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# AS THE MAIN SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE 21st CENTURY

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Abstract: People migration is a phenomenon which has significantly contributed to the development of the human civilization. On the other hand, military clashes and terrorism in recent times are the main reasons for people migrating not only from one state to another, but from one continent to another. The so-called "Arab spring" at the beginning of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has caused hundreds of thousands of people from Africa and Asia to seek a better life in Europe and America. At the same time, terrorism successfully uses people's migration to infiltrate deeply in the territory of its military and political opponents in Europe and America, creating preconditions for transferring its activities deeply to the territory of Europe and America. In this way, the symbiosis of the migration of people and terrorist organizations originating in the north of Africa and the Asian Middle East are becoming a major security challenge for Western civilization, and therefore Southeast Europe.

**Keywords:** international migration, conflicts, terrorism, national security, security challenges

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## INTRODUCTION

Terrorism as a phenomenon is not anything new at all. It is wrong to say that it becomes relevant with the events of September 11, 2001, because it is an integral part of the existence of the mankind from the earliest times to the present. On the other hand, the international migration of people is an integral part of the development of society and states, given that a large number of countries have their roots in people's migrations, not only from a state to state, but from a continent to continent (an example for this are the United States, Canada and Australia). What is common for terrorism and international migration is that both phenomena do not know and do not recognize state borders, and both have a global dimension. National security, that is, the security of states and their citizens is the highest priority for the existence of each country, and that is why it is a top priority for each country separately, but also for international organizations such as the European Union, NATO and the United Nations Organization. From the foregoing, the goal is to write this paper.

## MIGRATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Migration of people has always existed and will always exist. What is interesting today is that we are living in times of migration, whether they are voluntary or involuntary, that is, legal or illegal. One in seven people globally (knowing that our planet has 7 billion inhabitants) is a migrant, and that is about a billion people. Of these, 740 million are internal migrants, and the remaining 260 million have the status of international migrants (Schmid, 2016: 6). These traveling people are driven by economic, environmental, political and other push and pull factors (Schmid, 2016: 12)

Certainly the focus of our interest is forced migration, because it is the result of civil war, government repression, state failure, and of course terrorism. When the two phenomena, international migration and terrorism are intertwined, the problems of the security of the states and of the international community arise in their entirety.

The migration of people as a phenomenon unites two categories of threats to the security of states: terrorist and criminal organizations. For the former (terrorists), migration is the ideal way for migrants to install their members who, under the guise of a migrant, will be able to penetrate deeply into the territory of their potential enemies. For the latter (criminal organizations), the migration of people, especially when it comes to trafficking of women and children, and trafficking in human organs, is a way to make huge financial gain.

In the beginning of 2015, Louise Shelley and John Picarelli envisaged the relationship as a terror-crime interaction spectrum which includes five phases:

1. Activity appropriation: Terror and criminal groups may imitate other's methods

- 2. Nexus. Seeking efficiency, each group begins to outsource services such as forgery or bomb making, leading to business relationships,
- 3. Symbiotic Relationship: as a "natural progression" the groups then start collaborating more regularly and sharing goals and methods,
- 4. Hybrid group: Next the two groups' activities converge to the point where terrorism and organized crime reach equal footing and both become central to a group's existence,
- 5. Transformation: In rare cases, a group may become so focused on the activities of the other that it drops its initial motivation completely and evolves into purely criminal or political" (Shelley & Picarelli, 2005:54).

It is evident that poverty is a major driver of people's migration. Just as the difficult economic situation in certain states can cause internal clashes in which both parties, both state institutions and rebel groups can use terrorist methods in the course of their actions toward the opponent. Simply put, in many cases, terrorism is fuelled by the poverty of people, which contributes to the country's difficult economic situation, accompanied by certain internal oppositions in the state (ethnic, religious, political) to motivate people to join terrorist organizations, thinking that in this way they could solve their own problem.

The so-called Arab Spring culminated in 2011 with the events in North Africa, with its culmination in Libya and Egypt. This was followed by a civil war in Syria, in which as the drivers of the conflicts emerged, the various ethnic, political and religious causes. It was an extraordinary ground for strengthening the capacities of the most effective and brutal terrorist organization nowadays - the Islamic State

Wars and clashes in Libya, Egypt, Syria, etc. have caused a wave of millions of refugees to move from the north of Africa, the Middle East, Syria, towards Western Europe.

More precisely, "there were three main routes of illegal migration for migrants heading for the EU before the migrant crisis: SOUTH ROUTE (from Africa through Mediterranean sea to Spain, France and Italy, SOUTH-EAST ROUTE (through Turkey, the Balkan and the states of former Yugoslavia) and NORTH ROUTE (from Asia through Russia, Ukraine to the EU countries" (Kesel, 2017: 9). Obviously, the final destination for majority of the migrants were the richest EU States - Germany and France.

And now we come to two important moments when we talk about international migration, on the one hand, and terrorism on the other. International migration is a phenomenon that is an integral part of the evolution of the human civilization. Without migration, the discovery of new continents, new worlds, would not be possible. But, on the other hand, migration has allowed one civilization to try to dominate another civilization, which can very often cause a conflict based on ethnic, religious, and generally civilization oppositions. Western civilizations think that Eastern civilizations bring them prosperity, a better and easier life, but they never wondered if they wanted it. That is why it happens because of

the influence of the West on the East, the population of Asia, Africa for various reasons are motivated or forced to seek a better life in Western Europe and even further, in the United States, Canada, Australia and so on.

Usually the first generation of economic, and even the migrants who for political reasons are trying to find a better life in Western Europe or America, has no problems with the authorities there. The reason is simple: they want to justify the trust of the state that gave them a chance for a better life, so they work hard, pay taxes, and respect the laws. They simply want a better future not only for themselves but also for their children. The problem occurs when their children and their children's children grow up and when they start asking themselves some questions. The child of Turkish migrants, born in Germany, will ask the question: am I a German or a Turk?! His neighbours Germans will always see him as a Turkish migrant. His relatives in Turkey, who see him perhaps once or twice a year, will see him more German. That is what is most dangerous: the desire for a person to belong or belong to a particular ethnic or religious group at a time when the same group accepts you or does not accept you, may result in the person being recruited by a terrorist organization. It is important to point out that the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks in London in 2005, the Airport in Brussels in 2016 are precisely the migrants who either received a permit to represent them in these two countries, or are the second or third generation whose parents migrated for economic reasons from Asia or Africa to Western Europe. The second or third generation of migrants are also the perpetrators of terrorist attacks in France, Canada and the United States that occurred in the period from September 11, 2001 to the present.

It only confirms that the children of migrants from Asia and Africa in Western Europe and America due to various reasons fail to integrate into the countries they migrated to because they were simply caught in a discrepancy between the two cultures. Seeking their identity and place in the society, the jihadists recognized the model of their identity. The consequence is that thousands of them went to Syria and became foreign fighters.

Migrants can be terrorists and terrorists can be migrants in many ways:

- a. migration to the Caliphate is portrayed as an individual Muslim obligation and has attracted thousands of young Muslims in Western diasporas,
- b. some jihadists who cannot return to their country of origin without being arrested migrate from one jihadist theatre of war to the next (Afghanistan-Bosnia-Chechnya-Somalia-Syria-Libya),
- c. some economic migrants are abducted and forced by the terrorists to join their ranks a practice they also use for captured children and women, e.g. by Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria,
- d. a few foreign fighters have engaged in acts of terrorism, including suicide terrorism, upon migrating back to their home countries as part of refugee streams" (Schmid, 2016: 4).

It is no coincidence that to the Islamic State (IS) that migration (the so-called hydra) is an individual commitment for all Muslims, motivating or forcing, voluntarily or forcibly migrating to the West, altering the demographic structure of the Western countries.

The terrorist organizations, and above all the Islamic State, have found that the migration of people can be their powerful weapon in the fight against the West. The best example of this is the events of 2015, when the Islamic State at one time was able to flood Europe with half a million refugees through Libya. The Islamic State's intentions were announced through a statement that they plan to incorporate 4,000 jihadists into the ranks of migrants through Turkey's territory to move towards Europe (Schmid, 2016: 8).

# RESTRICTIVE IMMIGRATION POLICY VERSUS REDUCE OF TERRORISM

The presence of large numbers of migrants in Western Europe and America coincided with the commission of a number of terrorist attacks, the perpetrators of which were migrants. Therefore, it should not be surprising that the results of surveys in European countries show that 59% of Europeans consider that the increasing number of migrants increases the possibility of committing terrorist attacks (Stokes, 2016: 8). Initiated by such trends, many European politicians have demanded that restrictive migration measures be introduced in order to counter terrorism. For example, the French far-right politician Marine Le Pen "underlined the importance of countries being able to protect their borders and stepping up general security measures" (Henley, 2017: 7). It is also interesting that the analysis carried out in the USA, according to which "by analysing the demographic origin of 63 home-grown terrorists with a sample of approximately 1,000 Muslims Americans, it was concluded that non-US citizens are at greater risk of becoming America's home-grown terrorists (Krueger, 2008: 14). At the same time, some studies show that a quarter of the terrorists (from 1993-2001) were illegal aliens and another fourth had pending asylum applications. The Al-Qaida operatives knew how to enter the state by exploiting weaknesses in American immigration laws and regulations (Camarota, 2002: 12).

Does restrictive immigration policy reduce terrorism? In the short term, perhaps. In the long run, terrorists will find ways to do what they plan to do. It does not matter if they find a way for their members to cross the border of the state they have defined for their own purpose, or simply for their operatives/perpetrators of terrorist attacks will be used by persons who share their ideas and have long legally lived in the territory of their enemies (the second or third generation migrants).

## CONCLUSION

In the minds of the residents of the Western European countries, an increasing number of migrants can trigger an economic crisis in their countries. But this is not quite true knowing that a large number of those migrants with their abilities can increase the quality of their lives, filling certain job positions which were empty at that time. For large companies in the West, migrants are a source of cheap labour. But migrants are not just workers, they are not even terrorists, at least not everyone. Restrictive migration policies of Western countries, whether introduced as protection against potential terrorist attacks or the intention to avoid financial costs for covering certain social programs designed for migrants' needs can very easily have a counter-effect. The first counter-effect is, of course, the return of migrants to their countries of origin, where they could easily be victims of multiple points of view: to return back to the arms of poverty or to be victims of military or terrorist conflicts.

The second counter-effect is causing dissatisfaction with their relatives/friends who already have a regulated legal residence in the Western countries. The same dissatisfaction can cause frustration, which can very easily be transformed into joining a particular terrorist organization. What can the Western countries do to ease the situation with migrants, and to indirectly prevent the integration of some migrants with terrorist organizations? Above all, the document of the European Union is especially important with the title 2015 European Agenda on Migration. The Agenda uses the potential of the EU agencies and tools and involves the member states, international organizations and third countries in its activities. In its Agenda, the EU outlined the measures to be adopted immediately in order to react to the critical situation in the Mediterranean region (Kesel, 2017: 66). The Agenda was also confirmed by the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini, who stated: "By this radical program the European Union showed that it is ready to solve the situation of people running away from their countries due to wars, persecution and poverty. All the member states are responsible for migration and that is why all of them are now asked to contribute to the solution of this historic problem. It is not only Europe but the entire world which faces this problem. By this agenda we confirm and extend our cooperation with the countries of origin and transit in order to save human lives, prevent any smuggler group activities and protect people in despair. We all know, however, that the actual and long-term reaction will only be possible once the main route causes are solved, starting with hunger and ending with an unstable situation caused by wars following crisis in Libya and Syria. The European Union has been involved and it is determined to cooperate with the international community in this field" (European Commission, 2015b).

The European Agenda on Migration reacted to the migrant crisis by immediate measures and long-term measures called the four pillars of migration. It is important to mention that the four pillars of migration are as follow:

PILLAR No.1 Reducing the incentives for irregular migration (283.532 illegal border crossings detected in 2014 - 164% increase compared to 2013),

PILLAR No. 2 Saving lives and securing the external borders in 2015, almost 7,300 out of 24,000 migrants rescued in the Strait of Sicily were rescued by the forces deployed by Frontex,

PILLAR No. 3 Strengthening the common asylum policy, 626.715 asylum seekers in 2014 (45 % increase compared to 2013),

PILLAR No.4 Developing a new policy on legal migration -17 million Schengen visas and 2,3 million of residence permits issued in 2013 (European Commission 2015b).

It is a fact that not all of the migrants are terrorists. At the same time, many countries will equate their restrictive migration policy with the fight against terrorism, considering migration policy as a kind of preventive part of its fight against terrorism.

Migration has always existed and will exist. Just as terrorism will always be an integral part of the weaker policy against the stronger ones. It is evident that terrorism in people's migrations has found an extraordinary tool for expanding its capacities and facilitating the performance of its own activities. As no country can fight terrorism independently, neither country alone can deal with migration of people, whether it is legal or not.

From there arises the need for joint efforts at the international level, involving not only countries, but also international organizations, in constant mutual cooperation and coordination, with the ultimate goal: reducing the negative and increasing the positive effects of migration of people, whether they occur from country to country or from continent to continent. With the realization of the uneducated, the impact of terrorism as the main and most important asymmetric threat to the security of the states will be reduced.

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