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Thesis brochure

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Migration diplomacy solutions in Africa and Europe

PhD dissertation theses in English

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Table of contents

1. Identification of the research topic and dissertation structure.....	2
1.1. The growing importance of the chosen topic.....	3
2. Hypotheses, basic concept.....	5
3. Methodological principles.....	6
4. The renewal of the concept of migration diplomacy, new tools of diplomacy.....	9
5. Conclusions, results.....	12
6. Author's publications related to the dissertation	18

1. Identification of the research topic and dissertation structure

In my thesis, I review the general issues of migration diplomacy, focusing on the migration phenomena in Africa and Europe, their interaction and possible solutions, with special reference to the examples of Angola and Hungary.

The thesis consists of 9 chapters. The chapters follow each other logically, with the message and research findings of the previous chapters serving as a starting point for the subsequent chapters. In the final part of the dissertation, I summarise the main points of each chapter and draw conclusions that go beyond the findings of each chapter.

After the first chapter, which clarifies the aims and methods and establishes the conceptual basis, the second chapter of my work will examine in more detail the earlier and contemporary theories of migration, including their classification.

The third chapter of the dissertation (see 3. *Migration Diplomacy Solutions in Africa*) will present the primary stages of migration in Africa, its background and characteristics, the factors that trigger migration, and the models for managing migration. The aim is to examine from which areas of Africa Africans migrate, for what purposes and for what reasons, and to understand the migration trends in Africa in previous years and the measures taken by individual States, groups of States and international actors in order to manage legal and irregular migration. It is important to stress that, contrary to popular perception, migration from Africa is still much more intra-continental, with African migrants preferring to move to one of the North African States rather than to other regions outside the continent.

In the fourth chapter, I present Angola, highlighting the regulatory elements of the legal system for foreign nationals (see 4. *Managing migration processes in Angola*). In the fifth part of the thesis, I deal with migration processes in Hungary after the regime change, with a special focus on the period after the country's accession to the EU (see 5. *Migration processes in Hungary after the regime change*).

In the sixth chapter of my dissertation (see: 6. *The European refugee crisis after 2015 and the role of diplomacy in managing migration*), I analyse the interaction between refugee crisis and diplomacy, starting from the premise that diplomacy can be an effective tool in managing migration. Diplomacy, a traditionally organised activity of international conflict management, should play a leading role in solving the migration problem.

In the seventh chapter of my thesis (see: 7. *The importance of migratory diplomacy in the relationship between Africa and Europe*), I will show the role and the expanding range of instruments of diplomacy in the field of migration in the investigated relations. This chapter is new, as it is here that I support the four hypotheses I have put forward. In this chapter I consider it important to present the state interests and bargaining positions on migration. Inescapable is the issue of sovereignty, which is of particular relevance to States, and as part of this - within the exercise of internal and external prerogatives of sovereignty - the exercise of the right to determine why or why not to admit migrants. In my dissertation I am looking for answers to these questions. Furthermore, - subordinate to and with respect to the above approaches - I will also present the various international conventions on asylum as a starting point for attempts at interpretation in this field. In this chapter, I will describe and analyse in detail the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York Protocol, which form the basis of international refugee protection. I will show the essential role of the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), in addressing the refugee crisis. I will also touch on solidarity and responsibility, as well as on the European Union's development policy and humanitarian aid.

In chapter (8. *Research interviews*) I summarise the interviews I conducted in Angola and Hungary. Finally, in the ninth chapter of the thesis (9. Summary, Conclusion) I summarise the main points of each chapter and, as I have already indicated, I organise my findings here and partly formulate them into conclusions.

1.1. The growing importance of the chosen topic

In choosing the topic of my thesis, I was motivated not only by personal reasons but also by professional curiosity, as I started to analyse the causes of the 2015 European migration and refugee crisis in my workplace, the Embassy of the Republic of Angola in Hungary. In my working environment, we very often deal with the issue of migration, especially when I work in Angola and other parts of the African continent. I have also been helped by the fact that there is a relatively extensive literature on the broader topic, and the processing of this literature has also helped me in my analytical work. As a future diplomat, I need to have an adequate level of knowledge about migration and its management, including how to solve the migration problem. Africa and Europe need to agree on an effective migration and asylum policy, using and constantly renewing the tools of diplomacy.

Although the fact and consequences of the Russian-Ukrainian war¹ that broke out in 2022 were not yet known during the workshop discussion of the thesis, and I do not intend to analyse this phenomena group in detail, these new developments also increase the objective weight and significance of the subject, and can also play a controlling function, albeit to a limited extent, in the case of other factual findings.

Migration processes, policies and social attitudes, responses at system, group or individual levels interact. This is the case with the European migration crisis that started in 2015 and more recently with the events in Ukraine in 2022. Today, the issue of migration management requires very different perspective and management tools and methods than in the past. And the African and European countries have to face quite different challenges, with migration being the key issue.

The aim of this dissertation is to define the importance of migration diplomacy by exploring its characteristics and to review the challenges of managing migration in Africa and Europe.

From the perspective of the whole topic, it is also important to ask whether the successive crises of the past decade and a half (the global economic crisis, the migration crisis in Europe and its surroundings, the COVID-19 pandemic² and the Russian-Ukrainian war in spring 2022), which can be examined independently, can be interpreted as elements of a single, coherent *crisis era*. Accepting this fact may not only influence the subject of scientific investigation and the (applicable) methods used, but may also increase the importance and significance of the whole issue under study, bearing in mind that one of the most striking consequences and symptoms of the various crisis phenomena is the increased migration. In many cases, these mechanisms of action are indirect, but even so, they can be detected: for example, in the case of the Russo-Ukrainian war, the expected increase in migration in Africa is not directly due to the war situation, but to the shortage of grain, which is also affecting the African continent, as a consequence of the war.

To put it simply, migration is the main driver of the global challenges the relationship between Africa and Europe has to meet, making migration diplomacy an indispensable tool in the foreign policy of both continents. The direct and indirect economic, social, political and natural changes of the past decades have made migration a central issue. Migration has

¹ [https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/internacional/russia-ataca-a-ucrania-explooes-sao-ouvidas-em-varias-cidades/%20\(2022.05.19.\)](https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/internacional/russia-ataca-a-ucrania-explooes-sao-ouvidas-em-varias-cidades/%20(2022.05.19.))

² The World Health Organization (WHO) declared Covid-19 a pandemic on 11 March 2020 <https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020> (2020.07.25.)

moved to the top of the international security agenda worldwide, partly due to concerns that irregular migration may contribute to the spread of international terrorism.

2. Hypotheses, basic concept

In order to formulate the hypotheses, I first conducted a preliminary research, and, based on this, I conceptualized the issue, and then formulated the scientific problem by identifying the variables of the topic. I defined the areas to be investigated and the hypotheses, and then adapted the necessary research methods. On this basis, I derived the following hypotheses:

1. *Today's diplomacy cannot effectively address migration issues, as each State has different interests in this area. In diplomatic negotiations, irreconcilable interests emerge, i.e. interests that cannot or are difficult to reconcile.*
2. *Angola and Hungary can cooperate in the management of migration, and a number of Hungarian experiences in irregular immigration can be transferred to Angola (e.g. in the field of border management).*
3. *Angola and Hungary can be a mutual example for each other in terms of immigration policy, as both Angola and Hungary have successfully defended their borders and put a limit to the mass arrival of migrants on their territory.*
4. *In my view, we should try to tackle the problem at its root. This means, on the one hand, that there should be a sustained humanitarian aid effort in the so-called 'sending States' through international cooperation. On the other hand, it means that peace should be promoted in war zones through more intensive diplomatic efforts than in the past, which could in time give rise to economic growth also. This further implies that it will only be possible to overcome hypothesis 1, at least in part, through new diplomatic instruments.*

Therefore, the general premise of my thesis is that the role and efforts of diplomacy are, all things considered, indispensable in managing migration.

3. Methodological principles

Most of my research has been characterised by general research methods, including analysis, induction, deduction and synthesis. I have used the method of analysis to organise the collected literature, systematising the evidence and then synthesising the theoretical and practical findings into new conceptual unities, as appropriate to each topic. The general definitions underlying the research (e.g. *migration, immigrant, diplomacy, refugee crisis*) were developed through logical comparative analysis or by analogy.

When processing the literature (document analysis), the sources relevant to the topic (Solutions to Migration Diplomacy in Africa and Europe) were selected (library and internet research), read and annotated, and the sources were bibliographed for future reference. A chronological-historical method of analysis was used to process the history of migration, resulting in a compilation of the available literature. The separation and continued recurrent use of the main literature was justified for several reasons: on the one hand, the assertions made in these works served as a basis for the foundation of some of the sub-questions in my thesis, and on the other hand, in some cases, it was a valid aim to go beyond what was stated in them.³

In order to shed light on the respondents' opinion process on migration management, I also conducted qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews. These are included as an appendix at the end of my work, given that I have not directly drawn any conclusions from them, but present them as useful supplements. In total, I conducted three interviews: two in Angola and one in Hungary. The interviewees were police generals and diplomats. In a structured interview, which I have used, the questions are precisely defined, sequenced and asked in the same way to each subject, so that the answers can be compared, quantified and used as a basis for statistics. The interview was also an in-depth interview, which, as the name suggests, is a qualitative method whose main aim is to find out the deepest motivations and unconscious (non-conscious) motives of the interviewee. Due to the limited number of interviews and the limited content relevant to this thesis, the interviews,

³ This can be mentioned in particular as work: ÁLVAREZ ACOSTA, María Elena - LÓPEZ LEÓN, Evelyn: Las migraciones africanas en la contemporaneidad: singularidades más relevantes. *Revista Política Internacional*, 2019, No. 3; Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola, 1997; HAUTZINGER Zoltán – HEGEDŰS Judit – KLENNER Zoltán: *A migráció elmélete*. Budapest, Nemzeti Köszolgálati Egyetem, 2014; RIXER Ádám (ed.): *Migrants and Refugees in Hungary. A Legal Perspective*. Budapest, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, 2016; TARRÓSY István: Afrikaiak a világban, afrikaiak Magyarországon – Elhanyagolt diaszpóra? *Modern Geográfia*, 2017/4; MATIAS DA SILVA, Antônio Carlos: Angola: história, luta de libertação, independência, guerra civil e suas consequências, *Neari em Revista*, V.4 N.5, 2018.1.

which are reported in extracts, do not constitute the focus of my argument, as I have indicated.

From the disciplinary perspective concerned, while the world around us is still most easily unified and interpreted through legal facts, the rapidly evolving nature of single-track research, the size of the problematics that any given issue presents, and the emerging multi-, inter- and even trans-disciplinarity all force us to adopt a complex perspective. The narrow legal and jurisprudential analyses of migration phenomena must now necessarily be complemented by arguments and approaches from other social sciences, such as political science and the public policy, sociology and other fields deriving from it. Among the latter, governance studies⁴ and social psychology are particularly relevant 'emerging' (sub) disciplines.

It is essential that I not only strive for an interdisciplinary approach, but also take into account the fact that "Although traditionally the heart of jurisprudential work is the conceptual clarification (legal-dogmatic) analysis of the existing law, jurisprudence does not only conduct legal-dogmatic research. [...] We also understand as jurisprudence the history of law [...] and the philosophy of law, as well as the *de lege ferenda*, the empirical and political philosophical approaches to law."⁵ I intend to place my present work and its investigations within this extended framework, while at the same time exploring, analysing and systematically presenting the law in its specific form, its sources of law.

Most Hungarian and international literature on the State and migration focuses primarily on legal instruments and possible forms of international cooperation. And indeed, based on international experience, we should also consider it an achievement if the State can effectively manage migration processes and is able to ensure the integration of foreigners admitted into society within the framework of the law, while keeping the interests of the State in mind of course and at the same time testing the adaptability of the welfare State.⁶ I have had to take this inescapable aspect into account in my work. Above all, I want to

⁴ „The governance which analyze the governmental practice of the democratic multi-party civilian rule of law, have become more and more independent in Hungary after the change of regime, and this process is primarily related to excellent political science from political sociology and political philosophy” writes Sárközy. SÁRKÖZY Tamás (2017): *Kormányzástan. Adalékok a viszonylag jó kormányzáshoz*. Budapest, HVG-ORAC. 46.

⁵ JAKAB András – MENYHÁRD Attila (2015): *A magyar jogtudomány helyzete és kilátásai*. In JAKAB András – MENYHÁRD Attila szerk.: *A jog tudománya. Tudománytörténeti és tudományelméleti írások, gyakorlati tanácsokkal*. Budapest, HVG-ORAC. 25–26.

⁶ RIXER Ádám: *A mai közigazgatás a jó állammal szembeni elvárások tükrében*, In: SZIGETI Szabolcs – FRIVALDSZKY János (szerk.): *A jó kormányzásról: Elmélet és kihívások*. Budapest, L' Harmattan Kiadó, 2012, 113-115.

analyse the problems found in the migration situation developed over the last decades, and the elements of the legal and policy management requirements that need to be improved.

In my paper, I strive to present my dissertation not as a descriptive, data-driven description, but as a discussion, juxtaposing arguments, drawing conclusions, and as new material primarily derived from secondary information management. In my work, I use a creative version of secondary research, the knowledge management, i.e. I analyse the information from secondary research in the given subject area analytically and then combine and synthesise it, partly using heuristic methods, to create new (or extended) knowledge elements.

Therefore, in preparing my dissertation, I used the following workflow:

I precisely defined the topic, which is: solutions for migration diplomacy in Africa and Europe. I chose this topic because it is a well-defined, real topic - i.e. one that can be grasped scientifically and interpreted independently, while at the same time it includes tasks that can be solved in the course of the research (see: hypotheses. E.g. 2. Angola and Hungary can cooperate in the management of migration, and a number of Hungarian experiences in irregular immigration can be transferred to Angola e.g. in the field of border management).

I collected secondary (Hungarian and international literature) and primary (interviews) material. I read much more material than I used for my work. I agree with Tomcsányi, who says that the more thoroughly we explore the literature, the more confident we are in it, and the more we can prove that we have added something new ourselves, because after all, it is our own findings and our own opinions that matter.

Finally, in the light of the facts found, the research was organised, conclusions were drawn, findings were made in relation to the hypotheses identified, and a summary opinion was given on the research as a whole. I was confident to produce an analysis of migration of scientific value and meeting the criteria of scholarship, but still being easily accessible.

4. The renewal of the concept of migration diplomacy, new tools of diplomacy

The central element of my thesis is migration diplomacy, its concept, its significance and, in particular, its changing instruments. Diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy that can be understood in its own right. It is an organised activity that focuses on the establishment and development of peaceful relations between States. Diplomacy is generally concerned with the following issues: politics, peace, war, migration, foreign trade, the promotion of sport and culture, and coordination within international organisations. Diplomatic relations are defined from the perspective of international law by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961.

Migration diplomacy is the set of state actions that use various diplomatic tools and procedures to manage cross-border population mobility and to examine migration processes with a view to achieving and maintaining peaceful solutions. At the outset, it can be stated that the issue of migration - and in particular the intention to manage migration - is increasingly becoming a prominent part of the States' foreign policy strategies.

Diplomacy in the traditional sense is an organised activity aimed at fostering international relations between States, the main objectives of which are to maintain official relations with other States; to represent and defend the interests of the State and its citizens; to obtain information; and to disseminate knowledge about one's own country. The transformation of these core functions and the emergence of new ones is an important process that is also relevant to our narrower subject, migration diplomacy. By highlighting some of the new directions, which are also extremely relevant to this thesis, we can note that

- a) in addition to bilateral diplomatic relations, multilateral diplomacy and activities in international organisations (the UN and its specialised agencies, NATO, the European Union and many other institutions) are becoming increasingly important;
- b) public diplomacy has become particularly important. "Public diplomacy (...) is concerned with influencing public opinion in order to formulate and implement foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations that go beyond traditional diplomacy: the efforts of governments to influence public opinion in other States; the interaction of civil society organisations and interests

between States; the provision of information on international relations and their impact on policies (...) and the process of intercultural communication⁷;

c) this public diplomacy, as described in b), has also been increasingly transformed over the last decade into a so-called digital diplomacy - in many respects. According to Manor and Segev, digital diplomacy refers mainly to a country's increasing use of social media to build its reputation and image and to achieve its foreign policy goals. As part of this, the use of social media by diplomats to communicate with each other and with the general public is emerging as a substantive area of digital diplomacy, in the narrowest sense of the term. In the broader sense, digital diplomacy is the exercise of diplomatic activities through digital technologies, the Internet, mobile devices and social media platforms ("Facebook diplomacy");

d) with the inclusion of non-State actors into diplomatic processes, the increasing „diplomatic” activities of so called pressure groups, traditional international NGOs, and some specialised global actors (e.g. the IOM) – which are even supported by official diplomacy -, supra-territorial relations and blurred political and legal boundaries characterise the international processes, in a wide variety of areas, including migration diplomacy. This – that is the emergence of new actors in policy-making - in some respects jeopardises the privileged and carefully protected governance role of foreign ministries and the entire administrative system, even in such particularly sensitive areas like migration diplomacy.

e) within diplomacy, the importance of cultural diplomacy is growing exponentially worldwide. Cultural diplomacy is becoming an increasingly prominent and internationally dominant tool for the implementation of strategic foreign policy objectives. In Hungary, for example, the foreign organisational units for the implementation of cultural diplomacy are, in addition to embassies and diplomatic missions, the Collegium Hungaricum, the Hungarian cultural institutes, the system of educational-cultural diplomats, the cultural attachés, the Network of Associated Institutes and the institutional and personal circle of Hungarian native language proofreaders. They are also involved in the development and implementation of concrete programmes and cooperation.

⁷ HANSEN, Allen C.: Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age. Praeger Publishers Division, New York, 1984, 3.

There are also other areas with migration diplomacy implications, which are less relevant, where the need for transformation and development is clear, but which are of little, if not marginal, importance within the overall theme. One such area is the possibility of, and the need for, improving consular protection.

5. Conclusions, results

As we have seen in my paper, today's diplomatic efforts are often unable to effectively address migration problems, as the interests of the States are different, sometimes even explicitly opposed. As we have seen in my thesis, migration is a multi-stakeholder (emitter - transit - host State) and a complex issue that requires communication and joint action, i.e. increasingly the use of preventive diplomacy on migration.

Following Hautzinger et al. I have classified migration phenomena from several aspects. A distinction can be made between external (international) and internal (within a country) migration, immigration and emigration in the opposite direction. Contrary to stereotypes, the African population is characterised by low levels of migration, despite the continent's significant population growth year upon year and the lack of quality of life for low-skilled workers. Africa features rapid demographic growth, which cannot be matched by job growth, so migration is in fact a foregone conclusion for the African population. Migration from Africa is more likely to take place within the continent, even if the primary destination for the majority of North African migrants is Europe, as opposed to sub-Saharan Africa, where the majority of migrants seek their livelihoods in neighbouring countries. Migration from West Africa and Southern Africa is mainly intra-regional, with the Republic of South Africa being the primary destination for migration from the South. The continent's underdevelopment makes it less attractive to foreign labour, so it syphons skilled nationals to Europe and North America.

The triggers of population movements within Africa lie in various conflict situations, high levels of public debt and changing environmental conditions (such as desertification), which mainly influence migration flows. There is also an economic aspect to migration, where individuals migrate in order to earn a better living. Regional cooperation across Africa is of paramount importance, as is cooperation across the continent. The majority of African countries are not able to compete globally, so regional integration is being used as a solution to ensure that resources are used properly and knowledge is kept in place. In the long term, the fact that Africa is home to the largest number of communities (intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations) that encourage regional integration, consider the free movement of people feasible and support legal migration in their own regions could be a solution for Africa. In the near future, Africa must become an

attractive continent for skilled doctors, scientists, engineers as well as for the people who have emigrated.

The challenges of migration require swift action and immediate responses on a historic scale, and the European Union provides outstanding support from outside Africa in a number of sectors, including infrastructure, energy, health, education, peace and security, economic growth and job creation. The Valletta Summit in November 2015 established the Africa Emergency Fund,⁸ which announced a series of action programmes in order to reduce migration, improve the living conditions of migrants and address the causes of irregular migration.

In parallel with the tightening of border protection in Hungary, the country's current foreign policy guidelines, the "Southern Opening" and the "Eastern Opening", are to a large extent intended to promote the rebuilding of relations with African regions, especially sub-Saharan countries.⁹

In my view, there is still no great turnaround in the management of the current migration issues in Angola, neither in terms of African cohesion nor in terms of political discourse, because Angola is facing a number of implementation difficulties in the actual enforcement of the legislation. Angola should therefore develop feasible solutions to address the current migration situation and if they are successful, it can be concluded that Angola is effectively and efficiently managing both the migration processes and the creation of conditions for the well-being of its population. As has happened in most countries around the world due to the coronavirus epidemic, in March 2020 Angolan government introduced measures restricting people's daily lives, which will only be lifted gradually as the epidemic situation improves. The economy has fallen sharply and migration has slowed down. Following the outbreak, a national state of emergency was declared on 25 March 2020, which led to the introduction of a special legal regime in Angola. It can be concluded that there is a substantial correlation in Angola also between the spread of the new coronavirus and the migration, with restrictive measures in place to protect the population and ensure that those arriving from abroad (including Angolan citizens) can return home in a controlled manner. In the context of Angolan migration flows, Angola experienced 27 years of civil war between government forces and the opposition from 1975 to 2002, which left the country in ruins and poverty. After the civil war, a more peaceful environment emerged. With

⁸ Valletta Summit, 11-12 November 2015 – Action Plan, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/21839/action_plan_en.pdf (2019.04.20.)

⁹ <http://delinyitas.hu/novemberben-rendezik-meg-a-2-budapest-afrika-forumot-budapestben/> (2020.12.25)

peace, there are many opportunities for foreign investment and tourism, and Angola is seen as a destination for many foreign nationals and potential investors. Neither can Hungary exempt itself from the negative and positive effects of migration. In the early 1990s, the war in the former Yugoslavia¹⁰ and the great migration wave of 2015-2016 brought the issue of refugees back to the forefront in Europe. Hungary joined the European Union on 1 May 2004. This has created a new framework and a new dimension in the study of migration. In recent years, migration has been the subject of great social interest in Hungary also. The political hysteria generated by the refugee crisis has had a more powerful effect on the interpretation of reality than expected and its impact can be traced back to social attitudes. The government's stance on asylum has also become important at international level due to Hungary's specific situation.

I have analysed the role of diplomacy in managing migration, e.g. how changes in world history modify the relations, aspirations and main goals of State powers. While on the one hand, the pursuit of security is seen by the powers as a way of dealing with existing problems, on the other hand, it is seen as a way of dealing with threats. This issue can be seen, among other things, in the management of migration, one of the major problems of the era. The emergence of conflicting positions on migration creates situations of conflict in communication between the States. Diplomacy, above all, can help to prevent and reduce confrontation. The evolving world order has also led to changes in diplomacy, which can be explained by the fact that the evolution of the international order also has an impact on diplomacy itself. This change is reflected both in the functions that diplomacy performs and in the growth in the means by which it exercises these functions. Migration poses new challenges for States, and transformation is needed in order to ensure that diplomacy, which plays a key role in managing it, can be effective in practice.

The paper analysed this issue by reviewing the available Hungarian, Angolan and international literature. The paper concluded that the world order has undergone a significant transformation since the end of the Cold War. The great powers are dealing with different tasks and problems each, and their positions on common issues are not necessarily the same. As an example, I mentioned the withdrawal of the US from the Global Compact on Migration (GCM) process, which is likely to lead to more conflicts in

¹⁰ GYUROK János: Jugoszláviai menekültek Magyarországon. *Regio – Kisebbség, politika, társadalom*, 1994, 5. évf., 4. szám, <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00036/00020/pdf/04.pdf> (2020.08.23)

the future, for example between those who advocate a more restrictive migration policy and those who promote the positive effects of migration.¹¹

The European Union is facing the phenomenon of irregular migration as an increasingly serious security challenge, given the significant number of irregular migrants arriving in Europe every year. There is a real risk of lack of control and of the emergence of activities linked to and profiting from migration, such as smuggling, trafficking, organised crime, false passports and other identity documents, corruption and the growth of the black economy, which are the source of many economic, political and social tensions. African and European countries must play a key role in addressing this problem through preventive diplomacy.

The search for a common position is one of the most fundamental issues in the management of migration, which provides the basis for joint action and thus also challenges diplomacy in preventing and managing conflicts. The lack of a functioning migration regime has brought the issue of asylum to the forefront worldwide, particularly in the European Union. Today, irregular migration poses an increasing threat to the States, indicating the need for comprehensive action. In this global response, diplomatic mediation by various international organisations to prevent and peacefully resolve mass migration plays a prominent role. In conclusion, the migration crisis is a threat to all States and can only be overcome through united and purposeful action, through united, decisive and dynamic diplomacy.

Migration is an increasingly important issue of the bilateral and multilateral diplomatic relations between States, for example in the form of intergovernmental agreements to encourage or restrict migration flows; the extension of preferential treatment to certain foreign nationals; the establishment of guest worker or other temporary labour migration schemes. Europe's ability to cooperate with African countries will be key to jointly addressing the refugee crisis and the management of challenges and opportunities. Given the likelihood that migration will only increase in importance for State actors and policy makers in the coming decades, there are many opportunities for further research on migration policies in Africa and Europe, and it is expected that many new aspects will warrant investigation. The faster exchange of information and transport associated with globalisation is encouraging more and more citizens from developing countries to leave predominantly rural areas. In the coming years, it is expected that large numbers of people

¹¹ https://index.hu/kulfold/2018/12/19/az_ensz_megszavazta_a_globalis_migracios_csomagot/ (2019.08.14.)

will continue to leave their homes to make a new urban start, but this does not necessarily mean the prospect of a higher standard of living.

My dissertation has pointed out that the fight against poverty and inequality affects developing countries above all, especially on the African continent. The constant economic crisis, hunger and the increase in social inequalities all reinforce the fact that millions of people are looking for a new home in the hope of better living conditions. Illegal migrants are driven above all by poverty and their own disadvantages, a process that remains unchecked despite the widening legal channels of migration.

As a phenomenon, migration has a long-term impact, bringing slow but inexorable changes that both sending and receiving countries need to be aware of. It is likely that immigration will continue to grow in intensity in the future, and it is therefore necessary to regulate population movements in a humane way. In order to realize this in a way beneficial for all, or at least for most, asylum must be a matter for international policy, and immigration a national competence.

It is historical experience that an increase in immigration must be followed by a tightening of immigration policy. The emergence of conflicting positions on migration creates situations of conflict in communication between States. Diplomacy, above all, can help to prevent and reduce confrontation. The changing world order has also brought forth changes at the level of diplomacy, which can be explained by the fact that the evolution of the international order has an impact on diplomacy. This change is reflected both in the functions that diplomacy performs and in the growing range of instruments for exercising these functions. Migration poses new challenges for States, and a transformation is needed in order to ensure that diplomacy, which plays a key role in managing it, can be effective in practice. Nor should we forget the fact that migration is not only a European issue, but a common global one, and that it therefore requires the creation and expression of a comprehensive system based on common solidarity. Moreover, diplomacy, the traditionally structured activity of international conflict management, must play a leading role in solving the problem. For a common EU migration policy to become a reality, all actors: member States, EU institutions, international organisations, civil society, local authorities and third countries need to work together.

Overall, cooperation and joint action are becoming an increasingly attractive way to tackle migration. Thus, international cooperation is essential to regulate migration, so that the States can assert in a multilateral framework their interests which they cannot defend globally. From a human and legal perspective, there is a fundamental duty to help those

who ask for help, but the international community is not doing all it can to manage migration at present. All in all, longer-term thinking is needed to tackle the migration problem. If these management approaches are applied effectively and consistently, and if both Africa and Europe keep their own security interests in mind, they can significantly reduce migration pressures and address issues in the global migration arena more effectively.

In conclusion, as a consequence of the volume and pace of migration, there is no country in the world today that is not affected by this problematic phenomenon. Migration is therefore a highly complex phenomenon that requires real political, legal and diplomatic efforts.

6. Author's publications related to the dissertation

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