

INTERFACE

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**THE
REFUGEE
QUESTION**

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Illustration on Cover Page taken from Simon Kneebone's work

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UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON REFUGEES, 1951

The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which is also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention was adopted on 28th July, 1951 in Geneva, Switzerland. However, it should be noted that this convention was not the beginning but the pinnacle of previous refugee protection instruments. This can be conceded from the Preamble of the 1951 Convention which states: “considering that it is desirable to revise and consolidate previous international agreements relating to the status of refugees and to extend the scope of and protection accorded by such instruments by means of a new agreement”.

The genesis of refugee protection is time and again correlated with the outcomes of the Second World War and the vast refugee population it generated. The United Nations first response after the war was the establishment of the International Refugee Organization in 1945 but it proved to be limited as it got caught up with the politics of cold war. The enormous displacement of population across Europe which reached 11 million seized the attention of United Nations on the issue of refugee protection. On December 3, 1949 the United Nations General Assembly decided to establish a High Commissioner's Office for Refugees. Consequently, the Proclamation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 14, 1950 under which the 1951 convention was organized.

This convention was historically remarkable as it defined the term 'refugee' and the rights of the individuals who seek asylum along with the responsibilities of the states that grant asylum. According to the convention the term refugee shall apply to any person who:

“As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it”.

The states that took part into the convention had to accept variegated obligations and among those the foremost is the principle of *non-refoulement* under which it is meticulously implicated that no refugee should be returned in any manner whatsoever to any country where he or she would be at risk of life. It protects the people from the illegal practice of forcing those who have the right to be recognized as refugees to return to a country where they could be harmed or persecuted. Along with the security of non-refoulement, this convention also provides protection from penalties for illegitimate entry under Article 31. Signatories of the convention also had to agree to certain facilities that would be provided to the refugees including identity and travel documents, the grant of permission to transfer assets and administrative assistance.

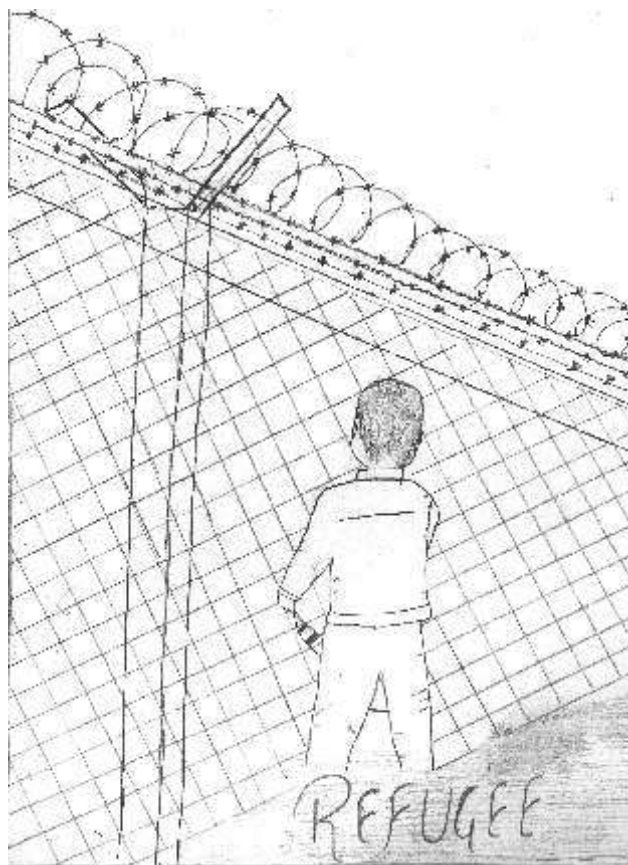
According to a research done by Oxford University, the 1951 Convention, which entered into force in 1954, is by far the most widely ratified refugee treaty, and remains central also to the protection activities of the UNHCR. However, India has not yet signed this convention even though it continues to play host to a huge population of refugees. One can distinctly point out that India has stood up and can be counted on, when it comes to refugee rehabilitation. Nevertheless, there are various reasons due to which India still is not one of the signatories. The most important one is the *security issue* that comes along with the refugees, the line of argument is that borders in South Asia are extremely porous as stated by Myron Wiener and any conflict can result in a mass movement of people which in turn can result into local infrastructural disturbances and strain on resources. Secondly, it can upset India *demographically* as it is a home to diverse groups of refugees from Buddhist Chakmas from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, to Bhutanese from Nepal, Muslim Rohinygas from Myanmar and small

populations from Somalia, Sudan and other sub-Saharan African countries and takes no financial assistance from UN for their support and survival. Thirdly, it is necessary to note that India has always hosted refugees quite willingly and has allowed the UNHCR to have an official presence in New Delhi and Chennai; thus India feels there is *no need to ratify* the Convention. Lastly, as argued by some scholars, India has adopted a *skeptical outlook* towards the political or non-humanitarian role of the UNHCR, owing to the uncooperative stance demonstrated by the UNHCR during the Bangladesh crisis of 1971. Hence, these are some reasons for India's stance on its non-ratification of the Convention.

The 1951 Convention, in today's scenario can be seen as insensitive to the security apprehensions especially that arise from terrorism and organized crime. It is incompetent from the aspect of "new" refugees that have become apparent from ethnic violence and gender-based victimization. The Convention also did not distinguish the causes of 'flight' or made any statements for its prevention. It fails to provide any provisions for those people who are internally displaced or even comment on the better conduct of international migration.

Regardless of whatever limitations this convention has, it is noteworthy that it embarked upon some significant approaches towards the issue of refugees which was neglected because of the self-interests and politics of the nations. Like every other instrument this needs modifications and amendments with the developing scenario to make it judicious and congruous for the same.

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UN PROTOCOL RELATING TO THE STATUS OF REFUGEES, 1967

Refugees, unlike migrants, do not leave their homes out of choice. A parent would never leave their children at the mercy of the sea in an unsafe smuggling boat if the land were any safer. Abdication of refugees is equivalent to the abnegation of humanity. The refugees that flee their homes today aren't just escaping war, but also poverty, hunger, natural disasters, ruthless dictators, religious persecution, incessant crime and torture among other reasons, seeking not more than basic security of food, shelter and livelihood.

The UN Protocol relating to the status of refugees was passed in the year 1967. The protocol that came into being after nearly 15 years of the convention was brought in as an amendment to it in order to overcome the geographic and time limitation faced by the archaic document. As a post world war document, the scope of the convention was limited to Europe and those people who fled their homes due to events occurring before 1951. However, it would be a mistake to consider the Protocol merely an amendment, as it was a full-fledged standalone treaty because it contained several provisions of the Convention by word. Those who agreed to the protocol effectively agreed to the convention as well. Nowadays when the leaders mention the 'Convention on Refugees' they are actually referring to the 1967 Protocol.

Contrary to the criterion for classifying and identifying refugees as inscribed in the 1951 Convention, they do not just exist in Europe alone but are spread across the globe, though unevenly. While some countries are producers of large no of refugees, others are takers, burdened due to the sudden mass exodus from countries like Myanmar and Syria. Most of the refugee-producing countries exist in the third world, have faced military rule/aggression/coupe and have a large foreign presence. Afghanistan, for example, has witnessed military aggression by both USA and Russia.

Besides, the 1967 Protocol places several obligations on the state parties. The most vital one is the principle of *non-refoulement*, which means no person under any circumstance can be made to return to the country where they were persecuted until the person is identified as a major threat to the host country. The illegal means undertaken by the refugees in order to escape the persecution are excused and they also cannot be 'forced-out' of the original host country on the rejection of their application. The Protocol to not only protects the citizens without any limitation but also to cooperate with the office of United Nations High Commission for refugees or any other related UN bodies in the discharge of its duties endowed by provisions of the protocol.

The educational, residential and employment rights of a legally residing refugee are equal to those of any other foreigner residing in that country at that time. Member states are required to provide information regarding the condition of refugees in their respective countries and status on the implementation of the provisions of the protocol to the secretary general.

The world we live in is dynamic and pragmatic. Over the years the society, polity and economy have witnessed several changes. Therefore addressing the present refugee question even via the 1967 Protocol seems near impossible under the stagnant existing law. It has been more than 50 years since the last change was brought in and it is high time to bring in the next few. Immediate and effective changes ought to be brought in its scope, relevance to the modern day 'refugee crisis' and binding character to make it more effective especially in the member states.

Talking about the limited reach of the treaty, one case in point is that of the environmental refugees. For example, prolonged droughts due to the El-Nino effect has led to successive crop failure. Fall in farm produces that cause a severe decrease in the nationals income systematically forced poor and desperate Guatemalans to flee. In the past decade, an average of 24 million people each year were displaced by weather events around the world. However,

REFUGEES: THE FIRST VICTIMS OF TERRORISM

*“Refugees face two journeys, one leading to hope, the other to despair.
It's up to us to help them along the right path”*

-UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi

When the office of the UN High Commission for Refugees began work on January 1, 1951, it was given three years to complete its task of helping millions of European refugees left homeless or in exile after the war. At that time, three years was deemed long enough to resolve the refugee problem once and for all, after which it was expected UNHRCs task would be completed.

Today, there are 1.6 million refugees worldwide under UNHRCs mandate. More than half are children and 6 million are of primary and secondary school going age. The average length of time a refugee spends in a refuge is approximately 20 years i.e, more than a significant portion of a persons productive working years. Making sure that the refugees have the access to education is at the heart of UNHCRs mandate to protect the world's rapidly increasing refugee problem and central to its mission of finding long term solution to the refugee crisis. We are witnessing a massive shift of humanity unlike we had before. Today, more than 60 million people around the world are displaced from their homes.

What does it look like for that many people to be displaced? More than a 1/3rd of worlds displaced population some 25.4 million people have been forced to flee their own countries, entirely leaving familiar lands behind. Over 2/3rd of those refugees come from just five countries majorly: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar and Somalia.

Syria (6.3 million refugees): The Syria crisis has accelerated the crisis of migration and destruction more drastically as well as even dramatically than any crisis seen on the earth, and Syrians continued to be the largest forcibly displaced population in the world. After the war erupted in March, 2011, it took three years for 1 million people to be displaced. Now even after seven years on, more than half of the pre- war population has been internally displaced or forced to seek safety in neighboring countries. That's more 11 million people on the run; including 6.3 million people have escaped the border.

Afghanistan (2.6 million refugees): Years of unemployment, insecurity and political instability have led to a massive migration from Afghanistan. Over 1 million people are estimated to be living in the new and prolonged displacement, while nearly 2.6 million people have been forced to leave the country to Iran, Europe and Pakistan. The UN estimates that an average 1100 People a day mostly women and children were forcibly displaced by violence in 2017. Today ½ of Afghan population has been displaced twice in a single year.

South Sudan (2.4 million refugees): The situation in South Sudan is dire and the largest refugee crisis in Africa. More than 4 million people have been uprooted from their homes since the start of a brutal civil war in 2013, including into neighboring countries, the majority of them are women and children. Ongoing warfare, flooding and drought continued to worsen what is already a dangerous humanitarian crisis.

Myanmar (1.2million refugees): Since violence broke out in Myanmar's northern Rakhine state in August, 2017, more than 700,000 Rohingya's (a Muslim community belonged from Myanmar) have to fled away to Cox Bazar in Southern Bangladesh. Before the crisis began, Bangladesh was already grappling within its own humanitarian challenge and migration problems to India and in this time about 212,000 Rohingya's who had escaped from Myanmar during earlier period of violence and persecution. Today, there are 932,000 Rohingya's seeking refuges in Bangladesh and about 1.3 million people are vulnerable to oncoming manmade and natural disasters.

Somalia (986,000 refugees): More than two decades of ongoing conflict and natural hazards such as prolonged droughts and flooding had driven nearly 1 million Somalis to be displaced. Somalia to live in a destitute refugee camps in the Horn of Africa and Yemen, while some 2.1 million remain displaced within the country. Almost half of the country needs assistance and some 2.5 million people are unable to meet daily necessary needs as of food, water, shelter and nearly 3000,000 children suffering from acute malnutrition.

Noha's story: victim of Syrian civil war and a refugee woman

“Noha is a 40 year old Syrian refugee from a village outside family has been living in the Shatila camp in the Southern Beirut escaping from Syria when the civil war and bombing reached their village”. Noha's life is not what she could have expected four years ago. “Even though we were poor, we were happy. I never thought I would be a refugee”.

In Syria, Noha and her family lived in a village just outside of Hama, and they had a small shop. Everything was going good, but suddenly life has changed in 2012, when the bombing reached outside their village. Soon after, their village was besieged by regime forces and it became difficult to have their basic needs met. Noha explains the abuse from the military and sexual harassment from them She says, “They touched the privacy of our bodies”.

Now, Noha and her family lives in Shatila camp in Southern Beirut, where they have been for more than two and a half years-after six months of waiting to be allowed to leave Syria and cross the border into Lebanon.

Noha explains that access to healthcare, safety and basic needs on top of the dire economic situation and her and her family's biggest challenge. She has eight children but when she was pregnant with her eighth child, Noha tried to have an abortion. Abortion is legal for the first three weeks of pregnancy in Lebanon and Syria; but it is conditional on husband's signature because she could not afford to see a doctor. Noha bought expensive medication but did not work. Now she has taken contraceptives which became accessible for her when she came to know about global fund for women's grantee partner, tadmon" [tadmon is an Arabic term meaning 'solidarity').

She still reminisces on life in Syria. “In the village we had a clean environment, clean food and everything. Our children were at home not at the streets. Here, if they are late for the lunch or dinner time, they have to worry”, says Noha and continues “I feel very unsafe in the camp”. *Noha's name has been changed for the story.*

International development is not just about poverty allevation; it is also about delivering security to the weak and poor section of the world for better opportunities, thereby preventing migration in search of better life.

The only real option for tackling with refugee migration crisis is to address the cause of people's displacement, terrorism, poverty, unemployment, and oppression. Supporting international development is not some discretionary act of generosity; it's a matter of survival.

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यूरोप का शरणार्थी संकट

2015 के सितम्बर माह में दुनिया के हर कोने में एक तस्वीर के कारण लोगों के बीच दुख, रोष और आत्मग्लानि की लहर दौड़ गयी। किसी को भी भीतर से झकझोर देने वाली यह तस्वीर थी एक तीन वर्षीय सीरियाई बच्चे एलन कुर्द की, जो अपने परिवार के साथ भूमध्य सागर को पार कर यूरोप में शरण लेने पहुँच रहे थे परन्तु बीच राह में ही उनकी नौका डूब जाने के कारण उसमें सवार कई शरणार्थियों की मौत हो गई। तुर्की के तट पर निलुफ़र डेमिर द्वारा ली गयी एलन कुर्द के शव की वह तस्वीर तुरंत ही सुर्खियों में आ गयी एवं आधुनिक राष्ट्र-राज्य सम्बन्धी सबसे बड़े संकट के बारे में चर्चाएँ एक बार फिर गर्म हो गईं।



Source: The New York Times
2nd Sep. 2016

पिछले 4-5 वर्षों में यूरोप में शरणार्थी संकट बहुत गहराया है एवं इसका सबसे प्रमुख कारण अफ्रीका और मध्य-पूर्वी एशिया से लोगों का अच्छे व सुरक्षित जीवन व राजनीतिक पहचान की तलाश में यूरोप के देशों में पलायन करना है। आधुनिक राष्ट्र राज्य के समक्ष शरणार्थी समस्या बहुत व्यापक रूप में परिलक्षित हुई है जिसकी सबसे बड़ी मूल वजह राष्ट्रों की निर्धारित राजनीतिक सीमाओं को मान सकते हैं। 'शरणार्थी' का सरल-सा अर्थ देखे तो ये वे व्यक्ति या व्यक्तियों का समूह होते हैं जिन्हें किसी कारणवश अपना मूलस्थान व देश छोड़कर किसी अन्य देश में शरण की तलाश होती है। इतिहास पर नज़र डालें तो आधुनिक राष्ट्र-राज्य के निर्माण के बाद से समय-समय पर विश्व के कई राष्ट्रों में ये संकट आया है परन्तु पिछले एक दशक से यह संकट एशिया, यूरोप और उत्तरी अमेरिका में गहराया है क्योंकि अल्पविकसित राष्ट्रों में बढ़ती गरीबी और गृहयुद्ध जैसे हालातों ने वहाँ के लोगो को दूसरे राष्ट्रों में शरण लेने पर मजबूर कर दिया है।

पिछले चार वर्षों में यूरोप के कई देशों में लाखों शरणार्थियों ने प्रवेश किया। मानवतावाद के कारण उन्होंने अधिकतर लोगों को अपने यहाँ राजनीतिक शरण तो दिया परन्तु अब वे खुद इस समस्या के कारण आर्थिक व राजनीतिक तनाव झेल रहे हैं। वर्ष 2014 से शुरू हुआ यह संकट 2015 में अधिक गहराया जब उस वर्ष लगभग दस लाख शरणार्थियों ने यूरोप में प्रवेश किया। वे देश जो इस संकट से सबसे अधिक ग्रसित है उनमें जर्मनी, हंगरी, ग्रीस, इटली व स्पेन प्रमुख हैं।

वर्ष 2018 में, यूरोप में प्रवेश करने वाले शरणार्थियों की संख्या में कमी आई है, परन्तु इसको लेकर यूरोप के देशों के मध्य आपसी संघर्ष बढ़े हैं। इस संघर्ष के बढ़ने का अन्य प्रमुख कारण इटली और जर्मनी की सरकारों को भी माना जा सकता है। इटली में जहां गठबंधन की सरकार अपने दक्षिणपंथी रुख का अपनाए हुई है एवं शरणार्थियों के यूरोप में प्रवेश के विरोध में है तो वही दूसरी ओर जर्मनी की चांसलर एंजेला मर्कल ने जर्मनी के दक्षिणी सीमाओं को कठोर करने की ओर कदम बढ़ाये है जो उनकी 2015 की "मुक्त द्वार नीति" (Open Door Policy) के बिलकुल विपरीत प्रतीत होती है।

यूरोपीय देशों के मध्य विवाद का एक मुख्य कारण डबलिन समझौता भी है जिसके एक प्रावधान के अनुसार यह तय किया गया कि यूरोप में राजनीतिक आश्रय के लिए लोग जिस देश में सबसे पहले प्रवेश करेंगे उन्हें उसी देश का शरणार्थी माना जाएगा। इस प्रावधान के कारण भूमध्य सागर के तटीय देशों पर इस संकट का सबसे अधिक भार पड़ा है। इटली, स्पेन व ग्रीस जैसे राष्ट्रों में अफ्रीका और मध्य पूर्वी एशियाई राष्ट्रों के लोग बड़ी संख्या में भूमध्य सागर के मार्ग से प्रवेश कर रहे है जो इन राष्ट्रों के लिए चिंता का विषय बन चुका है। इन राष्ट्रों की यूरोपीय संघ से यह मांग है कि प्रवेश लेने वाले शरणार्थियों के बोझ को आपस में बराबर बांटा जाए क्योंकि अभी शरणार्थियों का एक बड़ा प्रतिशत इन्हीं राष्ट्रों में निवास कर रहा है। इटली समर्थित दक्षिणपंथी समूह का मत है कि यूरोप को सबसे पहले अपने बाहरी सीमाओं को और अधिक सुरक्षित व मजबूत करना होगा एवं साथ ही पहले से शरण के लिए प्रार्थी समूहों को यूरोपीय संघ के अन्य देशों के मध्य बराबर बांटा जाए परन्तु यूरोप के उत्तरी (तुलनात्मक रूप से अधिक विकसित) राष्ट्र इस प्रस्ताव से सहमत नहीं हैं। वही

यूरोपीय संघ के कुछ अन्य राष्ट्रों का मानना है कि इन शरणार्थियों के अपने मूल राष्ट्रों से प्रस्थान करने की मूल वजहों पर काम करने की आवश्यकता है। सीरिया में जहां 2011 से गृहयुद्ध की स्थितियाँ हैं जहां आतंकवादी संगठन इस्लामिक स्टेट एवं विदेशी कर्ताओं ने स्थिति को और जटिल बना दिया है तो वही अफ्रीका के कई राष्ट्र जैसे सोमालिया, कांगो, कोसोवो आदि के लोग अति निर्धनता के कारण पलायन करने के लिए मजबूर हैं। तो वहीं इराक व अफगानिस्तान में भी चल रहे निरंतर राजनीतिक संघर्ष व आतंकवादी संगठनों की मौजूदगी ने वहां के लोगों को यूरोप की ओर अग्रसित किया है। शरणार्थियों हेतु संयुक्त राष्ट्र उच्चायुक्त की 2016 रिपोर्ट के अनुसार यूरोप में शरण लेने के लिए प्रवेश किये लोगों में सीरियाईयों का प्रतिशत सबसे अधिक 46.7% हैं तो वहीं अफगानिस्तानियों का 20.9% हैं एवं इराकियों का 9.4% रहा है।

जिन मूल राष्ट्रों से शरणार्थी प्रस्थान करने को मजबूर हैं एवं जिन यूरोपीय राष्ट्रों में वे शरण के लिए गुहार कर रहे हैं दोनों ही क्षेत्रों में स्थितियाँ काफी जटिल हो चुकी हैं। इन राजनीतिक एवं आर्थिक जटिलताओं और तनावों के बीच कई लाख लोग अपनी राजनीतिक पहचान व अस्तित्व के लिए संघर्षरत हैं। ये लोग एक स्थायित्व व सुरक्षित जीवन के साथ-साथ एक ऐसे राष्ट्र की खोज में हैं जो इन्हें अधिकृत पहचान देकर स्वीकारें। इसी संघर्ष के कारण अब तक हर वर्ष हजारों शरणार्थी भूमध्य सागर में डूबकर अपनी जान गंवा देते हैं।

वर्तमान में इस संकट के हल के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि यूरोपीय संघ के राष्ट्र साथ आकर इस समस्या का हल निकालें। जून 2018 के यूरोपीय संघ के सम्मेलन में इस ओर किये प्रयास बेनतीजा रहें परन्तु समाधान के लिए राष्ट्रों के मध्य बहुपक्षीय वार्ताओं के दौर जारी हैं। अब राष्ट्रों से यह अपेक्षित है कि वे उन असंख्य लोगों के भविष्य के विषय में जिम्मेदारी भरा निर्णय लें जिससे ऐसे लोग जो एक लम्बे समय से देशों की सीमाओं के बीच भटकने व अपने जीवन को खतरों में डालने पर मजबूर हैं उन्हें स्थायी निवास पहचान हासिल हो सके।

संदर्भ:

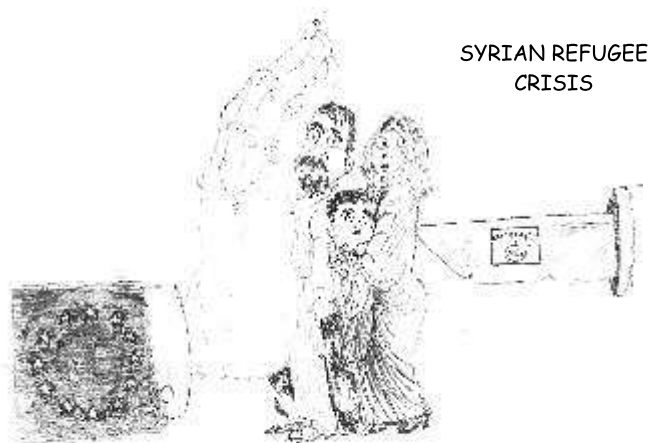
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THREAT OVER THE MELTING POT: EXAMINING THE REFUGEE CRISIS IN AMERICA

“Give me your tired, your poor, huddled masses, yearning to be free”.

These lines of Emma Lazarus's work, The New Colossus, have been etched on the base of the Statue of Liberty, ever since 1903. As the Statue of Liberty stands in New York, holding a torch above her head with right hand, walking forward, it promises a better life to not only the inhabitants of USA but also to those who seek refuge on the land where it stands today.

Examining Past.

United States of America, first largest by economy, third by population and fourth by area, came into existence on 4th July 1776. It has been a settler colonial society. Most natives of America owe their origin to different lands across the globe. A large part of Americans share their ancestry to immigrants from nations around the world. Migration in America, goes as far back as to 17th century, as various reports reveal that the first inhabitants of North America were migrants from Siberia who started living there some 15000 years ago.

Traditionally, USA played a leading role in responding to the huge refugee crisis following WWII, VIETNAM WAR, CUBAN CRISIS. It has been a home for all those who were washed ashore by famine, wars, conflict, persecution, xenophobia etc. Thus, saving the world's most vulnerable people has been the tradition of USA and therefore it is called the 'Melting Pot' of various cultures and practices.

Examining the Present.

However the picture is not as hunky-dory as it appears to be. The land of immigrants opened its borders to 30,000 refugees last year. The regime change in 2017, America has seen a threat over its essence. Following policies of the administration have contributed towards it.

1. DACA

On January 26, 2018, Trump released an immigration plan. It would offer a 12-year path to citizenship for 1.8 million immigrants who arrived in the United States illegally as children. It would replace President Obama's Deferred Action For Childhood Arrivals program. DACA offers a two-year deferral of deportation for eligible immigrants. Eligible people are those under 31 who were illegally brought to the United States as children. President Obama launched the program with an executive order in 2012. Since then, it has given 787,580 “Dreamers” a work permit.

2. Travel Ban

The Trump administration also issued a ban on travel from eight countries, predominantly Muslim countries including Chad, Syria, Libya, Venezuela etc. However, the order drew opposition from all four. It was supposed to extend for 90 days however later the travel ban was stopped by a lower court order.

3. Refugees

Another executive order banned refugees for 120 days unless they were already scheduled for travel. Trump planned to halve the total number of refugees accepted to 50,000 per year. Entry to the 'land of immigrants' was allowed only after examining their documents rigorously and granting permission to them only if it did not compromise with 'national interest.' As a result, it's estimated that only 20,000 refugees will enter America by the end of the year. That's the lowest figure since the resettlement program was created with passage of the Refugee Act in 1980.

The steepest decline is with Muslims with only 2,107 entering USA in the first six months of 2018.

4. Asylum Seekers

The administration not only wants to restrict the asylum seekers but also wants to eliminate the number of asylum seekers. It wants to deport anyone who shows up at the border without documentation. It also briefly separated children from their parents to discourage other undocumented immigrants. On October 31, 2018, the administration sent 5800 troops to the Mexico border. A caravan of thousands of Honduran refugees and other Central Americans were seeking asylum to escape the dangerous conditions in their home country. They had banded together in large

numbers to help each other fight against the traffickers while in transit. The main reason for an increase in the numbers has been an incessant increase in crime and drug trade in Central America.

Subsequently, the border was closed and customs agents fired tear gas at members of the caravan who had rushed the border.

5. Wall on the Border With Mexico

On December 21, President Trump refused to sign a budget bill without \$5.7 billion in wall funding. As a result, nine federal government agencies had shut down. But democrats maintain that a concrete wall is ineffective. Even the data also reports that a wall on the border is ineffective. It says the money would be better spent on technology and agents to prevent illegal crossings. More enforcement is also needed to apprehend immigrants who overstay their visas.

6. H1b Visa program

Through this, Trump wants to make sure that only highly-paid skilled immigrants receive the visas. He doesn't want any to go to foreign workers that are paid less than their U.S. counterparts. It could take years for the review to be carried out.

7. Restrict Legal Immigration

A Senate bill was also endorsed that curbs legal immigration. It would prioritize those who were financially self-sufficient, were highly skilled, and spoke English. It would deny green cards to adult children and extended relatives of current green card holders. Cards would only be available to spouses and children. The plan ends the diversity visa lottery.

Pros and Cons of refugee policy.

1. Reduction in GDP.

The Center for American Progress estimated that mass deportation would reduce U.S. gross domestic product by 1.4 percent. Immigration more than pays for itself. Immigrants add \$1.6 trillion to the economy each year. Of that, \$35 billion is a net benefit to the companies and communities where they live. The rest (97.8 percent) of that growth returns to the immigrant workers as wages. They repatriate \$25 billion back to family members in Mexico. They spend the rest in America.

2. Unemployment rate.

Illegal immigration lowers wages by 3 to 8 percent for low-skilled occupations. That averages out to \$25 a week for native-born workers without high school diplomas. President Trump promised during his campaign to require companies to offer all jobs to Americans first. Between 2000 and 2013, the number of native-born workers fell by 1.3 million. Studies show that they left the workforce. Many older workers retired or went on disability. Younger workers went back to school. During that same period, the number of working immigrants rose by 5.3 million.

3. Expense of the government.

Immigrants cost the U.S. government between \$11.4 billion and \$20.2 billion each year. On the other hand, they cost the government less than native-born Americans with similar education and work histories.

4. Age dependency ratio.

Immigrants in the work force pay taxes into Social Security and Medicare. It improves the age dependency ratio, or the number of working people who support the nation's senior population. The ratio is worsening because the U.S. born population is aging. There aren't as many in the working age population to support them. As more immigrants enter the workforce, the age dependency ratio improves. Although a large number of refugee also amount to threat to the national interest of USA yet the administration also has to remember that any harsh policy would amount to radicalisation of those who are barred from entering USA. Facts reveal that with terrorists resorting to new measures of attack, and with the alliance of various drug cartels in the distant lands, no measure ridden with bias has to be converted into a policy in the garb of 'greatness'.

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NRC Assam: A Close Study

History

Though amongst all north-eastern states Assam is among the least industrialised according to a survey conducted by the central government and most flood-prone state of India, yet it has been facing a unique challenge of dealing with the problem of migration. The National Register of Citizens has exposed the gravity of the situation as 40 lakh people, who claim that they have been living there since before March 24, 1971, find their names missing in it. Though partition of India and subsequently the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 are held responsible for this influx of population from outside the origin can be traced to the mid-19th century British policy of settling population from outside. Their eyes were on the rich forest of the region which later suited the growth of tea. As industrialisation had not started in India in mid-19th century, Assam was more precious to them in comparison to other states. They first brought lakhs of Adivasis from restive Chotanagpur region in different phases in the second half of 19th century. In fact when the process started there was no railways, hardly any road and river link to Assam or other parts of north-east. The British hit several birds with one stone crush the rebellious tribes, many of them Santhals and used them as indentured labourers in labour-intensive plantations of Assam. At the same time they pitched Adivasis against original population. These Adivasis are frequently targeted by Bodos in Bodoland area of the state.

Table 1. Decadal population growth rate of Assam.

Period	Assam (in %)	India in (%)
1901-11	+11.0	+5.8
1911-21	+20.5	-0.3
1921-31	+19.9	+11.0
1931-41	+20.4	+14.2
1941-51	+19.9	+13.3
1951-61	+35.0	+21.6
1961-71	+35.0	+24.8
1971-81	+23.3	+24.7
1981-91	+23.6	+23.5
1991-01	+18.8	+21.3
2001-11	+16.93	+17.6

Source: CMIF, basic statistics relating to Indian Economy.

The observations we draw after viewing the graph and table above is that of an increase in the number of migrants since 1951 till almost 1991. The most crucial observation is that throughout the years from 1951 till 1991 the percentage of migration in Assam was more than that taking place in the entire country.

Though the partition of India and subsequently the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 are held responsible for this influx of population from outside, the creation of East Pakistan dealt a big blow to entire North East as the region

became landlocked after the ports of Dhaka and Chittagong went to become parts of the new country. The north-eastern states have become virtually encircled by China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. Consequently, cross-border movement is a big problem as most of the borders are porous.

Illegal migration into Assam from Bangladesh has been posing a serious security threat to the identity of Assamese people. Many locals perceive it to adversely affect the social, economic and political environment of Assam. The unrelenting influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh into Assam and the consequent perceptible change in the demographic pattern of the State poses a serious threat both to the identity of the Assamese people and to our national security. It threatens to reduce the Assamese people to a minority in their own State, as were the case in Tripura and Sikkim.

The flow of immigrants which started during the rule of British continues due to the pull and push factors. Migration from Bangladesh to the Northeast region of India can be credited to historical links, geographical and physical proximity. Better employment opportunities and availability of fertile agricultural land in Assam act as a pull factor while the poverty, subsistence living, ravages caused by floods and other natural calamities in Bangladesh act as push factors. Addressing the issue of illegal immigrants become difficult due to the lack of strong law and political will, as they serve as vote banks for politicians.

The National Register of Citizens (NRC) Assam and Its Impact

The National Register of Citizens (NRC) is a register containing names of all genuine Indian citizens. The register was first prepared after the 1951, Census of India. The NRC is now being updated in Assam to include the names of those persons (or their descendants) who appear in the NRC, 1951, or in any of the Electoral Rolls up to the midnight of 24th March, 1971 or in any one of the other admissible documents issued up to mid-night of 24th March, 1971, which would prove their presence in Assam or in any part of India on or before 24th March, 1971. The update process of NRC started in the year 2013 under the strict monitoring of Supreme Court of India. On the midnight of 31st December 2017, Part Draft NRC was released and subsequently on 30th July 2018, the Complete Draft NRC was released. The purpose of NRC update is to identify illegal migrants residing in North Eastern state who entered Indian territories after midnight on 24th March 1971 and to determine the citizenship of the applicants who have applied for inclusion of their names in the updated NRC.

Daunting Task

The man who has been asked to hold the hot potato of deciding who is, or is not, a legitimate resident of Assam is Prateek Hajela, a 46-year-old Indian administrative service officer based in Guwahati. "It is a huge task, but we will ensure that no foreigner is left undetected. Nobody will be able to cast aspersions on our findings," says Hajela, the NRC's State Coordinator, who started work in September 2013 and whose team has grown to 1,000 people. In addition, about 55,000 Assam government employees are working part-time on updating the NRC, helped by 8,000 data operators contracted by Wipro, the software company.

This huge battalion of sleuths is using computer technology like never before in determining the fates of "foreigners" in Assam. They will carry out back-end verification of mountains of documents that are handwritten, many yellowing and crumbling when picked up. Elaborate family trees have been constructed. Hajela says his team has had to ferret out forged birth certificates, often by identifying complicit hospitals.

As a consequence

Illegal migration has generated a host of destabilizing political, social, economic, ethnic and communal tensions. Politically, the Bangladeshi migrants are in a position to influence the results of the elections in a large number of constituencies in the North East (about 32% of the constituencies in Assam).

Economically, increased pressure on land, resulting in depletion of forest wealth, undercutting of wages of unskilled jobs, forcible occupation of Government land by the migrants and a host of other such issues, generate a ripple effect in the entire North East. There also was an injudicious depletion of resources as the resources and opportunities meant for a few were exploited by many.

The influx of immigrants created a crisis of identity among the indigenous Assamese. Their cultural survival will be in jeopardy, their political control will be weakened and their employment opportunities will be undermined by such illegal migration.

Shortcomings of the NRC

As one of the drawbacks of the NRC, it was witnessed that Hindu Bangladeshi families were given preference and leniency by the officials whereas most of the Muslim families were dealt with sternness. Apart from this many immigrants who crossed the borders after 1971 got their official documents made through malpractices and connections.

The question however is, what happens to the people whose names are not in the list, what procedures will follow, how will they be deported?

Need of The Hour

A Problem which has its historical roots so deep cannot be solved overnight. The dangerous consequences of large scale illegal migration from Bangladesh, both for the people of Assam and more for the Nation as a whole, need to be emphatically stressed. No misconceived and mistaken notions of secularism should be allowed to come in the way of doing so. Illegal migration from Bangladesh is no longer a regional problem which can be pushed under the carpet. These migrants are now spread in several states and distant places such as Rajasthan, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and so on.

This silent and invidious demographic invasion of Assam may result in the loss of the geo strategically vital districts of Lower Assam. The influx of these illegal migrants is turning these districts into a Muslim majority region. It will then only be a matter of time when a demand for their merger with Bangladesh may be made. Thus it is high time to solve the problems of illegal migration to save Assamese people in their own land and to save the nation from the threat of immigrants consequently leading to secession. Some Recommendations suggested by the leaders of the people's movement in Assam & a few political parties to meet the problem would be:

- The Central Government should appoint a National Immigration Commission to frame a National Migration Policy and a National Refugee Policy. The Commission should examine ways of strengthening the Foreigners Act 1946, as well as feasibility of Identity Cards for both citizens and non-citizens and Work Permits for migrants.
- Border fencing in Assam must be completed forthwith on a war footing. The existing Border Security Force posts and the BSF water wing should be strengthened.
- Our nationals in the border districts and for that matter in the whole State should be provided multipurpose photo identity card.
- The ongoing NRC updating should be completed without delay and proper arrangement for the deportation of illegal migrants should be done.
- The Illegal Migrants Determination by Tribunal (IMDT) Act of 1983 should be repealed.

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THE CASE STUDY OF ROHINGYA ISSUE

Before we really go on and talk about the whole Rohingya issue, let's take a few minutes to understand the meaning of the terms which are going to be greatly associated with our discussion here. These are nationality, ethnicity, and identity. What does one really mean by the term ethnicity, how are these term even important to discuss and why making such a big deal out of it. When we say I belong to a particular national or a religious group and follow its customs and believes it means I'm talking about ethnicity. While identity is what that is used to differentiate one group of people from the rest. Nationality is a feeling of belonging to a particular nation or a country. Now, what I have learned all over these years is that in our country issues related to ethnicity, identity and nationality are highly sensitive and needs a keen eye to thoroughly understand. Ethnicity has been a major factor behind the formation of a separate state. Out of many ethnic disputes that have been witnessed by our country since the independence, the Rohingya issue has undoubtedly been the most aggressive one and it wouldn't be wrong to call them as the " most persecuted minority in the whole world" as stated by the United Nations in 2013. Who are Rohingyas? The question that these people have been asking themselves for ages due to their lost identity in their own state.

It's hard to really understand what it is to be stateless when you actually feel you have one. That's what these people have been going through for these past years. Rohingyas are the "Indo-Aryan ethnic group" residing in the Rakhine state, Myanmar (earlier known as Burma) the majority of whom are Muslims. Keeping in mind their persecution from the state, Human Rights Watch claimed that the Rohingyas have been living in the area since the 12th century. Well, according to Arakan Rohingya National Organisation and various Rohingya leaders they (Rohingyas) have been living in Arakan (now referred to as Rakhine) from the time immemorial or as long as 8th century. They have a different dialect from the other people residing in Myanmar. Soon after India's independence in 1948, Rohingyas of Myanmar were given citizenship rights and enjoyed the privilege of being called the indigenous ethnic nationality of Burma (now Myanmar). They enjoined various positions as ministers, secretaries and as MP's in the political scenario of Burma. However, it was the 1962 Burmese coup d'état that announced the end of happiness to the Rohingyas community as now no longer the Westminster style political system existed and it was the coming of totalitarian rule which meant the end of political rights extended to Rohingyas. In 1982, the military regime passed a new citizenship law in which the Rohingyas were denied citizenship and were not recognized as one of the 135 recognized ethnic groups. This made Rohingyas completely stateless from the state which has been theirs for centuries.

After the end of military rule in 1988, a demand for the civilian rule was created which led to the first ever multi-party elections in the last 30 years in 1991. It was National League for Democracy (NLD) under Aung San Suu Kyi which called for a restoration of the civilian rule emerging for many as a ray of new hope. However, crippled by its popularity, the party was never allowed to contest the election and was banned with many of its leaders being jailed. Aung San Suu Kyi was placed under house arrest taking away all hers and the party's rights. Hence, there was a huge refugee crisis between 1991-92 where an estimated 2.5 million refugees were persecuted and crossed over into Bangladesh. During such a crossover there were numerous reported cases of murder, rapes, and arson of thousand and hundreds of people by the security forces of Myanmar. In the same year, the military forces changed the name of the place from Arakan to Rakhine state proving more now that the place belongs to only Rakhine community and no longer of the Rohingyas. So it was now the Rakhine and Burmese that formed the majority and Rohingyas totally thrown out from this triangle of solidarity.

There have been several disastrous cases from 2012 to present against the Rohingyas which only proved how unsafe and insecure the atmosphere had become for them to stay in Myanmar. Starting with the 2012 Rakhine riot in which a Buddhist Rakhine woman was brutally murdered by Muslim Rohingyas creating an atmosphere of havoc and leaving the Rakhines with a feeling of seeing themselves as a minority which they clearly were not.

There were series of clashes between the native Rakhines and Muslim Rohingyas which ultimately led to the latter feeling unsafe in such an environment and forcing them to take refuge in states like Bangladesh. In 2015, a major incident happened in which thousands of Rohingyas migrated from Myanmar and Bangladesh to various South East Asian countries via boats crossing the waters. According to the "Economist", the reason behind this sudden departure was the terrible treatment and conditions in the Rakhine state that Rohingyas couldn't take it. Hence to escape violence and persecution problems, Rohingyas preferred taking refugees to cities like Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in its report stated around 25,000 people were estimated to be taken by the boats for the crossover out of which many died and many were saved.

A major crisis happened in October, 2016, where a total of nine police officers were killed by armed men believed to be Muslims by the officials. The result was widespread violence against the suspicious Rohingyas by the hands of the Myanmar military forces and extremist Buddhists which included extrajudicial killings, rapes, murders and various other brutalities that they went through. This behavior towards Rohingyas in Myanmar drew criticism from the various important international organizations like the United Nations, Amnesty International and the US Department of State. Soon in the same year, Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army that was formed in the year 2013, came forward and took the responsibility behind the Burmese border post attacks. This wasn't the end as then happened 2017 crisis when the Myanmar security forces began their "clearance operations" against the Rohingya population killing and brutalizing thousands of them. According to the United Nations report of early September, more than 1.2 million Rohingyas left Myanmar and took refuge in Bangladesh during this crisis. The military forces have even claimed that there could be the link between some Rohingyas party leaders with the terrorist organizations looking at these past crises.

Since a long time accusations have been made against the Myanmar military forces of their treatment towards Rohingya, systematically targeting them because of their ethnicity and religion. The term "ethnic cleansing" has been used for the Rohingyas by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. According to some sources stated in January 2018, the estimates of Rohingyas population in various countries are: in Myanmar 4.8 million, Bangladesh 9.4 million, India 40,000, Indonesia around 1000, Malaysia-1.5 million, and Thailand approximately 5000. One thing to notice was the ultimate silence maintained by Aung San Suu Kyi throughout the Rohingyas crisis and how little or no help she extended towards them in spite of being a state counselor of Myanmar and also an influential international leader and a Nobel Prize winner. Living in the Rakhine state for centuries peacefully, the problems started occurring for the Rohingyas soon after the establishment of 1978 military rule and the denial of citizenship. Since then they are seen fleeing Myanmar as refugees and taking shelter in Bangladesh and various other Southeast Asian countries periodically. It's been a long journey filled with miseries, struggles and war for the Rohingyas which is still going and they are still fighting to preserve the lost ethnic and religious identity and to seek justice in Myanmar.

Aastha Gupta
B. A. (Honours) Political Science
III Year

SHOULD NATION STATES OPEN THEIR BORDERS TO REFUGEES?

(In favor of the motion)

I believe nation states should open their borders to refugees and immigration controls be scrapped. The term 'refugee' has sadly emerged as a pejorative word in today's world. People are forced to become refugees in the pursuit of fleeing war or persecution in their native state.

In such a poignant situation, nations other than the refugee's native ones should collectively make efforts towards their congenial rehabilitation. Imposition of stringent immigration laws, banning the entry of refugees is not only inhuman, but also unscrupulous. Practice of barbaric behaviour against refugees allegorises the 'birth of a human being as an accident.'

Xenophobic agitation arising out of apprehended dilapidation of sovereignty of the state, with the entry of refugees needs to be cured. Obstinate constituents of the lives of refugees include family breakup, lack of basic amenities like education, loss of rich Human Resource, etc. This creates an indelible mark of consternation on the fragile minds of the children of refugees.

Therefore, inhuman behaviour with refugees can be described solely as malicious nonsense. Quality of life of refugees can be improved by aggravating level of acceptance in the hearts of the native citizens of the states. A feeling of cohesion, through an ethical appeal needs to be fabricated towards the refugees. People need to believe that the concept of 'harmony without use of force' can exist in a real-time world.

This would definitely not lead to a state of utopia, but would make the world a better place to live in. I would conclude by mentioning an invigorating quote on refugees- "Instead of building borders, we should organize and fight for better rights for all people, whatever be their county of birth."

Sherry Singh
B. A. Programme, III Year



*Sandhya,
B.A. (Honours) Political Science
II Year*

SHOULD THE NATION-STATES OPEN THEIR BORDERS FOR REFUGEES?

"Uprooted, spread to corners in the globe, accepted, helped, rejected or accused, they run away from their homeland, away from bombs ruins and fires..."

-Refugee in our time by Elizabeth Padiloolesen

The present system of Sovereign state, began from the 17th century, eventually after the "Treaty of Westphalia" but as a result of the growth of transborder networks, now the states are Asked to serve not so much as a filter between internal and external but rather to facilitate passage back and forth; to act as an interface, not as an enclosure. But according to James Rosenau, this transnationality is apparent in various transnational problems. Refugee problem is one among them. Even three decades after the fall of Berlin Wall, despite the celebration of 'Refugee Year' around the globe, refugee crisis continues to be one of them most contentious issue for Global News, Human Rights Agencies, state leaders and other transnational bodies including United Nations, European Union etc. A protocol, related to the status of refugees, a crucial treaty, in International Refugee law, defines 'Refugee' as "a person who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group on political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwillingly to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of his/her former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear is, unwillingly to return it". In 21st century, when the distinction between refugees and migrants is blurring, various debates have emerged attributing their concerns over whether the boundaries of states should be opened for refugees?

AGAINST THE MOTION

Following the November 2015 Paris attacks, a wave of anti-Refugee sentiment made its way overseas to the US as multiple governors and congressmen began expressing unwillingness to accepting Syrian refugees.

- Refugees: A burden on Economy

Societies and cultures are not closed systems but the capacity of states are limited by the fiscal and economic realities of territories with boundaries. In reference to the 'Take Back Control' sentiment which helped to derive 'Brexit'. According to Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister, "there can be pressure on Services within countries from an influx of migrants or refugees downward pressure on wages in certain sectors, the economy and cultural integration especially when immigrants are from more conservative Muslim backgrounds".

- Brain-Drain

One day, peace will return to Syria, Iraq and other Nations whose citizens are fleeing war and oppression, when that day comes, those countries will need those refugees for refund and rebuild. The more Refugee become settle down far from their native lands they less likely they will go back to join the vital reconstruction effort. Before the war, Syria had for instance, 31,000 doctors. Now, more than half have fled. Iraq complains of a serious brain drain as its skilled young professionals from vanguard of those seeking a new life.

- Terrorism and refugees

Opinion polls suggest that most Europeans believe that accepting refugees will increase the chances of terrorist attack on European soil. For instance, the France has suffered some of the most horrific terrorist

attacks on European soil in recent years. In November 2015, Belgian and French citizens, along with Iraqi citizens were attacked a Concert Hall, a major Stadium, restaurants and bars in the city of Paris, killing 130 and injuring hundreds. Therefore, 'far-right' often argue that accepting refugees means making Europe more vulnerable to terrorists. According to a young Indian soldier of UN Peace keeping Force very often, women act as informer of terrorists and infiltrators and most unfortunately the young innocent children are also sometimes used as puppets and they are brain washed by the extremists. So, we cannot deny the fact that in some cases refugees act as infiltrators, threat to country's security system. To explain the refugee problem, we can cite the sayings of Martin Luther King Jr. "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere".

Mayuri Hazarika
B.A. (Honours) Political Science
II Year



Sandhya
B.A (Honours) Political Science
II Year

The 70th day

It has been six seasons since
I have shared meals with my mother.
They say people have been dying out there.
Is it true that you need a piece of paper to make
your existence valid?
is it true that you need a paper to leave this land?
(Syria)
I thought we were going someplace,
on the 10th day.
Where are we?
'Your colour is not right'
'Your gender seems to be too feminine'
(Congo)
The 20th day I wanted people to understand.
To look at kindness and not skin.
Even if we were not kind enough,
I wanted to let it go.
(Orlando)
'Do you have it?'
'The paper'
'Something used to exchange with things'
money?
'But do you have it?'
'No'.
(Malawi)
The 35th day I fell on my knees
I hurt my knee a little
They are bleeding. But its alright.
Happens in my race.
(Afganistan)
The 50th day I heard gunshots.
They don't stop now.
They seem to be chasing me.
To my dreams at times. What do I do?
(Turkey)
55th day I call for god.
He isn't returning my calls.
(Norway)
57th day I try again.
He says no
(America)
The 65th day my guts feel sick.
I think I have a disease.
Its reaching my heart now.
My sinful heart.
The 68th day I get a call,
'Who is it?', I ask with weakness in my voice.
The 70th day I get a call again.
'Revolution', a voice says.
'What took you so long?', I asked.
'Gathering guts takes some time'

Shivangi Sandhu
B.A. (Honours) Political Science
III Year

Namesake

Refugee like a baby looks at me,
as if I am the mother she came looking for
from the far away countries.
Refugee like a mother looks at me,
as if I am the daughter she came to feed
from lands of civil wars.
Refugee like an identity-less thing looks at me,
as if I am the reason for the unrest in its country.
She is sitting there,
looking more precious than stones and gems,
only born to understand my motherhood,
only to be sleeping in my arms.
Her breathing patterns
sound like mozart delicately taking me to sleep.
I don't understand sometimes
if its me protecting her
or its her protecting me.
I can't find her in my house
'Darling, I can't find her anywhere!'
'Look in the attic!'
I can't find her any where
I cannot breathe if I don't see the brown in her eyes
I said I cannot breathe, 'Do something!'
'please'
I give this lady sweet names that relate to mother,
mumma mama ma.
She caresses my hair in a downward direction
hands on my hair
like a soft comb.
Nowadays when I touch her hand
small lumps of skin feeling like tiny crooked mountains
on her hands interrupt my rituals.
Its old age.
I have been trying to spend more time
taking pictures of her in my mind
than deciding what would I do if she's gone.
My heart is escaping my chest,
I've not seen her for two days,
I cannot loose her,
I cannot breathe if I don't see the black in her eye
I said I cannot breathe, 'Do something!'
'please'
I cannot understand its gender,
I cannot understand its emotions
all I know its called a refugee.
also known as a global citizen.
It lingers in my country
It lingers on my jobs like a housefly on stale dinner.
make no mistakes dear
we can get rid of it
dehumanisation is the new age top notch technology.
It lingers in my country
It lingers on my humanity
refugee like a fly and my humanity like the stale dinner.

Shivangi Sandhu
B.A. (Honours) Political Science
III Year

वेदना

उफ! ये जीवन कितना वेदनाकारी है,
दर-बदर भटकते न जाने कितने रोहिंग्या,
अपनी ही जन्मभूमि त्यागने को मजबूर,
बरसों से करते आ रहे जीवन यात्रा,
मंजिल कोई तय नहीं, सफर निरंतर जारी है,
उफ! ये जीवन कितना वेदनाकारी है।

कहीं सेना की गोलियों से ढेर हुए तो,
कहीं साम्प्रदायिकता की भेंट चढ़े।
बेगानी धरा पर आशा का दीप जलाये बैठे है,
अब तो पनाह खोजने की तैयारी है,
उफ! ये जीवन कितना वेदनाकारी है।

“मुद्दों की राजनीति” कौन सी नवीं कहानी है,
इस मुद्दे ने भी दी राजनीति में दस्तक,
सरकार कहे “सुरक्षा के लिए खतरा है रोहिंग्या”
वहीं विपक्ष, स्वयं को इनका हितैषी जताती है,
शरणार्थियों की बदहाली पर भी राजनीति जारी है,
उफ! ये जीवन कितना वेदनाकारी है।

धर्म, जाति, समाज, राजनीतिक षड्यंत्र से परे,
गहरे घावों पर करुणारूपी मरहम लगाकर तो देखो,
इंसानरूपी बंजर भूमि में,
मानवता का बीज बोने का संघर्ष जारी है।
उफ! ये जीवन कितना वेदनाकारी है।

जर्जर करती यह वेदना, अकल्पित सी लगती है,
राजनीतिक उत्पीडन, धर्म-अधर्म की जंग ने
जिस सफर को शुरू किया,
उस मंजिलरहित यात्रा के अंत की उम्मीद लगाए यात्री बैठे है,
क्योंकि, अब जीवन के रुख बदलने की बारी है,
उफ! ये जीवन कितना वेदनाकारी है।

ज्योति
बी.ए. (विशेष) राजनीतिक विज्ञान
द्वितीय वर्ष

In the Hope of a Better Tomorrow

Till now we have understood the Refugee Crisis, read about all its various aspects and the challenges it brings along; we have formed our individual opinions about whether the borders shall be opened or not and how can this crisis be solved but we have not really paid heed to what the victims of this crisis have to say.



This article is about hearing the stories that refugees have to tell, understanding their individual life experiences, their loss and grief, and how they battle the circumstances of each day and play it like a new inning.

Sasibai Kimis, a socio-entrepreneur who was born in Malaysia to Indian parents, is the founder and CEO of Earth Heir, a pilot partner for the MADE51 initiative. Earth Heir sells hand-embroidered necklaces and bracelets made by refugee women living in Malaysia.

Malaysia is one of the few countries in the world that is not a signatory to the 1951 Convention that protects the basic rights of refugees. The estimated 158,000 refugees living there face mistreatment and lack avenues for self-sufficiency. Currently, Earth Heir works with over 100 artisans throughout Malaysia.



There are many more refugees who after migrating from their countries, try to look for any and every opportunity to lead a safe and good life in the new land they now live in. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is a United Nations programme with the mandate to protect refugees, forcibly displaced communities and stateless people, and assist in their voluntary repatriation, local integration or resettlement to a third country. The UNHCR helps us understand the struggles faced by these displaced every day and how they're constantly trying to find their peace with it, let us see it for ourselves by reading the personal stories of some refugees listed below.





The Burundi refugee crisis approaches its 5th year. Here we have a young Burundian refugee who studies outside at Furaha Primary School in Nduta camp, Tanzania. Since there are no classrooms at Furaha, the children study in groups under trees. No classrooms, no desks and a few books. Children make up more than half of Burundian refugees. Large numbers of the refugee children arrived unaccompanied and separated from their families but all of them realize the importance and power of education & in the hope that their children with the help of education may write a better future for the community, the refugees teach & send their young ones to school.



Zeenab and her family travelled 95 miles over 4 days, as they fled from Syria to Jordan. She's amongst the refugees who collectively walk over 1 billion miles each year to save their lives. After their house was destroyed, *Zeenab* and her family were forced to flee. They left with nothing due to the sudden emergency, they couldn't even carry a few clothes or shoes with them. She misses her home and hopes to return someday, it was after all the place her children took their first steps.



This woman refugee (name not disclosed) is tilling the ground in a communal garden at a women's centre in Doro refugee camp in South Sudan. Despite having 2.4 million people living in exile and 1.7 million internally displaced inside South Sudan, the world's youngest country itself is hosting close to 300,000 refugees from neighbouring countries, including Sudan and Ethiopia. Doro refugee camp focuses on giving the refugees a chance to forget about the past atrocities by making sure all refugees have some work to do which contributes in the betterment of their surroundings & society.



These young children were among the first group of refugees evacuated from Tripoli. The Gathering and Departure Facility is an alternative to detention and the first centre of its kind in Libya, intended to bring vulnerable refugees to a safe environment focusing on refugee resettlement, family reunification, evacuation to emergency facilities in other countries, return to a country of previous asylum, and voluntary repatriation are sought for them.



Education is instrumental for life and development," says *Alnur Burtel*, a refugee from Sudan. Back home in Sudan, *Burtel* taught English at local high schools and at Omdurman University. "I thought, let us feed their minds. If I succeed at changing the life of just one, that will make a difference. He built a small education centre - Light Language Centre - at Sherkole camp in western Ethiopia. He teaches English and Civics to teenage and young adult refugees who lack proper schooling or vocational training. He amongst many believes in education & its lasting impacts and thus focuses on doing his bit for change.



Salsabil Matouk has started to rebuild her life in Brazil's biggest city - São Paulo. From a small town in Syria, she now lives in the city with her family, thanks to resettlement. *Salsabil* used to live in Douma, Syria with her husband *Salim* earlier & owned a pharmacy. *Salsabil* is now the owner of *Salsabil Kitchen*, a catering of traditional Arabic dishes, which complements the family income & has found her peace with the harsh realities and past atrocities of life.



A 4-year-old Syrian refugee *Maysa* sang in a choir for Christmas. Born deaf, she now attends FAID, a school for the deaf in Lebanon. She escaped Syria with her family in 2016, and was enrolled in FAID in October of this year. The circumstances of her family and surroundings didn't restrict Maysa's parents from educating their daughter as they struggle each day of their lives to make it better from the horrific past.



18-year-old Sabriina *Abdikadir Nour* is a refugee from Somalia and dreams of becoming a professional engineer and helping her community. She lives in a refugee camp in Ethiopia. "I want this camp to be a nice place, a cool place. To have something like constant light and electricity, WiFi, internet. Now we don't have those things. At night it is pretty dark without light, and we have to go to the bathroom and it is dark. If things get better in Somalia and it has peace, I want to go home. If I manage to become an engineer and become better at solar power, I want to go home and install street lights, turn everything into solar. I will show them and teach them how to do it."

It's empowering for not just the refugees but for all of us as a global community, to witness the high spirits of such refugees who are giving their best shot at whatever life throws at them & are not just hoping but working for a better tomorrow through the mediums of education & empowering each other by inculcating in themselves a will to fight back & not give up.

Source of Images & personal information The Official UNHCR Page, www.unhcr.org; www.forbes.com; www.thespeakingtree.com

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हम शरणार्थी कहलाते हैं

हम शरणार्थी कहलाते हैं,
युद्ध की अग्नि में लिपटे,
लाचारी की धूप तले,
विवशता के कांटों पर चलकर,
नंगे पाँव मीलों तय कर जाते हैं,
हां, हम शरणार्थी कहलाते हैं।

असंवेदनाओं की वर्षा में भीगे,
सुरक्षा रूपी छप्पर हटने पर,
जब अपने ही घरों से बेघर हो जाते हैं,
तब हम शरणार्थी कहलाते हैं।

लहू की नदियों को पार कर,
अस्मिता की भूख लिए,
मानवता की आस लिए,
जब सरहद पार कर जाते हैं,
तब हम अवैध "घुसपैटिए" कहलाते हैं।

बड़े बड़े राजनेता जो,
मुक्तलिफ़ न्यास न स्वीकार पाते हैं,
विडम्बना है कि, वही विश्व को,
जम्हूरियत का पाठ सिखलाते हैं,
भिन्न जातीयता को पाप मानकर,
ये हमें अपराधी बनाते हैं,
इसलिए हम शरणार्थी कहलाते हैं।

ज्योति गुप्ता
बी.ए (विशेष) राजनीति विज्ञान
द्वितीय वर्ष

शरणार्थी

लोगों को लड़ते हुए देखा है,
मैंने अपनी ही दुनिया में लोगों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।
आवाज की आवाज न रही, बातों की तक़रार न रही,
अपने ही घरों से दौड़ जाते रोहिंग्या को देखा है,
मैंने अपनी ही दुनिया में लोगो को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।

सुबह की रौनक को किसी के दुःख की बातें करते देखा है,
परिवार, रिश्तों को टूटते बिखरते देखा है,
मैंने मासूम बच्चों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है,
रो रही उस भूमि को, लोगों के खून से खून बनते देखा है,
अपने ही घरों में मैंने लोगों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।

बड़ी बड़ी दलीलों को बेबुनियाद तवज़्जो देते देखा है,
मैंने अपने ही प्रतिनिधियों को अपनों को ही बोझ कहते देखा है,
मैंने अपनी ही दुनिया में लोगों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।

बातें मिट्टी की हो या पानी की,
मैंने धर्म के नाम पर खून को पानी होते देखा है,
मैंने अपनी ही दुनिया में लोगों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।

रो रही रातों को सुबह के आँचल में छुपते देखा है,
पानी की बौछार से लोगों को बेघर होते देखा है,
मैंने अपनी ही दुनिया में लोगों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।

परिदों को लोगो पर चुटकी लेते देखा है,
परिदेँ खुशनसीब है ये लोगो को कहते देखा है,

मैंने अपने ही लोगों के घोसलों को तिनके की तरह बिखरते देखा है,
हाँ मैंने अपनी ही दुनिया में लोगों को शरणार्थी बनते देखा है,
कई सम्मेलनों में, सिर्फ नतीजों को नहीं देखा है,
हाँ, पर मैंने लोगों को उन्हीं की दुनिया में शरणार्थी बनते देखा है।।

कल्पना
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प्रयत्न

आज ये कलम कुछ सच्चा लिखेगी
बात इनकी है तो कुछ अच्छा लिखेगी।

बार-बार मन में ये आभास होता है,
क्यों व्यक्तियों में कोई-कोई ही खास होता है,
दे पाने का सबको कहां अभ्यास होता है।

सब यहां पाने की आस से आते हैं,
दरिद्र आते हैं, किंतु आशा से अधिक लेकर जाते हैं,
पोटली हल्की ही सही, सब आकर खोल के दिखाते हैं,
ज्ञान का समरूप ही कुछ ऐसा है यहां,
देने वाला हमेशा भरा, पाने वाला मुक्त होकर जाता है।

हर व्यक्ति का एक स्थान होता है,
इसे जानना कहां आसान होता है,
भागने की होड़ में बहुत कम सीख पाते हैं,
फिर चाहे प्लेटो हो या हॉब्स, सब एक नज़र आते हैं।

क्लासिकल से मॉडर्न तक की थ्योरी
फिर लगती है अधूरी,
पूरा सेमेस्टर बन जाता है मजबूरी।
उस डावाडोल हालात में हर कोई फंस जाता है,
फंसना तो आसान था, पर निकलना कहां आता है।

इस भंवर में, स्टॉफ रूम का हर
वो चेहरा नज़र आता है,
जो हर बार कुछ नया देकर जाता है।

मर्म चाहे किताबों में लिखी बातों का हो,
या देश में चल रहे हालातों का,
इन्हें समझने की शक्ति मानो जादू से डाल जाता है।

गलतियों के ढेर में अच्छाई दिखलाता है,
वो चेहरा भले ही हर सेमेस्टर बदल जाता है,
पर जाने क्यों उनका आकर एक नज़र आता है।

उनसे सुनकर मानो शब्दों को सार्थकता मिल जाती है,
सभी उलझे सवालों की गुत्थी खुल जाती है।

हो ना हो कोई तिलस्म जानते हैं ये,
तभी बिना जाने सवालों के भी जवाब दे जाते हैं,
जो कुछ भी लेकर आते हैं, सब दे जाते हैं।

ना जाने क्यों जब भी कुछ लिखती हूं इनके बारे में,
कमबख्त शब्द कम पड़ जाते हैं।
कमबख्त शब्द कम पड़ जाते हैं।।

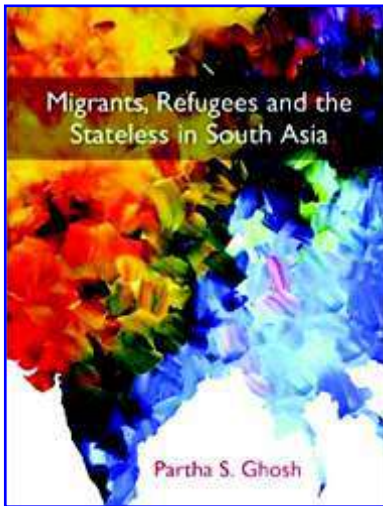
कुछ भी दे पाना शायद कम होगा,
ये आभार शब्दों में नहीं प्रकट होगा,
इनके आचरण, हर सीख को जीवन में उतारे,
शायद ये पर्याप्त प्रयत्न होगा।।

ज्योति प्रकाश
बी.ए. (विशेष) राजनीति विज्ञान
तृतीय वर्ष

(यह कविता छात्रा द्वारा शिक्षक दिवस के अवसर पर अध्यापकों को समर्पित की गयी)

BOOK REVIEW

Migrants, Refugees and the Stateless in South Asia by Partha S. Ghosh, New Delhi: Sage, 2016



We human beings are “perpetual wanderers”. Just as birds, animals, winds and rivers know no borders; human too once used to move freely across boundaries. Well, Partha Ghosh tries to make comprehensive complex flows of people on the lands of South Asia in an era where migration issues are discussed in terms of European context. The book addresses the unique determinants of migration caused due to the "misery of hard earned" freedom of capitalist world. Ghosh argues that 'collective violence' is the prime factor behind migrations in South Asia. Some 50 million people have scrambled across national borders for succour usually among co-ethnics. Remarkably as the author emphasizes that how the South Asian countries have displayed in unique hospitality and unusual empathy towards refugee seekers.

On the whole, however, in spite of all efforts to help the refugees return home, the things didn't look promising. If we throw light on UNHCR country operations profile for Pakistan since 2002 the organization has facilitated the return of 3, 800, 000 registered Afghan refugees to their country. If we look upon following the transfer of enclaves between India and Bangladesh, the political parties of both the states are active in these areas to influence these so called “new citizens”.

Of the several causes of interstate migrations and refugee movements, one important factor is civil war in which a neighbouring state invariably gets “sucked in”. One of the unique aspects of migration is so called "psychology of fear" which not only acts as determinant but also has become an instrument by all political leaders with success results. One of the most fascinating aspects of the migration Saga is the movements of cultural forms. The movements of people across the border left their lasting imprints on literature, music, lyrics, painting, architecture etc.

According to Partha Ghosh, it is estimated that if the migrants could form their own state, it would be the fifth largest in the world. The author explores how ideas migrate along with people and the extent to which the process of Transformation and Adaptation of these ideas are necessitated by social interactions in the adopted society. Through his work, he focused on massive forced migration that occurred in the wake of partition still haunts the concerned nations. Along with humans, their culture and habits too migrated resulting in a "wonderful mix of inventiveness" ranging from music to culinary practices.

Contrary to the writings of other authors who have perceived migration through negative lenses of the hardship in history; Partha Ghosh has emphasized more on the desperate conditions of South Asians migration. South Asia's experience, thus, stands out as a great example of the most fascinating human saga.

Shivani Chaudhary
B.A. (Honours) Political Science
III Year

PICTURE GALLERY



Activities of the Department of Political Science from July 2018 to January 2019



- The academic session started with the orientation of our first year students that was held on 23rd July 2018. The students were introduced to the faculty, syllabus, internal assessment requirements, newsletter and the departmental activities.
- There was a book discussion on 27th August 2018, by Dr. Taringini Sriraman on her recent publication 'In Pursuit of Proof: A History of Identification Documents in India'.
- On 6th September 2018, the Department organised a Panel Discussion on “Climate Change: Impact and policy Solutions”. The speakers were Mr. Rakesh Kamal, Clean Energy Policy and

Programs Consultant, The Climate Reality Project, Mr. Arjun Srihari, Head - Marketing and Strategic Alliances, OV Energy and Mr. Abhishek Sood, Program Associate, Energy Policy Institute at University of Chicago.

- On 2nd October 2018, the United Nations office in India organised a public lecture delivered by the present Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres on ‘Global Challenges, Global Solutions’ that was held at Stein Auditorium, India Habitat Centre, New Delhi. 30 students along with teachers attended the event.
- On 8th October 2018, Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh delivered a lecture on ‘The Crisis of Democracy: Some Comparative Perspective’.



- On 12th October 2018, Dr. Sudhir Kumar Suthar, Centre for Political Studies, JNU delivered a lecture on ‘BRICS: Problems and prospects’.
- On 30th January 2019, Our Department in collaboration with Gandhi Study Circle observed Martyr’s Day. The day began with an Inter-College Poetry Competition. There was a wide participation from various colleges of Delhi University. The students also visited a Blind School as a part of Community Outreach Program. In the afternoon there was a Panel

Discussion on “Gandhi @ 150”. The panel for the discussion had Prof. Ujjwal Kumar Singh, University of Delhi, Prof. Hilal Ahmed and Prof. Nishikant Kolge from CSDS, Delhi.