2019 Great Decisions

Framework for Analysis
2018 Great Decisions
Continuity and Change in American Foreign Policy

• Historical Isolationist Policy
• WWI and WWII ended isolationism
• Cold War—Containment and establishment of the Liberal International Order
• Post-Cold War—Pax Americana and Maintenance of the Liberal International Order
2018 Great Decisions
Continuity and Change in American Foreign Policy

• Post 9/11 and Bush era foreign policy
  – War on Terror
  – Regime change
  – Pre-emptive use of force
  – Unconventional and conventional warfare
  – War linked with the spread of democracy
2018 Great Decisions
Continuity and Change in American Foreign Policy

• Obama era foreign policy
  – Diplomatic Engagement
  – Dedication to the liberal international order
  – Military disengagement
  – Emphasis on human rights
  – Retreat from foreign interventions
2018 Great Decisions
Waning of Pax Americana?

• Pax Americana—That point in history where America became a preeminent global power that made many of the rules what pass for an international world system
2018 Great Decisions
Waning of Pax Americana?

• Liberal International Order
  – Respect for the territorial integrity of countries and unacceptability of changing international borders by force or coercion
  – Preference for resolving disputes peacefully without force or coercion
  – Strong international institutions
  – Respect for international laws, global rules and norms and universal values, including respect for human rights
  – Liberal international trade and investment systems to advance open, rules-based economic engagement, development, growth and prosperity
  – Treatment of international waters, international air space, outer space and cyberspace as international commons
2018 Great Decisions
Waning of Pax Americana?

• Trump Foreign Policy
  – Protect the homeland, the American people and the American way of life
  – Promote American prosperity
  – Preserve peace through strength
  – Advance American influence globally through strength and unilateral action
  – Eschew multilateralism in favor of unilateralism
2019 Great Decisions
Hard Choices

• The promotion of narrowly defined U.S. interests versus promotion of U.S. values of democracy, individual freedoms, and human rights

• Promotion of nation-state stability versus democratic institutions

• Embrace of the poor and huddled masses versus border integrity
• Acquiescence in or promotion of authoritarianism to achieve U.S. goals
• Hard power (exercise or military and economic power) versus soft power (diplomacy, developmental assistance, support for international organizations, educational and cultural exchanges and free trade)
2019 Great Decisions
Hard Choices

• Confrontation of rising or revanchist world powers versus conciliation

• Sponsorship of the liberal international order and concomitant allies and alliances in the face of mounting domestic budgetary challenges
A Time of Transition
People on the Move
Migrants, Refugees, Asylees and Internally Displaced People

3/26/19
Reasons for Moving

- Voluntary Displaced Peoples
  - Pushed - conflicts, natural disasters, lack of infrastructure or health care
  - Pulled - opportunities

- Forcibly Displaced Peoples 68.5 M
  - War
  - Persecution - racial, religious, ethnic, other

- Refugee - person forced to flee their country
- IDP - person forced to flee within their country
- Stateless Person - has lost citizenship which is a basic human right
- Asylum Seeker - person seeking legal status as a refugee in their host country
Group by Location

Adjacent Country
- Asylees
- Refugees

Distant Country
- Asylees

Home Country
- IDPs
- Migrants Who Are Potential Immigrants

Refugees
Migrants or Refugees?

Central American Caravan in Honduras 2018

US “Dust Bowl Refugees” 1930’s

Migrants
Fleeing Afghans, Hutus & Rohingya Refugees & IDPs
Forcibly Displaced People Worldwide per UNHCR

- IDPs: 40,000,000
- Refugees: 25,400,000
- Asylum Seekers: 3,100,000
Table 1. Refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees (refugees and IDPs), by region of asylum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/territory of asylum</th>
<th>Refugees</th>
<th>People in refugee-like situations</th>
<th>Total refugees and people in refugee-situations</th>
<th>Of whom assisted by UNHCR</th>
<th>Asylum-seekers (pending cases)</th>
<th>Returned refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>6,236,495</td>
<td>31,709</td>
<td>6,268,204</td>
<td>5,479,759</td>
<td>508,794</td>
<td>526,521</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia and Pacific</td>
<td>4,153,991</td>
<td>55,740</td>
<td>4,209,731</td>
<td>2,650,568</td>
<td>159,919</td>
<td>62,157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>3,480,348</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,480,348</td>
<td>1,194,381</td>
<td>308,855</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Mid East + North Africa</td>
<td>2,653,717</td>
<td>51,226</td>
<td>2,704,943</td>
<td>2,460,619</td>
<td>234,834</td>
<td>78,086</td>
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<td>Europe</td>
<td>2,608,270</td>
<td>25,656</td>
<td>2,633,926</td>
<td>57,606</td>
<td>999,773</td>
<td>412</td>
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<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>484,261</td>
<td>159,934</td>
<td>644,195</td>
<td>50,568</td>
<td>878,723</td>
<td>205</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,617,082</strong></td>
<td><strong>324,265</strong></td>
<td><strong>19,941,347</strong></td>
<td><strong>11,893,501</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,090,898</strong></td>
<td><strong>667,381</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Author’s adaptation of UNHCR 2017 Statistical Annex, Table 1)

* According to UNHCR, this category includes persons who outside their country or territory of origin who face protection risks similar to those of refugees, but for whom refugee status has, for practical or other reasons, not been ascertained.
Who from Where?

57% of refugees worldwide came from three countries:

- South Sudan: 2.4m
- Afghanistan: 2.6m
- Syria: 6.3m

Top refugee-hosting countries:

- Islamic Republic of Iran: 979,400
- Lebanon: 1.0m
- Pakistan: 1.4m
- Uganda: 1.4m
- Turkey: 3.5m
Refugee Camps

1. Kakuma (Kenya)
- Population (2015): 184,550
- Established or recognized in: 1992
- Occupants primarily from: South Sudan, Somalia
- Type: planned/managed camp

Population History

- 200K
- 150K
- 100K
- 50K
- 0

What Do They Need?

- Water
- Food
- Shelter
- Security
- Medical
- Clothing
- Legal/Citizenship
- School
- Work
- Exit

Greece 2018

South Sudan 2016
UNRWA & UNHCR

- Voluntary Contributions by 87 countries

- Provides legal protection, administration, community services, public affairs and health

- Facilitates NGO coordination

- 16,765 employees, 90% in the field

- $7.7 billion budget in 2017
Syrian Refugees

Host Countries Are Responsible for Care

Jordan

Turkey
Who Does What?

- Many NGOs can do everything but may divvy up tasks
- Water - Mercy Corp
- Food - WFP
- Shelter - DRC
- Medical - MSF
- Legal - ICRC
Unofficial Places & Camps

Bangladesh

Tanzania
Risks in a Camp - a partial list

- Malnutrition & Starvation, especially children
- Water born illness - cholera
- Infectious Diseases - measles, diphtheria, TB
- Burns from cooking fires
- Mental Illness & PTSD
- Intimate Partner Violence - rape etc.
- Armed Attack - internal and external
Rohingya
IDP Camps
Outcomes for Refugees & IDPs

- Local Integration in initial host country
- Voluntary Repatriation to home country
- Forced Repatriation to home country
- Indefinite Confinement in IDP camp
- Resettlement to third country
- Death
David Frum Article in the April edition of The Atlantic--
“If Liberals Won’t Enforce Borders, Fascists Will”
• “[R]ather than fading into history, immigration has been accelerating. From 1990 to 2015, 44 million people left the global South to find new homes in the global North. They came from Latin America, Africa, and Asia.”
• “They came to the United States above all, but the nations of Europe, too. The United Kingdom has received nearly as many immigrants, relative to its population, as the United States has. Germany and Sweden have received more. Some 45 million foreign-born people now make their home in the United States. Another 11 million to 12 million live here illegally.
“[S]eparating annual fluctuations from long-term trends is important. Illegal immigration into the United States by Mexicans is now declining. Border crossings by Central Americans are steeply rising. Year by year, immigration numbers may shift up or down. But decade by decade, immigration is remaking nations on a world-altering scale.”
• “By 2027, the foreign-born proportion of the U.S. population is projected to equal its previous all-time peak, in 1890: 14.8 percent. Under present policy, that percentage will keep rising to new records thereafter.”
Reasons for Acceleration of Immigration

• Improving living conditions across developing countries resulting in enough affluence to attempt immigration
• Accelerating population growth in the underdeveloped South vs. declining population growth in the developed North
• Lack of economic opportunity for burgeoning young populations in underdeveloped countries
• Interconnectedness of the world, but developed and underdeveloped
• “Americans also need to rethink asylum policy. If unemployment, poverty, or disorder in your home country qualifies you for asylum, then hundreds of millions of people qualify—even though virtually none of them has been targeted by the kind of state-sponsored persecution that asylum laws were originally written to redress.”
“The U.S. immigration system offers an even less practical response to the problems of displaced persons and refugees. In a mass population exodus like that from the Syrian civil war, plucking only a lucky handful to jet to a new land is a mostly empty palliative, since that leaves virtually every other victim of the war no better off. The immigration-skeptical Center for Immigration Studies estimates that it costs 12 times more to resettle a refugee in the United States than to house, feed and provide work for that refugee in his or her safest neighboring country.”
“For good or ill, immigration’s most important effects are social and cultural, not economic. What are these effects, then? Some are good, some are bad, and some depend on the eye of the beholder.”
Frum’s Immigration Effects

• Immigrants are making America safer
• Immigrants are making America less self-destructive
• Immigrants are lowering America’s average skill level
Frum’s Immigration Effects

- Immigrants are enabling employers to behave badly
- Immigrants are altering the relationship between Americans and their government and making the country more hierarchical
• “Without immigration restrictions, there are no national borders. Without national borders, there are no nation-states. Without nation-states, there are no electorates. Without electorates, there is no democracy. If liberals insist that only fascists will enforce borders, then voters will hire fascists to do the job liberals refuse to do.”
Policy Drivers

- Unskilled, low wage immigrants vs. highly skilled, high wage earners
- Compassion for the displaced and dispossessed vs. border integrity
- Compassion for the foreign-born vs. compassion for the native born
- Maintenance of immigration volume vs. reduction in overall numbers
- Family reunification policy vs. selective admission policy