky’s myth “The United States is a melting pot that has always welcomed immigrants from all over the world”.50

Chomsky mentions that the terrorist attacks in US have been committed by both citizens and immigrants. In the year 2000, the FBI indicates no international terrorism occurred inside in the United States, despite the eight incidents of domestic terrorism carried out by the animal rights groups or environmental groups. Next year of 2001, there were reported twelve domestic incidents and one international attack (the September 11).51 A research study of the anti-immigration Center for Immigration Studies found that a significant percentage of “militant Islamic terrorists” who committed crimes in US had legally entered the country on tourist/student visas or they were permanent citizens.

From the previous subchapters we noticed that there have always been foreign citizens working with international terrorists groups, and who desire to enter the United States. Even though, it is much more likely that members of a military organization as Al-Qaeda will use their strategic movements to enter into the United States, as they did in September 11.

5.3. Summary
Global changes made states more unstable, decreasing their power over the national security. This is the reason why international cooperation had been accomplished right after the 9/11 attacks, building up a strong security partnership among states.

The increased interdependence between the European and the Mediterranean countries, made possible the establishment of Euro Mediterranean security partnership. The unique Barcelona Process is characterized as a dialogue among Mediterranean states, with the purpose of increasing political co-operation, developing economy, and constructively interacting with different cultures.

Following the events after September 11, 2001 more substance has been added on this issue within the Euro- Mediterranean Code of Conduct on Countering Terrorism (Barcelona Submit, 2005). The aim is to enlarge to Mediterranean cooperation towards both the non-EU countries and the other countries located on the Mediterranean shore; this is what will strengthen the European cooperation against the global terrorism.

The chapter is ending with a US perspective over the migration-security link. It is highlighted the fact that most of legal immigrants had not violated the terms of their visas. However, the real terrorists don’t need any legal approval to enter the desired territory; Aviva Chomsky argues that “not even the highest fence or the most militarized border in the world would have kept them out”. Their aggression acts were considered crimes of violence, not crimes of immigration.

50 Chomsky, A., (2007), “They take our jobs!” and the 20 other myths about immigration, Beacon Press, Boston, pp. 77

6. Implications for Democracy

I will be examining in the beginning of this chapter the struggle around globalization in the context of migration and security. Some relevant issues regarding democracy, will be presented throw the EU perspective towards citizenship. Furthermore, the idea of spreading democracy in order to reduce terrorist violence, has many supporters. The goal of this chapter is how to deal with this lacuna.

6.1. The Globalization Phenomenon

In order to understand the complexity of our initial concern - migration occurrence - this chapter highlights the relevant effect of globalization towards migration. The scholar D. Papademetriou named the phenomenon of globalization as ‘the tendency for more and more countries to be crucially affected by migratory, movements at the same time’. The important effects of globalization have been described as elimination borders between countries and the worldwide increase of people flow.

What is globalization? According to Keohane and Nye Jr., globalization is a process of economic, social and cultural integration across the globe. Analyzing from migration’s perspective, it has been considered as a final result of the globalization process, which is a recent trend within the global economy.

However, there are some contradictory beliefs, according to which globalization might be either a positive process or an extremely negative one. Obviously, such a radical interpretation is placing migration within two extremes. The significant gap between well-developed countries and developing ones is another contribution in defining the current flows of population movement, i.e. migration.

It has been concluded that people from developing countries are depended of the developed countries; reason that makes them to eventually emigrate to richer countries for a bigger chance to secure their future.

Not surprisingly that some scholars reached the result that the desperate socio-economic position of people in developing countries is actually forcing them to leave their homeland and move to developed countries. This movement can be characterized as a positive impact of globalization from the migrant’s point of view.

On the contrary, there is also a negative impact of globalization on migration which presents the high level of unemployment among developed countries. The reason is quite simple; the labor competition in native/host population is drastically increasing due to immigrants which are traditionally distinguished as cheaper labor force.

This situation may continue on the long term, and probably ending even worse if the linkage globalization-migration remains unchanged. An additional concern regarding developed

52 Papademetriou, D., The global struggle with the illegal migration: no end in sight, Migration Information Source, 2005, at www.migrationinformation.org
countries is that they must guarantee the essential needs for immigrants, including health care system, education, and all the additional social funding because of their deprived economic situation.

With regard to fulfill the phenomenon of globalization, I will present the impact of globalization over the international security. The central argument for approaching this topic is that terrorism has been extending due to globalization era. “An international problem such as terrorism can only be defeated by international cooperation.” (Elmar Brok, Member, European Parliament)

Globalization is a worldwide observable trend and includes practically almost all countries, with some exceptions - the rogue-states (a state that does not respect other states in its international actions, and it is considered threatening to the world’s peace) like Northern Korea, Iran, Sudan or other isolated countries from the rest of the world. As a consequence, a vast number of countries are involved in this process, and start to enlarge their economical, political and cultural relations on global level.

Security and terrorism became more challenging since globalization age. Nevertheless, the terroristic concern became globally highlighted in the aftermaths off September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States.

Furthermore, globalization generated negative consequences, by marginalizing some classes of people; this way creating certain economic inequalities. Eventually, the only privileged people are the terrorists who gained support from the ‘victim people’ of different countries; thus terrorism achieved its goal of becoming global. As a reaction to the concerns mentioned above, globalization expands its scope of security.

Beck Ulrich argues that terrorists groups are taking full-size advantage of the positive consequences of globalization; for example the advanced technological communication. Therefore, these military groups can organize nowadays much easier their violence attacks, by a faster contact between each other.

6.2. Creating citizenship

In the following section the concept of ´citizenship´ and its correlation towards immigrants will be discussed. Citizenship is a representative characteristic of democracy that every immigrant is trying to attain for a more secure and stable future in the host state. Consequently, there will be no ethnically political problems and international security and peace could be reached.

An essential observation is that the most protected migrants from expulsion in Europe are nationals of EU Member States on the territory of other EU Member States. These people

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enjoy status which is called ‘citizenship of the European Union’. The idea of citizenship originates from Greek political thought by which it was presented as the aspect of “democratic” political order. “Citizens where those members of a political society whose basic equality was established by the constitution recognizing them as entitled and capable of being rulers and ruled in turn”.57

To correlate to the concern of most interest in this paper, free movement of persons requires the following: dis-application of all rules on visas, permission to enter a Member State, residence permits and work permits as regards nationals of the Member States. According to Elspeth Guild, nationals of the Members States were to have right to enter, reside and engage in economic activities which the state would have no power to control.58

Immigration law has been regulated at the EU level since the entry into force of the first treaties. It has been an objective of the original European Economic Community to achieve free movements of persons.

The other side of the coin regarding migration-citizenship link, is the provision of protection. The state also owes duty to provide security for the newcomers. A clear example is in the respect of the social security. The majority of social security systems in Europe are organized around a mix of two principles- citizenship and contribution, the so-called Bismarkian principle, and residence, the so-called Beveridge principle. 59

The fundamental mechanism for the immigrant to gain future security is to become a citizen. Furthermore, in order to achieve domestic and international peace, the host states are responsible to fulfill the immigrant’s interests, which are regulated by the principle of equality. These three fundamental interests of immigrants when they move to a new country are described as follows:

✓ Desiring: the conditions of entry into the host territory and protection from expulsion;
✓ Achieving: the access to employment and the conditions of employment;
✓ Maintaining peace: the family reunification.

Citizens have a right in international law to enter and reside on their state of nationality. There is no internationally recognized right for a state to expel its citizens. Article 18EC provides the first right: “Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in this Treaty and by the measures adopted to give it effect.”60

60 http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32004L0038:EN:NOT
The next section presents the ‘Schengen Acquis’, being significantly related to the notion of ‘citizenship’ within European area, and creating a more profound meaning of democracy. The year of 1985 saw the signature of the first Schengen Agreement with a clear intention of cancelling the controls on the movement of persons among the five original partners, Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.61

The abolition of border controls among states is characterized as follows: in order to enter the desired country, people are facing less identity checks. As a consequence, internal security requires more strictly measurements towards immigrants.

- The first step is clearly to identify persons who are individually known as a danger to national security. This is the role of the Schengen Information System (SIS) that became operational on 26 March 1995.

The SIS is a data system which permits a wide collaboration among the participating states, announcing each other for any potential security risk. Basically, SIS provides all the required information about any foreigner to whom should not be issued visas.

- The second step is to identify persons who have not been identified yet as an individual risk to any state but might be one. The helping tool here is the visa list which, on the basis of nationality, categorizes persons as more or less likely to be a risk. Those persons who appear on the visa list are posing a national security risk, and then a special control imposed - demanding visa possession.

This system of exchanging “risk analysis” is officially launched by nine Member States with Finland as the chair began a project on the Common Integrated Risk Analysis Model (CIRAM).” The main concern was the attainment of “systematic evaluation of border control” was crucial.62

As a final observation, since the EU has not finished enlarging, so too the Schengen area might be enlarged. According to the European Commission, both Ireland and the UK have been permitted to maintain their national border controls with the other EU Member States; this will be the case of all EU future states, to participate completely in the Schengen project. The current candidate states waiting to join the EU are Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey. The anticipated candidate countries are, according to the European Commission, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo, under Security Council Resolution 1244.63

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6.3. Summary

It has been underlined the fact that migration is highly dependent on the process of globalization. This is happening mainly because the basic flow of immigrants is influenced by the current global economy, and by their possibility of freely crossing the borders between different countries.

As a summarizing point regarding globalization, three significant findings are taken:64

- The strengthening of the “push-pull” factors of migration;
- A widening of the economic and technological gap between developing and industrialized countries;
- The increasing vulnerability of the Western countries to “new security” threats, such as international terrorism, crime, and smuggling.

The last sections discuss the notion of ´citizenship´ as being a significant characteristic of democracy, and a desired goal for each immigrant. A further example is brought up by the Schengen Agreement, indicating the selection process of who might be a national security risk, and state’s immediate response towards who is eventually crossing their borders or not.

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7. The Politics of a New World

This chapter is conceived with the theme of international law and international security, a theme that is nowadays daily proving its significance on the global scene. The focus of the chapter is on enforcement of legally principles related to international peace and security.

7.1. International Law

The world has been facing crucial changes during the years, and one of them is presented in this section; the new terrifying threats to international peace and security are different from those of traditional inter-wars. Internal wars have plagued several continents, maps have been rewritten, nationalism has increased, violations of international humanitarian law continues: despite all these, the acts of international terrorism that struck the US on 11 September 2001 have changed the world forever.

International law (IL) may or may not eventually settle who has undersea drilling rights. More important is that if two states wish to avoid any anticipated war, they will find IL as a convenient peaceful solution to be approached. Some people who consider IL as weak and ineffectual, it is probably due to a misunderstanding of the basic purpose.

Michael Roskin agrees that “international law regulates exchanges between states in predictable ways, if existing law is followed or new law is created.” Furthermore, IL allows countries to page through law books instead of marching their troops. If both countries use IL, they avoid war, and what is wrong with that?65

As a reaction to the definition of international law, the author Michael Roskin highlights a relevant example of IL. For many years, Greece and Turkey stared angrily to each other. Under the Aegean Sea, which lies between them, it could be oil. Who owns it? Both countries claim the areas are within their territorial water. Billions are at stake. Instead of reaching for their guns, however, the two countries reach for their lawyers. War is a last solution that neither country wants nor can afford. They hire international lawyers, court professors, measure their continental shelves, and negotiate endlessly. It is a better solution than opening fire to each other; this way they take some of the tension out of it.66

According to D. Amnéus and K. Svanberg-Torpman, during the last decades there has been an increased interest in the public international law towards the security of people, in order to avoid their internal conflicts. Consequently, UN responded promptly by increasing its humanitarian interventions, this way the violence over human rights could be stopped.67

Another current trend is the development of self-defense right towards any foreign invasion, which has been largely promoted after the terroristic acts from September 2001. This new right allowed the US to declare war on international terrorism and to intervene in Afghanistan.

65 Roskin, G. M., and Berry, O. N. (2010), IR: The New World of International Relations, (8th Ed.), Pearson Education, United States
Nowadays, the world faces controlled regional conflicts and with the potential to spread, to disrupt trade, and to result in massacred of people. These threats create common national interests for a more stable world. IL can help.

One relevant indicator of growth of IL presented by M. Roskin is the increased number of U.S. law schools that teach it. In 1900 only six had such programs. Now, the number increased 10 times. One way to produce more law is to produce more lawyers. If a new, more peaceful IR system consolidates around the world, there will be a major growth of IL. 68

7.1.1. The United Nations

Another controversial issue is presented as being the rise of international terrorism and the US institutions´ response in order to increase international terror with the proliferation weapons of mass destruction.

According to the United Nations´ officially historical documentation, the United Nation itself is relatively new institution and it was established in 1945 in San Francisco “in the aftermath of a devastating war to help stabilize international relations and give peace a more secure foundation. The United Nations, however, is much more than a peace-keeper and forum for conflict resolution.” 69

The United Nation Security Council, had their first meeting in January 1946, having five permanent members (the United States, China, Russia, France, and Great Britain), and ten other UN members for a two-year period. The presidency of Security Council is elected each month according to the English alphabetic list of member states. It is build at the UN headquarters in New York, and whose leading responsibility is to maintain world peace and security.

9/11 terrorist attacks shocked not only the United States but shocked all the nations. President Bush described these terrorist attacks as a ‘new kind of war’ against the international violence. An additional response to global war, as well by President Bush is: “war on terrorism would be fought on a variety of fronts in different ways.” 70

As an immediate reaction, the United Nations has started to combat the new global threats and challenges against international law. Thus, the urgent actions undertaken in response to September 11, established several major Security Council Resolutions (1368, 1373, 1377 and Article 51), all of them aiming the exact paths for stopping terrorism: capability of prompt reaction including 'all necessary steps' to combat any terroristic attacks; the awareness to stop financing terrorism; and the counter terrorism measurements.

69 http://www.un.org/aboutun/achieve.htm
Resolution 1368: The first day after the attack, 12 September, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted this Resolution in the matter which centrally condemns 11 September attacks in the United States. The Security Council declared itself: ‘Determined to combat by all means threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts’. This declaration implies clearly both peaceful co-operation and military action.\textsuperscript{71}

Resolution 1373: The next immediate response was on 28 September, when Security Council adopted another crucial resolution, which dramatically has required the interstate co-operation, having the same initial concern of counter-terrorism.\textsuperscript{72}

Article 51: This article defines precisely what self-defense includes: “the states, individually or jointly, must be able to defend themselves against attacks, until the Security Council has convened and decided to mobilize the resources needed to resolve the crisis.”\textsuperscript{73}

However, most UN member states have been against Article 51 as support for preventive self-defense, i.e., military counter-actions in anticipation of an attack.\textsuperscript{74}

7.1.2. Human Security

This subchapter tries to capture human security into the international security not meant to create a substitute for state security, but rather acting as a complement to state security; its aim is to protect people, and not an abstract entity.

State security and human security are interlinked in several ways: they are both mutually supporting each other. In reality, state security is providing human security, consequently being the most effective instrument for protecting individual’s security. Improving the human security of people, it strengthens the legitimacy, stability and security of a state, ‘if human security, then state security’.

The definition of security has been until now presented just as a territorial security against simple external threats or nuclear threats. This definition is more related to nation states as a whole than to people as individuals.\textsuperscript{75}

Therefore, with the rise of new global changes, approaching security in limited terms of national or territorial security is insufficient. The security of individuals should no longer be defined within the large context of states and either within the state’s security consequences; the human security deserves a higher level of attention. If human security will gain in the future a more serious approach, then it will automatically have a superior impact within the international law of humanitarian intervention or a responsibility to protect people.

\textsuperscript{71} http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10309.pdf
\textsuperscript{73} Amnéus, D. and Svanberg-Torpman, K., 2004, Peace and Security-Current Challenges in International Law, Studentlitteratur, Lund, pp 18
\textsuperscript{74} Beck, U., (2002), Terror and Solidarity, Foreign Policy Centre (FPC), London, United Kingdom
\textsuperscript{75} United Nations Development Programme, 1994, Human Development Report, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 22
Human intervention is being characterized as the most extreme form of promoting human security. The NATO intervention in Kosovo has been named as the ‘first human security war’. Concluding all these, we should definitely pay the same awareness to human security as much as we do towards global security.

7.2. Summary

This part of the thesis started with ‘international law’, which regulates exchanges between states in predictable ways, if existing law is followed or new law is created. Furthermore, IL allows countries to page through law books instead of marching their troops. If both countries use IL, they avoid war, and what is wrong with that?

The world faces a growing class of problems that require international solutions, the so-called “transnational issues”, which can include everything from resource scarcity to climate changes. The United Nation’s committees serve as an early-warning system for tomorrow’s problems and controversies. At the UN headquarters in Manhattan, for the price of one mission to UN, even the small and poor countries can have a diplomatic contact with all other nations.

The final section attempted to show that the concept of ‘human security’ is neither vague nor meaningless, even more; it has a significant relevance in completing the global security, and is suitable, therefore, to be seriously taken into account of international agenda.
8. Thesis Overview

This chapter is helping the reader to have a final overview of the entire working paper. Later on, each section of the thesis will be separately analyzed giving the final conclusions and discussions that I have come up through the research implications.

8.1. Summary

The topic of this study paper is framed within the area of international relations theory and security politics. The purpose is to examine the international migration and its correlation with the international security agenda, having a special focus on international terrorism. However, the topic of security and immigration is related to additional issues, such as 9/11 attacks, failure state, globalization, and gaining citizenship; within a continental comparison, namely Euro-Mediterranean and the United States.

The entire process of collecting information has been directed towards qualitative research (document analysis and content analysis), because migration is better highlighted by answering the question ´why´ not ´how´, and also because it is a phenomenon within the real world. The material used is stretching from press articles to literature in the area of immigration and security. Government investigation reports and internet sources have been supplementary material.

In order to elaborate a structured paper for the reader, I began the entire work with three research questions presented below. According to these questions, all the research findings have been achieved successfully as follows:

1) In which way is the phenomenon of ´migration´ correlated to security and terrorism?

A main argument is that migration phenomenon weakens countries security. Consequently, immigration control has been increased everywhere in response to terrorist attacks of recent years, this way securing the host population. The most relevant terrorist attack is 9/11 that has shaken America´s approach to immigrants and even enlarged the number of security agreements within Euro-Mediterranean area, establishing Barcelona Process. Economics plays an important factor in the migration-security relationship. Having a poor economy, people tend to migrate to richer countries, causing sometimes ethnically political problems for host state´s security.

2) Why is a state facing terrorism problems?

First of all because of the global changes, in consequence states became more vulnerable. This vulnerability decreased their governmental power over the national security, and they didn’t know how to adapt to the new changes. However, the spread of terrorism can be defined as a consequence of ´failure state´, being a threat for global stability and security.
In other words, terrorism is occurring due to the lack of effectiveness and/or legitimacy. This lack implies: weak systems of law and security, poor economy, or dreadful leaders; all these enable the terroristic groups to organize freely the violence attacks, and building training camps (e.g. Somalia) and the government just cannot stop them. ‘Failed states’ are involving as well the increased percentage in movement of people.

The terrorist organizations are taking advantage of all possible problems that a state is facing, like political instability, civil war, international conflicts, and the state failure itself. In order to avoid terrorism occurrence, the state should establish a ‘security and political legitimacy’, setting the governance on a right track. (governmental institutions developing both effectiveness and legitimacy).

3) How does migration affect the process of globalization, and vice-versa?

Globalization is defined as “the tendency for more and more countries to be crucially affected by migration”. Within the vice-versa perspective, the worldwide movement of people can be considered the result of globalization process, removing the borders between states. The positive effect of globalization is mostly felt by the people from developing countries, which decided to have a better future, and moving to developed countries. On the contrary, the negative effect is the increased unemployment in developed countries, caused by the labor competition in native/host population. Other disadvantages for the rich countries are the cultural conflicts, interrelated with the enlargement of social services for the immigrants. A final research finding is that globalization phenomenon creates even economic inequalities, the so well-known ‘gap between rich and poor’, forcing the citizens to emigrate. The only privileged people are terrorists who eventually gained support from the ‘victims’.

8.2. Concluding Discussions

‘Migration and its Enemies’

As a first significant accomplished conclusion, immigration is indeed a problem, but not in the way it’s generally defined. Immigration is a humanitarian problem; people leave their homelands, their families, and their culture, risking their lives for a better future. What is needed is a humanitarian solution, establishing a new model of economic integration: a global system that redistributes planet’s resources more equitably among its inhabitants, and one that respects all the dissimilarly traditional lifestyles.

However, border control entails major economical costs for states, and still not giving back considerable results within political effectiveness. The control efficacy depends on the knowledge of migratory data, which has been insufficient until nowadays, and provoking public/state frustration.

A next section of thesis was handling the illegal immigration, mentioning ‘People smuggling’ that become a major headache for countries in the European Union, which are the preferred destination for refugees from Africa, the Balkans, and the Eastern Europe. However, migration being such a complex phenomenon, we need to open channels for solving out future problems as ignorance, fear, which will lead to criminal networks or economic inequalities.
Instead, the U.S. has transformed humanitarian problem into a humanitarian disaster, and encouraging larger global inequality. Here it is included the $20 billion that the United States has spent on border enforcement, which eventually had not been appreciated by the immigrants; on the contrary it caused thousands of deaths and untold human suffering.\textsuperscript{76} One of the places where U.S. immigration policies created most dramatically scenes is on the U.S. – Mexico border.

\textit{‘The Challenge of Terrorism’}

Within this section it has been analyzed the phenomenon of ‘failed states’, creating a global issue regarding national and implicit international security. These states are actually facing a powerless government towards national order; as a result, the rule of law starts to decrease and the state is losing its legitimacy.

Security represents a permanent problem and also a strategy to weaken a hated political authority. The Middle East is an inexhaustible source of violence, and we cannot totally withdraw from it or ignore it. The biggest concern within this topic is that nothing can give us security; and the thing which is paradoxically here is that they can get us even in our own country by using our own technology against us. A relevant awareness are the nuclear weapons, each war can be electronically guided from now on, as it has been in the Persian Gulf and in Kosovo. A dangerous assumption is that if the United States will maintain the technological lead position for 20 years, they will never be confronting outside terrorist attacks.\textsuperscript{77}

Publicity and psychology are other two strategies used by terrorists against us. The September 11 events received considerable publicity from television networks. If the attack is dramatic enough or kills enough people, as the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon did, television viewers all over the world will very quickly become aware of what happened. In fact, terrorism is a kind of politically motivated violence where sending a message via publicity plays a crucial role.

The real struggle here is over the future of Muslims countries, whether they will follow a modern way or a fanatic tradition. A proper name for this type of challenge can be the “war over Islamic modernization”. Stability is possible to be achieved, having already some states towards this modern changing.\textsuperscript{78}

\textit{‘National Security’}

Concerning the unique Barcelona Process, it has been concluded that this Euro-Mediterranean agreement is at a crossroads. Since 1995 when it was founded, Barcelona Process had some positive results, but unfortunately not the most desired ones.

\textsuperscript{76} Chomsky, A., (2007), \textit{“They take our jobs!” and the 20 other myths about immigration}, Beacon Press, Boston
\textsuperscript{77} Roskin, G. M. and Berry, O. N., (2010), \textit{IR: The New World of International Relations}, (8\textsuperscript{th} Ed.), Pearson Education, United States
\textsuperscript{78} Roskin, G. M. and Berry, O. N., (2010), \textit{IR: The New World of International Relations}, (8\textsuperscript{th} Ed.), Pearson Education, United States
In the meantime, the situation in the region has certain slowdowns within political, economic, and migratory areas. Nowadays, the Mediterranean is relatively seen as a sea of divisions than a sea of integration.

Following the entire pathway of BP, it has not been a failure. On the contrary, it is more than a suitable project for our days, especially in the aftermath of September 11, when is crucially essential for nations’ security. The only discussed comment towards BP is a higher commitment by all the participant states: having political transparency of the process itself, and also a better quality and quantity of the devoted resources.

’Implications for Democracy’

Does democracy have a positive or negative impact towards national security? Within the subsection ‘Migration and Security’, it has been concluded that migration does not have any serious relevance regarding the national security. Having this positive response, it appears a secondary question: what else can be done to prevent forthcoming violence acts?

A relevant discussion can be brought here by mentioning the US citizens; they should not forget that so far, the U.S. army has killed much more foreign citizens within their host territory, than the terrorists have actually killed U.S. citizens inside the United States. A first coming answer to my above question is that the U.S. military aggression should be slowly stopped, thus achieving a successful reduction of international terrorism. More than that, this response might be the most necessary solution for a radically anti-Americanism decrease in other countries. A second solution to prevent future terroristic violence is the creation of more international treaties, where the countries will commonly decide to follow international law. This implies a world where the violence/terroristic acts are judged under the rule of law.

’The Politics of a New World’

According to the previous sections of international law (IL), it can be simply highlighted that international law is generally preferred instead of war. The creation of IL is based on reciprocity, and all the laws exist in order to control state’s behavior within the international relations.

The world is being challenged with certain problems, also named “transnational issues” which require international solutions. They can include everything, starting from resource scarcity until climate changes. The UN cannot solve any of these issues by its own. If anything is enforced, it is due to the major powers if they reach a common agreement and decide to be enforced. In many ways, the UN is seen as a big debating society whose conclusions, are not always taken in consideration, even though they resulted by a general agreement.

Nevertheless, the UN committees serve as an early-warning system for future problems and international disputes. In Manhattan, where UN has its headquarters, any small and poor country is able to have a diplomatic interaction with all other nations.

Although not yet enough appreciated, the ‘international issues’ represent probably the greatest concerns and challenges that the twenty-first-century of politics is facing.
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