

PROJECT SYNDICATE

# The Migration Superpowers



MARK LEONARD

**W**E have entered the age of migration. If all the people who live outside the country of their birth united to form their own – a republic of the rootless – it would be the fifth-

largest country in the world, with a population of more than 240 million people. Though much has been written about how a world on the move is changing national politics, there has been little consideration of its geopolitical effects. But the mass movement of people is already creating three types of migration superpowers: new colonialists, integrators, and go-betweeners.

The new colonialists call to mind the settlers from Europe who spread across the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, benefiting not just themselves, but also their homelands. Similarly, the most mobile populations of the twenty-first century are helping their countries of origin obtain access to markets, technology, and a political voice in the world.

The American journalist Howard W. French describes how Africa has become "China's second continent," as more than a million new Chinese settlers remake Sub-Saharan Africa. With more Chinese citizens living outside mainland China than there are French people living in France, a similar story is playing out on almost every continent. When those migrants return to China, their capabilities are expertly harvested. Known in China as "sea turtles," they dominate their country's technology industry.

India, too, has a large diaspora of an estimated 20 million citizens who are super-successful and hyper-connected. Indian-born entrepreneurs are responsible for setting up one in ten companies in Silicon Valley. Microsoft's chief executive is of Indian origin, as is the inventor of the Intel Pentium processor, the former chief technology officer at Motorola, and the CEO of Google.

How does this benefit India? For starters, India receives more than \$70 billion in remittances every year, the largest sum worldwide, amounting to nearly 4 percent of its GDP, which is more than it spends

on education. And while it may not be possible to prove a causal connection, the influx of Indians into America has coincided with a shift in both countries' geopolitical orientations, as evidenced by the historic 2008 nuclear deal by which the US abandoned its policy of equidistance between India and Pakistan.

With so many people on the move, it is providing militarily support to the Kurdish Peshmerga in their fight against the Islamic State (ISIS). The second type of superpower is the integrator. Libraries could be filled with books about how the United States has benefited from its ability to transform people from around the world into American citizens. Similarly, Angola and Brazil have reversed the

"aliyah consultants," as well as free one-way flights, language classes, and practical support. As a result, Israel's population has risen nine fold since the country's founding in 1948.

In Start-up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle, co-authored with Saul Singer, the American writer and political adviser Dan Senor poses a fundamental

question. "How is it," he asks, "that Israel – a country of 7.1 million people, only sixty years old, surrounded by enemies, in a constant state of war since its founding, with no natural resources – produces more start-up companies than large, peaceful, and stable nations like Japan, China, India, Korea, Canada, and the United Kingdom?" The answer, of course, is immigration.

ISIS's leaders would not be happy with the comparison, but their group's rapid emergence on the map has drawn some lessons from Israel. The so-called Islamic State may not be officially recognised by anyone, but it is being built on the basis of immigration. According to the Soufan Group, roughly 30,000 people from 86 countries have travelled to ISIS-held territory in Syria and Iraq.

The third type of immigration superpowers are go-betweeners, which use their geography to extract concessions from migration-phobic neighbours. The most notable example is Turkey; once forced to beg to be considered for European Union membership, it now dictates the terms of its relationship with Brussels. A leaked transcript of a recent summit with European leaders revealed how President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan threatened to bus refugees to Greece and Bulgaria if his demands were not met.

Niger is another go-between. As a major transit hub through which 90 percent of all West African migrants pass on their way to Italy, Niger succeeded in securing €600 million (\$680 million) in the last EU aid budget. In doing so, it followed the example of Libya's Muammar el-Qaddafi, who famously warned that Europe would "turn black" if it did not pay him to hold back migrants attempting to cross the Mediterranean.

If the established powers that first benefited from the globalisation of trade are known as the G-7, the countries, regions, and organisations that are benefiting from migration – China, India, Kurdistan, Israel, ISIS, Turkey, and Niger – could be called the M-7. As control over population flows become a currency of power, states that follow the M-7's lead will have the opportunity to boost their geopolitical heft.

For the West, the biggest challenge will be to reconcile domestic pressure for closed borders with the geopolitical advantages of embracing migration. For now, at least, it seems that the G-7 – for which an easily affordable influx of refugees has somehow become a "crisis" – will continue to aid the M-7's rise.



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even possible to become a settler superpower without being recognised as a state. The estimated 35 million Kurds – who regard themselves as a nation without a country – are becoming one of the most politically active migrant populations in Europe. It is likely no coincidence that the governments of Sweden and Germany, with their large populations of Kurdish origin,

brain drain and are receiving large flows of immigrants from their former colonial ruler, Portugal. But the two most eye-catching experiments in integration today are Israel and ISIS.

Immigration from the diaspora is essential to Israel, which is reflected in the Hebrew word for it: aliyah, derived from the verb "to ascend." Indeed, the government provides

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## Hell in Life

SELINA MOHSIN

**O**N April 12, 2016, in Panchagar, Mala aged 21 was killed by her husband and mother-in-law over dowry and family dispute. They poisoned her and she died on her way to Rangpur Medical College Hospital. On April 2, 2016 a female readymade garments worker was gang raped in Mymensingh- Tangail highway after she boarded a bus at around 5pm. In 2014, a similar incident had occurred when a bus driver and his assistant raped a girl in a moving bus on the Dhaka-Aricha highway. The perpetrators were given life imprisonment, but that did not deter a recurrence of the same crime. In December 2015 an 11 year-old domestic worker managed to escape gruesome torture at the hands of a well-known cricketer and his wife; the concerned police inspector said that "parts of her body were dislocated" by the abuse.

The brutal torture and murders of Rajon and Rakib, both minors, still haunt our minds. Then there are incidences of barbaric torture on women and girls through edicts declared by village courts. Village courts are legal in Bangladesh to settle landownership, inheritance and other minor disputes. But, exceeding their authority, they have become

fearful instruments of religious extremism and intolerance causing harassment and deaths of women and girls.

According to Bangladesh Shishu Adhikar Forum (BASF) at least 968 children were killed after being tortured from 2012 to July 2015. BASF (Nurul Haque) states that data reveals an increase of 61 percent in death of children in 2014 and more in 2015. It is noted that 191 children were killed by July 2015. Moreover, 280 children were raped between January and July of 2015. In July 2015 alone 37 children had been murdered and 50 raped. The same types of deaths and torture continue in 2016.

*What does all this tell us about our society?* Bangladesh is a signatory to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) and Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Government has passed laws but violence and abuse are still rampant. We need effective implementation of laws and quality education that foster human rights and good citizenship.

Poverty, conflicts, religious extremism, human trafficking, climate change, food insecurity, unemployment, rural/urban migration all have more negative impacts on women and

children than on men. They suffer subordination and harassment in multiple domains both simultaneously and sequentially. Evidence proves that we have not been able to alter our insular mindset to include women and children as human beings with rights in family, society and workplace.

Gender, youth, education, employment and socio-economic rights need not be fused. On the contrary, they can be separated into distinct aspects of empowerment. But, our patriarchal and hierarchical tradition is generally inhospitable to critical analysis of gender and child rights. To speak of such a manipulative tradition is to invite strong criticisms. Nevertheless this difficult terrain, have double and even triple standards.

The second area is culture, which is deeply embedded in conventional beliefs. Women and children are vulnerable to exploitation which reflects back into verbal abuse, physical assault, sexual stigma, early marriages, hazardous child labour thereby leaving them with a sense of inferiority and incapacity.

A third set of constraints arise from discrimination in areas such as the right to education and legal rights to acquire, hold and dispose of their income and property freely without intimidation including entitlements to

social security and safety nets. Entertainment media often has negative effects, especially on those who have little or no education. Exposure to western TV channels, Hollywood and Bollywood films can feed unrealistic expectations, sexual frustration and family instability.

Old codes of conduct present in earlier settled villages and urban communities need updating but have merely broken down, all too easily replaced by simple solutions like male domination, harassment of vulnerable groups or religious extremism. The result is a proliferation of unhappy and unsettled communities riddled with greed, violence and bereft of human decency.

These social issues need widespread deliberations to generate understanding of the sanctity of all human beings. Life requires a degree of restraint. Fear of reprisal and punishment is important, but cannot alone curb our baser instincts.

Here moral leadership is essential and must emanate from the top. The government in partnership with NGOs and the private sector has to develop strategies that implement efficiently the rights of women and children in all aspects of life. Community events with entertainment like Jatras, local singing competitions and other forms of amusement would attract people and

also provide space to discuss topics like what it means to be a decent citizen and what religion tells us about human behaviour.

Much can be accomplished by good political leadership, accountable governance with efficient information services; quality and relevance in education, health facilities, prompt implementation of laws, support measures to promote among women and children

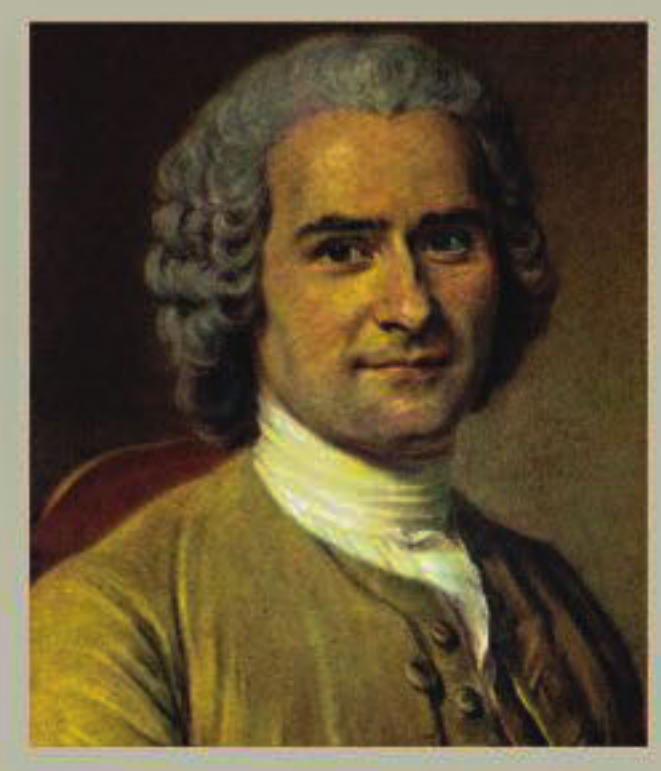
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perceptions of their capabilities, rights and status.

We aspire for a truly democratic society and its greatest asset is freedom. But this freedom is the freedom to discipline ourselves and treat others with justice.

The writer is Former Ambassador.

### QUOTABLE Quote

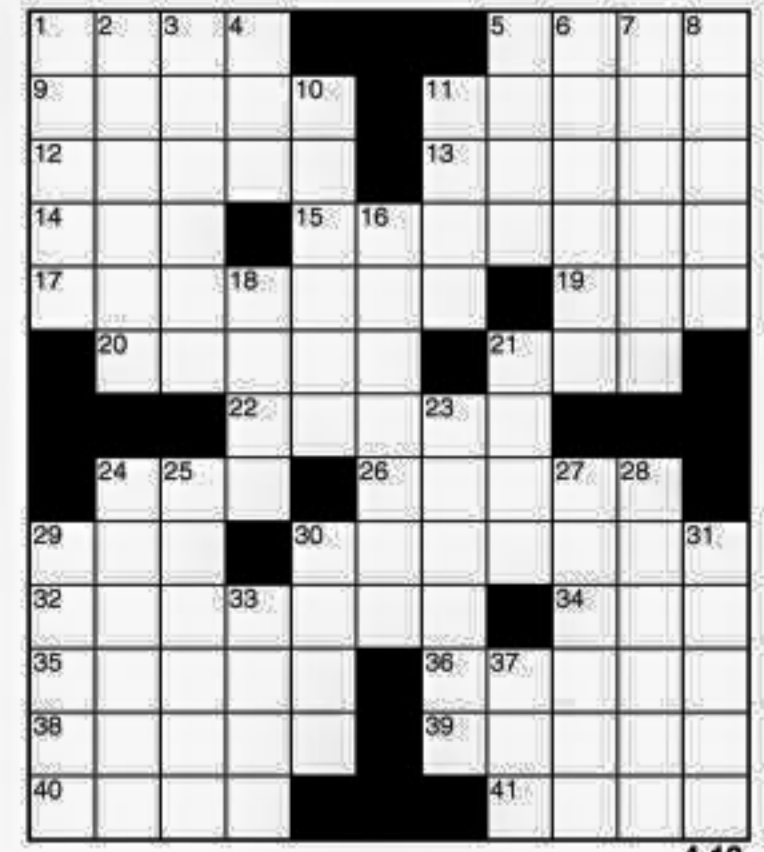


JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

*People who know little are usually great talkers, while men who know much say little.*

### CROSSWORD BY THOMAS JOSEPH

- |                      |                             |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>ACROSS</b>        | <b>DOWN</b>                 |
| 1 Do some laps       | 1 Diver's gear              |
| 5 Robust             | 2 Prevailed                 |
| 9 Brooklyn's -Island | 3 One way to pay            |
| 11 Roadsters         | 4 Crooner Torme'            |
| 12 Reunion attendee  | 5 Swaying dance             |
| 13 Dries, in a way   | 6 Right away                |
| 14 Squeezing snake   | 7 Hand soother              |
| 15 European nation   | 8 School paper              |
| 17 European nation   | 10 Longs                    |
| 19 Playfully shy     | 11 "Waterloo" group         |
| 20 Skimpy swimwear   | 16 Smoker's need            |
| 21 Kayo count        | 18 Promote                  |
| 22 Aisle worker      | 21 Salon offering           |
| 24 Came together     | 23 Book goofs               |
| 26 Native group      | 24 Madison's successor      |
| 29 Debate side       | 25 Salad base               |
| 30 European nation   | 27 Dealt with a leak, maybe |
| 32 European nation   | 28 Concert bonus            |
| 34 Drink cooler      | 29 Backyard game            |
| 35 Rubbish           | 30 Dreary colour            |
| 36 Hawk's grasper    | 31 Busybody                 |
| 38 Quail group       | 33 Commentary piece         |
| 39 On the ball       | 37 Boxing great             |
| 40 Listen to         |                             |
| 41 Creative germ     |                             |



### YESTERDAY'S ANSWER

MOTELS BALE  
ANIMAL AMEN  
RASPBERRIES  
LEBERON  
COOL MELT  
MANY BAYOUS  
ARC TON INA  
TOUCHY CREW  
LEARN SHED  
TOSCA  
CRANBERRIES  
CALI EAGLET  
STEP SMELLY

### BEETLE BAILEY BY MORT WALKER



### BABY BLUES by Kirkman & Scott

