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## EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration Management

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EUI 1



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## Outline

- External Dimension of EU immigration policy
- EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration: Background
- Common Space (2003)/ Road Map (2005)
- EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration: Misperceptions
- Case of Diffusion: EU-Russia Readmission Agreement / Visa Facilitation Agreement
- EU – ENP/Eastern partnership countries

EUI 2

## Major Tasks of Immigration Policy

- Admission
- Integration
- Immigration Control
- **Preventive Measures (root causes approach)**
- **Removal (deportation)**

## External dimension of EU Immigration policy

- Concentric circles of EU migration regime
- Shifts of “buffer zones” (Potemkina) => growth of “proximity” challenges (Casier)  
=> extension of “remote control” (Zolberg)
- **External dimension of EU immigration policy: using external policy mechanisms for responding to internal policy challenges (Lavenex)**
- Diversification of actors, including private ones: international organisations, transportation companies, security companies, etc. (Guiraudon)
- “Structural foreign policy”: stimulation of changes in policies of EU partners, e.g. in migration policies of Eastern Partnership countries and Russia (Keukeleire)



## External dimension of EU Immigration policy (cont)

### Treaty Basis:

- Maastricht Treaty (1992)
- Amsterdam Treaty (1997)
- Lisbon Treaty (2007)

### Substantive elements – multiannual programmes

- Tampere Programme (1999)
- The Hague Programme (2004)
- Stockholm Programme (2009)

### Major Strategic Documents of the European Commission

- Migration and Development (2005)
- Global Approach to Migration (2005, 2007)
- Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (2011)



## EU – Russia Cooperation on Migration: Background

**“The EU main fears of visa-free regime entailing increase of illegal immigration and criminality do not concern Russian citizens, but rather human traffickers through the porous Southern borders” (Fernando Valenzuela, 2010)**

### Path-dependency in predominantly bilateral cooperation:

- Cooperation on migration issues is included in the PCA (1994): focus on illegal migration
- Common strategy of the European Union on Russia (1999)
- Russia’s Strategy for Russia-EU relations (1999)
- Joint Action plan on the fight against organised crime (2000)
- Kaliningrad transit solution (2002)
- 2003 – start of negotiations on Visa Facilitation Agreement and Readmission Agreement



## EU – Russia Cooperation on Migration: Background (cont)

- 2005: Road Maps, including the one for Freedom, Security and Justice
- 2006: Working Arrangement with FRONTEX
- 2006: Readmission and Visa Facilitation agreements (issue-linkage)
- 2007: two agreements entered into force, joint monitoring committees for the two agreements
- 2007: Start of Visa Dialogue
- 2011: Start of Migration Dialogue
- 2011: “Common Steps” for visa liberalisation
- 2011: Russia-Poland agreement on local border traffic



## EU-Russia Cooperation on Migration Issues: Misperceptions

### Practice: Existing evaluations of the FSJ Common Space

- Fixation with “a balanced implementation of the Road Map as a whole” (Progress Report 2011)
- Tendency to focus on “failures” and problems
- On the Russian side: “never-ending” visa free regime negotiations
- On the EU side: absence of groundbreaking achievements in the area of judicial reforms and human rights

### Theory: Prevailing Explanations of Cooperation

- Why does EU-Russia cooperation on migration management happen at all? **Common challenges?**
- What can explain Russia’s willingness to change its migration policy in line with EU strategy? **Conditionality (visa facilitation ? visa free regime)**
- How has the EU-Russia cooperation on migration management impacted Russia’s relations with third countries? **Coinciding interests** (Potemkina)



## EU – Russia Cooperation on Migration: Readmission

- *“The first readmission agreement with a major partner country” (DG RELEX, 2007)*
- *“The EU badly needed... the readmission agreement... Visa-facilitation was not at all on the EU agenda and it was invented to bargain with Russia to attract it to the readmission agreement” (DG JLS, 2007)*
- *“A milestone on the way to a visa-free regime” (Sergey Yastrzhembskiy)*
- *“Russia has exchanged an elephant for a small dog, giving in to the EU and getting in exchange only a symbolic dividend... It might eventually jeopardize Russia’s interests” (Timophev Bordachev)*



## EU – Russia Cooperation on Migration: Readmission

- The obligation to readmit their nationals who are staying irregularly in the territory of the other party, as well as those third country nationals who transited through their territory
- Three-year transitory period, when Russia had to readmit only its own nationals as well as the citizens of those countries with whom Russia itself had already concluded readmission agreements (June 2007 – June 2010)
- **Transitory period was envisaged for:**
  - conclusion of implementation protocols with the EU member-states;
  - setting up of centres for migrants awaiting readmission;
  - improvement of border infrastructure;
  - **conclusion of readmission agreements with countries of origin and transit.**



## EU – Russia Cooperation on Migration: Readmission

- Results:
  - Implementation protocols with all EU Member States;
  - 5 centres for migrants (co-financed by the European Commission with participation of IOM);
  - Russia has concluded readmission agreements with several countries.
  - Improvement of border infrastructure (several projects).
  
- Implementation of the RA over three years (**Russian citizens**):
  - by November 2010 Russia has received 4715 readmission requests;
  - more than 3500 requests have been examined;
  - 2214 requests have been accepted as eligible for readmission;
  - 793 persons have been readmitted.



## EU – Russia (cont)

### EU-Russia Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice: State of Affairs

- 2010: Evaluations of RA after the transitory period – positive both from the EU and Russia
- Visa liberalization stalemate and ambiguous results of visa facilitation agreement
- The list of “Common steps” (2011) for visa liberalisation is not public
- 2011: migration dialogue – policy transfer in other sub-fields: legal migration, asylum process, international subsidiary protection, combatting trafficking
- Russia’s impact on EU policy tools and their use in the Neighbourhood, e.g. visa facilitation agreements



## Diffusion potential of EU-Russia cooperation on migration management

- Wider than a Common Space: Russia's role in EU policy instruments' diffusion

### Two vectors of diffusion:

- EU-Russia relations
- Russia's relations with third countries:
  - Countries of the CIS (especially in Central Asia)
  - Other countries of the world (Vietnam, Turkey)



## EU – ENP/Eastern Partnership

### Bilateral tools:

- Readmission agreements: Ukraine (2007), Republic of Moldova (2007), Georgia (2010), Armenia (2012 – initialled)
- Visa facilitation agreements: Ukraine (2007), Republic of Moldova (2007), Georgia (2010), Armenia (2012)
- Mobility Partnerships: Republic of Moldova (2008), Georgia (2009), Armenia (2011)
- Policy transfer efforts in other fields: IBM (Frontex and EUBAM), protection, long-term residents, highly skilled, etc.

**Key issue: Visa Liberalisation (see MPC report for MD and UA)**



## Russia's Cooperation on Readmission

- **RA signed with Uzbekistan (summer 2007):** package deal, with an agreement on labour activity and the protection of rights of citizens of the two countries
- Expectations of a «chain reaction», BUT major problems with **Kazakhstan (RA signed only in June 2012).**
- **RA with Kyrgyzstan signed on 11 October 2012.**
- Tajikistan is still out of this picture.
  - Dependency on remittances (social stability) – fear to put at risk its citizens in Russia.



Thank you for your attention!

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