

Migration Due To Impact Of Wars In Contemporary International Politics***Anuradha Oinam******Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), Delhi*****ABSTRACT**

War is inevitable in today's world and it becomes a tool to manifest a nation's foreign policy. Nations fight wars to achieve their economic as well as political goals and also to safeguard their prides. And the nature of warfare has been transformed not only in terms of its actors consisting of both the regular armies and private forces hired through contractors, but its nature also got transformed from high-intensity warfare to low-intensity warfare. Nowadays, wars are fought within states, and it is no more confined in intra-states only. However, its impact is so much cruel on the civilian population. Sometimes, they are even forced to leave their native places and migrated to other new places. Examples could be cited the Tamils in Sri Lanka, Palestinians in Israel, Syrians migrated to European countries and Bangladeshi in India since 1971 wars and so on. This paper aims to analyse the relevance of war and its impact on war victims migrating from one state to another. Migration becomes a key debating issue which draws the world attention in Contemporary International Politics.

Migration could be understood in myriad ways such as job seekers who are looking for opportunity abroad. However, by keeping these kinds of understanding aside, this paper will focus migration that took place due to wars, those victims affected by wars, which forced them to migrate to other countries. And they do not have any choice in their hands but to leave for their survival and for their livelihood. This paper will have an overall study of how the forceful migrants suffer not only during the wars but also after the wars when they have migrated to other states. Here are some questions of the proposed study. 1) How do modern wars affect on the civilian population which force them to migrate to other states? 2) What kind of actions is being taken up by the governments of the world community to solve such problems? 3) How do the world community and international organisations react on such actions? 4) What are the role of the international organisations and the NGOs to help them out for their safety? 5) What are the constraints faced by the nation states in tackling such problems? The paper will seek to answer the above questions. Thus, wars brought a significant change in today's world by affecting day-to-day lives of innocent civilians which sometimes even force them to leave for unknown places for their livelihood.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays war becomes a tool to manifest a nation's strength and her capability in winning or losing wars. It shapes a nation's foreign policy and brings closer tie with other nations. However, with the end of Cold War, the characteristics of wars have got changed. Nations do not fight wars with other nations openly. Wars are fought within states, inter-states, among the several ethnic groups themselves, for the safeguard of their identities, their cultures, to protect their resources. It is also well defined in Samuel Huntington's work *Clash of Civilization*. But for Mary Kaldor, she terms such new kind of war as *New War*. Such new war or modern war has a great impact in the normal life of the people. Most of the modern wars give no option to the civilians but they have to leave or migrate to other states or abroad for their survival, for their safety legally or illegally. This is the current problem and a heated issue which has been debating at the global level. War brings not only the collateral damages but also multiply the number of migrants from one nation to another. In today's Contemporary International Politics, terrorism, wars, issue of migration are the debatable issues among the scholars, academician, foreign policy makers and war strategists. Migration though is not a new born baby but it has been there since time immemorial. The most crucial phenomenon which attracts the world attention currently is the issue of migration and the impacts due to wars in increasing the migration phenomenon.

Simply, migration is a movement of people across the international borders or within the states. It comprises of displaced persons, uprooted people, economic migrants and another different category called asylum seekers. But, in general, migration could be understood to those who are economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. These three groups of people are those who leave their native place in search for their survival and secured life. Sometimes the meaning of migrants seems resemble to the meaning of refugees in political terms. However, the meaning of migrants is broader than that of refugees (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2012). In contrast, asylum seekers are different from both with respect to its nature and features (Philips, 2011). Unlike asylum seekers, refugee is someone who is recognised by UN under the 1951 Convention relating to the status of refugees and they are legal under International Law (IL) whereas asylum seekers are those (Ignatieff, 2016) who seek international protection and claims to be the status of refugees under the Refugee Convention 1947. A person is said to be a refugee if he is

unwilling to stay or unable to survive in his/her native place due to threats or fear of being persecuted because of race, religion, nationality, political views, or membership in a certain group. Every refugee is asylum seekers whereas every asylum seekers might not be granted the status of refugees.

However, economic migrants are totally different from those of refugees and asylum seekers (Ignatieff, 2016). Usually, they are those who flee to another country for fear of prosecution or danger. And there is no legal term called economic migrant. However, these are people who moved to another country due to personnel or professional reasons. But for the British Government, it states that both the economic migrants and legitimate asylum seekers take each other centre in defining their meanings. It defines that economic migrants look for the asylum channels for their economic improvement and legitimate asylum seekers migrate from their native place for fear of being political prosecution. Economic migrants on the other hand migrate for personal choice and also for economic gains. They also differ from refugees. Refugees are forced to leave their country due to uncomforted situation such as risk or fear of being prosecution. Their main concerns are their human rights and their safety, but not economic benefit. They leave everything behind such as their homes, relatives, their belongings, family members and friends. There is no warning for them. They have experienced the most traumatic situation such as tortured or ill-treated and they cannot return their own country until the situation is improved. Unlike them, economic migrants leave their own country as a choice for the betterment of their lifestyles. They are fuelled by economic motives. Again, if they are willing to come back to their own country, it is their wish to feel free to return at any time. They can take their belongings and even tour the whole world as well (Adelson, 2004).

At the same time, the pace of globalisation is at peak. The movement of goods and capitals are becoming transnational flow due to globalisation effect at the international market. Such flows will allow expanding the global market by reducing barriers between the states to promote trade and investment. However, such initiatives are hardly apply to human movement from one state to another state. States have their own rules and regulation to be applied to the migration of people. The policies of liberalizing and integrating world market have little to do with liberalizing migration. Most states have general barriers to prevent foreigner's entry to its border illegally. Despite such barriers, the number of population living outside their native countries have been increased tremendously from 120 million in 1990 to an estimated 215 million in 2012 (The World Bank, 2012).

2. A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MIGRATION

It is a universal truth that migration is not a recent phenomenon but it has been there throughout the human history. Migration could be either voluntary or non-voluntary. Retrospectively the movement of first human took place from their origins to the east Africa and those who now settles in their current locations of the world. Earlier it took place at various ranges such as intercontinental (between continents), intracontinental (between countries of a continent) and interregional (within the countries). The most common form of migration in ancient time was those who migrated from rural to urban areas, that is, the movement of people from the countryside to the cities looking for opportunities (National Geographic Xpeditions, 2005).

Actually migration is not an old concept but it is a part and parcel of human histories, cultures and civilizations. In earlier times, religion has played an important role in the migration process from the human record. It is considered that the first and second generation of migration took place during the tenure of Prophet Mohammad. In 11th and 12th C, the spread of Catholicism by Portuguese and Spanish was a significant account in the history of migration. Thus, the spread of religion also contributed significantly in the movement of people from one place to another place. Today's debate on migration which is termed as 'Transnational Migration' could be the product which has been passed down from the earlier times (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2012).

Looking back again the historical account, the movement of people had been multiplied in numbers after the new discoveries and explorations of new lands by the Europeans in the 15-17th centuries. However, migration during those days could be to supplement the business needs and to shape the strategic of the states. Slaves were introduced and the Europeans started deporting them to fulfil the labour shortages in various part of the world. Hence, the second wave of labour came from countries like England, Spain, and Portugal to US, Canada, Australia and South Africa. Migration also took place prominently after the end of First World War (WWI) in Central Europe and within the Europe after the Second World War (WWII). It had been considered as a necessary element for the development of modern states, to sustain the labour dynamics around the globe and it shapes the global economy. In addition to this, war was also another factor to migrate the people from place to place in ancient time.

However, according to World Bank report on 'International Migration and Global Economic Order', 10% of the world population was migrating in between 1850 and 1914 that is towards the 20th century, to that of present migration rate, which is 3%. It says that the first era of migration took place around 19thC in the Western Hemisphere. In the afterwards of that century, 15% of the US population constituted migrants from the country like Europe, Irish, Italian, even Russians, Czechs, Poles and Germans and so on. The Present population of the US are the products of those immigrations phenomenon. In the same century, European emigration was flooding and even Chinese, Japanese in huge number migrated to the western coast of US and Hawaii. In the next Century, the 20th C immigration took place from the Asian populations in US and also from Latin America. Modern Migration takes place as a result of two factors; either wars or they look forward for economic opportunity to upgrade their standard of their lifestyles. However, the phenomena of migration in the Contemporary International Politics could be emphatically said that it is due to war unlike the various factors in earlier times.

3. FACTORS THAT LEAD TO MIGRATION

There are various reasons behind the migration. It could be wars, search for economic opportunity, to escape from civil conflict, prosecution and environment disasters and so on. Earlier, it was push and pull factors which encourage migration widely. But recently, the 'network factor' which facilitates the free flow of information due to the improvement of global communication which makes faster and lower cost of transportation fuel the migration process. Also there are other set of reasons for migration such as lack of national protection and a mixture of fears, hopes, ambitions, and other pressures towards its citizens (UNHCR the UN Refugee Agency, 1997).

There are other aspects as well that led to migration such as economic, political, social and environment forces are some key factors for migration. The reason behind for economic forces could be due to poor economic conditions of the states and in search for jobs or other opportunities. Another reason could be to escape from the overpopulation and looking forward for a place for better living and a safe haven for their kids.

Next, the political force that pushes to increase migration all over the world. War, invasion, military takeover, to escape from prosecution on ethnic, political, religious, and other background and especially to escape from crimes committed. Examples could be cited such as the refugees from Libya in Tunisia and Egypt and refugees from Iraq staying in

Jordan. The Cubans exiled by Castro during his tenure. Tamils from Sri Lanka during the civil war; people on all sides who gave up and left during the Israeli/Palestinian crisis; Tibetans to India after Chinese takeover; Hutus and Tutsis fleeing genocide in Rwanda and Burundi; many Nazi war criminals fled to South America after World War II; British train robber Ronnie Biggs evaded the law for 35 years by escaping to Brazil, where he became quite the celebrity when he opened his home to tourists. Migration also took place as a result of enslavement. Example, many in the U.S. and throughout the Western Hemisphere can trace their roots back to the Atlantic slave trade from Africa. Sometimes, forced migration took place with or without political agreements. Examples of later could be cited such as the forced migration of European Jewish populations during the holocaust; the “Trail of Tears” relocation of Native Americans to Oklahoma; the resettlement of Japanese Americans to internment camps during World War II and the examples of the former could be after the U.S.-Mexican War, 1848, when Mexico signed over much of its territory to the U.S., Mexicans had to leave their homes in order to remain Mexican nationals, although they could remain on their land and become U.S. citizens. In some cases, families split in order to retain both land and citizenship; the dismantlement of Israeli settlements in Sinai as part of the Camp David Accords in the early 1980s uprooted many communities who were resettled within Israel proper, many of whom had been living in Sinai since they immigrated to Israel. This happened again when Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip in 2005.

Third, migration due to social causes such as spreading of religion, to reunite with families, friends etc. who had migrated before, to spread political philosophy such as democracy and marxism and so on; migration to find personal freedom, to live certain lives and certain belief. Examples of migration could be cited such as the spread of Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam. Chain migration took place to reunite with the families etc. Argentine Che Guevara moved to help foment revolution in Cuba and Bolivia; Lenin emigrated from Switzerland to Russia during World War I to stimulate the Bolshevik revolution; the Ayatollah Khomeini emigrated from Iraq to France in 1978, where he was able to use French mass media to help spread his call for Islamic revolution in Iran. In the case of Pilgrims, no one forced them to leave England or Holland, but they felt that immigrating to the New World would give them more freedom. “Ghettoizations” is also another incident where the African Americans migrate to urban centres in the north after the Civil War, etc. The migration of gays to San Francisco and New York in the post-Stonewall era is another example. The last causes for migration took place due to environment forces. It could be

natural disasters, earthquakes, famine, and drought and so on. People move from one place to another place in order to prevent from the effects of natural disasters such as drought, earthquakes and so on. Examples are Ethiopian refugees during famine in the early 1980s, Bangladeshi job seekers who suffer from yearly flood and which damages their land and their national infrastructures and the refugee crisis that took place in Haiti after the subsequent earthquakes. The Hurricane Mitch that occurred in 1998 which destroyed nearly 70% of Honduras's important crops and displaced nearly one-quarter of its population (Hemispheres, 2011).

4. RELATIONS OF MODERN WARS AND MIGRATION

War has an impact in myriad ways on human population in their lifestyle, their psychological, physical, chemical, biological, and mechanically. Not only this, war has produced social and economic repression of human beings. The ongoing global migration crisis that has been faced in Europe and the problem of accommodation of such displaced people in the West could be the result of wars and wars related events. Such type of migration is due to the political forces. The enormous mass departure of migrants is born out from a deadly conflict that is happening around the corner of the earth. Because of war, refugees from the country like Afghanistan, Somalia and Syria constitute more than half of the refugee population in the world. Forty million people that is two-third of the world's forced displaced population are within the country as a result of wars, conflicts and violence. Middle East in the recent years represents a hub of fastest growing place to multiply the displaced people. In 2011, the displaced people from Syria had reached 12 million that is one-fifth of the world's total displaced and over half of the country's total population (Carnegie Group, 2016).

However, the wars that fought between the countries have been declined. Frequent arms conflict has replaced the old form of wars which has amplified the number of migrants. And thus, in this kind of war, everyone becomes the target. Even the civilian population suffered enormously. They become the target point from both sides. Even the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) could not provide proper assistance and often they could not rescue civilians from human right violations. The main problem of refugees' flows might create another new conflict which increases the refugee flows in large number and thus the process goes in circle. It is difficult to predict the future wars or conflicts and how much it will impact on refugee flows. Nonetheless, there is clear cut signal the chance of worsening the condition of people day by day. For example, the chaos that prevails in the Middle East will

create more and more refugees and terrorists. Likewise, the sub-Saharan Africa becomes a source to spawn conflict and transnational terrorism. Today's refugee crisis is mainly because of wars and conflicts and again it shows the breakdown of international system and its order which has built over the last seventy years, which weakens the world's collective capacity for conflict management which further led to increasing of violence in the world order. Nowadays, the policymakers are advised to draw their attention to address and to focus more on the major conflicts which are responsible for the displacement of people in which the refugee crisis surpasses beyond the human tragedy and destabilize the global order. It is the most important to understand the root causes of the conflict.

Also the migration due to war is not a recent trend in the global politics. It engrained from the ancient time. Country like Africa is excessively affected by conflict-induced or forced migration. Hence, the problems of migration are far connected to the conflicts which again have to do with the nature of states and the governance of the states. When the conflict-induced migration has been studied, it is found out the issues that cause migration especially in Africa is due to failure of the ruling government which is unable to fulfil the wish of the people which again brought the strained relations between government and citizens and finally on the brink of conflicts. Also, state repression and human right violations are the immediate causes of conflicts and thus to forced migration. Another important reason could be the vast unemployment of youths in Africa which poses threat to their peace and security which led to the outflow of migrants from the country. Another cause of conflict-induced migrants in Africa is due to their porous and artificial border which continuously inflicts wars. Proliferation of small arms and environmental issues such as population growth, environmental degradation, and climate changes are the factors for conflicts in Africa which led to migration.

As compare to other factors which cause migration, it is obvious that the migration that stems from conflicts or wars are hefty, sudden and usually it traumatises the people making them to leave their place to nowhere unknown places. And these migrants again suffered from social, economic, political and environments on their destinations. Another reason is to escape from violence and from those threats that pose on their lives (Williams and Pradhan, 2011).

5. ROLE OF NGOs AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS TO ASSIST FOR THE SAFETY OF MIGRANTS

The migration problem and the flows of refugees across the international border and beyond the territory of states are continuous phenomena in today's world. However, the problem is not easy to tackle and solve by stabilising the global chaos. Many steps are being taken up by states, international organisation like UN and other NGOs which put effort to uproot such fragile issues. But most of the time the obstacles stems from the member states of such international organisation delayed in solving such crisis due to lack of cooperation with other states. At the end, every state put their national interest at the top list. Though the international system has built up many agencies for the protection of the refugees, the main challenges they face is to produce and maintain the proper balance between international responsibilities towards the refugees and legitimate state interests (Refugees Studies Programme, 1999). Refugee Law of the states has played a central role to protect the refugees in the political charged environment. But, sometimes states opposed such laws due to the continuous flow of the refugees in large number. Refugees provide both the positive as well as negative contribution to the receiving states. The negative point is that if they are in large number, then they create problem to the receiving states which again put them on domestic, political, and economic instability.

Unlike the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), many regional organisations such as OAU Convention and Cartagena Declaration has accommodated the victims of wars or conflicts and they emphasised more on ad hoc or temporary arrangements and to grant humanitarian assistance rather than focussing more on refugee status. Such regional conventions provide both the balance between the protections and its national or regional concerns or interest. However, in due course of time, restrictive laws have been implemented by international organisations as well as some states towards the policy of the protection of the refugees. For example, The EU Protocol to the Maastricht Treaty adopted at the Amsterdam Summit in May 1997 promotes not to receive asylum seekers from the nationals of other EU states despite it violates the UNHCR convention of 1951. Also, in 1996 and 1997 legislation for immigration passed in the US followed some restriction towards the refugees. And thus such trends of restrictive rules gradually multiplied to other nations and finally they tend to follow and adopt in their states' policy.

NGOs also play a crucial role in helping refugees and people who suffered due to migration, to defend their rights from violations and assured that certain requirements should be made available to them. These NGOs are not only the international big NGOs but also the local organisations that help refugees in daily basis. The main agent for the protection of the refugees' right is UNHCR and its related convention of 1951. However, in order to perform the task of the UNHCR, more than 740 international and national NGOs are joining hand with UNHCH to carry out the task of the UNHCR. And other United Nations sisters agencies including the World Food Programme (WEP), the UN Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) also incorporate with the UNHCR in assisting the refugees. Other organisations such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) are few of them (UNHCR and the UN Refugee Agency, 1997).

Another local organisation such as Malteser International has been assisting by providing medical aid across the border to the victims affected by the civil war in Syria that has been lasted since summer 2012. This includes those Syrian refugees, who stay in neighbouring countries like Lebanon and Turkey, as well as those internally displaced Syrians who could not leave their homeland due to certain situations or circumstances, and this organisation has lately enlarged the aid giving projects for refugees and displaced persons in northern Iraq.

The NGOs and the states not only provide humanitarian assistances but they also try to bring back those refugees safely to their native places when the dust of the violence and instable situations get settle down. In this case, America comes forward initiating the Syrian refugees to take them back to Syria safely. US government search for effective policies and plan to execute the resettling refugees and apply both military and diplomatic means to stop the conflicts in Syria (Ignatieff, 2016).

So, the host country looks for support from other organisations to provide the necessary requirement to the migrants. So, it is must required the intergovernmental organisations, non-governmental organisations to support those nations who take such initiatives for refugees because they themselves have their own problems, challenges and pressure.

6. CONSTRAINTS OR CHALLENGES FACED BY THE NATION-STATES IN TACKLING MIGRATION PROBLEMS

It is obvious that the states have the sovereign authority to protect its border and at the same time, it has the responsibility to deal the issues that is happening around its surrounding such as asylum and immigration issues and so on. The concern of states while accommodating the refugees or displaced people is that they will disturb the normal political, economy, social life of the host states. While accommodating them, the policy makers of the states are very careful not to endanger such normalcy in their own states (Refugees Studies Programme, 1999).

Nations like United States, refugees and migration crisis is a strategic challenge for them as it is much more than humanitarian drama. Therefore some states execute their policy according to their national interest. For examples, US assistance in refugee crisis has more to do with her national interest. Since after World War II, Europe has been US close ally partner. With the support and help from America, they could maintain peace and prosperity in the continent. If the Europe turns out to be in the crisis of migration and inflows of enormous refugees, it will weaken the America. Thus, states place their security and national interest at the top. So for any refugee policy of US, it will strengthen its citizen not to weaken the security of its citizens. But for US, they are facing the terrorist problem and put any kind of effort to dismantle and to uproot the terrorist problems. The terrorist attacks and America's refugees' policy are interlinked. For example, terrorist attacks on San Bernardino, Paris, the Sinai, Beirut, Ankara, Bamako and Ouagadougou and so on draw the attention of the public as well as policy makers as whether to further take the refugees from Syria or not as the security of the citizens of America is at the top priority (Ignatieff, 2016).

Another challenge is that the states refuse to give the status of refugees to those who fled due to conflicts or wars. Most of the states have the right to grant the status of refugees as well as to those asylum seekers. However, the implementation of such rights into duty is again a question to many states. Sometimes, states find it difficult to distinguish such differences who are really refugees and who are the war victims. Again here the national interest and the security of its border are the key concerns of the states before granting such rights to the refugees or asylum seekers. As the principle of non-refoulement as describe in Article 33 of 1951 convention, there is no mandatory obligation for states to grant the asylum

to refugees under International Law. This is one of the reasons which makes difficult to seek for the safeguard of the refugees.

Another reason which most states face is when it comes to the accommodation of the refugees and the anti-immigrant and xenophobic feeling in host community against the migrants. This phobia of migrants sometimes causes conflict within the states which further cause chaos in the states which disturbs the normal life of the people. This is what exactly happens in South Africa.

7. CONCLUSION

Migration is an integral part of the global crisis and it is connected to the society itself. The current crisis of migration could be said as one of the facets of the north-south crisis. In the era of globalisation today, migration symbolises the deterioration of the sovereignty of nation-states. It is difficult for some states to control their own border due to the flows of the trade, investments, commodity along with the states. Migration that took place in north and south is quite different. Migration in south has two features. First, due to 'New Wars' and the widespread human right violations, to escape from such hardships people migrate. Second, the blocking of mobility in the north ultimately looked for other alternatives by people for their betterment of life. In countries like Africa, factors such as socio-economic, political, cultural, and geographical and environment problems make the people forced them to migrate to other countries. To reduce migration, the most key solution is to prevent conflict so as to prevent mass violence and immense displacement. As it is well known that the key problem of the state is the lack of implementation of the policies regarding refugees and migration. It is due to lack of coordination, shortages of resources, and lack of capacity. Hence, the international intervention in the political affairs by using their coercive military 'solutions' should be stopped as to reduce the outflow of people to other nations.

As the paper seeks to focus on war and its impact on migration, the solution for migration is not that easy to solve peacefully. As wars are not going to vanish overnight, it is inevitable in today's society which causes a severe impact on the normal life of the people. They not only disturb their lifestyles, but also make them to leave their home place willingly or unwillingly for their security, to secure their life, for their survival and so on. Hence, the first and foremost thing which is much needed is to stop wars, to build agencies to promote peace and to have cordial relations among nations whether it is developed or developing or underdeveloped nations through persuasion as a mechanism of soft power.

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