

Migration and Asylum Problems between Politics and Humanitarian Action: Highlighting the GCC Countries

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Abstract

This research examines the root causes that prevent the reception of refugees by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries. The nature of the historical social formation of these countries when compared to the West indicates the reasons for the culture of asylum. Therefore, countries that cannot properly integrate their historical traditions with globalization are likely to be culturally shocked with modernity, this is then reflected in legislation within the state, Economic well-being alone does not provide opportunities for growth, Growth is a complex issue in which economic well-being enters, And the level of values that society holds. This paper discusses the treatment of the six GCC countries (Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, UAE and Saudi Arabia). With the issues of asylum and immigration, and this paper discuss according to theories of political science the reasons for the provision of aid and reception of refugees, and humanitarian aids shows that the issue of migration is normal for the survival of the human species, so it is an indigenous culture, the cultures of different societies are changing, evidence of the demise of many languages and cultures. This study examines the GCC legislation, Most of the legislation shows that the protection of refugees is inadequate in the GCC countries.

Index terms— asylum, migration, new world order, populism, GCC, tribalism, culture, law

1 I.

The Roots of the Idea of Humanitarian Action and the Reception of Refugees and the Idea of the World Order he terms "humanity", "humanitarian action", "human rights", "reception of refugees" are related to the idea of a single world order, and this idea is modern and today the world lives under this system called the new world order. The state is the only important element in the international community, and after the Cold War, the so-called new world order emerged, noting that it is called the world order and not the international order, because individuals are important in it, not just states, and therefore the importance of the rights of these individuals. The system established in Westphalia is a system created to stop the conflict between states and give the state sovereignty over its population and its territory. Then

Author: e-mail: zbaidy22@gmail.com came global liberalism, which tries to penetrate the borders of states0 F 1 . Mankind has known asylum in different ways everywhere in the world, in Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt, and there was ecclesiastical legislation to hand over the same asylum seeker in 600 AD1 F 2 , Islamic law defined asylum in the name of giving safety and had practical applications in history, and has legal provisions2 F ?? . The first modern law providing for asylum was the French Constitution of 1793, and with the founding of the United Nations after the Second World War, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 provided for in Article 14 the right of persons to seek asylum. With the immigration and asylum of Europe, the Europeans reacted first to the creation of a convention for the protection of refugees in the world after World War II in 1951 to protect European refugees. The 1967 Protocol extended the terms of reference of the Convention to include refugees worldwide, and most of the world then signed one or both.

Today, there has been a change in the views of some politicians, media professionals, intellectuals and people towards the ideas of humanitarian action and the values that formed in post-World War II Europe. They are,

in fact, capitalist liberalism, which is linked to the freedom of the market. Liberal values, and the importance of human rights in many international conventions and declarations, have emerged based on this new vision of the world, where human rights issues were considered a fundamental issue in the interests of the state and its internal sovereignty, and then in the formation of the world order. The foundation of the post-World War II refugee rights was that Europe should build on the "free market", an idea that accompanied the importance of the idea of "human rights", and considered these issues in Western civilization after World War II. In one package, any ideas can not take some and leave other3 F ?? .

With the emergence of large numbers of these unintegrated refugees in European societies, forms of civilizational clash emerged, to the extent that it was said that Islam was a more influential factor on Europe than Russian or American culture. 4 F 5 ? The twentieth century was the first century in which Muslim immigrants lived in European societies.

China now appears to be a strong competitor to the United States, as China seeks to play a greater role in the global economy. This raised the level of fear within the United States of the decline of the strength of the US economy globally, which contributed to the emergence of the populist trend in the United States with the victory of President Donald Trump in 2016)5 F 6 (And populist parties in Europe that tried to exploit the feelings of fear of refugees, and economic problems, to promote feelings of racism)6 F 7 .

Since the Second World War in the GCC region that has not yet existed, and its resources for that time were very small, as oil was still new as an energy source, the UK found interests in this region because of its belief in the importance of protecting this A route for international trade from all that opposes the interests of the British Empire?? F 8 (The United States saw the importance of oil in this region to take care of its interests and the interests of Europe and Japan, where the United States found itself in need to maintain the security of the Gulf and the security of GCC countries because of oil, and thus Gulf oil became an essential element in the global system established by the United States, It prevented the Soviet Union from becoming a strong competitor, by making oil in the Gulf essential for world markets, a desire to preserve its power and liberal values and to build a new world order led by the United States as the most powerful in the world8 F ?? .

It is noticed here that the new world order established by the United States began as if it had become unstable with the rise of populist tendency all over the world, under President Donald Trump. Any thinking in the opposite direction to the previously established international order means that the American power built by the United States, which relied on the power of the United States beyond its borders, through the free economy, will decline9 F 10

. It is also against global liberalism and human rights, which appeared in the Western context as a package with the idea of a free market, and on the contrary, the consolidation of nationalism in the economy and narrow affiliations in the founding of States, and not the establishment of states on the most important element, which is human in general, and here Any weakness in establishing a world order based on human rights would mean a decline in interest in the free market, in human rights and in the reception of refugees.

We find that individualism and neo-liberal mixing in the ethics of people and personal relations and friendly trade with any other person to form an identity of Western culture, this culture is based on the integration of globalization and the doctrine of humanism and the free market, and social solidarity according to liberal values, and reflected on ethics For Western man1 0 F ??1 . The fact that the idea of asylum has existed since the oldest human civilizations in ancient times, but in its current form, has evolved by Western civilization, terminology varies depending on the languages and cultures expressed, in terms of distance and historical depth, It is an idea of the production of European and American culture primarily in the literature of the modern era, but we can say that the United States is more concerned with the term immigration, as evidenced by the history of US immigration legislation since 1790, where its systems have evolved over a long period of time. ? 1 1 F 12 As well as the diversity of ethnic origins of the American society, Europe has the term asylum is more used, and asylum in Europe is also a complex system, executive and judicial organs, and a common European Fund, ie, the issue of asylum is deep within the EU system.1 2 F ??3 ? Politics in each country and culture in each country determine the reality of the use of terms. Illegal immigrants are found in countries that legally accept migrants according to provisions such as Germany. 1 3 F 14 ? Somecountriesmaynothavethisterm, But the term "illegal residents", residing in the GCC countries is linked just to employment contracts, This is the culture of societies in the Gulf countries. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries receive the largest number of migrants around the world compared to the population, although there are numerous human rights reports against the illtreatment of these residents in the GCC countries 1 4 F ??5 .

There is no terminology on immigration and asylum in the GCC legislation, Compared to European countries, legislation has been enacted to protect the human rights of refugees. He is an illegal immigrant before applying for asylum. If he is found to be a refugee, he is granted asylum, for example in Sweden and Germany are among the most European countries receiving refugees. 1 5 F 16 ? He becomes a refugee, and then after a while he may become a citizen if he fulfills the condition stobe a citizen. However, if the judge does not judge that he is a refugee, he is an illegal immigrant, In the GCC and much of the world, there are none of these phases, an immigrant is an illegal resident if he enters illegally. The judiciary has nothing to do with the rights of this immigrant as the executive authority takes direct action against him. It becomes an expatriate laborer if he obtains a contract of employment and a residence permit, i.e., the law regulates purely economic conditions, and does not care about the development of an integrated system of human rights that may occur to

immigrants, many residents are subjected to inhuman treatment and deportation contrary to international law
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issuance of an asylum law since 2018, and Oman in the Aliens' Residence Law.

In Europe, the loss of large numbers of people after World War, and the destruction of Europe, led to the
 need for workers to rebuild Europe from 1945 to 1970. In Europe, the loss of large numbers of people after the
 World War, and the destruction of Europe, led to the need for workers to rebuild Europe from 1945 to 1970.
 Some of the reasons for emigration to Europe in this period were human rights violations in non-liberal countries,
 the need to work from the population of poor countries, and the period from 1960 to 1970 was the period of
 decolonization, where the Europeans returned to their countries of origin and emigrated to Europe and many
 workers from abroad, and so Europe has organized many systems for asylum and immigration. This
 led to oil-based economic growth, in the formation of state infrastructure, citizens remained dependent on oil
 welfare, created problems afterwards, including unemployment among citizens, the lack of development of new
 industries, and a significant increase in expatriate labor, and remained there Urgent need for migrant workers
 since the 1960s and 1970s to today without their integration into society, through nationality. This
 means that abnormal economic growth is behind the need for migrants, and the need for migrant workers due to
 other cultural reasons not abandoned by societies in the GCC countries, which is the unwillingness to work in
 the manual occupations by the citizens of these countries. And the barrier of tribal affiliations, which create a
 kind of transcendence to manual occupations. The failure of GCC countries to receive refugees can be
 attributed to the cultural barrier of the GCC communities, which leads to the non-acceptance of citizens of these
 countries to deal with non-citizens. Where In the GCC, the tribal system merged with the Westphalian
 state.

In the recent crisis in Europe over refugees, there has been talk of terminology between politicians and media
 professionals. Globalization and openness, albeit carrying a lot of ideas from the West to the East on human
 rights and migration, must be. But these trends were reversed against the West, where the West was affected by
 the lack of such a philosophy in the rest of the world. But from the point of view of other countries that are not
 in alliance with the West, the centrality of the West to the world capitalist system creates opportunities for it,
 in liberalism within its western societies.

The liberal rhetoric in the West has fallen backwards due to the rise of many countries, without the promotion
 of human rights institutions. China has achieved economic growth, but it is against the reception of refugees,
 as well as the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, as well as Russia, which has become capitalist as well but
 remained not liberal, and these countries believe in the free market, but capitalism in these countries are populist.
 Strangely enough, the only ally in the new US system that has followed this populist capitalism is the
 GCC. These countries tried to form a society out of the tribe system, But it is still stuck between the tribe and
 the society of the non-liberal state.

Much of the understanding of the mechanisms for dealing with migrants around the world comes from
 understanding the mechanisms of manipulating speech and terminology, or ambiguity in statements. That the
 terminology for each topic may be related to the culture of society in particular, Asylum and migration are not
 part of the culture of societies in the GCC countries, and this has been reflected in the laws and dealing with
 foreigners in the GCC countries. This is why the GCC states do not deal with human rights or the idea
 of refugees in this way. This is why the GCC states do not deal with human rights or the idea of refugees in
 this way. This is because these countries refuse to deal with new ideas. as the term refugees or migrants in
 their legislation, because this means thinking in a new way towards dealing with people, which will reflect on the
 nature of the political system, and the system of government.

That is why history is part of the human culture. World War II, with its damage to the European population,
 allowed the idea of asylum, with about 50 million refugees. In the United States, its history was based on
 immigration. The term "asylum" is used more in Europe, and so by deconstructing the terminology through the
 historical dimension, we find that the question of asylum is subject to the human culture that exists in humans,
 and to various circumstances. Where the culture as it is. In its early years, immigrants from Europe, Africa, and
 the rest of the world, immigration has always been a factor in the development of American society.

II.

Comparing the Nature of the Political and Humanitarian Work of the GCC Countries

If political systems use humanitarian action to serve political interests, how can we differentiate between

political action and humanitarian action? Today, political interests do not overlap with the issue of humanitarian action. The human tragedy has contributed to changing views towards political interest.

In the GCC countries, the same rule applies. The GCC region prior to the establishment of these countries allowed migrations, and allowed the entry of foreigners, whether Arabs or other races. This is evidenced by the research on the origins of families in the Hijaz and Eastern regions, where besides the Bedouin Arabs found in these areas, there are also many residents who originate from peoples of Central Asia and Persians and Arab and African peoples. A study on the genes of Saudi Arabia's population revealed that the population of eastern and western Saudi Arabia has increased non-Arab assets. The Middle, South and North regions have a lot of Arab assets. The study showed that 71% of the population of Saudi Arabia are of Arab origin, twenty-nine percent are ethnicity who migrated to Saudi Arabia in previous centuries^{2 4 F ??5}. Is all the work of the political authority a political act, in fact the work of the politician is related to his presence in power, whether or not this politician exercises to strengthen his political power, where even the actions he practices as a natural human affect on his presence in power. Here, the question arises: what is the criterion for differentiating between political and nonpolitical action? But every time this humanitarian action is mixed, it becomes politically beneficial, that is to say, it becomes a political act. Thus, it is necessary to say that any humanitarian action emanating from the politician is necessarily political^{2 5 F ??6}.

24 Daniel Griswold, Immigrants Humanitarian actions have been considered a kind of soft power by states, because the humanitarian aid provided by states guarantees a positive image in world public opinion, therefore, the GCC countries have been a strong contributor to humanitarian work and financial grants to poor countries and regions. Another aspect of the soft power of these countries is in part that they are the heart of the Islamic and Arab world, and are committed to tribal traditions^{2 6 F ???}. This conservative approach in society was a kind of soft power, but this had an effect on not reforming the legal environment, but it always prefers to provide financial assistance abroad. The basis of the theory of soft power goes back to the neoliberalism system, but the realism and structuralism has other view in the question of humanitarian action by states.

These two theories are important in understanding the reasons why the state provides assistance to other poor countries. because refugees are not the responsibility of the state, in normal circumstances, but the responsibility of the state from which they fled, so what are the reasons for such assistance while what is traditional in politics is that the state works to achieve the national interests, Theorists of the theory of political realism believe that the strategic goals and objectives of the states crystallize the idea that each country is interested in its affairs only under an international system that poses challenges, and then achieve national interests, as all countries seek to maximize their power in a broad sense, as it has concerns about its strength, it tries to take foreign strategies, including foreign aid, which contribute to strengthening its economic and military status.

There are three assumptions of political realism in the actions of external states. The first is that states are legal persons led by natural individuals, and therefore their behavior as the actions of ordinary people. Second, states are rational entities that act in their foreign policy to achieve strategic objectives and not based on the spontaneous nature like ordinary individuals. Thirdly, it is the interest of national states that determines their foreign policy, and their foreign policy is in accordance with strategies to achieve this national interest.

This third view is the only one that clearly explains why countries provide foreign aid. One criticism of the theory of political realism is the difficulty of determining what is in the interest of the state it wants to achieve. In the classical sense, national interest may reflect the maintenance of state power and national security. The recipient countries are then subsidized, which are of strategic importance to donor countries, Therefore, the strategic objectives of the States in providing assistance may be diplomatic interests of a security and military nature. Such as the establishment of military bases in the recipient country, It may also be a business matter, so it may be noted that the commercial interests earned by the aid provider are more important than the amount of assistance they provide, to maintain positive diplomatic relations^{2 7 F 28}. The perspective of realistic theory does not discuss the historical perspective of concepts in the culture of these countries.

If the reception of refugees is a form of assistance, we will find that the state will most likely not gain from the other state by one of the issues mentioned earlier, but another form of gain, is that these refugees become workers, and low-paid work, And perhaps other complex economic or political issues, such as moving the sluggish economy, this view is taken from the perspective of political realism theory, The view that achieving the national interest of the State is the goal of the State to provide assistance, and here the humanitarian perspective has no value according to this theory in itself.

In the case of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, we note that they prefer to provide foreign assistance to countries in the form of grants and nonreception of refugees as refugees, faced with criticism of the reason why they did not receive refugees, the GCC states answered officials with two arguments, the first argument is that she said she didn't want refugees to receive hard-to-live camps, the second argument is that these countries are generously providing assistance to refugees in their countries of existence, this argument is consistent with the theory of political realism.

The Structuralism holds that foreign policy issues, provision of foreign assistance is not from the perspective of the national interests of the State providing assistance, but from another perspective and is the perspective of standards, where according to the standards of common aspirations of those who have power according to this theory are determined by the standards of right and wrong in the external orientations of the state with other countries, political realism ignores local factors in determining the nature of foreign policy orientations,

unlike constructivist theory, local standards according to the constructivist theory are of great importance in understanding the purpose of external assistance by donor countries.

Structuralism holds that external and internal standards are involved in shaping the foreign policy of states, Thus, the strategies of foreign countries towards poor countries and the provision of humanitarian assistance are influenced by the internal standards of the donor country, constructivism thus differs from the theory of political realism, where constructivism gives importance to the norms of society in the formulation of state policy. This means that humanitarian aid is for itself, not for another purpose.

When comparing Western societies with those of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) from a perspective of Structuralism, we find that the societies in the GCC have a humanitarian perspective that is contrary to that of European countries according to this theory. Western societies in general have formed a culture about man dating back to the Renaissance, and a long history of migrations and dealing with different races, until it has a culture of migration and refugees known, while the societies of the Gulf countries are based on a tribal culture, and the family is the most important thing, not the individual And therefore reflected on the perspective of human action in these cultures, we find that financial humanitarian work is the most widespread, humanitarian action that allows for the integration of other cultures is unacceptable to the traditional tribe system, this was related by another thing that the formation of a class capitalism according to a Marxist perspective^{2 8 F ??9} . But there is a lot of philanthropy in the oil-rich Gulf countries, inside and outside the GCC, to help the poor Muslims, and to support the poor Muslim countries. can't be counted, because they are in all Muslim relationships. In Africa there is a lot of philanthropy done by the wealthy societies of the GCC countries. In addition to the grants provided by the Gulf States to the governments of the rest of the Arab and Islamic countries^{2 9 F 30} , as a soft power in enhancing the religious and humanitarian status of the Gulf Cooperation Council, and this works to obscure the problems of legislation and the reality of legal problems in the GCC countries.

The GCC, led by Saudi Arabia, is involved in many Islamic charitable projects, including the Muslim World League, which was established from Saudi Arabia in 1962, and many Islamic organizations sponsored by the GCC as a soft power. ²⁹ Abdullah Juma Alhaj, Arab Gulf Society and Class Analysis, alittihad newspaper, <https://www.alittihad.ae/wejhataarticle/79385/>. (Original in Arabic). ^{??0} Peter Mandaville and Shadi Hamid, Islam as statecraft: How governments use religion in foreign policy, The Brookings Institution, Report, November 2018, <https://www.brookings.edu/research/islamas-statecraft-how-governments-use-religion-in-foreign-policy/>, (Last seen: 14-08-2019).

2 III.

3 Regulating the Legal Status of Migrants in the GCC Countries

The GCC countries are still experiencing significant population growth compared to the world average or compared with developing countries known for their high population growth rates. This is despite the fact that more than six decades have passed since the discovery of oil and the start of production, which is the main factor affecting population developments. The comprehensive development processes adopted by the countries of the region required the introduction of foreign labor because of the poverty of the region in terms of qualitative and even quantitative in most countries.

In the first decade of the 21st century, population data show that the total population of the region rose from about 30 million in 2000 to about 44 million in 2010, a growth of about 4.3% annually, and the overall rate of expatriates at least 46%. On the other hand, data show that the size of workers in 2010 amounted to about 16.1 million, including more than 65% of expatriates, after they were only about 60% 10 years ago, despite the qualitative developments of national workers.

The 2016 census shows that the total population of the Gulf States is 51,002,366, including 24,691,868 foreigners, representing 48% of the total population of the Gulf States. The statistics indicated that the percentage of citizens of the total population in the GCC countries is 52%, with 26,310,498 citizens, which is the highest percentage of foreigners in a country in the world.^{3 0 F ??1} Refugees from persecution always try to go to countries where they find safety, and legislation that guarantees their rights, as the rights guarantees in the GCC do not pay refugees to "Syrian refugees, for example, compared to guarantees of human rights in the West.

The philosophy of law sponsored by the GCC states is very different from the philosophy of law in the West. The GCC countries, although they were established with British and American assistance, have not yet reached a sufficient degree of development. ^{3 1 F ??2} Therefore, we find that political participation has a big role in the renaissance of any society. Part of the renaissance of the West is based on political participation. What maintains the status quo is the huge oil revenues, based on the tribal system that cares for the sovereignty of families, and recognizes the honor of some families more than others.

In the GCC countries, there is no legislation regulating refugee status. According to the refugee concept found in the 1951 Refugee Convention, people from conflict areas must be received and not returned for fear of discrimination. Article 1 clearly defines who is a refugee. A person who is outside his country of nationality or habitual residence, because of a wellfounded fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, and because of that fear he cannot or does not want to remain

Under the protection or return to that country for fear of persecution. Although more than 140 countries have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol, or both, the GCC has not signed either agreement.³ The economic migrant is different from the refugee according to international legislation. Here, we find that the GCC countries are among the countries that have large numbers of economic migrants legally, and although some of them stay for decades, but they are not allowed under the nationality laws to obtain citizenship no matter how long they stay.

Islam is a major source of legislation in the GCC, although immigration and asylum have provisions in Islamic law, the GCC states have not received refugees in accordance with these provisions, the Saudi Basic Law of Governance of 1992 states in Article 1: "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a fully sovereign Islamic Arab State;³ The fact that refugee is mentioned in the GCC legislation is found only in Oman and Qatar. The Omani Foreigners' Regulation Law No. 16 of 1995 stipulates certain rules for refugees. The Omani legislator authorized the foreigner who for political reasons to apply for political asylum and reside in Oman if such prosecution threatened his life or freedom, Provided that these political reasons do not contradict the general policy of the State of Oman and do not prejudice the Islamic beliefs, Until the end of danger, this is stated in Article 24 of the law.

In article 24, the Omani legislator also granted the Minister of Foreign Affairs the power to regulate matters relating to refugees and political residents. In this case, the foreigner shall be given a special card, stating all the details relating to his identity and the obligations that may be imposed on him.

It is also stated in 26 of the same law that: "A person granted asylum shall not engage in any political activity during his stay in the Sultanate of Oman.", Article 27 stipulates that "the granting of asylum to an alien may be withdrawn and deported from the Sultanate and, at any time, the right to political asylum may be restricted under new conditions where circumstances so require, If a political refugee is to be deported, he may not be deported to a country where his life or freedom is feared . " In the State of Qatar, the current Constitution of 2004 stipulated in Article 58 that extradition of political refugees is prohibited. Law No. 11 regulating political asylum in Qatar was issued in 2018. This modern law provides detailed rules for political asylum.

An executive body has been established in accordance with the provisions of this law to regulate the status of refugees. Article 4 of this law provides for the establishment of a permanent committee called the "Committee for Political Refugees Affairs." This law is very advanced in the issue of admission of refugees. Article 1 of the law defines a political refugee: "a political refugee: any person outside his or her country of nationality, or the country of his or her habitual residence if he or she is stateless, and cannot or does not wish to return to it because of fear Justified the risk of being sentenced to death or punishment Torture, brutal or degrading treatment, or persecution, because of his race, religion, membership of a particular social group or political views." Many human rights organizations considered this to be a real progress from Qatar, likely to have repercussions on Other GCC countries remaining.

IV.

4 Conclusion

The GCC countries depend on foreigners in many professional competencies. Most of the GCC countries, although they do not accept foreigners under the name of immigrant or refugee, but they are among the most welcoming countries in the world through contracts and temporary residence, these foreign populations are called 'migrant workers'. The cultural nature of these countries has not allowed the development of a legal system allowing for asylum, migration, or even integration of workers or the acquisition of nationality, and the GCC communities have tribal traditions that continue to influence the policies Gulf Cooperation Council to date.

The GCC countries face many fundamental problems in the presence of foreigners and the continued dependence of the state on oil, which has resulted in the problem of dependence on foreigners in most professions, and made most of the original citizens working in the public sector, or high professions in the private sector, The foreigner according to the view of society and the law as a means to fulfill the purpose of meeting the professional needs of society, without looking at the foreigner from an integrated social perspective, Thus, the foreigner was prevented from obtaining citizenship in these countries no matter how long he stayed, and refugee reception does not exist as a humanitarian situation in the Gulf States.

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[Note: 20]

Figure 1:

Figure 2:

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Figure 3:

