

МЕЃУНАРОДНА НАУЧНА КОНФЕРЕНЦИЈА

ВЛИЈАНИЕТО НА ГОЛЕМИТЕ СИЛИ ВРЗ БЕЗБЕДНОСТА НА МАЛИТЕ ДРЖАВИ



INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

**THE GREAT POWERS INFLUENCE ON THE
SECURITY OF SMALL STATES**

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CONTENTS:

PREFACE

GEOSTRATEGIC INTERESTS AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES

SMALL STATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	11
SNEZANA NIKODINOSKA – STEFANOVSKA.....	11
THE PLACE OF WESTERN BALKANS IN THE GLOBAL STRATEGY OF CHINA.....	25
TONI MILESKI.....	25
NIKOLCO SPASOV.....	25
ALEKSANDAR STANKOVIC.....	25
THE BALKAN VECTOR OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY IN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.....	34
TAMARA GELLA.....	34
SOVIET AND YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC INFLUENCE IN ALBANIA 1945-1948: DESTABILIZING THREAT OR A FACTOR FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH.....	43
BOŽICA SLAVKOVIĆ MIRIĆ.....	43
THE ROLE OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN SPREADING RUSSIAN GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS IN THE BALKANS. COLLABORATION OR COOPTATION WITH THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLITICS?.....	54
NIKOLA AMBARKOV.....	54
SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANISATION - THE NEW EURASIA REGIONAL ALLIANCE	65
MARJAN ARSOVSKI.....	65
SASE GERASIMOSKI.....	65
ONE BELT ONE ROAD CHINA BETWEEN ECONOMIC PROMOTION AND DEMOCRATIC OBSTACLE - CHINESE-SERBIAN COOPERATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES ON SERBIAN SECURITY AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	78
STEFAN VLADISAVLJEV.....	78
UNDERSTANDING BILATERAL DIPLOMACY OF INDONESIA AND RUSSIA	87
SABRIANA JAYAPUTRI.....	87
“THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF NATO - BORDERS AND INFLUENCE: TOWARDS THE BALKANS AND EURASIA“	92
JASMINKA SIMIĆ.....	92
NATO AS A MEANS OF STRATEGIC DETERRENCE FOR THE WESTERN BALKAN COUNTRIES	106
LUKA NIKOLIĆ.....	106

THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS DURING TRUMP'S PRESIDENCY: TRAJECTORIES AND RECENT CHANGES	114
JOVANKA KUVEKALOVIĆ-STAMATOVIĆ	114
STEFAN JOJIĆ	114
IGOR PEJIĆ	114
THE TWO BASIC GLOBALIZATION CONCEPTS, THE EURO ATLANTIC AND THE EURO ASIAN	129
LJUPCHO STANKOVSKI	129
ZAKLINA JOVANOVA	129
GEO-STRATEGY OF WESTERN SEA POWER AND SMALL STATES' SECURITY: THE CASE OF GREECE 1914–1922	136
ILIAS ILIOPOULOS	136

NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES AND ASYMMETRIC THREATS

BASICS OF SECURITY PHILOSOPHY	152
CANE MOJANOSKI	152
GOCE ARIZANKOSKI	152
THE ROLE OF NON-SECURITY ACTORS IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY	166
OLIVER BAKRESKI	166
GJORGI ALCESKI	166
LETA BARGIEVA	166
THE CAPACITY OF PRIVATE SECURITY IN PREVENTING SECURITY RISKS IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE	176
SAŠE GERASIMOSKI	176
ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE SECURITY RISKS IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA	189
MARJAN NIKOLOVSKI	189
SASHE GERASIMOVSKI	189
MARJAN GJUROVSKI	189
SECURITY CHALLENGES OF ILLEGAL MIGRATION IN NORTH MACEDONIA: OVERVIEW OF MIGRANT SMUGGLING	203
ZLATE DIMOVSKI	203
ICE ILIJEVSKI	203
KIRE BABANOSKI	203
SAFETY AND PREVENTION OF TRAFFIC DELINQUENCY	214
BORIS MURGOSKI	214
METODIJA DOJCINOVSKI	214
SMALL COUNTRIES AND MIGRATION PROCESSES – MORE THAN A SECURITY PROBLEM	234
NENAD KOMAZEC	234
BRANISLAV MILOSAVLJEVIC	234
MACEDONIANS AND ALBANIANS: TRUST OR SECURITY DILEMMAS AMONG THE MACEDONIAN CITIZENS	246

SMALL COUNTRIES AND MIGRATION PROCESSES – MORE THAN A SECURITY PROBLEM

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Abstract

Migration of the population goes hand by hand with the development of human society through its history, with various forms of manifestation of numerous social, economic, demographic, cultural, and historical causes and consequences. The spatial, temporal, and social dimensions of today's migrations are still inconceivable, and the ultimate results are unpredictable. Motivational factors of migrations depend largely on security, economic, and political processes, as well as on other conditions that determine contemporary international relations. However, the monitoring of the contemporary phenomenon of migration is further complicated by the fact that motivational factors are most often hybrid and could rarely be strictly and uniquely classified. At the same time, the process of globalization in the sphere of economy has led to an increase in the gap between the rich and the poor, i.e., to the growing disproportion in the level of development between developed and developing countries. This will definitely lead to more pronounced economic motivation factors for migration in the coming decades. The paper analyzes in particular the countries of Southeast Europe in which the migration problems are much more emphasized and located on the most frequent migration route towards Europe. In addition to the problems of bad economic situation, the negative heritage of closer history and political instability in many countries contribute to a marked migration problem. The particular difficulty of the problem is the fact that young and highly educated people are constantly leaving these countries.

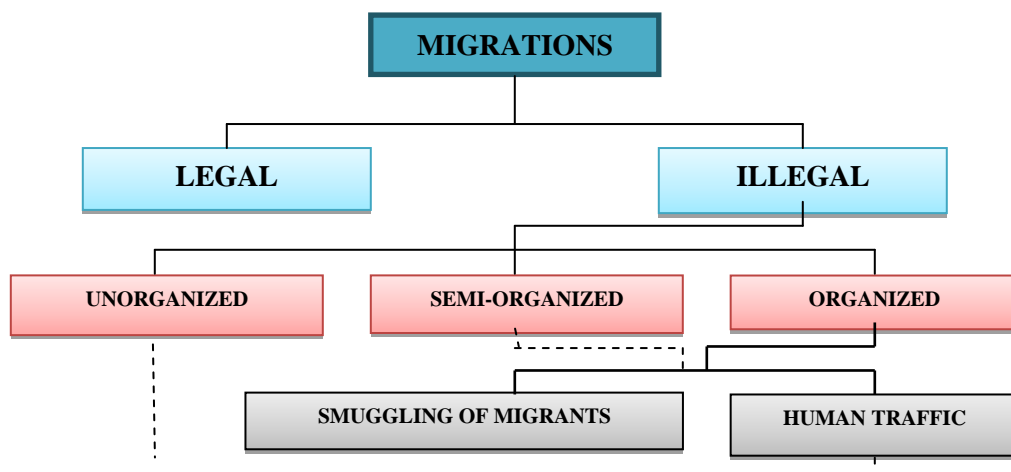
Key words: *migration, attracting factors, migration problems*

1. INTRODUCTION

A MULTIDISCIPLINARY SECURITY PROBLEM

The social phenomenon of migration is studied by several scientific disciplines in a systematic way, including demography, geography, sociology, anthropology and economics, and indirectly by history, political science, and medicine. Demography focuses on the statistical parameters of migration, presenting immigration and emigration of the population from one region to another as opposed to natural movement as a result of birth, mortality, and fertility. Migration is generally observed as a response to differences between countries of origin and ultimate destination in terms of opportunities and employment, human rights and security, as well as demographic growth. Geography determines migration as resettlement and any other spatial movement of the population in a wider sense, and in limited terms as a change of the permanent residence. Unlike geography, which is interested in migration flows, social geography studies the causes of migration, or the causes of population statics. Sociology deals with migration through the prism of social relations as an incentive role of social relations in the countries of origin to the outflow of the native population, as well as with the integration of migrants in new social circumstances and their impact on the development of social relations in the countries of the ultimate destination. Anthropology studies prehistoric migration and its role in the development of *homo sapiens*, and in contemporary conditions the consequences of cultural intermingling of different ethnic composition of migrants with native population. Economics also deals with the causes and consequences of migrations, because not only economic reasons are practically present in most migrations, but also, the migration process itself has the biggest consequences in this area. Therefore, economics brings to the fore the impact of migration on the labor market. History is concerned with the study of migration through different periods of development of the world, highlighting social and political environments in which they occurred, as well as their impact on the social changes which followed [Curić, Z. Curić B, 1999].

In the new conditions of globalization, migration is increasingly becoming a subject of study of political science, because political processes trigger forced migration flows, and on the other hand, the integration of migrants has a significant impact on the development of political relations in the receiving state. Medicine is primarily interested in the epidemiological aspects of population movements, especially when it comes to drastic changes in the climatic conditions, but also in the further adaptation of migrants to the new conditions of life with the purpose of general health security in the new community.



Scheme No.1: Types of migration

Thus, approaches to this social phenomenon differ; accordingly, the phenomenon is defined in different ways, emphasizing those of its dimensions that give particular character to a study in a particular scientific discipline. Common objective dimensions to any theoretical understanding of territorial mobility are space and time, and subjective dimensions include will, or motivation, and activities.

Migration characterizes human society since its creation, and in particular has taken a large scale and different forms in the modern world [UNDP, 2009:32]. Observed at the global level, the United States have been the most exposed to the rush of migrants' populations for decades, not just those coming from neighboring countries and countries of the region, but also those from other continents. In the mid-twentieth century, the expansion of economic migration in Europe also takes place [Ignjatović, 2007:37].

2. ESSENCE AND CAUSES OF MIGRATION

Migration flows caused by economic and other factors (political instability, ethnic, national, religious, racial, and other conflicts and the like), and altered patterns of migration flows in Europe created after the end of the Cold War also relate to ethnic conflicts in the former SFRY. Like other complex social phenomena, migratory flows of people have numerous causes, manifest in different forms and result in diverse consequences for the migrants, but also in relation to numerous aspects of social and cultural environment from which they leave (emigration areas), that is, those in which they come (immigration areas). For example, some of the factors that encourage the disposition of population in a given territory, those bound by natural conditions (geographical, geological, climatic, hydrological, and similar) can be identified as well [UN OCHA, 2009: 8]. In 2008, approximately 20 million people were displaced due to rapid climatic, hydrological, and meteorological changes.

Some of them attract people to live in a certain territory (coastal areas, river valleys and lowland with favorable climatic conditions), while others deter them from settling certain areas (extreme climatic conditions, poor quality of agricultural land, lack of drinking water). Numerous migration flows are caused by various natural phenomena, climate change, and in particular certain natural disasters and force majeure events. One group of such factors is manifested in the form of sudden and extreme events (earthquakes, tornadoes, hurricanes, abundant precipitation, floods, fires, etc.), while others are slow and include, for example, drought, soil erosion, oscillations in precipitation and temperature patterns. When it comes to extraordinary situations, these can manifest as those caused by dangerous natural phenomena, and then those of technical - technological nature (damages and dangerous technical and technological events, respectively, incidents and accidents), those related to modern means of warfare, biological and social, which are associated with particularly dangerous or widespread infectious diseases of humans, domestic animals or plants [Živković et al.,2009:185-202].

The importance of migration has created a new field of scientific research that is complex and multidisciplinary, and these are migration studies. The aim of this discipline is to explain and anticipate migration patterns, investigate the impact of migration flows and inspire policy makers. The initial theories were focused on economic motivation, with the goal of explaining the reasons and dynamics of geographical movement of people from one territory to another. They adapted neoclassical economic theory to the new scientific discipline by pointing to "push" and "pull" factors suggesting that negative conditions "push" individuals to leave the countries they were born in, and economic and other advantages of the new countries "pull" them. This theory has been and still is important, but it does not explain all phenomena, and in the recent past it has been complemented with others, such as the world-systems theory or the theory of trans-nationalism. The pull and push theory is most often used to analyze migration, although it has been criticized for over-simplifying migration flows. Through the factors of rejection and the factors of attraction the causes of migration can be explained in the easiest way. The refusing "push" factors can include unemployment, poor health care, political insecurity, torture, natural disasters, human rights abuses, war, and so on. The attracting "pull" factors for migrants to go to a country are employment opportunities, better living standards, conditions of education, better medical and social protection, security, family ties, and so on [Cervone, 2012].

The most relevant "push" and "pull" factors are related to demographic aspects and especially to the onset of demographic transition, the evolution from pre-industrial high birth rate and mortality to modern times, where the post industrial period is characterized by a low birth rate and mortality. This trend is currently the case in the poorest countries of the world, creating overwhelming and hard pressure for the population to move more and more towards developed countries, and thus the population is getting reduced and old. The main reasons of modern migration gaining in importance are their dimensions and growth rates. In a special category of migration, there are those whose causes are primarily related to

forced circumstances, which is why they are referred to in literature as "forced migrations", although the boundary between forced and any others is very often unclear. In the international law, the status of this category of migration is basically linked to the 1951 Refugees Convention with the 1967 Protocol, but there are many dilemmas in interpreting certain elements from the definition of the term "refugee". In the contemporary literature dealing with various aspects of forced migration, there is an increasing number of titles dedicated to the need to (re)define the status of forced migrants, whose causes are in various ways related to environmental problems. In this context, the specific situation and the need to redefine the status of refugees are discussed, and the causes of migration are related to climate change and natural disasters [Todić, 2014: 138]. There are, however, a number of theories that explain the international flows of capital and people from one country to another.

The question of the migration patterns is most often observed by taking into consideration the coexistence of various social, economic, and political relations in a certain area and at a certain historical moment or period. With the reason it is emphasized that migrations are always in close interaction with the prevailing social and economic realities in the countries of origin and destination. This is because most migrants come from areas characterized by high unemployment, low wages, low living standards, poverty, lack of arable land, hunger, etc., but also by a high crime rate, a feeling of insecurity, etc. [ILO, 2012: 10]. Migration is particularly encouraged by various forms of social conflicts, and in particular those of a wider scale on religious, racial, and national basis that escalated into armed conflicts.

3. MIGRATION ON A GLOBAL LEVEL

Global migration includes any cross-border movement of the population and its reception and presence, of different duration, in the country in which migration flows, regardless of subjective motives and individual features of participants in this process, and the migration policies of the countries, migration takes place between [Politička enciklopedija, 1966: 665]. There are two primary elements in defining international migration: mobility, *i.e.*, entry and stay in foreign lands, and foreign citizenship. The number of international migrants has been rising year after year for several decades. This fact is illustrated by the data of their numbers in 2000, 2005, and 2008. In 2000, there were approximately one hundred and fifty million people, in 2005 approximately one hundred and ninety-one million [IOM, 2010: 1], and in 2008 approximately two hundred and fourteen million. In the observed period, the number of illegal migrants and those migrating temporarily and cyclically, was also increasing. Although the share of migrants in the total population did not significantly change in the last decade (at the level of 2,9% in 2000 and 3,1% in 2010), in 2005, every thirty-fifth person on the planet was an international migrant, while in 2008 it was every thirty-third person [UN DESA, 2008:1].

It is assumed that the number of migrants varies from country to country, and it is expected that the number of countries with more than a million inhabitants, where the share of international migrants in the total population is greater than 10%, will increase from 29 in 1990 to 38 in 2010. Countries with a high percentage of migrants in the total population are Qatar (87%), United Arab Emirates (70%), Jordan (46%), Singapore (41%) and Saudi Arabia (28%). South Africa (3.7%), Slovakia (2.4%), Turkey (1.9%), Japan (1.7%), Nigeria (0.7%), Romania (0.6%), India (0.4%) and Indonesia (0.1%) have a significantly smaller share of migrants in the total population [UN DESA, 2008: 3].

The United States of America is the largest recipient of international migrants. Their number is estimated at about 42.8 million in 2010. The second largest is the Russian Federation with 12.3 million, then Germany with 10.8 million, Saudi Arabia with 7.3 million and Canada with 7.2 million. If changes are observed in the period 2000-2010, in nine countries the number of international migrants increased by more than one million, in the United States by 8.0 million, in Spain by 4.6 million, in Italy by 2.3 million, in Saudi Arabia by 2.2 million, in the United Kingdom by 1.7 million, in Canada by 1.6 million, in the United Arab Emirates by 1.0 million. The number of migrants in Europe in the middle of 2010 was estimated at 69 819 282 (in Western Europe 23 452 978, in Eastern Europe 21 045 866, in Southern Europe 14 663 710 and in northern Europe 10 656 728). It is estimated that the number of illegal migrants in the middle of 2010 in the countries to which they gravitate or from which, after a short or longer temporary stay, illegal migrants who transit through the Republic of Serbia come from is at the following level: Germany 10 758 061, Italy 4 463 413, Switzerland 1 762 797, The Netherlands 1 752 869, Austria 1 310 218, Sweden 1 306 020, Greece 1 132 794, Belgium 974 849, Czech Republic 453 041, Hungary 368 076, Slovakia 130 682 [IOM, 2010: 6]. Apart from the above mentioned, international migrations today imply a much greater diversity of ethnic and cultural groups than ever before, and there have been changes in geographic segments in which these migrants live. The increasing migration of migrants towards urban zones is part of the general trend of moving of the world's population towards urban zones.

4. THE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE

Southeast Europe has become a transit corridor for migration from a region with high unemployment and low living standards in its south and east to regions with old populations and a relatively lower unemployment rate, and high living standards in the west and north of Europe. In this context, the dual migration process that takes place in the region of Southeast Europe should be considered. Namely, after decades of economic migration of the population from this region into the developed countries of Western Europe, in the last decade it has become a significant transit area for migrants from the Middle East and North Africa.

Most countries in the region, including the Republic of Serbia, are at the same time the countries of origin of migrants, but also the transit territory for

migrants. A good example is Turkey, which has both migration segments, as a transit and as a country of origin [Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2014: 368]. At the same time, it is interesting for analysis, since its geographical position represents a natural bridge between Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa. The problem of irregular migration in modern Turkey became apparent after the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran. The second major wave of refugees from northern Iraq splashed Turkey in 1988, when Kurds fled from the repression of Saddam Hussein. Later on, groups of refugees from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and the Caucasus followed. Turkey was not attractive as the ultimate destination for migrants because of the undeveloped economy, but due to the liberal political system it was an appropriate option as a transit country on the way to more prosperous countries of Europe [Bulatović, 2010: 368]. Turkey has become the main migration hub for transit to Western Europe, especially to Greece, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and the UK.

The geographical position of the Balkan region has traditionally conditioned demographic changes and dynamic migration flows. Transition processes backed by political instability have led to strong emigration waves that have followed up over the past decades the migration flows dating from the 19th century. Only from the countries of the former Yugoslavia more than two million people emigrated at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, out of which most were refugees and forcibly displaced persons [Kiosev, 2010: 197]. In the period of just a few years in the early 1990s, the Balkans produced the largest migration waves in Europe since the Second World War. Out of the total population of 80 million, 10 million migrated or were displaced due to wars, ethnic cleansing, or poverty [Krsteva, et al: 2016: 166].

This is the period in which former Yugoslavia passed through the process of destruction and civil war from 1991 to 1995, which resulted in the collapse of these social communities, and the creation of new, independent, ethnically homogeneous states, with large flows of forced migration. Political elites were realizing their dreams of national states as communities based on blood and soil, encouraging, *inter alia*, large migration waves and assimilation of populations. The production of refugee waves was one of the immediate political and strategic military targets in the Balkans during the 1990s. The most drastic demographic consequences of wars in the former Yugoslavia were caused by Bosnian armed conflict where more than half of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was displaced (2.6 million internally displaced persons, including 1.2 million refugees). Due to the war, between 300,000 and 350,000 Serbs fled from Croatia to Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Countries	Data	Year			
		2000	2005	2010	2015
Albania	Population	3089027	3011487	2913021	2880703
	Migration	76695	64739	52784	57616
Bulgaria	Population	8170172	7658972	7395599	7177991
	Migration	43360	61074	76287	102113
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Population	3766706	3781530	3722084	3535961
	Migration	82952	47272	38792	34803
Hungary	Population	1021097 1	1008706 5	1000002 3	9843028
	Migration	296957	366787	436616	449632
Macedonia	Population	2034819	2060272	2070739	2079308
	Migration	125665	127667	129701	130730
Montenegro	Population	604950	614261	619428	622159
	Migration			78507	82541
Romania	Population	2244297 1	2131968 5	2024687 1	1981548 1
	Migration	126949	145162	155982	226943

Table no. 1: Data about change in number of inhabitants and migrations for the period 2000 to 2015 for certain states [World Bank]

In 1993, when the armed conflict between the former Yugoslav nations was in full swing, there were about 2.5 million refugees and displaced persons in the region [Bobić, 2010: 212]. For migrations in the Balkans at the end of the 20th century, it is typical that, in addition to these being marked by compulsion, they were predominantly ethnic in nature, as the procedures and measures of coercion and intimidation were directed directly towards certain ethnic groups in the crisis areas. Although ethnic migrations in the Balkans ended at the beginning of the 21st century, they influenced to permanently changed image of ethnic structure of several Balkan states.

5. PERSPECTIVES OF SECURITY PROBLEMS OF SMALL COUNTRIES RELATED TO MIGRATION

All the factors causing current migration are still present. The number of residents in some African and Asian countries continues to grow, wars have become a permanent phenomenon, and social engineering takes on new forms. With the idea to cut the roots of migration at their domicile, the EU has openly blackened the African countries by threatening to deny them financial assistance and abolish trade arrangements if they did not retain refugees and receive back those who had already crossed the Mediterranean. According to

Brussels, Afghanistan will have to agree to the repatriation of all refugees whose asylum in Europe has been denied, and Afghanistan has already been requested to receive at least 80,000 of its citizens. The same was requested from Pakistan and Ethiopia. A more radical step would be the demand for some coastal states in North Africa to build mass reception centers for migrants, so the impression is that the outcome of the agreement between the EU and Turkey will largely depend on the success of the negotiations between the EU and the African countries.

In case of a failure to reach an agreement between the EU and Turkey, there is a possibility that Turkey will open borders and release three million refugees to Europe being now in Turkey. However, so far it is only an assumption that must be considered. Regardless of the outcome of an agreement between the EU and Turkey, given the number of migrants currently on the territory of Greece, as well as almost negligible number of migrants returned to Turkey, with the improvement of weather conditions, it should be expected a stronger pressure of migration flow to the borders of Serbia, primarily from the territories of Bulgaria and Macedonia. In addition, the European Union intends to intensify the return of all persons who have not received asylum in the EU in the shortest possible time. These persons should be sent to Greece from where they should be transferred to Turkey. However, knowing the situation in the relations between Greece and Turkey, and in particular their poor past cooperation in terms of migrants, it is expected that a large number of such persons will stay in the area between Greece and Serbia, with the intention of illegally returning to one of the countries of Western Europe, which will, based on the profile of persons who have not received asylum, increase security risks in the Western Balkans. On the other hand, certain deterioration of the US-Russian relations in terms of Syria is present.

The experience teaches that the dissolutive potential of the Balkan societies in the light of the emphasis on national, ethnic, and religious differences, poses a serious threat to take on primacy in relation to the progressive one, inherent to regulated countries of the modern world. That is why the particular question is interlacing of internal Balkan antagonisms with the culmination of the consequences of large external regional crises. In that case, the danger of serious destabilization rises. The situation in which, after the deterioration of the relations between Turkey and the EU (Germany), *i.e.*, the termination of the agreement on refugees, millions of people would head for along the "Balkan route", while at the same time the situation in Macedonia between Macedonians and Albanians escalates, or in case that the Albanians launch a new crisis by trying to occupy the Serbian north of Kosovo by military means, could be extremely dangerous. The situation regarding Macedonia in which, on top of everything, all the surrounding states would be involved, would be even more unfavorable. A similar danger is the opening of the "Pandora's Box" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which would necessarily include both Croatia and Serbia, everything combined with a new and massive inflow of refugees. Such negative scenarios could indeed lead to a lasting, serious destabilization of a large part of the Balkans and to reflect on wider geo-strategic opportunities in Europe.

6. CONCLUSION

The modern world faces a large increase in migration flows, which directly complicates the structure of security issues. It is true that there have been large migration waves in the past, but they were due to the result of major wars, such as the First and the Second World War. The process of globalization in the field of economy, communication and security has led to the emergence of the phenomenon of the so-called global village, which ultimately led to the emergence of the event where the migrants increasingly do not want or cannot live in their own country or region, but are trying to go into stable and prosperous regions and states. The trouble is that it is about mass migration movements, which are partly the result of forced displacement, and partly the reasons are economic. It is clear that those persons should be provided with the conditions for a dignified life and the opportunity to exercise their right to apply for asylum, but having in mind that it is a mass movement of population that is measured in thousands at the daily level, it is difficult to create conditions for a legally valid and objective assessment of the migration motives.

The recent migration crisis has evidently shown that national interest and security are the primary motivating factors of almost all European political elites within the national framework. This is just one of the factors that indicate that the national state remains a key subject of international relations, despite all the globalist announcements of its gradual overcoming. On the contrary, the latest migration events lead to the conclusion that the national state has shown a great vitality and endurance in international politics and announce the renewal of its significance. Raising the walls, restoring national borders to long time ago erased national borders across the European Union is an obvious proof of this process.

Relations in the international community do not contribute to finding a solution to the security problems caused by migration. It is obvious that migrations and migrants present the element of "low pressure" used by certain countries. The causal relationship between migration and security, first of all in small countries, has got a new dimension. Namely, small states represent a "collateral" damage in migration processes. Migrants stay in their territories, but these countries are not interesting for them, causing the increase in the level of crime, economic costs, etc. Large states take more radical steps, which do not have a humanitarian note, and reduce their own problems. Parallel to that, they give recognition to small states for their human attitude towards migrants. From the above, it can be concluded that migration will continue to have a major share in the security situation in the EU, as well as globally in the future. The biggest burden and consequences of migration will be borne by small states.

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