ORIENT

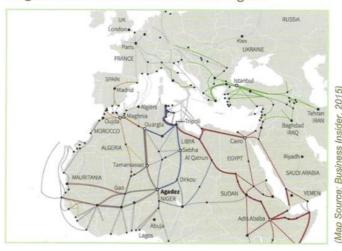
Deutsche Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur des Orients German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East

Herausgegeben vom Deutschen Orient-Institut in Berlin

gegründet vom Nah- und Mittelost-Verein

Focus:

Migration trends in the MENA region



Manfred A. Lange

The Role of Environmental Changes and Conflicts on Migration in the Mena Region

Katherine Holden and Gawdat Bahgat

Global Power Competition: Sudan and Libya

Katja Mielke

A Catch 22: Afghans and the International Migration Regime

Amira Ahmed

From "Brothers to Sisters" to "Undesired Refugees"

Amrita Jash

Chinese migration to the Middle East: Trends, Drivers, and Impact

James M. Dorsey

Domestic and geo-politics put Syrians in Turkey between a rock and a hard place

Deutsche Orient-Stiftung/German Orient-Foundation -Deutsches Orient-Institut/German Orient-Institute-

gegründet / founded by NUMOV 1960

IV / 2024 65. Jahrgang

Kronenstraße 1 • D - 10117 Berlin • Tel.: +49 (0)30 - 206410-21 • Fax: +49 (0)30 - 206410-29 www.deutsche-orient-stiftung.de • www.deutsches-orient-institut.de • doi@deutsches-orient-institut.de

Editorial

Dear ORIENT readers.

For decades, the MENA region has been a focal point of conflict and the resulting migratory pressures.



The consequences of these migration flows are multifaceted, impacting both neighboring countries, which often serve as initial refuges, and Europe, the ultimate destination for many refugees. Host countries face significant challenges in integration, social services, and maintaining social peace. alongside opportunities for cultural exchange and economic stimulation. This edition of our quarterly journal delves into the geopolitical, security, and economic issues related to these migration dynamics. We begin with a contribution by Manfred A. Lange on The Role of Environmental Changes and Conflicts on Migration in the MENA Region. Katherine Holden and Gawdat Bahgat then explore Global Power Competition: Sudan and Libya, examining how this competition influences migration movements in both countries. Katja Mielke considers the increasing number of Afghan migrants and the role of the international migration regime in this trend. Next, Amira Ahmed discusses how the previously fluid borders of the Global South have become sharply divided and resistant to receiving migrants and refugees from neighboring countries. Amrita Jash broadens the scope with Chinese Migration to the Middle East: Trends, Drivers, and Impact. Finally, James M. Dorsey shifts the perspective to Domestic and Geopolitical Challenges: Syrian Refugees in Turkey, highlighting the complex situation faced by Syrians in Turkey.

We hope this edition provides you with insightful perspectives on these pressing issues.

A. Peruido

Dr. Andreas Reinicke
Director of the German Orient-Institute

Contents

Abstracts and authors4
ARTICLES
Manfred A. Lange The Role of Environmental Changes and Conflicts on Migration in the MENA Region
Katherine Holden and Gawdat Bahgat Global Power Competition: Sudan and Libya20
Katja Mielke A Catch 22: Afghans and the International Migration Regime26
Amira Ahmed The role of neighbouring countries in the refugee crisis34
Amrita Jash Chinese Migration to the Middle East: Trends, Drivers and Impact
James M. Dorsey Domestic and geo-politics put Syrians in Turkey between a rock and a hard place
REVIEWS Gerasimos Tsourapas Migration Diplomacy in the Middle East and North Africa: Power, mobility, and the state
John Antal 7 Seconds to Die: A Military Analysis of the Second Nagorno-Karabakh War and The Future of Warfighting62
Hicham Alaoui and Robert Springborg Security Assistance in the Middle East – Challenges and the Need for Change
Warda Samara and Prof. Malaka Samara The Power of Perceptions in the Middle East65
Mehmet Hişyar Korkusuz Peace in the Middle East; Peace in the World66
New publications67
Events69 Board / Board of Trustees70
Imprint71

political landscape, analyzing how differing ideologies and perceptions fuel ongoing conflicts. Additionally, the authors explore the potential for federalist governance as a solution to the region's complex political issues, discussing how perceptions of governance models can influence their adoption and success.

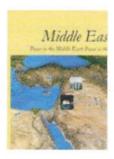
Technological advancements and their impact on perceptions are also addressed, with the authors considering how the Fourth Industrial Revolution is reshaping economic and social landscapes as well as regional perceptions of progress and development. Development opportunities in the region are identified and discussed, emphasizing the role of perception in either hindering or facilitating progress. While the book is thoroughly researched and insightful, there are areas where it could be further enhanced. An even more detailed exploration of the internal diversity within the Middle East would be beneficial, as

the region is not monolithic and perceptions can vary significantly across different countries and communities.

Additionally, a comparative analysis with other regions experiencing similar perceptionrelated issues could provide a broader context and enhance the generalizability of the findings. Overall, "The Power of Perceptions in the Middle East" is a significant contribution to Middle Eastern studies. Its emphasis on the active role of perceptions in shaping reality is a critical reminder of the power of narratives in global affairs. This work is essential reading for scholars, policymakers, and anyone seeking a deeper understanding of the Middle East. The authors' thorough research and engaging writing style make complex concepts accessible, and their call for greater awareness and understanding is both timely and important.

Paul Oesingmann

Mehmet Hişyar Korkusuz Peace in the Middle East; Peace in the World: Cognitive Architecture and Cooperation Perspectives on Middle East



Mehmet Hişyar Korkusuz:

Peace in the Middle East; Peace in the World: Cognitive Architecture and Cooperation Perspectives on Middle East,

The book provides a thorough exploration of the Middle East's complex humanitarian, social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions. Divided into distinct sections, each part offers a deep analysis of various historical and contemporary issues that have shaped the region, while suggesting ways to foster peace and development. The first section focuses on the life and legacy of Saladin Ayyubi, a key historical figure who played a transformative role in the Middle East. The author presents Saladin as a model leader whose mission of peace extended from the Nile to the Tigris. Despite his human flaws, Saladin is portrayed

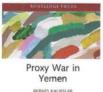
as an ideal ruler whose wisdom and conscience left a lasting impact. The author proposes that Türkiye, with its rich historical heritage from the Ayyubid, Seljuk, and Ottoman empires, could draw inspiration from Saladin's example to create a "Saladin Initiative" for peace in the modern Middle East. Following this, the book delves into the geopolitical power struggles in the Middle East, particularly after the decline of the Ottoman Empire. This section examines how European powers, especially Britain, France, and Germany, competed for influence in the region. The author highlights Germany's unique position as a latecomer to imperialism and contrasts it with other European powers. This historical analysis sheds light on the intricate alliances and rivalries that have shaped modern Middle Eastern geopolitics, offering a nuanced view of how these powers interacted with the Ottoman Empire. The third section shifts focus to the role of oil, which has been a pivotal factor in the Middle East's modern history. The author emphasizes the central role oil played in the region's political and economic development, particularly during and after the First World War. The scramble

for control over oil resources is framed as a driving force behind the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and subsequent political instability in the region. In the fourth part, the book explores Turkish-American relations and how the United States has approached the region. The analysis of U.S.-Türkiye relations is presented within a historical framework, tracing the evolution of their relationship in light of regional and global shifts. The author emphasizes the importance of understanding the strategic, political, and economic motivations behind U.S. actions in the Middle East, making this section a valuable guide for analyzing contemporary international relations. The fifth section addresses the increasingly critical issue of water in the Middle East, focusing on Türkiye's water policies. The author highlights the environmental, political, 5arcity and resource mismanagement, framing water diplomacy as a vital but often overlooked aspect of Middle Eastern politics. Türkiye's evolving foreign policy in the Middle East is examined in the sixth section. The author explores whether Türkiye's foreign policy requires a fresh approach in light of both domestic political changes and international developments. This section makes a clear distinction between international politics

and foreign policy, suggesting that Türkiye adopt a balanced and forward-thinking approach in navigating the dynamic regional landscape. The seventh part of the book addresses the Eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus, highlighting their historical and geopolitical significance. The author explores the deep-rooted nationalistic sentiment in Türkiye regarding Cyprus and the broader political complexities of the Eastern Mediterranean. painting a comprehensive picture of the region's ongoing struggles. Globalization and its impact on global politics is the subject of the eighth section, while the ninth and final section offers a roadmap for understanding the Islamic world. This last part calls for a nuanced and non-reductionist analysis of the challenges facing the Muslim world. By maintaining harmony between change and continuity, the Islamic world could become a model for achieving global peace, justice, and human flourishing. Overall, the book offers a detailed and insightful analysis of the Middle East, exploring both historical and contemporary challenges while offering potential solutions grounded in justice, reason, and a balanced approach to development.

Dr. Ammar Al Qadi

Kaussler, Bernd , Keith A. Grant: Proxy War in Yemen



BERND KAUSSLER AND KEITH A. GRANT

Proxy War in Yemen Kaussler, Bernd and Keith A. Grant: Proxy War in Yemen, Routledge Publishers, May 2024, 132 pp., ISBN 978-1-032-20176-4.

This work examines the conflict in Yemen as a testing ground for expectations about the autonomy and control of proxies by external patrons and the direct consequences for civilian victimisation and duration of war. Like other proxy wars, the international dimensions of the war made the conflict in Yemen subject to the geopolitical interests of intervening powers. The longstanding power rivalry be-

tween Saudi Arabia and Iran over Middle East supremacy resulted in a competitive intervention in Yemen, where the initial belligerents of the civil war-the Houthi and the Hadi regime—were used as proxies by Tehran and the Gulf coalition led by Riyadh, respectively. Their intervention ultimately translated into a prolonged and destructive conflict. The often contradictory and self-interested patronage strategies by the coalition's two central patrons, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, undermined their broader goal of containing Iran. However, Iran's support for the Houthis enabled them to bait and bleed the Gulf coalition. Lastly, in an effort to balance against Iran, the US underwrote the military campaign of the Gulf states with military hardware and personnel, thereby further prolonging the conflict and humanitarian disaster. This book concludes that intervention by external patrons