

# Great Decisions 2019



## Class #1: "Refugees and Global Migration"

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- Contents**
1. What is Great Decisions?
  2. Discussion questions
  3. Foreign Policy: What, Who, Why & How
  4. Refugees and Global Migration in EU & US



## Who am I and why up here?



- Who am I?
  - Indiana farm boy, retiree in Terra Vista
  - Former academic, bureaucrat & business executive – agricultural economist
  - Travel bug interested in economics, world affairs and history
  - Lecture on cruise ships – Europe, Asia, and Latin America
- Why up here?
  - Been leading Great Decisions since 2008
  - Provide background, issues and alternatives
  - Enhance thinking & understanding of current world issues
  - Foster discussion of differing perspectives, keeping it on track, friendly, fun and informative



## America's 8 great foreign policy challenges



- What is Great Decisions?
  - Public discussion program of 100-year old Foreign Policy Assoc.
  - Focuses on 8 of top foreign policy challenges facing Americans
  - Non-partisan – thousands participating across the country
- Tips for Class
  - Participate: ask questions, share your expertise, suggest references, etc.
  - All are contentious issues - Keep open mind and low voice!
  - [www.greatdecisions.org](http://www.greatdecisions.org) and *Foreign Affairs* have background
  - Wikipedia - often best first reference
  - What people think - PEW Global Attitudes, [pewglobal.org](http://pewglobal.org)



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## Great Decisions 2019 Topics

- 1) Refugees and Global Migration
- 2) The Middle East: Regional Disorder
- 3) Nuclear negotiations: Back to the Future?
- 4) The Rise of Populism in Europe
- 5) Decoding U.S.-China Trade
- 6) Cyber Conflicts and Geopolitics
- 7) United States and Mexico: Partnership Tested
- 8) State of the State Department and Diplomacy



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## Foreign policy book recommendations for Great Decisions 2019



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## Discussion questions on Refugees and Global Migration



1. What world are we in and do we want?
2. Why do people migrate – push or pull?
3. Why is migration a foreign policy issue?
4. What are the pros and cons of limiting migration?
5. Does global migration have a positive, negative or neutral effect on host country's: Culture? Economy? Security?
6. Do rich countries such as Germany and US have the responsibility to take refugees and asylum-seekers?
7. Does US have a responsibility to accept refugees from Syria?

Notes on "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019 

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## What, Why, Who & How of Foreign Policy



- **What?** How to interact on official basis with other countries and, to a lesser extent, non-state actors
- **Why?** Purpose is to
  - Maximize **national** benefits of international cooperation
  - Protect **national** interests, security, and prosperity
- **Who?** Not just what diplomats say and soldiers do: it's also about the example or impression a country projects
- **How?** Two contending foreign policy views

Item	Idealism/Liberalism	Realism
Int'l system	Positive & important	Undependable, limited
Goal	Broad	National security, survival
Power	Soft: Persuasion & example	Hard: Military

*No foreign policy - no matter how ingenious - has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the hearts of none. Henry Kissinger*

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## Trump's America First – Shaking-up foreign policy



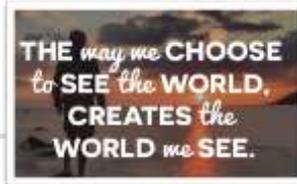
- Narrowing US foreign activities
- Challenging NAFTA, NATO, TPP, and immigration
- Believes previous policies resulted in US subsidizing other countries security and finance at US detriment
- NATO members should spend more – (US pays 3.3% GDP on defense whereas EU pays only 1.4%)
- Trump stumps domestic and international foreign policy establishments



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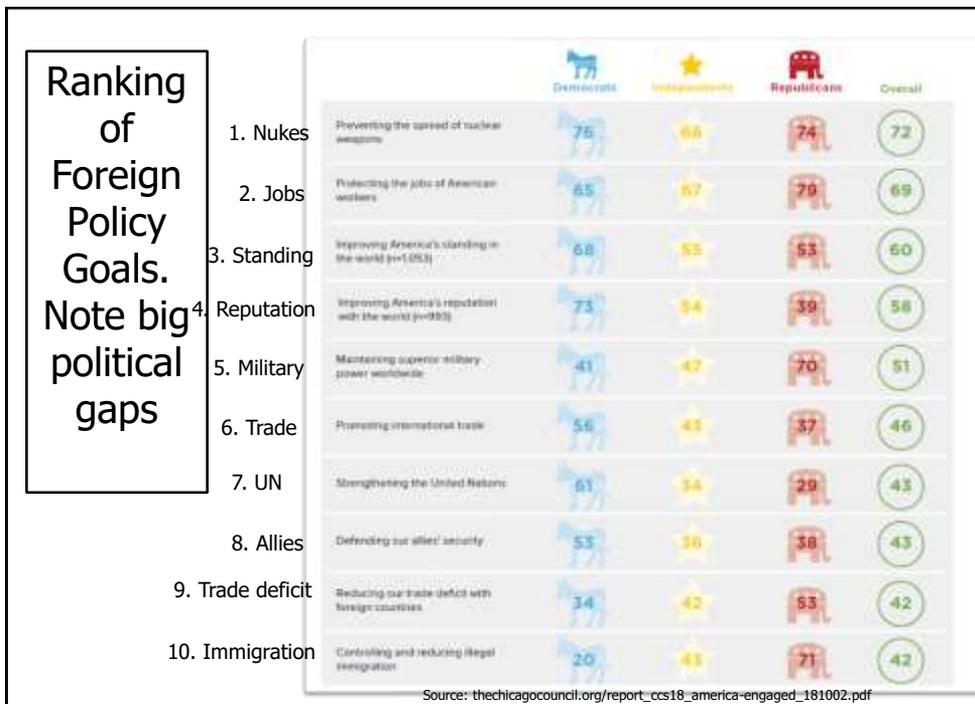
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# What world are we in?



- What world are we in?
  - Continuing resilient liberal international order led by US
  - Great power rivalry and political warfare
  - Rising tribalism and nationalism – withdrawing from agreement migration, trade and nuclear weapons?
- What should be US Grand Strategy after Cold War containment?
  - Primacy?
  - Restraint or neo-isolationism?
  - Selective engagement or offshore balancing?

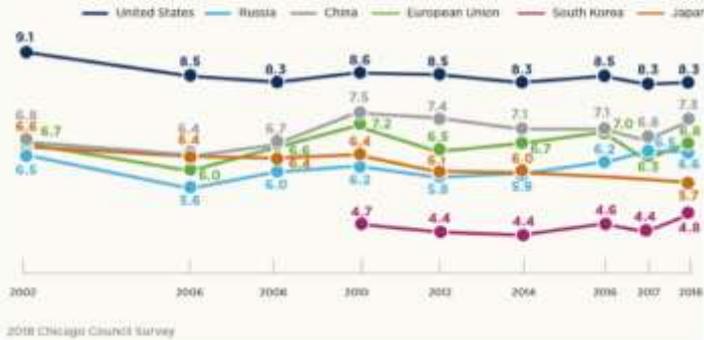
Source: "American foreign policy in 2019: a framework for analysis" by Robert Haffa, Jr., Great Decisions 2019



# US slipping in Global Influence but still #1

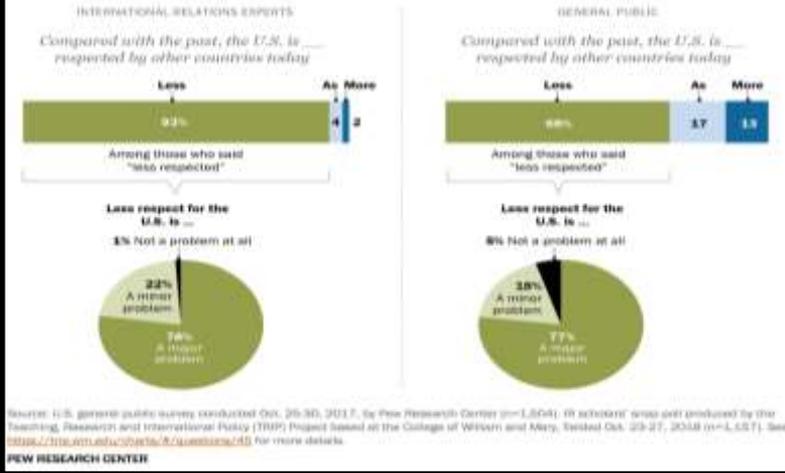
Figure 5: Global influence

I would like to know how much influence you think each of the following countries has in the world. Please answer on a 0 to 10 scale, with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential. (mean score)  
n = 2,046

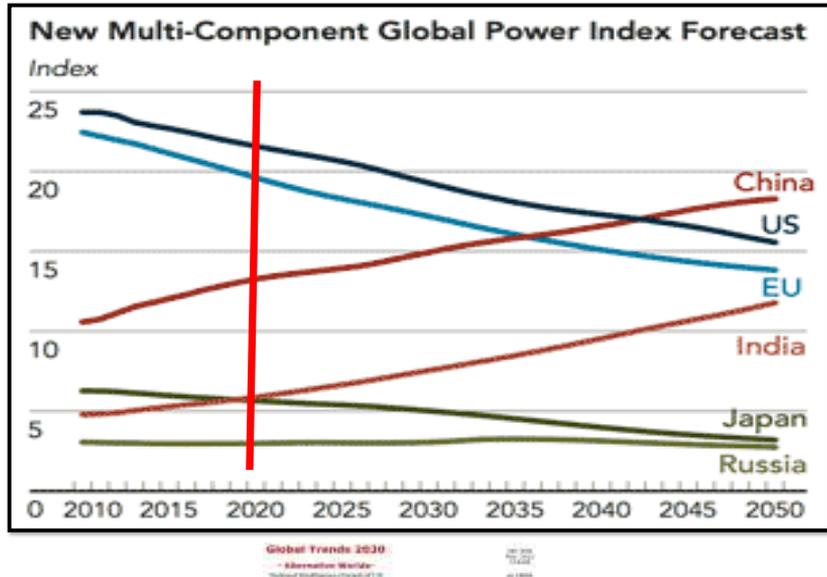


# We think US is less respected & that's a major problem

Most IR experts and American public think U.S. less respected today than in the past, declining status a major problem



## Shifting Global Power: US still #1 for next 25 years



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## What role should America play in the world?



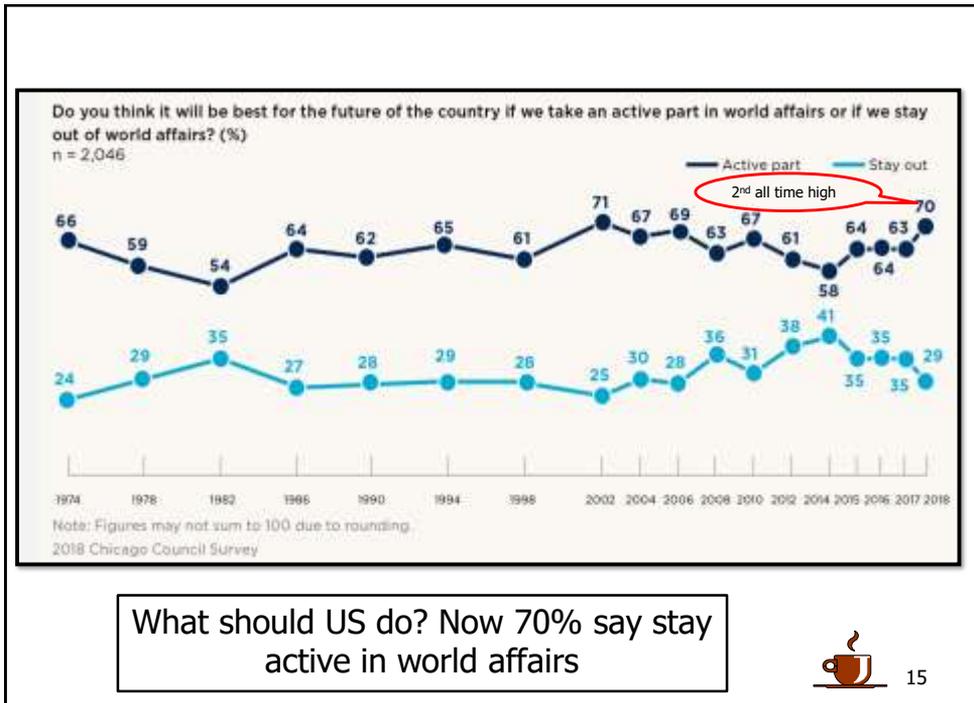
- **Independent America:** Don't try to solve other's problems. Instead, lead by example—in part, by investing in our vast untapped potential.
- **Moneyball America:** We can't meet every international challenge. Focus on opportunities and defend our interests where they're threatened.
- **Indispensable America:** Only we can defend the values on which global stability increasingly depends. A turn inward would undermine our own security and prosperity. We will never live in a stable world while others are denied freedom.

Ian Bremmer, *Superpower: Three Choices for America's Role in the World*, Portfolio, 2015



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## Extent of refugees and global migration

- Most migration is internal as opposed to international
- 3% of world's population are international migrants
- 64.5 million displaced people - 40 million stayed at home and 24.5 million left and became refugees
- 233 million migrated for such reasons as finding work, education, healthcare etc.
- Refugees were under the mandate of UN

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019 16

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## Who are the migrants?

- Range from “forced” to “voluntary”
- “Forced”: At one extreme are those who have no choice but physically forced to move such as slaves, kidnapped trafficking and disaster victims
- “Voluntary”: Other extreme: moving for lifestyle reasons – better jobs, education, family, security..
- “Refugees”: those with less choice to move because they are being persecuted for their ethnic, religious or other identity or for political activities

Source: “Refugees and Global Migration” by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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## No country has open borders today- but 100 years ago most did



- Widespread passports date from WW II
- Most international migrants travel on visas
- 1951 Refugee Convention requires domestic policies concerning its response to refugees
- Asylum-seekers: those having legal status determined
- Nearly 6 million refugees are Palestinians
- 5X more want to migrate than actually do

Source: “Refugees and Global Migration” by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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## Where do the 24.5 million refugees live?



- 85% in a neighboring country
- Total refugees and people in refugee situations by country of asylum
  - Sub Sahara Africa - 6.3 million
  - Asia and Pacific - 4.2 million
  - **Turkey - 3.4 million**
  - Middle East and North Africa - 2.7 million
  - Europe - 2.6 million
  - Americas - 0.6 million

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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## Limited prospect of resettlement

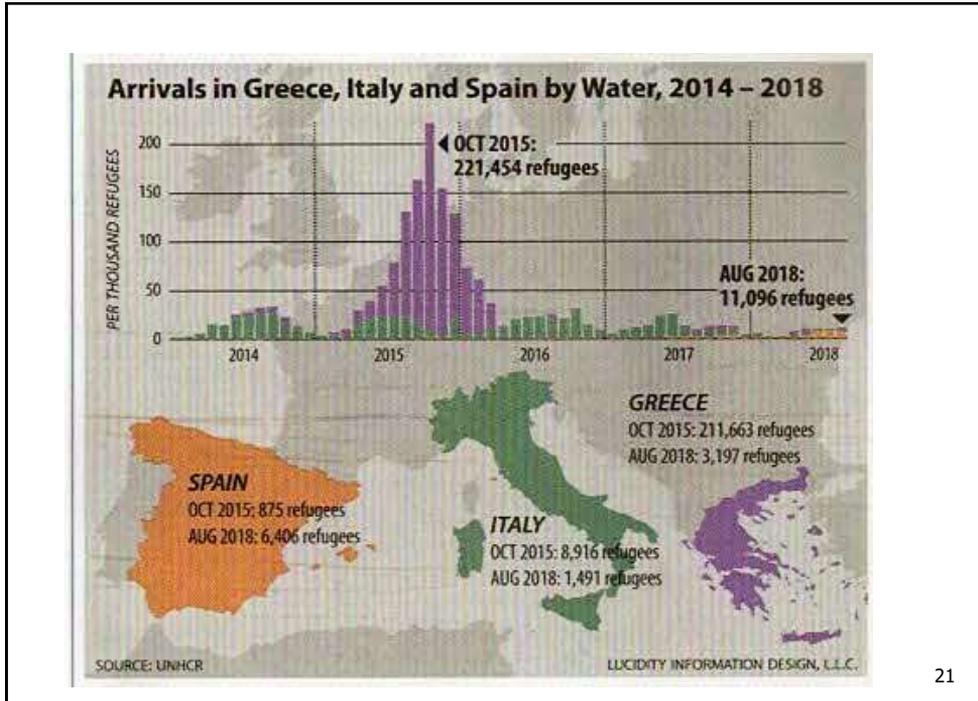
- Less than 1% qualify to be resettled to 3<sup>rd</sup> countries and are stuck unless can pay smuggler or sneak in
- US was resettling 70,000 refugees each year - largest resettlement country
- But Trump cut quota and accepted 65% fewer
- Yet US still took highest numbers - 33,000 – a third of the total resettled
- Canada took 26,600 and Australia 15,100

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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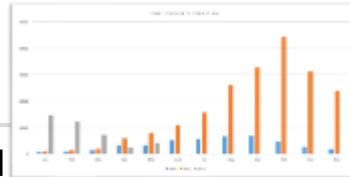
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## EU migration crisis began in 2015 and peaked in 2016



- Asylum applications concentrated in Germany, Hungary, Sweden and Austria
- Hungary closed its borders
- Arrival countries border Mediterranean - Greece, Italy & Spain
- Main cause was Syrian war which displaced 11.6 mil.
- Big migrations in past:
  - After WW II 12 mil. Germans expelled from Soviet Union
  - After European decolonization 7 mil. came to Europe from the collapsing colonies

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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## Issues posed by EU crisis



- Europe - 1.8 million migrants and refugees since 2014
- How to absorb or integrate?
  - Most are Muslims and public anxiety has risen
  - Hungary has refused to take in Muslims
  - Anti-immigrant political backlash
- Threats solidarity of EU
  - How balance concerns of "frontline" states with wealthier northern destination states and states that refuse to accept any immigrants

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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## What about US immigrant crisis?

- Not faced the surge of EU but major increase from El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala and Venezuela
- Border control apprehended 57% more this July than last 2017-especially an increase in family units
- Turmoil Venezuela driving millions to neighbors
- South American presidents, due to the inflow of migrants from Venezuela, are now taking a much tougher anti-immigrant stance

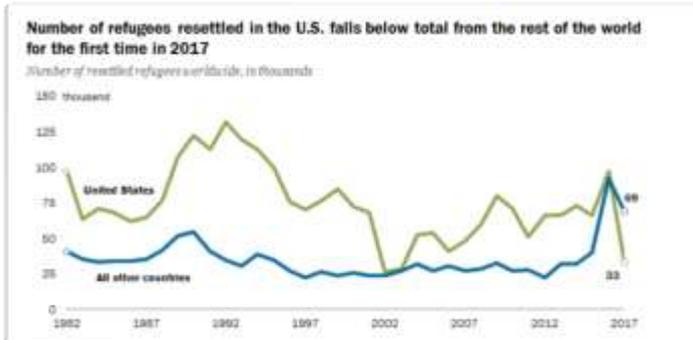
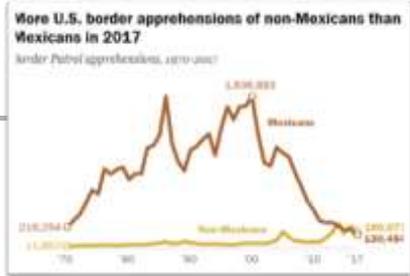
Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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# Facts of US Immigration



www.pewglobal.org



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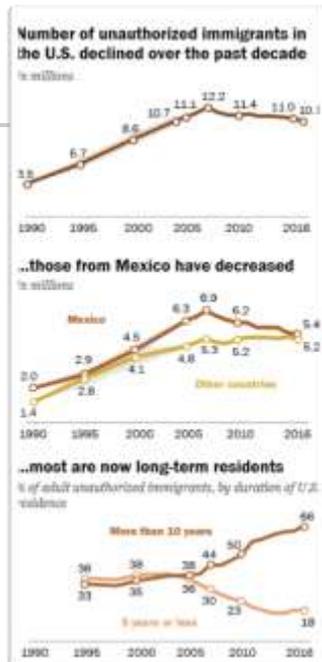
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# Facts of US Immigration

**Estimated unauthorized immigrant total declines or holds steady from most regions**  
In thousands

	2016	2007	Change
<b>Latin America</b>			
Mexico	5,450	6,960	-1,500
Central America	1,860	1,500	+375
South America	650	900	-240
Caribbean	450	475	-
<b>Other regions</b>			
Asia	1,300	1,300	-
Europe, Canada	500	650	-130
Middle East	140	140	-
Africa	230	250	-
<b>J.S. total</b>	<b>10,700</b>	<b>12,200</b>	<b>-1,550</b>

Source: www.pewglobal.org



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## Pros & Cons of migration: Bring skills vs. hurt jobs & society

- **Pro:** migrants contribute to the economy by bringing their skills, entrepreneurship initiative and creativity
- **Con:** Migrants take local jobs, accept lower wages and use government services of schools, healthcare and welfare, dilute the country's culture" and create social problems
- However, in US migrants more likely to be victims than perpetrators of crime

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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## Options for solving migration: Keeping them home vs. Sending them back



- Economic development to make it more attractive for people to stay at home
- EU paying Turkey billions to stop migration
- New global compact to ease pressures on host countries
- US has refused to participate in the process
- Challenge - as immigration doors close illegal immigration and smuggling increase
- **Bottom-line: Difficult and contentious problem with no easy solution**

Source: "Refugees and Global Migration" by Karen Jacobsen, Great Decisions 2019



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