Spring Term 2021
Managing Humanitarian and Refugee Crises:
Challenges for Policy Makers and Practitioners

PA 5823

Friday, March 19, from 3 pm to 8 pm
Saturday, March 20, from 8 am to 4 pm
VIRTUAL AND SYNCHRONOUS

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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 important substantive information designed to enhance your understanding of the material. Read my written commentary about assignments closely. I am conscious that there is a lot of information to digest and my commentary is designed to help you understand why I have assigned the material. Sometimes my commentary appears before the listing of a particular reading; in other instances, it appears after the listing of reading. Again, in all cases, read the commentaries before you go to the reading in question.

Please be aware that you are expected to complete all the readings (and a pre-class assignment) before class on March 19 (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.

Finally, if you cannot access a webpage directly from the syllabus, copy and paste the link into your browser. If that doesn't work, please be in touch with Kimberly or with me.

CONTENTS OF SYLLABUS

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Course overview:

This is a one credit course, and conducted in two sessions – Friday, March 19, from 3 pm to 8 pm (with breaks), and Saturday, March 20, from 8 am to 4 pm (also with breaks). The class will be delivered virtually.

From Syria and Somalia, to Burma and Bangladesh, to the countries of Central America, and to the borders of the United States, 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, experts have increasingly questioned the ability and political will of governments 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 differed significantly from its predecessors, and this impacted the range of efforts to address challenges in these areas. A presidential administration inaugurated in January 2021 comes into office with decidedly different perspectives on these issues, but also confronting significant and substantial challenges relating to implementing a broad array of plans.

This course, which will involve lectures, guest lectures 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 refugee/humanitarian challenges posed by persecution, human rights abuses, civil conflict, complex emergencies, and natural disasters.

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 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.

As mentioned, I am planning to welcome a number of guest speakers by Zoom. These may 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 I anticipate that they will be among our guest speakers.

Books for Purchase

We will be using two books that you will need to obtain. Between Kindle editions, rentals, e-books, and paperback editions, it appears you can obtain both books from online sellers for about $50 or less (depending on your preferences). See information below about completing the reading before class begins—which will be very important for you to do. And be in touch with Kimberly or with me if you cannot obtain the books.

- Weiss*, et al. The United Nations and Changing World Politics.* 2017 *(8th edition).* Boulder: Westview Press. *(Note that there is a 2019 printing of the 8th edition, but it may be expensive and may not be easily available from American publishers. As long as it is the 8th edition, you are fine.) At this writing, I believe that the 8th edition is the latest edition.*

- Aleinikoff and Zamore, *The Arc of Protection: Reforming the International Refugee Regime.* 2019. Stanford University Press.

Nearly all of the other materials will all be available online (**with links embedded in the syllabus**). A few may only be available on the Canvas site, which will be fully populated by late January or early February. (If you go to the Canvas homepage, you will find the readings in a section entitled "Assigned Materials Not Accessible in the Syllabus."

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, including the most important issues relating to U.S. policies on domestic protection issues (such as asylum). 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—as mentioned— 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

Please complete all the readings before class.

You are also asked to complete short responses to about 12 assigned questions drawn from the readings. Each response should be about 2 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 1500 and 2000 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 some care. This first assignment will count for

33% of your grade.

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

Thus, I regret that, if you do not complete the assignment before we begin class on March 19, 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 33% of your overall grade.

To be completed after class (by or before April 12)

A 700 word (about 2-3 pages) *thought paper* on a humanitarian policy of your choice (but chosen from among those we considered in class), with your perspectives drawn from what you've learned in class. This will constitute 33% 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 will structure discussions in various ways, and with breaks in our virtual environment, to keep it interesting and keep everyone engaged in the material. In some cases, we will have traditional class discussion. In other cases, we might break up into small group conversations, and have groups present their observations/conclusions at the end of a smaller group session.

Topic areas for the course and assigned readings

Note: review this 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 them most easily accessible to you.

When you go through these readings, you may see reference to meetings, initiatives, or other items that may be unfamiliar to you. Do not worry about that, but you should feel free to search those items on the web to gain further understanding of issues to which the writers are referring.

The subject areas

I have grouped them in categories as indicated, but there is a degree of arbitrariness in these categories—in particular, as there is great overlap between historical and conceptual, institutional, and topical issues. But hopefully this categorization provides you with some clarity.

Historical and Conceptual

1. **A History and Overview of Humanitarianism**

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

Institutional

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?**

4. **The International Humanitarian Players, including NGOs**

Some Key International Humanitarian Issues

5. Key Issues in International Humanitarian, Refugee and Migration Affairs

- **Refugee Solutions**
- **Disaster Risk Reduction (and natural hazards exacerbated by the impact of climate change)**
- **Women, Peace, and Security**
- **COVID-19 and Humanitarianism**

Two Additional Important Topics

6. Peacekeeping

7. U.S. Policies on Humanitarianism, Refugee Admissions and Asylum

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 should be available on the Canvas site.

Note that this collection was published in 2008, and much has occurred over the past decade. But it still 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* (2019), Chapter 1, pp. 1-15; Chapter 5, p. 48-55, Chapter 7 and tables 64-83 (skim the tables). At
https://www.unhcr.org/5ee200e37.pdf

This is the UNCHR annual report on the state of the world. Chapter 1 is an introduction. Read pages 2-3 very closely, as they contain important basic information on vulnerable populations, including refugees—that is, those fleeing persecution, human rights violations, and conflict—as well as internally displaced persons, who have characteristics like refugees, but are within the borders of their countries of origin. (We will discuss definitions in class.)

Chapter 5 (beginning p. 48) addresses "solutions" for refugees.

Chapter 7 and the tables thereafter, pp. 64-83, describe how UNHCR defines populations in need of assistance, and include statistical information that you should review (you only need to skim the tables).

Donor and Recipient Statistics:

Development Initiatives, Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2020. Executive Summary (including the "Humanitarian Assistance in Numbers" page), pp. 9-14. Also read Ch. 3, pp. 44-56, (Funding for Effectiveness and Efficiency), to obtain an idea of how donor dollars flow. You have to download the entire report. You can find the download link toward the bottom of the following webpage:
https://devinit.org/resources/global-humanitarian-assistance-report-2020/executive-summary/

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 intended recipients; 3) at the relatively modest amount of monies (albeit monies that have grown over time) that go to UN pooled funds—funds that give the UN at the central and local level greater flexibility to use resources where they are most needed; and 4) at the relative percentages of monies that flow to local institutions and organizations. The Executive Summary also includes some discussion of how the COVID-19 pandemic was impacting funding as of mid-2020. (We will consider that issue in more detail in sections below.)

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 might not be able to access the article on the *Foreign Affairs* website, **but it will be on Canvas**.

-- 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
You might not be able to access the article on the *Washington Post* website, **but it will be on Canvas**.

-- 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/
You might not be able to access the article on the *Foreign Policy* website, **but it will be on Canvas**.

Why should states engage in humanitarianism – that is, both the effort to provide assistance to vulnerable populations and (depending on how we define the term) the effort to prevent or bring an end to conflicts that impact civilians? We will not 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 will examine the United Nations and other international organizations as well as international legal instruments that establish an institutional and 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 defined and might be 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 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. But it will be very valuable for you to have some familiarity with these.

1. UN Charter. You may read most of the Charter quickly. But focus, in particular, on t h e 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.

"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 ICRC 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.)

2. Description of ICRC Convention IV. At http://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/380
This is another description of Convention IV. This description is several paragraphs long. Below the description, you will also see links to particular articles of the Convention. The only one I want you to read is 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).

3. Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. Read the Convention and Protocol.
Convention https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfRefugees.aspx
Protocol: https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/ProtocolStatusOfRefugees.aspx

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 in government and in the NGO community.

5. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, at
http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IDPersons/Pages/Standards.aspx
Read the introductory material on the webpage, then access and read the Guiding Principles document, at
https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G98/104/93/PDF/G9810493.pdf?OpenElement

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.

<u>Documents relating to the Responsibility to Protect</u>

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
https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/18432/IDL-18432.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y

138-9, UN World SummitOutcome Document (2005). At
https://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/about-responsibility-to-protect.shtml
(The paragraphs appear about two-thirds down the page.)

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

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 that have in many cases been defined as intractable conflicts.

Readings

For the webpage readings, in particular, follow the directions carefully, so you only read the pages I've assigned. If I have asked you to read a link/webpage and that link/webpage has embedded links within it, you do not need to read those embedded "sublinks" unless I specifically ask you to do so.

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
Navigate to A b o u t   O C H A
Within that "About Us" section, read the following sections:
                    History of OCHA
                    And within the "History of OCHA" section, go to the link and read:
                        Resolution 46/182
Within that "About Us" section, also read:
                    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 links in the left column of that page, under "About Clusters":
  -What is the Cluster Approach?
  -Why do we need the Cluster Approach?
  - Who does what?

Under the "Cluster Coordination at the National Level" link in that left column, read the following sublink:
  - 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, About the IASC

B. Other International Humanitarian Institutions outside of OCHA

While OCHA has responsibilities for organization/coordination of large-scale humanitarian response, other multilateral institutions—in large measure "UN funds and programs" which are not within the UN Secretariat—receive far greater resources when it comes to actual assistance programming. These funds and programs 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 accounted for the bulk of the more than $15 billion of humanitarian aid provided annually by all multilateral institutions as of 2017. (As you may recall from earlier in this syllabus, there is a useful graphic on aid flows in the "Channels of Delivery for International Humanitarian Assistance," page 46 of the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report. .)

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 (The "Overview" page.)

C. NGOs in Humanitarian Response

Whether it is the Minneapolis-based "Alight" (formerly the 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?

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.

5. Some Key Issues in International Humanitarian, Refugee and Migration Affairs

I have struggled with the question of which topical issues I should present—however briefly—in this syllabus given the very short time we have together. I have chosen four sets of issues.

- Solutions for Refugees: included because this is not only a fundamental issue that has bedeviled the humanitarian community for decades, but is also one in which there have been some important and interesting developments in recent years.

- Disaster Risk Reduction and Displacement Due to Natural Hazards Often Exacerbated by the Impact of Climate Change: included because this set of issues has the potential to adversely impact the lives of hundreds of millions of people in the coming decades.

- Women, Peace, and Security, including Issues Relating to Basic Rights of Women in Humanitarian Situations: included because of the dramatic impact of discrimination, abuse, and exclusion on the women and on the capacity of the international community to respond effectively to humanitarian needs.

- COVID-19 and Displaced Communities: included due to the dramatic impact of the coronavirus on displaced communities.

Readings

A. Solutions for Refugees

- **The Global Compact on Refugees (GCR). (Note: the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework, or CRRF, is part of the GCR, and is referenced in the GCR. I have not assigned the CRRF, but you may want to read it. (It is not required.) You can find it through the reference provided in the GCR document.)**
  https://www.unhcr.org/gcr/GCR_English.pdf

- **Huang and Ash, *Using the Compact Model to Support Host States and Refugee Self-Reliance* (World Refugee Council Research Paper No. 6—December 2018.)**
  https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/documents/WRC%20Research%20Paper%20no.6_0.pdf

- Aleinikoff and Zamore, *The Arc of Protection: Reforming the International Refugee Regime.* 2019. Stanford University Press. (Whole book.)

The first document, the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), was adopted by nearly all governments of the world late in 2017, and it is a document designed to encourage a range of measures to support refugee well-being and self-reliance, involving action by governments in countries of origin, refugee hosting counties, and resettlement countries.

The second document, on the "compact model," is not about the Global Compact, but rather on agreements (compacts) with host governments to provide them with support in return for their willingness to provide refugees with access to labor markets.

The final document, the major reading for our course, is a book called The Arc of Protection. It provides a good overview of legal issues involving refugees and other forced migrants, questions whether efforts to promote refugee well-being and self-reliance have gone far enough, and makes recommendations that the authors argue would address refugee well-being more systemically and systematically.

B. *Disaster Risk Reduction, Displacement Exacerbated by the Impacts of Climate Change, and Relocation as a Means to Address Such Displacement When Risk Reduction Fails*

- Website of the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR),
  About us, at https://www.undrr.org/about-undrr
  What is the Sendai Framework? At https://www.undrr.org/implementing-sendai-framework/what-sendai-framework

- Eric Schwartz (Refugees International), Remarks before the Senate Climate Change Task Force, May 8, 2019. At https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2019/5/7/senate-climate-change-task-force-climate-change-and-refugees

This is a huge area of focus, and these readings barely skim the surface. Disaster risk reduction generally refers to efforts to build capacity to reduce the impacts of disasters that result from natural hazards—hurricanes, tsunamis, etc. Increasingly, those hazards have become more significant in light of climate change. And as risk reduction efforts have not been adequate to prevent disasters, there has been an increasing focus on the option of relocation for those impacted by disasters borne by natural hazards that are often made worse by climate change. UNDRR is a small UN office with responsibilities for coordination of risk reduction efforts, but all major UN organizations, including UNHCR, are involved in these issues in one way or another.

C. Women, Peace, and Security, including Issues Relating to Basic Rights of Women in Humanitarian Situations

This is a critical area for humanitarians, and one that is regularly neglected in humanitarian settings. Practitioners and scholars involved in humanitarian issues haveconsidered women, peace and security from several perspectives: they have focused on 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.

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

Cone, *Still Exacerbating the Other Epidemic: How COVID-19 is Increasing Violence against Displaced Women and Girls (*Refugees International, August 2020). At
https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2020/7/31/exacerbating-the-other-epidemic-how-covid-19-is-increasing-violence-against-displaced-women-and-girls

This document not only provides you with an overview of issues relating to violence against women and girls in humanitarian contexts, but also offers insights into how those impacts have increased due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

D. COVID-19 and Humanitarianism

In this section, the brief readings are designed to convey a few key points: on the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on displaced communities and on the issues surrounding COVID-19 vaccine availability.

Eric Schwartz, excerpts from a presentation, *The Global Pandemic, Refugees and Others Displaced by Conflict and Persecution: Protecting the Rights and Well-Being of the World's Most Vulnerable Populations,* International Lecture Series, UMN Duluth, December 3, 2020. **Accessible through Canvas**.

From a presentation I gave in Duluth.

Financial Tracking Service (OCHA), *COVID-19 Global Humanitarian Response Plan,* at
https://fts.unocha.org/appeals/952/summary

This provides a short description of a humanitarian appeal, and also indicates how underfunded are the humanitarian requirements related to COVID-19.

Denny and Schwartz, *Explainer: Equitable Access to a COVID-19 Vaccine for the World's Displaced Populations,* Refugees International, October 2020, at
https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2020/10/6/explainer-equitable-access-to-a-covid-19-vaccine-for-the-worlds-displaced-populations

Though somewhat dated, this short piece describes the international mechanism designed to ensure access to vaccines for those in countries with limited resources, as well as for the displaced within those countries.

"Covid vaccine: WHO warns of "catastrophic moral failure," *BBC*, January 18, 2021, at
https://www.bbc.com/news/world-
55709428#:~:text=The%20world%20faces%20a%20%22catastrophic,vulnerable%20people%20in
%20poorer%20states

Statement from head of WHO.

6. 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 peacekeeping homepage, and then read 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 pp. 113-116, and pp 141-145.

7. 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. <u>Overseas Humanitarian Assistance</u>

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 $9 billion (or even more), from three accounts (numbers below are estimates, as I do not have current numbers as of this writing):

*1) The International Disaster Assistance Account – overall, some $4 billion or more per year in recent years, 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)—nearly $2 billion per year in recent years, 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. It also sends Disaster Assistance Response Teams (DARTs) around the world to the sites of disasters to make assessments and recommendations for response.

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—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 recipients of its assistance. PRM also supportsNGOs, but to a much smaller degree than does OFDA (in terms of percentage of each agency's total disbursements).

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 $9 billion or more), 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 as offices that support UN peacekeeping, in the State Department's Bureau of International   Organization Affairs, among others.

The Trump Administration sought to dramatically reduce funding for these accounts, but that effort has been resisted by the Congress.

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 policy and international humanitarian policy. For clarity, I have divided the descriptions and readings below largely into two categories: the U.S. refugee admissions program and issues relating to asylum. I have then provided some general readings as well.

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, from countries around the world. The vast majority of such persons are among the more than 25 million refugees receiving some form of temporary protection in countries to which they have fled.

The U.S. Refugee Admissions program is distinct from the U.S. <u>asylum</u> process, in which people already within the United States or seeking entry at U.S. borders request protection.

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 had 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. For fiscal year 2020, the number was 18,000. The president also issued an Executive Order that would only permit resettlement of refugees under the U.S. Refugee Admissions Program in "those jurisdictions in which both the State and local governments have consented to receive refugees" under the Program. (On January 8, 2021, that order was blocked by a federal appeals court.)

For fiscal year 2021, then-President Trump authorized a refugee ceiling of 15,000, which is likely to be adjusted upwards by the administration of President Biden.

In the short time we have, we will not examine in detail the policies of the prior administration—rather we will look at new approaches that are now being considered—as well as the many and varied challenges to their implementation.

Readings:

National Immigration Forum, Factsheet on U.S. Refugee Resettlement Program (November 2020), at
https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-u-s-refugee-resettlement/

Asylum in the United States

Given the breadth of materials we will be considering, it is not possible to provide you with readings that capture all ongoing and new developments on asylum issues in recent years in the United States. During class, I may briefly describe some of the most significant administrative and legal developments surrounding the asylum debate that took place during the Trump administration. They are complex, and we will not have the chance to analyze them in detail. In short, they included, underline inter alia, U.S. government efforts and/or measures—

1) to criminally prosecute those who have sought to cross into the United States between ports of entry (whether or not they have valid claims for asylum),

2) to "meter" asylum requests, in which U.S. officials at ports of entry at the southern border with Mexico have told asylum seekers that there is insufficient processing capacity and that they must return at another time;

3) to require asylum seekers to "remain in Mexico" during the pendency of their claims (the so-called "Migrant Protection Protocols");

4) to prohibit applications for asylum from asylum seekers who transited a third country en route to the southern border of the United States and did not apply for asylum in that third country; and

5) to negotiate "Asylum Cooperative Agreements" with several countries in Central America providing that individuals seeking asylum in the United States could be sent to one of those Central American countries to have their claims considered and—and if accepted—to obtain asylum in one of those countries. (The asylum seeker would not be sent by the United States to their country of origin. Thus, an asylum seeker from, say, Honduras, would not be returned directly to Honduras, but rather sent to another Central American country, such as El Salvador.)

The Trump administration contended that these measures were necessary to ensure against abuse of the U.S. asylum system, especially given the very large backlog of asylum applicants in the system. Advocates and others contend that these and other measures, collectively, amount to fundamental violations of the Refugee Convention and Protocol, and, effectively, "the end of asylum."

Readings:

American Immigration Council, explainer on *Asylum in the United States,* June 11, 2020, at
https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/asylum-united-states

General Perspectives

There is no shortage of materials I could assign (and would in a longer course) to provide you with some perspectives on forced migration issues from the former (Trump) administration, and from the incoming (Biden) administration—which, at this writing, has yet to issue expected executive orders on immigration and refugees. But for the purposes of our class, I have chosen two, below.

Donald Trump, address to the UN General Assembly, September 19, 2017, at
https://www.politico.com/story/2017/09/19/trump-un-speech-2017-full-text-transcript-242879

You are certainly free to read the entire speech, but I am particularly interested in your reading the seven successive paragraphs, beginning with the paragraph opening with the phrase: "We appreciate the efforts of United Nations agencies…"

Biden-Harris campaign site, *The Biden Plan for Securing Our Values as a Nation of Immigrants,* at
https://joebiden.com/immigration/

In the absence (at this writing) of detailed plans from the new administration, this may be the best document for understanding the nature and the breadth of the Biden administration's commitments in this area.

Lowther, "US election 2020: Trump's impact on immigration - in seven charts," *BBC*, October 21, 2020, at
https://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2020-54638643

An interesting "mini-analysis" of impacts and trends over the past several years.

Further information about the course.

Attendance

As we only meet on two days, attendance is very important. 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 at UMN via https://disability.umn.edu/.

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. They are available to address concerns you have and provide further resources within the University. You can visit Humphrey Student Services 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: https://policy.umn.edu/node/7178

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."

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.

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

Because this is a two-day class and attendance is very important, please be in touch with the instructor as early as possible if you may need to miss any of the sessions.

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

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

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:
https://regents.umn.edu/sites/regents.umn.edu/files/2019-09/policy_equity_diversity_equal_opportunity_and_affirmative_action.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.