Spring Term 2019

**Managing Humanitarian and Refugee Crises:
Challenges for Policy Makers and Practitioners
PA 5823
Friday, February 8, from 3 pm to 8 pm
Saturday, February 9, from 8 am to 4 pm**

Professor Eric P. Schwartz
eschwart@umn.edu
202 285 7939
TA Jayne Discenza
Disce004@umn.edu

Syllabus

Please read this syllabus closely before you begin (and while you are completing) the reading assignments. Because this is a short course with only limited readings, I have included in this document a great deal of critical substantive information designed to enhance your understanding of the material. Also, read my descriptions of assignments closely. In some cases, I ask you only to read summaries or short passages, or to skim materials, as I am conscious that there is a lot of information to digest.

Please be aware that you are expected to complete all the readings (and a pre-class assignment) before class on February 8 (this is all described below). I have worked hard to keep the readings manageable (and interesting): I estimate that you will have between 15 and 20 hours of readings, but that may vary depending on your familiarity with the concepts, etc.

<u>**Course overview**</u>**:**

This is a one credit course, and conducted in two sessions – Friday, February 8 from 3 pm to 8 pm (with breaks), and Saturday, February 9, from 8 am to 4 pm (also with breaks).

From Syria and Somalia, to Burma and Bangladesh, to the countries of Central America and beyond, persecution, human rights violations, civil conflict and complex emergencies, which principally impact populations in the global south, pose compelling challenges to the capacities of governments, NGOs, and international organizations to prevent and alleviate suffering, provide refuge, and promote recovery. Especially in recent years, policy-makers have increasingly questioned the ability of the international community to achieve those objectives. Moreover, a new presidential administration in the United States came to office in 2017 with approaches on refugee, migration, and humanitarian issues that differ significantly from its predecessors, and this has increased the complexity of efforts to address refugee and humanitarian challenges.

This course, which will involve lecture, guest lecture from practitioners and policy-makers (including refugees and former refugees who are now working in the field), and class discussion, will examine the efforts of governments, international organizations, non-

governmental organizations (NGOs), and others to respond to humanitarian, recovery, and reconstruction challenges posed by persecution, human rights abuse, civil conflict, and complex emergencies.

We will also examine the role and institutions of the United States government—in terms of its practices and policies involving overseas humanitarian assistance, U.S. refugee admissions, and asylum and temporary protection in the United States.

This one-credit course will take a broad and integrated approach, designed to give students a wide understanding of the lay of the humanitarian land and the questions with which advocates, policy makers and policy practitioners grapple.

Over the course of our two days together, I am planning to welcome a number of guest speakers by Skype. These will include U.S. government and United Nations officials and officials of major humanitarian NGOs. Refugees and former refugees are also working in this field, and they will be among our guest speakers.

Books for Purchase

We will be using two books that you will need to obtain. Between Kindle, rental and paperback, you can obtain both books online for between about $25 and $50 (depending on your preferences). (See information below about completing the reading before class begins.)

Weiss, *et al. The United Nations and Changing World Politics.* 2017 *(8th edition).* Boulder: Westview Press.

Betts and Collier, *Refuge, Transforming a Broken Refugee System.* 2017. Allen Lane/Penguin Random House.

The other materials are all available either online, through links embedded in the syllabus, or on the Canvas site.

Learning objectives:

Students in this one credit class will gain a broad understanding—albeit limited given the short amount of time we have together—of the policy issues and institutions that are involved in international refugee and humanitarian response. This course will integrate concepts from a range of fields. Students will also gain an appreciation of key dilemmas faced by policy-makers and practitioners involved in response to complex crises, challenges to achieving policy and operational objectives, and strategies for success. Students will also learn about U.S. policy on international refugee and humanitarian assistance, and on domestic refugee, asylum, and related issues. We will not have the chance to go into the depth and detail of a three credit course, but there is much we can do in two days.

Prerequisites:

There are no formal prerequisites, other than a keen interest in the material, though those who are not graduate students should contact me before the class begins.

Course requirements and grading

To be completed any time before the first class

You will be asked to complete all of the readings before class.

You will also be asked to complete short responses to about 12 assigned questions drawn from the readings. Each response should be about 1-2 short paragraphs, and the exercise is designed to ensure students have considered the readings carefully before the two class sessions. Taken together, the 12 responses should total between 1400 and 1700 words.

Because you will be completing this assignment before we've had the chance to discuss the materials, the principal criterion for my evaluation of this exercise will be whether you demonstrate that you have read the material with at least some care. This first assignment will count for 25% of your grade.

Late submissions: It is important that you complete this assignment before our class, as you will be at an enormous advantage if you have thought about and integrated the material before we meet.

Thus, I regret that, if you do not do complete the assignment before we begin class on February 8, you will be penalized a half grade for the course (and will still be required to complete the assignment).

To be completed during the two classes: class participation.

Students will be evaluated by the quality of their engagement and all students (whether or not they are hand-raisers) will be given the chance to engage. This will constitute 50% of your overall grade, and it may include a short in-class presentation (5-10 minutes) developed during the course of the two days of class.

To be completed after class (by or before March 4)

A 700 word (about 2-3 pages) *thought paper* on a humanitarian policy of your choice, with your perspectives drawn from what you've learned in class. This will constitute 25% of your overall grade.

Late submissions: For each week (or portion thereof) that you are delayed in completing this assignment, you will be penalized one half grade on your paper.

Organization of the course

I will organize our two day class around eight broad topic areas (though we might devote more time to some than to others), and we will spend 1-2 hours or so, on average, on each topic. As mentioned, I'm planning to have guest presenters for many of those topic areas, and class conversation will be a very important component of our two days.

In general, each section will start with a short presentation of the material, followed by discussion. Over the course of the two days, we'll structure discussions in various ways to keep it interesting and keep everyone engaged in the material. In some cases, we will have traditional class discussion. In other cases, we will break up into small group conversations, and have groups to present their observations/conclusions at the end of the hour long session.

Topic areas for the course and assigned readings

Note: this is the section you should review very carefully.

Again, please read this section before you begin (and while you are completing) the reading assignments

Note that if I ask you to read a webpage, I do not expect you to read the links that are within that webpage, *unless I indicate explicitly that you are to do so.*

Also note that in the readings described below, I have not used a particular citation convention, but rather have presented them in a way designed to make the most easily accessible to you.

The subject areas:

- **A History and Overview of Humanitarianism**
- **The State of the Humanitarian World, and Where Does Humanitarianism Fit in Relations between States?**
- **The United Nations, International Institutions, and Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Designed to Address Global Crises and to Protect Human Rights in Situations of Conflict: Do they Matter?**
- **The International Humanitarian Players, and Key International Humanitarian Issues**
- **Peacekeeping**
- **Women, Peace and Security**
- **NGOs in Humanitarian Response**
- **U.S. Government in Humanitarian Response, including Overseas Assistance, Refugee Admissions and Asylum – Organization and Activities**

1. A History and Overview of Humanitarianism

We will consider the origins of both the concept of humanitarianism and the field of practice. What are the critical components of humanitarianism, and how do we understand the evolution of concepts like neutrality, impartiality, humanity, and independence. What is the larger political context in which humanitarian activities take place? We will consider and assess the breadth of the humanitarianism, as officials and representatives of NGOs have sought to go beyond the saving of lives, and have attempted to promote reconciliation and recovery in countries around the world.

Reading

Text:
Weiss and Barnett, "Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present," Chapter 1, pp. 1-48, in *Humanitarianism in Question.* 2008. Cornell University Press. The chapter is available on the Canvas site.

Note that this collection was published in 2008, and much has occurred over the past decade. But it provides a good overview of humanitarianism.

2. The State of the Humanitarian World, and Where Does Humanitarianism Fit in Relations between States?

We'll examine and discuss worldwide humanitarian trends, and then consider the fact that efforts to address crises take place within a larger international political context, broadly defined. How do policy-makers and practitioners make sense of that larger context, and how does it impact the actions they take or fail to take?

Readings

UNHCR Document: UNHCR, *Global Trends* (2017), pp. 1-12, 24-32, and 57-61. At
https://www.unhcr.org/5b27be547.pdf

This is the UNCHR annual report on the state of the world. Chapter 1 is an introduction. Read page 3 very closely, as it describes/characterizes vulnerable populations, including refugees—that is, those fleeing persecution, human rights violations, and conflict—as well as internally displaced persons who are within the borders of their countries of origin. (We will discuss definitions in class.)

Chapter 3 addresses "solutions." But prior to that discussion (beginning on p. 24), you will read about a population of particular concern, the Rohingya. I've asked you to read about that population because it is one of the most compelling contemporary refugee crises.

Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 57-61, contain statistical and definitional information that you should review.

Donor and Recipient Statistics:
Development Initiatives, Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2018. Executive Summary (including "Humanitarian Assistance in Numbers"), pp. 7-9. Also read pp. 43-56, to obtain an idea of how donor dollars flow. At
http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/GHA-Report-2017-Full-report.pdf

This reading is designed to give you a sense of the sources and directions of international humanitarian funding. Look, in particular, 1) at the percentage of funds that come, at the very outset, from national governments; 2) at the overall flows (or pathways) of monies to the intended recipients; 3) at the relatively modest amount of monies (albeit growing over time) that go to UN

pooled funds—funds that give the UN at the central and local level greater flexibility to use monies where they are most needed; and 4) at the relative percentages of monies that flow to local NGOS.

Why Humanitarianism?

-- Luttwak, "Give war a chance," *Foreign Affairs,* July-August 1999 (six pages). At https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/1999-07-01/give-war-chance You may not be able to access the article on the *Foreign Affairs* website, but it will be on Canvas, and it is also accessible at UMN libraries.
-- Schwartz, "No more excuses, the Rohingya need our help," *Washington Post,* October 12, 2017, at
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2017/10/12/no-more-excuses-the-rohingya-need-our-help/?utm_term=.c9096eec0ff7
-- Walt, "Could we have stopped this tragedy? A realist grapples with his doubts on intervention in Syria." *Foreign Policy,* September 21. 2015. At
http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/09/21/could-we-have-stopped-this-tragedy-syria-intervention-realist/

Why should states engage in humanitarianism – that is, both the effort to provide assistance to vulnerable populations and the effort to prevent or bring an end to conflicts that impact civilians? We won't have the time in this short course to explore various theories of international relations and foreign policy (as well as ethics) and how each might address that question. But we do need to briefly consider this question of why states should (or should not) engage. These short readings offer a variety of perspectives.

3. The United Nations, International Institutions, and Human Rights and Humanitarian Law Designed to Address Global Crises and to Protect Human Rights in Situations of Conflict: Do they Matter?

We'll examine the United Nations and other international institutions that establish the institutional and the legal context through which governments and international organizations involve themselves in humanitarian issues and through which the human rights of individuals affected by conflict are recognized and protected.   What does the UN Charter suggest about the role of governments in responding to complex crises, what norms and institutions have been developed to provide such capacity, and what are the challenges to their effectiveness?   We will also introduce the legal regimes surrounding various humanitarian issues and designed to safeguard rights, such as the Geneva Conventions, the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and other international instruments.   And we will consider – very briefly – the "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine.

Readings

Basic text:
Weiss et al. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*, Introduction, pp. 1-21; Chapter 1 ("The Theory and Practice of UN Collective Security") pp. 25-42.

The chapters in the Weiss book provide basic information about the United Nations. It was

published in 2017, so the section on collective security omits discussion of some recent and crucial events—nonetheless, the Weiss readings are important.

International Legal Documents Related to Humanitarianism and Human Rights:
The readings below are, or describe, international legal documents that relate to laws or norms that impact international humanitarian response as well as human rights. I want you to be familiar with these documents and their texts. I understand that you will not become an expert on each simply with a read-through.

1. UN Charter. You may read most of the Charter quickly. But focus, in particular, on introductory note, Preamble, Chapter I, Article 1 and 2; Chapter IV, Articles 11, 12, 17, 19; Chapter V, Articles 23, 24, 25, 27; Chapter VI; Chapter VII; Chapter VIII; Chapter IX, Chapter X, Chapter XV, and Chapter XVI, Article 103. At
http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml

The UN Charter is considered an authoritative expression of international law; all UN members are, in theory, bound by its provisions. See, in particular, the responsibilities and authorities associated with the Security Council, in general, and the permanent members of that body.

2. "The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols," at ICRC Website, at
http://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm

Read this webpage, which summarizes the Conventions. Please also read the links at the bottom of the page, to short summaries of Protocol I, Protocol II, and Protocol III. The summaries will not make you an expert on the Protocols, but I want you to see the effort to strengthen the effect of the Conventions. Note that I am not asking you to read the text of the Conventions or the Protocols.

Founded in 1863, the International Committee of the Red Cross "is an impartial, neutral and independent organization whose exclusively humanitarian mission is to protect the lives and dignity of victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence and to provide them with assistance." (From the ICRC website.)

3. Description of ICRC Convention IV. At http://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/380
This is another description of Convention IV – a bit longer than the prior one. On that page, please also read all of Article 3 of Convention IV (conflicts not of an international character – also known as "common article 3," as it is included in all four Geneva conventions of 1949), for which there is link on the web page.

4. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, pp. 13-37 (Convention), and 46-50 (Protocol). At http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html

This international convention was adopted largely in response to the displacement in Europe following World War II – and its initial focus was on refugees who had fled countries in Europe. The Convention's Protocol, which was adopted much later, applied the Convention's provisions to the rest of the world. As a practitioner, I found that Articles 1 and 33 were probably the most important ones in my work. Think about this document when you read parts of the Betts/Collier book, below.

5. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, at
http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IDPersons/Pages/Standards.aspx

Read the introductory material on the webpage and access and read the Guiding Principles document.

6. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, at
http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

Read the introductory material on the webpage and the Declaration.

The Universal Declaration is not a treaty – rather, it was a resolution, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948. It foreshadowed two international human rights treaties, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Documents relating to the Responsibility to Protect

While we won't have the time to explore this concept in depth, I want you to obtain a sense of the issues surrounding the R2P doctrine, and have provided a few readings. We will also discuss in class.

-- Secretary General's presentation to the United Nations General Assembly, 20 September 1999. At
http://www.un.org/press/en/1999/19990920.sgsm7136.html

The Secretary General made this speech at the annual session of the UNGA in 1999.

-- International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (2001). Please read the Foreword (vii-ix), the Synopsis (xi-xiii). At
http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf

-- International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect, Paragraphs 138-9, World Summit Outcome Document (2005). At
http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/component/content/article/35-r2pcs-topics/398-%20general-assembly-r2p-excerpt-from-outcome-document

This excerpt is from an Outcome Document of governments meeting in New York at the United Nations in 2005. It represents, to some extent, early acceptance in principle of the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect.

4. The International Humanitarian Players, and Key International Humanitarian Issues

We'll first consider the major public international institutions that have emerged to address international humanitarian issues, including the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and UN funds and programs that are involved in humanitarian issues (UNHCR, UNICEF, the World Food Program, etc.).   Aspiring policy-makers and practitioners should know how these institutions seek to translate the concepts of humanitarianism into programs involving billions of dollars from governments around the world.

We'll also use this section to consider some of the key policy issues with which these institutions, and governments of the world, are now dealing. In particular, we'll consider global initiatives designed to promote international "compacts" on refugees and on migration, focusing on longer term solutions what have in many cases been defined as intractable conflicts.

Readings

On the Major International Institutions Dealing with Humanitarian Response

A. UNOCHA and Humanitarian Coordination

The Office of Coordination for Humanitarian Affairs is part of the UN Secretariat – it is therefore run by an Undersecretary General, who also holds the title of UN Emergency Relief Coordinator. OCHA is charged with coordination of the many and varied agencies that are involved in humanitarian response. These readings are designed to give you a sense of the operations and structure of OCHA, as well as some key issues.

  UNOCHA Website, at www.unocha.org
Read the following links and sub-links (sub-links are indented):
A b o u t   U s
        Who we are
                UNGA 46/182
        Funding
Our Work
        Coordination
        Humanitarian Financing

The Cluster Approach

This is an approach to humanitarian coordination that grew out of the international humanitarian reform efforts—and, in particular, a 2005 reform project in which the UN was engaged. The cluster approach primarily addresses coordination challenges for crises in non-refugee settings – involving internally displaced persons and other impacted citizens who have not left their countries of origin. UNHCR continues to have lead responsibilities outside the Cluster System for refugee emergencies, though, for reasons we can discuss in class, the distinction often breaks down in practice.

UNOCHA Website – Clusters
https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/coordination/clusters
Read the following sublinks in the left column, under "About Clusters":
  -What is the Cluster Approach?
  -Why do we need the Cluster Approach?
  - Who does what?
Read the sublink in the left column, under "Cluster Coordination at the National Level"
  - Cluster Activation and Deactivation

Interagency Standing Committee

IASC, or the Interagency Standing Committee, is a coordinating body under OCHA that is composed of OCHA, UN agencies and non-governmental representatives. It plays a role in overall coordination in the international humanitarian system.

(IASC) webpage. At https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/
Please read the link, IASC, and the dropdown link, IASC Membership.
Also read Principals link at the top.

B. Other International Humanitarian Institutions outside of OCHA

While OCHA has responsibilities for the structure and/or organization of large-scale humanitarian response, other organizations—in large measure UN funds and programs which are not within the UN Secretariat—receive the bulk of the resources when it comes to actual implementation. They receive the overwhelming portion of their support from voluntary contributions from governments. I may discuss several of these organizations in class, and have not assigned a large amount of readings relating to them. But I've assigned very brief descriptions for the two largest funds and programs, UNHCR and WFP, which together account for more than $10 billion in support for programs annually.

UNHCR:
The UNHCR Website, at www.unhcr.org
Please read the About Us and its sublink, History of UNHCR

WFP
At the WFP website, www.wfp.org
Please read the link, Who We Are

Readings on Humanitarian Issues – reports/documents:
- **An ICVA report on the Grand Bargain**
- **The Global Compact on Refugees**
- **A Refugees International report/assessment on the Global Compact on Refugees and the Global Compact on Migration**

(Links to all are below)

Given our time constraints, I'm only including three documents, but I could include 20 or more.

The first is a document from the Europe-based International Council of Voluntary Agencies, or ICVA, describing the so-called Grand Bargain—essentially a "bargain" between donors and non-governmental aid organizations designed to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of humanitarian aid. This Grand Bargain grew, first, out of a UN sponsored blue ribbon panel report on the humanitarian financing gap, published in January 2016; and second, out of the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in May 2016. The document you will read references both the blue ribbon panel report and the summit, and it addresses effectiveness and financing issues that have occupied the attention of humanitarians in recent years.

Why have I included it? Because it encapsulates many of the developments and issues that have occupied the humanitarian aid community in recent years.

ICVA,*The Grand Bargain, everything you need to know,* February 2017, at
https://www.agendaforhumanity.org/sites/default/files/The%20Grand%20Bargain_Everything%20
You%20Need%20to%20Know%20%28ICVA%29_0.pdf

The second and third documents, adopted late last year by UN members, are Global Compact on Refugees and a Refugees International report/assessment on both the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) and the Global Compact on Migration (GCM).

Both of these non-binding documents, the GCR and the GCM, adopted by UN member states, came out of a September 2016 UN meeting in New York on refugees and migration. Because I have not wanted to overwhelm you with readings, I have not assigned you the text of the GCM, though you can find it easily enough on the web if you like. The GCR (refugees) attempts to further some key and already identified objectives for actions by governments to enhance the well-being of refugees. The GCM focuses more broadly on migration, and in many respects is a more ground-breaking document, as it seeks to articulate best practices to ensure the well-being and rights of migrants—whether or not they are refugees fleeing persecution.

United Nations, *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Part II, Global Compact on Refugees* (2018), at
https://www.unhcr.org/excom/unhcrannual/5ba3a5d44/report-united-nations-high-commissioner-refugees-part-ii-global-compact.html

Thomas and Yarnell, *Ensuring that the Global Compacts on Refugees and Migration Deliver*, Refugees International, November 2018, at
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/506c8ea1e4b01d9450dd53f5/t/5bf57d5988251b45476b058f/1542815065363/GCR+GCM+Issue+BriefPDF1121.pdf

Important recent volume on refugee issues: Betts/Collier: *Refuge*

I am assigning readings from Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System. I don't agree with it all. For instance, I think it may be too cynical about the roots of the international system of refugee protection. I also think the authors may create somewhat of a "straw man" when they suggest that

already recognized challenges had yet to be recognized. And I'm not sure they fully come to grips with the challenge of managing unregulated movements of asylum-seekers.

So why have I assigned it?

Because I believe it is an important work that sought to move the ball forward on critical issues surrounding the refugee regime—and it advocates for many policies that have indeed been adopted in one manner or another in recent years. Unfortunately, I cannot assign the whole book, so I've focused on the descriptive sections primarily, as they are crucial for an understanding of the policy prescriptions that emerge from the descriptions.

Betts and Collier, *Refuge: Transforming a Broken Refugee System.* Read pages 1-11, 34-94, and 156-181.

5. Peacekeeping

In the decade of the 1990s, in particular, United Nations peacekeepers became the tool of choice in many situations involving international efforts to   address complex humanitarian crises. But United Nations peacekeeping was not originally developed with such ambitious objectives. We will consider the theory behind traditional peacekeeping, and how that has changed in recent decades, and the challenges that this poses.

Readings

This is a vast area, and I have struggled with a reading list that does not overburden you but gives you key information.

UN Peacekeeping (Department of Peacekeeping Operations) website, at
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/
Read the homepage, and then the following links and sublinks (sublinks are indented, below.)
Where we operate
        Read each of the very short descriptions of "Current operations"
What is peacekeeping?
        Principles of peacekeeping
        Forming a new operation
What we do

Weiss et al., *The United Nations and Changing World Politics,* chapter 2, 43-57; portions of chapter 4, 87-100; and 113-116, and pp 141-145.

6. **Women, Peace and Security**

This is a critical area for humanitarians, and one that is regularly neglected in humanitarian settings. Practitioners and scholars involved in humanitarian issues have considered women, peace and security from several perspectives: t h e y ' v e   f o c u s e d   o n the imperative of preventing and punishing violations of the human rights of women in situations of persecution and conflict and the differential needs of women in humanitarian settings. In addition, they've emphasized the importance of reconstruction efforts that recognize the role of women as agents of economic, social and political development; and on the value of promoting greater inclusion of women in positions of leadership in peacebuilding programs.

Readings:
UNSC Resolution 1325, on Women, Peace and Security, 31 October 2000. At
http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325(2000)

This is a foundational document in the field – much-discussed and much-debated, and consider how it captures – or perhaps conflates – several different sets of objectives.

I have included below an address to the annual open debate at the Security Council on Women, Peace, and Security, as well as two Refugees International reports on deprivations that have impacted women and girls in Iraq and Bangladesh. The speech itself describes rather disappointing progress on women's inclusion. Moreover, there is a stark contrast between the objectives of women's inclusion articulated in the speech, on the one hand, and the realities of abuses against women that occupy the time and attention of many if not most organizations involved in humanitarian advocacy and service provision.

UN Women, Executive Director remarks at the UN Security Council open debate on women, peace and security, October 25, 2018, at
http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2018/10/speech-ed-phumzile-security-council-open-debate-on-women-peace-and-security

Vigaud-Walsh, *Still at Risk: Restrictions Endanger Women and Girls in Bangladesh,* Refugees International, July 2018, at
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/506c8ea1e4b01d9450dd53f5/t/5b58d8da6d2a735bfb2ec32e/1532549339585/Bangladesh+GBV+Report+-+July+2018+-+final.pdf
You need only read the Summary and Recommendations.

Vigaud-Walsh, *Guilt by Association: Iraqi Women Detained and Subject to Sexual Exploitation and Abuse,* Refugees International, October 2017, at
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/506c8ea1e4b01d9450dd53f5/t/59d2ba72bce17611a02da112/1506982518246/20171003Iraq.pdf

7. **NGOs in Humanitarian Response**

Whether it is the Minneapolis-based American Refugee Committee, the International Rescue Committee, Medecins Sans Frontieres, Save the Children, or dozens if not many hundreds of others, non-governmental organizations are playing a key role in international humanitarian response. How well organized and effective is the NGO community in humanitarian response? To what extent are NGOs in the developing world engaged? What program and normative issues, such as a rights-based approach to humanitarian assistance, are they bringing forward? And what issues of accountability arise in this context, for the NGOs themselves, as well as for policy-makers who must make decisions about providing support to these organizations?

Readings

Schwartz, "Humanitarian NGOs as instruments, partners, advocates and critics in the governance of international humanitarian response: complementary or conflicting role? *Asian Pacific Journal of Public Administration,* 38:1, 2016, 43-59. Should be available on Canvass.

Bužinkić, "Welcome to vs. Welcome Through: Crisis Mobilization and Solidarity with Refugees in Croatia as a Transit Country," in Bužinkić and Hameršak (eds.), *Formation and Disintegration of the Balkan Refugee Corridor: Camps, Routes and Borders in Croatian Context.* 2017. Zagreb: Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Centre for Peace Studies, Faculty of Political Science University of Zagreb. Pages 143-168. At https://adobeindd.com/view/publications/301e48ae-2011-44e0-992c-789cd03f7669/1/publication-web-resources/pdf/Formation_and_Disintegration_of_the_Balkan_Refugee_Corridor.pdf

The first reading discusses the activities of NGOs and civil society in humanitarian action, including the tensions that result from the variety of roles that they play in relationship to governments. The second reading, authored by a student in our class from last year, offers an interesting case study of NGO action in the context of government (and regional policies) that were in tension (to put it mildly) with NGO objectives.

8. U.S. Government in Humanitarian Response, including Overseas Assistance, Refugee Admissions and Asylum – Organization and Activities

We will examine both overseas humanitarian assistance provided by the United States, as well as issues involving the U.S. refugee admissions program, asylum, and immigration.

A. Overseas Humanitarian Assistance

There are many offices, agencies, and departments involved in the delivery of U.S. humanitarian assistance—and that number increases if we use an expanded definition of humanitarian assistance that includes peace-building. The bulk of U.S. civilian humanitarian assistance comes from two agencies: the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the State Department.

In recent years, that number has hovered around $8 billion, from three accounts (numbers below are estimates, as I do not have precise FY 2018 numbers as of this writing):

*1) The International Disaster Assistance Account – over two billion dollars per year, and implemented by **USAID's** Office of Overseas Disaster Assistance (OFDA), in USAID's Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance;*

*2) Title II Food Aid (most of which is used for emergency assistance)—over one billion dollars per year, also implemented by **USAID's** Bureau of Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance; and*

*3) Migration and Refugee Assistance—over $3 billion per year, and implemented by the **State Department's** Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.*

(Again, all numbers above are ballpark estimates.)

USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA, number 1, above) works with non-governmental organizations in large measure, but also has agreements for support of projects undertaken by international organizations.

USAID's emergency food aid (number 2, above) is largely delivered to the World Food Program.

State/PRM (number 3, above) channels the bulk of its assistance to international organizations, including UNHCR and ICRC and—until funding was eliminated by the Trump Administration last year—the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). To a greater extent than OFDA, PRM provides what might be described as program rather than "project" support to these organizations. PRM also supports NGOs, but to a much smaller degree than does OFDA (in terms of percentage of total aid).

And PRM has major responsibilities with respect to the U.S. refugee admissions program.

Finally, and as mentioned above, there are other U.S. government offices involved (and which provide aid beyond the estimated $8 billion), especially if you use a broad definition of humanitarian assistance to include peacebuilding. This includes USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives, the State Department Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations, as well offices that support UN peacekeeping, in the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs, among others.

After it came into office, the Trump Administration sought to radically reduce funding for these accounts, but that effort has been resisted by the Congress.

Also, in its first two years, the Trump Administration has considered reorganization of humanitarian offices, including how better to coordinate (or consolidate) humanitarian efforts at the Department of State and USAID. To date, major changes have not been made, and I will address that issue during class discussion.

B. U.S. Domestic Policy Developments and Debate Around Immigration, Refugee Admissions, and Asylum

It is difficult to neatly separate domestic and foreign policy on migration and refugee protection issues, so some of what appears below can be characterized as both domestic and international humanitarian policy. For clarity, I have divided the descriptions below into three categories: the U.S. refugee admissions program, issues relating to asylum in the United States, and issues surrounding visa bans imposed by the Trump Administration after it took office.

The U.S. Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP)

Under the 1980 Refugee Act, the President each year determines a U.S. refugee admissions ceiling—that is, the maximum number of refugees the United States will agree to bring to the United States for the purposes of resettlement. The vast majority of such persons are among the more than 24 million refugees receiving some form of temporary protection in countries to which they have fled. The U.S. Refugee Admissions program is a discretionary program that is distinct from the U.S. asylum process, in which people already within the United States or seeking entry at U.S. borders request protection from the United States.)

In the final year of the Obama administration, the U.S. Refugee Admissions ceiling was set at 110,000 for fiscal year 2017 (October 1, 2016 to September 30, 2017), but it was effectively reduced to just over 50,000 through executive action by President Trump, who also ordered a temporary suspension in the refugee admissions program after he came to office, a suspension that was technically lifted in late October 2017—but was followed by a special three month review that impacted refugees from 11 countries deemed to be high risk. That review was completed in January 2018, and the program that emerged has new security procedures in place..

For fiscal year 2018 (October 1, 2017 to September 30, 2018), the President authorized a U.S. refugee ceiling of 45,000. And for fiscal year 2019, the President authorized a U.S. refugee ceiling of 30,000.

Readings:

Torbati, "U.S. to resume refugee admissions from 11 'high-risk' countries," *Reuters,* January 29, 2018, at
https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-immigration-refugees/u-s-to-resume-refugee-admissions-from-11-high-risk-countries-idUSKBN1FI27F

Refugee Processing Center, **Refugee Admissions Report December 31, 2018** (or possibly January 31, 2018), which you can download from the following link:
http://www.wrapsnet.org/admissions-and-arrivals/ (it is on the bottom left side of the page)
Please read the 2016 tab, which is the final full year of the Obama administration, and then read the 2018 tab, which is the first full year of the Trump administration. In your pre-class assignment, there will be a question related to these statistics.

Asylum in the United States

During class, I will briefly describe recent administrative and legal developments surrounding the asylum debate. In the meantime the following two readings will at least give you an idea about the parameters of the debate—and provide you with clues about the kind of analysis that ought to be brought to bear in a search for policy solutions. I have not included readings on "the Wall" issue, but we can discuss that as well in class.

Readings:

White House, "Remarks by President Trump on Illegal Immigration Crisis and Border Security," November 1, 2018, at
https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-illegal-immigration-crisis-border-security/

Schwartz, "The Migrant Caravan, a policy and public affairs challenge," remarks at the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC, December 11, 2018, at
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/506c8ea1e4b01d9450dd53f5/t/5c114893758d4673e2e136d7/1544636564067/FINAL+Speech+CFR+12-11.pdf

Executive Orders Barring Entry to Nationals of Certain Countries

The Trump administration ended up issuing three orders (in January, March, and September 2017) that sought to bar entry to nationals of certain countries, and I'm suggesting you read the final proclamation issued, as well as related material, including an article on the Supreme Court decision upholding its legality.

Readings:

White House, Presidential Proclamation Enhancing Vetting Capabilities and Processes for Detecting Attempted Entry Into the United States by Terrorists or Other Public-Safety Threats, September 24, 2017, at
https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/presidential-proclamation-enhancing-vetting-capabilities-processes-detecting-attempted-entry-united-states-terrorists-public-safety-threats/

Amici Curiae brief from national security experts in support of State of Hawaii challenging the ban, at
https://law.yale.edu/system/files/documents/pdf/Clinics/3-30-18_scotus_amicus_brief_of_former_national_security_officials.pdf
You need not read this closely—that is, you may skim it if you wish. It presents arguments against the travel ban.

Liptak and Shear, "Trump's travel ban is upheld by Supreme Court," *New York Times,* June 26, 2018, at
https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/26/us/politics/supreme-court-trump-travel-ban.html

Perspectives of the Trump Administration

Readings:

White House, Remarks by President Trump to the 72nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, September 19, 2017, at
https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-session-united-nations-general-assembly/

You only need to read the 3-4 paragraphs dealing with refugee issues.
United States Mission to the United Nations, National Statement of the United States of America on the Adoption of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration, December 7, 2018, at
https://usun.state.gov/remarks/8841

Further information about the course.

Attendance

As we only meet on two days, attendance is critical. If you have special issues concerning attendance that emerge before or during class, let me know and we can discuss. Note that any requirements we have in our class are subject to University policy, as described in

https://policy.umn.edu/education/makeupwork

Special note on stressful issues and on mental health and stress management:

Because humanitarian crises often involve human rights abuses and great suffering, some of the topics, readings, and discussion may involve issues that impact students personally and profoundly. I will work hard to address challenging issues with sensitivity, but you should feel free to speak with me if we are dealing with material you find personally difficult. We will of course keep all such discussion private.

More generally, you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, feeling down, difficulty concentrating, and/or lack of motivation. These mental health concerns or stressful events may lead to diminished academic performance or reduce your ability to participate in daily activities. University of Minnesota services are available to assist you with addressing these and other

concerns you may be experiencing. You can learn more about the broad range of confidential mental health services available on campus via https://diversity.umn.edu/disability/home.

If you are enrolled with Disability Services and would like to make an accommodation request, I encourage you to share this with me as soon as possible so that we can be of maximum support to you. See more on their services at the end of the syllabus.

Remember also that there are advisors in the Humphrey Student Services office who are trained and experienced counselors. They are available at very short notice to address any concerns you have and provide further resources within the University. You can visit Humphrey Student Services in HHH 280, or on 612-624-8162.

Other University Policies

I have included below a description of additional, University-wide policies on a range of issues, which you may also wish to review. They provide information on general student conduct, use of personal electronic devices in the classroom, scholastic dishonesty, make-up work, grading, sexual harassment, equity and diversity, disability accommodations, and academic freedom and responsibility.

Student Conduct Code

The University seeks an environment that promotes academic achievement and integrity, that is protective of free inquiry, and that serves the educational mission of the University. Similarly, the University seeks a community that is free from violence, threats, and intimidation; that is respectful of the rights, opportunities, and welfare of students, faculty, staff, and guests of the University; and that does not threaten the physical or mental health or safety of members of the University community.

As a student at the University you are expected adhere to Board of Regents Policy: *Student Conduct Code*. To review the Student Conduct Code, please see:

http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Student_Conduct_Code.pdf.

Note that the conduct code specifically addresses disruptive classroom conduct, which means "engaging in behavior that substantially or repeatedly interrupts either the instructor's ability to teach or student learning. The classroom extends to any setting where a student is engaged in work toward academic credit or satisfaction of program-based requirements or related activities."

Use of Personal Electronic Devices in the Classroom

Using personal electronic devices in the classroom setting can hinder instruction and learning, not only for the student using the device but also for other students in the class. To this end, the University establishes the right of each faculty member to determine if and how personal electronic devices are allowed to be used in the classroom. For complete information, please reference: http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/STUDENTRESP.html.

Scholastic Dishonesty

You are expected to do your own academic work and cite sources as necessary. Failing to do so is scholastic dishonesty. Scholastic dishonesty means plagiarizing; cheating on assignments or examinations; engaging in unauthorized collaboration on academic work; taking, acquiring, or using test materials without faculty permission; submitting false or incomplete records of academic achievement; acting alone or in cooperation with another to falsify records or to obtain dishonestly grades, honors, awards, or professional endorsement; altering, forging, or misusing a University academic record; or fabricating or falsifying data, research procedures, or data analysis. (Student Conduct Code: http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Student_Conduct_Code.pdf) If it is determined that a student has cheated, he or she may be given an "F" or an "N" for the course, and may face additional sanctions from the University. For additional information, please see: http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/INSTRUCTORRESP.html.

The Office for Student Conduct and Academic Integrity has an information page related to scholastic dishonesty: http://www1.umn.edu/oscai/integrity/student/index.html. If you have additional questions, please clarify with your instructor for the course. Your instructor can respond to your specific questions regarding what would constitute scholastic dishonesty in the context of a particular class – e.g., whether collaboration on assignments is permitted, requirements and methods for citing sources, if electronic aids are permitted or prohibited during an exam.

Makeup Work for Legitimate Absences

Students will not be penalized for absence during the semester due to unavoidable or legitimate circumstances. Such circumstances include verified illness, participation in intercollegiate athletic events, subpoenas, jury duty, military service, bereavement, and religious observances. Such circumstances do not include voting in local, state, or national elections. For complete information, please see: http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/MAKEUPWORK.html.

Appropriate Student Use of Class Notes and Course Materials

Taking notes is a means of recording information but more importantly of personally absorbing and integrating the educational experience. However, broadly disseminating class notes beyond the classroom community or accepting compensation for taking and distributing classroom notes undermines instructor interests in their intellectual work product while not substantially furthering instructor and student interests in effective learning. Such actions violate shared norms and standards of the academic community. For additional information, please see:http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/STUDENTRESP.html.

Grading and Transcripts

The University utilizes plus and minus grading on a 4.000 cumulative grade point scale in accordance with the following:

A   4.000 - Represents achievement that is outstanding relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements

A-   3.667

B+   3.333

B   3.000 - Represents achievement that is significantly above the level necessary to meet course requirements

B-   2.667

C+   2.333

C   2.000 - Represents achievement that meets the course requirements in every respect

C-   1.667

D+   1.333

D   1.000 - Represents achievement that is worthy of credit even though it fails to meet fully the course requirements

S   Represents achievement that is satisfactory, which is equivalent to a C- or better.

For additional information, please refer to:
http://policy.umn.edu/Policies/Education/Education/GRADINGTRANSCRIPTS.html.

Sexual Harassment

"Sexual harassment" means unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and/or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature. Such conduct has the purpose or effect of unreasonably interfering with an individual's work or academic performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive working or academic environment in any University activity or program. Such behavior is not acceptable in the University setting. For additional information, please consult the UMN policy document, Sexual Harassment, Sexual Assault, Stalking and Relationship Violence:
https://policy.umn.edu/hr/sexharassassault

Equity, Diversity, Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action

The University provides equal access to and opportunity in its programs and facilities, without regard to race, color, creed, religion, national origin, gender, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression. For more information, please consult Board of Regents Policy:
http://regents.umn.edu/sites/default/files/policies/Equity_Diversity_EO_AA.pdf.

Disability Accommodations

The University of Minnesota is committed to providing equitable access to learning opportunities for all students. Disability Services (DS) is the campus office that collaborates with students who have disabilities to provide and/or arrange reasonable accommodations.

If you have, or think you may have, a disability (e.g., mental health, attentional, learning, chronic health, sensory, or physical), please contact DS at 612-626-1333 to arrange a confidential discussion regarding equitable access and reasonable accommodations.

If you are registered with DS and have a current letter requesting reasonable accommodations, please contact your instructor as early in the semester as possible to discuss how the accommodations will be applied in the course.

For more information, please see the DS website, https://diversity.umn.edu/disability/.

Academic Freedom and Responsibility

Academic freedom is a cornerstone of the University. Within the scope and content of the course as defined by the instructor, it includes the freedom to discuss relevant matters in the classroom and conduct relevant research. Along with this freedom comes responsibility. Students are encouraged to develop the capacity for critical judgment and to engage in a sustained and independent search for truth. Students are free to take reasoned exception to the views offered in any course of study and to reserve judgment about matters of opinion, but they are responsible for learning the content of any course of study for which they are enrolled.* When conducting research, pertinent institutional approvals must be obtained and the research must be consistent with University policies.

Reports of concerns about academic freedom are taken seriously, and there are individuals and offices available for help. Contact the instructor, the Department Chair, your adviser, the associate dean of the college, or the Vice Provost for Faculty and Academic Affairs in the Office of the Provost.