# UT ac

#### (I affirm, Resolved: Wealthy nations have an obligation to provide development assistance to other nations.

#### I value morality, denoted by obligation, which is an act to which a person is morally bound)

## Framework makes the game work

#### No act omission distinction for states- govts create permissions and prohibitions so they know and are complicit with harms occurred.

**Politic of Hope are good: it’s the only way to conceptualize repairing structural inequalities**

Fred Moten and Stefano Harney 13 (Professor of modern poetry @ Duke University, Professor of strategic management @ Singapore Management University: The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning & Black Study) pg 81 cw//az

Governance should not be confused with government or governmentality. **Governance is most importantly a new form of expropriation. It is the provocation of a certain kind of display, a display of interests** as disinterestedness, **a display of convertibility, a display of legibility. Governance is an instrumentalisation of policy**, a set of protocols of deputisation, where one simultaneously auctions and bids on oneself, where the public and the private submit themselves to post-fordist production. **Governance is the harvesting of the means of social re- production** but it appears as the acts of will, and therefore as the death drive, of the harvested. **As capital cannot know directly the affect, thought, sociality, and imagination** that make up the undercommon means of social reproduction, it must instead prospect for these in order to extract and abstract them as labor. That prospecting, which is the real bio-prospecting, **seeks to break an integrity that has been militantly preserved.** Governance, the voluntary but dissociative offering up of interests, willing participation in the general privacy and public privation, **grants capital this knowledge, this wealth-making capacity.** Policy emits this offering, violently manifest as a moral provocation. The ones who would correct and the ones who **would be corrected converge around this imperative of submission that is played out constantly** not only in that range of correctional facilities that Foucault analysed – **the prisons, the hospitals, the asylums – but also in corporations, universities and NGOs. That convergence is given not only in the structures and affects of endless war but also in the brutal processes** and perpetual processing of peace. **Governance**, despite its own hopes for a universality of exclusion, **is for the inducted, for those who know how to articulate interests** disinterestedly, those who vote and know why they vote (**not because someone is black or female but because [they are]**he or she is smart**)**, who **have opinions and want to be taken seriously** by serious people. In the meantime, policy must still pursue the quotidian sphere of open secret plans. Policy posits curriculum against study, child development against play, human capital against work. **It posits having a voice against hearing voices, networked friending against contactual friendship. Policy posits the public sphere, or the counter-public sphere, or the black public sphere, against the illegal occupation** of the illegitimately privatized. **Policy is not** the one **against the many,** the cynical against the romantic, **or the pragmatic against the principled. It is simply baseless vision,** woven into settler’s fabric. It is against all conservation, all rest, all gathering, cooking, drinking and smoking if they lead to marronage. **Policy’s vision is to break it up then fix it, move it along by fixing it, manufacture ambition and give it to your children. Policy’s hope is that there will be more policy, more participation, more change**. But there is also a danger in all this participation, a danger of crisis. **When those who plan together start to participate without first being fixed, this leads to crisis. Participation without fully entering** the blinding light of this dim enlightenment, **without fully functioning families and financial responsibility, without respect for the rule of law,** without distance and irony, without submission to the rule of expertise; participation that is too loud, too fat, too loving, too full, too flowing, too dread; this leads to crisis. **People are in crisis. Economies are in crisis. We are facing an unprecedented crisis, a crisis of participation, a crisis of faith. Is there any hope? Yes, there is,** say the deputies, **if we can pull together, if we can share a vision of change. For policy, any crisis in the productivity of radical contingency** is a crisis in participation, which is to say, a crisis provoked by the wrong participation of the wrong(ed). This is the third rule of policy.

#### Look to material conditions first Matsuda[[1]](#footnote-1)

The multiple consciousness I urge lawyers to attain is not a random ability to see all points of view, but a deliberate choice to see the world from the standpoint of the oppressed. That world is accessible to all of us. We should know it in its concrete particulars. We should know of our sister carrying buckets of water up five flights of stairs in a welfare hotel, our sister trembling at 3 a.m. in a shelter for battered women, our sisters holding bloodied children in their arms in Cape Town, on the West Bank, and in Nicaragua. The jurisprudence of outsiders teaches that these details and the emotions they evoke are relevant and impor- tant as we set out on the road to justice. These details are accessible to all of us, of all genders and colors. We can choose to know the lives of others by reading, studying, listening, and venturing into different places. For lawyers, our pro bono work may be the most effective means of ac- quiring a broader consciousness of oppression. ¶ Abstraction [is a] and detachment are ways out of the discomfort of direct confrontation with the ugliness of oppression. Abstraction, criticized by both feminists and scholars of color, is the, method that allows theorists to discuss liberty, property, and rights in the aspirational mode of liberalism with no connection to what those concepts mean in real people's lives. Much in our mainstream intellectual training values abstraction and denigrates nitty-gritty detail. Holding on to a multiple consciousness will allow us to operate both within the abstractions of standard ju- risprudential discourse, and within the details of our own special knowledge.¶ Whisperings at Yale and elsewhere about how deconstructionist heroes were closet fascists remind me of how important it is to stay close to oppressed communities. High talk about language, meaning, sign, process, and law can mask racist and sexist ugliness if we never stop to ask: "Exactly what are you talking about and what is the implication of what you are saying for my sister who is carrying buckets of water up five flights of stairs in a welfare hotel? What do you propose to do for her today, not in some abstract future you are creating in your mind?" If you have been made to feel, as I have, that such inquiry is theoretically unsophisticated, and quaintly naive, resist! Read what Professor Williams, Professor Scales-Trent, and other feminists and people of color are writing.' The reality and detail of oppression are a starting point for these writers as they enter into mainstream debates about law and theory

#### ROTB is mitigating oppression through material conditions- status quo discussions ignore debate’s liberatory potential

**Smith 13,** [“A Conversation in Ruins: Race and Black Participation in Lincoln Douglas Debate” By Elijah J. Smith 9/4/13.] cw//az

\“It will be uncomfortable, it will be hard, and it will require continued effort but the necessary step in fixing this problem, like all problems, is the community as a whole admitting that such a problem with many “socially acceptable” choices exists in the first place. Like all systems of **social control**, the reality of racism **in debate is constituted by** the singular **choices that** institutions, **coaches**, and students **make** on a weekly basis. I have watched countless rounds where competitors attempt to win by rushing to **abstractions** to **distance the conversation from the** material **reality** that black debaters are forced todeal with every day. One of the students I coached, who has since graduated after leaving debate, had an adult judge write out a ballot that concluded by “hypothetically” defending my student being lynched at the tournament. Another debate concluded with a young man defending that we can kill animals humanely, “just like we did that guy Troy Davis”. **Community norms** would **have competitors** do intellectual gymnastics or **make up rules to accuse** black **debaters of breaking to escape hard conversations** **but** as someone who understands that experience, **the only constructive strategy is to acknowledge the reality of the oppressed**, engage the discussion from the perspective of authors who are black and brown, **and** then find strategies to **deal with the issues at hand.** It hurts to see competitive seasons come and go and have high school students and judges spew the same hateful things you expect to hear at a Klan rally. **A student should not**, when presenting an advocacy that aligns them with the oppressed, **have to justify why oppression is bad. Debate is not just a game, but a learning environment with liberatory potential.** Even if the form debate gives to a conversation is not the same you would use to discuss race in general conversation with Bayard Rustin or Fannie Lou Hamer, that is not a reason we have to strip that conversation of its connection to a reality that black students cannot escape. Currentcoaches and competitors alike dismiss concerns of racism and exclusion, won’t teach other students anything about identity in debate other than howto shut down competitors who engage in alternative styles and discourses, and refuse to engage in those discussions even outside of a tournament setting. A conversation on privilege and identity was held at a debate institute I worked at this summer and just as any theorist of privilege would predict it was the heterosexual, white, male staff members that either failed to make an appearance or stay for the entire discussion. No matter how talented they are, we have to remember that the students we work with are still just high school aged children. If those who are responsible for participants andthe creation of accessible norms won't risk a better future for our community, it becomes harder to explain to students who look up to them why risking such an endeavor is necessary.”

## Harms

#### Development assistance for refugees is getting cut which is specifically why refugees are fleeing

Erlanger, Steven [Steven Erlanger is the chief diplomatic correspondent in Europe for The New York Times, a position he assumed in 2017. He is based in Brussels. Mr. Erlanger was previously the bureau chief in London, from 2013 to 2017; in Paris, from 2008 to 2013; in Jerusalem, from 2004 to 2008; in Berlin, from 2001 to 2002; in Prague, from 1999 to 2001; in Moscow, from 1994 to 1996; and in Bangkok, Thailand, from 1988 to 1991. ], and Kimiko De Freytas-Tamura [Kimiko de Freytas-Tamura is a correspondent based in London, where she covers an eclectic beat ranging from politics to social issues spanning Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Previously, she covered Britain's decision to leave the European Union and its political and economic fallout. She has also covered terror attacks in Paris and Brussels, and has written extensively about radicalization and western jihadis. Prior to the Times, she was a business and economics reporter for the BBC. She has also written for the Financial Times. Born and raised in Paris, she speaks Japanese, French, Spanish and Portuguese. She is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and earned a master’s degree in financial journalism from City University in London.]. “U.N. Funding Shortfalls and Cuts in Refugee Aid Fuel Exodus to Europe.” The New York Times, The New York Times, 19 Sept. 2015, [www.nytimes.com/2015/09/20/world/un-funding-shortfalls-and-cuts-in-refugee-aid-fuel-exodus-to-europe.html?mtrref=www.google.com](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/20/world/un-funding-shortfalls-and-cuts-in-refugee-aid-fuel-exodus-to-europe.html?mtrref=www.google.com). cw//az

LONDON — One of the prime reasons for the wave of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers washing into Europe is the deterioration of the conditions that Syrians face[d] in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, a worsening largely caused by sharp falls in international funding from United Nations countries, officials and analysts say. That shortfall in funding, in contrast with the greater resources provided by Europe, is prompting some to make the hazardous journey who might otherwise remain where they are. The United Nations Syria Regional Refugee and [3]Resilience Plan, which groups a number of humanitarian agencies and covers development aid for the countries bordering Syria, had by the end of August received just 37 percent of the $4.5 billion appeal for needed funds this year. António Guterres, the high commissioner for refugees, recently said that his agency’s budget this year would be 10 percent smaller than in 2014, and that it could not keep up with the drastic increase in need from the long Syrian conflict, which includes [for] shelter, water, sanitation, food, medical assistance and education. The United Nations refugee agency’s funding for Syria this year is only at 43 percent of budgeted requirements.

#### 1. Recipient nations are asking for aid as infrastructure and resources get to stretched to the limits. Tensions are rising, Bolme et al ‘16

A Comprehensive Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis: Highlighting the United States’ Role in the International Effort University of Washington Henry M. Jackson School Of International Studies Task Force 2016 <https://jsis.washington.edu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Task-Force-D-Report-2016-Friedman_.pdf> ADVISOR Professor Kathie Friedman EVALUATOR Mark Ward Director of the Syria Transition Assistance Response Team COORDINATOR Jennifer Ryder EDITORS Nathan Bradshaw Taylor Twadelle AUTHORS Diane Bolme Kevin Celustka Sarah Conklin Daniel Engstrom Michael Kono Carly Kurtz Ismail Moussa Paritt Nguiakaramahawongse Jennifer Ryder Amanda Sandoval Natali Smiley Maja Stamenkovska Ayaz Talantuli Jo Tono Payton Youn cw//az

As the plight of refugees and migrants crossing into Europe dominates international news headlines, the world’s attention is drawn away from the situation playing out in Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon, the three countries of first asylum and perhaps the most urgent aspect of the Syrian refugee crisis. To illustrate the gravity of the situation, two million refugees and asylum seekers have crossed into the entirety of Europe, whereas more than twice that number now reside within Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. The massive influx of refugees, especially in 2014 and 2015, has brought with it a number of issues that are increasingly stretching the capacity and capabilities of the three local host countries. Such a large number of refugees residing in such a limited space has tak[ing]en a considerable toll on the host countries’ economy and infrastructure and has creat[ing]ed newfound social tensions and exacerbated existing ones. Without the sustained assistance of the international community – whether it be state governments, NGOs, or other private entities – Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan continue to teeter on the brink of social and economic downfall. Turkey, host to the largest number of Syrian refugees in the world, has taken in more than 2.5 million asylum seekers since the beginning of the crisis. While initially demonstrating that it could single-handedly deal with the refugee situation within its borders through its rejection of outside aid, Turkey has all but reversed its position, petition[s]ing the international community to send much needed assistance. Though the Turkish economy shows some potential to absorb the influx of the Syrian refugees, the sudden presence of such a large foreign population has negatively affected the view Turkish locals hold towards their new guests. With a full-scale civil war in neighboring Syria and a renewed conflict with Kurdish separatists in its southeastern border, Turkey’s security situation has also deteriorated rapidly – in turn negatively affecting the prospects of hopeful asylum seekers, as the country has all but sealed off its southern border. Like Turkey, Lebanon is also home to an enormous number of Syrian refugees: to date, an estimated 1.8 million[refugees]is residing within the country’s borders. However, Lebanon has a much smaller local population than Turkey and territory is also much more limited. In terms of proportionality, Syrian refugees represent[ing] over a quarter of Lebanon’s population. This massive influx of mostly Sunni Syrian refugees threatens the country’s longstanding sectarian balance between its Sunni, Shiite, and Christian populations. Combined with an overstretched and mismanaged infrastructure system, an ailing economy, and a rising unemployment rate, the arrival of such a large number of Syrian refugees risk plung[e]ing Lebanon into a new era of instability. In Jordan, the estimated number of both registered and unregistered Syrian refugees combined is roughly 1.4 million individuals. Like Lebanon, Jordan’s economy – having never recovered from the 2008 recession – is also in poor health, and its ability to absorb the large number of refugees into its local population, much less its workforce, is extremely limited. As such, most of the refugees in the country now reside within one of two overpopulated camps with overstretched resources: Za’atari and Azraq. Furthermore, Jordan’s perpetual issue concerning the availability of its water has become increasingly aggravated due to the arrival of such a large number of refugees. With an economy in poor shape and water scarcity rising, local Jordanians have become increasingly frustrated and disgruntled with the Syrian refugees they now host. Without much needed international support, the situation in Jordan, both for the refugees and the Jordanians, will only deteriorate in the future. As the countries most affected by the Syrian refugee crisis, Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan are in dire need of international aid and assistance.

#### 2. There is nowhere for them to go- refugees are trying to flee from war-torn homes only to die in the process

Merli, Francesco. “Capitalism's Endless War against Immigrants.” IDOM, IDOM, 20 Oct. 2017, [www.bolshevik.info/capitalism-s-endless-war-against-immigrants.htm](http://www.bolshevik.info/capitalism-s-endless-war-against-immigrants.htm). cw//az

The equivalent of a silent, unilateral war has been going on for years in the Mediterranean Sea. It is not a war in the traditional sense, because it lacks contending armies, but a war of the entrenched 'civilised world' against hundreds of thousands of unarmed people. Their only crime is a desperate attempt to flee[ing] poverty, unbearable living conditions and the destruction of their livelihoods in their home countries, and follow the dream of a better life for themselves and their families in Europe. Over the last 15 years, 30,000 men, women and children have lost their lives drowning while attempting to reach European shores. And each year the number of victims is rising. Still, many more are succeeding and entering Europe through the routes that lead to the shores of Greece, Italy or Spain. Many others are stopped on the way, before they can even make it, or caught at sea before they can reach international waters, and brought back and imprisoned in concentration camps in inhumane conditions in Turkey, Libya or Morocco. These unfortunates wait for months for something to happen, while many d[y]i[ng]e of privations and easily curable diseases. Many more disappear en route across the desert, or are enslaved by human traffickers in Libya and held so they can work in exchange for a passage on the traffickers’ boats. Women are often forced to prostitution, and men, women and children are beaten, brutalized and killed. All this occurs with little or no scrutiny by the so-called international community – the armies, police, border and coast guards and, of course, the 'official' criminals who profit from human trafficking. No one really knows how many people are actually losing their lives or are unaccounted for, because no one is in a position to control what is happening in large swathes of territory that are controlled by criminal gangs and warlords. While this tragedy is staged night in and night out, the European governments are playing their usual cynical game of bouncing responsibilities between eachother. They shed crocodile tears about this immense tragedy, presenting it as if it were a natural disaster that they have nothing to do with. Like imperialist meddling or direct intervention had nothing to do with the Syrian war, or the Saudi war against Yemen, or the destruction of the Libyan state, or the many conflicts that are afflicting the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa. Deaths in the Mediterranean Sea have reached an all time peak in the course of the last 12 months. The latest figures published in September by the UN Refugee Agency estimate that 4,337 people have drowned since the same month of 2016 while attempting to reach Europe, mostly from the coasts of Libya. The figure for the previous 12 months displayed already a tragic death toll of 4,185. However, we should bear in mind that these figures only account for what is known; the real death toll may be substantially higher.

#### 3. Those who reach relative safety are faced with an uphill battle to obtain basic needs, Erlanger 2

The World Food Program, another United Nations agency that is a cornerstone of refugee aid, has also been ma[de]king painful cuts. It is more than 63 percent underfunded for 2015, the agency said, and recently had to halv[ing]e the monthly stipend to 211,000 Syrians in regional refugee camps. It also recently halt[ing]ed aid to 230,000 Syrian refugees living in Jordan outside camps. According to the World Food Program, there will be further cuts, and 100,000 people living in refugee camps could find their food support stopped entirely in November. Continue reading the main story Advertisement Continue reading the main story The World Health Organization is only 27 percent funded. Refugees who cannot get assistance where they are will risk travel, aid officials say, especially when Europe seems to beckon. “The conditions are now so bad or overstretched in neighboring countries that the people fleeing Syria are choosing, or have no other choice, but to go straight to Europe,” said Melissa Fleming, chief spokeswoman for Mr. Guterres and the refugee agency. About 70 percent of registered Syrian refugees living in Lebanon, for example, are below the poverty line, creating tensions with local inhabitants for jobs and health services. About a quarter of Lebanon’s population is now Syrian. Abeer Etefa, a spokeswoman for the World Food Program in the Middle East, said that “the crisis is going into its fifth year and there is some sign of fatigue among donor countries.” GRAPHIC Seeking a Fair Distribution of Migrants in Europe German and European Union leaders have called for European countries to share the burden of absorbing the hundreds of thousands of migrants who have poured into the continent this summer. OPEN GRAPHIC Needs are outpacing resources, she said. “Many Syrians have fled to neighboring countries and they are losing hope and are desperate, no longer able to meet basic needs: getting food, paying rent, keeping children in schools. Their funds are drying up.” It is difficult to know how many Syrian refugees are leaving safe but uncomfortable berths in camps and cities in the region to come to Europe, and how many are coming directly from Syria, said Andrej Mahecic, a United Nations refugee agency official. “Conditions in neighboring countries have deteriorated considerably and the protection space is shrinking rapidly, so some Syrians are deciding to move on,” he said. “The immediate neighbors are buckling under the pressure,” with host communities seeing their populations double or triple, straining health services and infrastructure and creating competition for jobs while driving down wages. “Funding is not keeping up with the needs,” he said. Ali, 38, is a refugee from Aleppo, who has been in Jordan since 2011. He thought the fighting would end in months, but his savings of $2,000 are gone, and the $700 a month he got from aid agencies to cover food, rent and school fees has been cut in half. With a family of 10, including Hazem, 13, who is handicapped, Ali has received multiple warnings from the police for working without a permit. So he collects discarded soda cans for recycling from midnight to dawn and makes about $8 a night. Syrians used to get free health care, but that ended last year, he said, so he must pay for Hazem’s medication. In a poor part of Amman, Jordan, Mounib Zakiya, who fled Syria, told the BBC he was leaving after three years with his children and grandchildren to try to get to Europe because his meager international aid had been cut off. “It’s safe here,” he said, “and life is good. But we have to buy food and milk for the children. We have to pay for medical care. How can I pay the rent?” His family of nine was living on $9 a day, but that ended. The countries that have not provided aid “have opened a gate to death, and are making us walk through it,” he said. “It’s better to die fast on the journey than die slowly, watching your kids starve.” In both Jordan and Lebanon, the World Food Program has halved the value of the vouchers it provides refugees outside camps — to $7 a month per person in Jordan. So far, in the fifth year of a Syrian civil war with no end in sight, nearly half the prewar population of 22 million people is classified as refugees or is internally displaced within Syria. As of Friday, according to the United Nations refugee agency, there are just under 4.1 million official registered Syrian refugees — 2.1 million in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, 1.9 million in Turkey and 24,000 registered in North Africa. But only 12 percent of the 4.1 million are in actual refugee camps, with the rest doing their best to survive with shrinking aid in regional countries that are not always welcoming. By comparison, just 428,735 Syrians applied for asylum in Europe between April 2011 and August 2015 — 138,016 in 2014. So far this year, the refugee agency says, more than 442,440 refugees and migrants have arrived via the Mediterranean, about 51 percent of them Syrian, and 2,921 people have died trying. Every day, some 4,000 people are arriving in Greece. The numbers coming to Europe are comparatively small, Ms. Fleming said, but they seem larger because of Europe’s dysfunctional asylum system. “It’s this chaos which makes it look like it’s unmanageable,” she said. Yet European countries are budgeting much higher levels of aid to deal with the relatively small flow to Europe. While the United Nations Syrian appeal is only $4.5 billion for 2015, Germany alone said it would budget $6.6 billion by the end of the year to deal with 800,000 asylum applicants in Germany, and the European Union said last week that it would spend at least $1.1 billion to help accommodate 160,000 refugees it wanted to allocate to member countries. Most Syrian refugees prefer to be in the neighboring countries because they want to return home, Ms. Fleming said. But with savings dwindling and the war showing no signs of abating, “they’re losing that hope.” Ms. Etefa of the World Food Program said she saw a “growing sense of despair” in the refugees. Before, “they were hopeful that the war would end, but now they are so desperate they will take all kinds of drastic measures. Only those with money take a gamble and go to Europe. “Some of the poor are taking decisions to go back to Syria,” she said, adding that “if they’re going to die, it will be better dying at home.” But the very poor, she said, cannot even make the return. “Governments need to reprioritize,” Ms. Fleming said. “If they can’t prevent and stop the wars, at a minimum they need to help the victims — Europe should not be surprised if people from the region are deciding to come here if they’re not being helped where they are.”

#### Refugee influx into areas like Lebanon causes political strife, triggering a civil war- historically proven

ABOU ZEID, Mario [Former advisor to the Minister of Social Affairs of Lebanon and former Research Analyst at Carnegie Middle East Center.]. “A Time Bomb in Lebanon: The Syrian Refugee Crisis.” Carnegie Middle East Center, CMEC, 6 Oct. 2014, carnegie-mec.org/diwan/56857?lang=en. cw//az

Fierce clashes rocked Lebanon on Sunday, October 5, as gunmen aligned with the Nusra Front, a Syria-based al-Qaeda franchise, fought Shia militiamen from the Hezbollah guerrilla force in the eastern Bekaa Valley. More than twenty people were killed. The Bekaa clashes are the latest in a long line of security incidents related to Syria, and tension is rising in all of Lebanon. A major driver of violence and political tension is Lebanon’s refugee crisis. Three years after the eruption of the Syrian crisis, Leban[on]ese government sources estimate that the country houses more than 2 million Syrian refugees, equivalent to half of the indigenous population, although only around 1.1 million Syrians have so far been officially registered by the UN Refugee Agency. Tolerance for the refugees is gradually turning into resentment, as Syrians are now present in almost every town and city in Lebanon. According to Lebanese government sources, Syrians occupy 60 percent of the Lebanese labor market, while the economic burden caused by the refugee problem has reached $3 billion, putting severe strain[ing] on the national infrastructure. While the international community has repeatedly promised to support the Lebanese government, it has failed to make good on these promises, and Lebanon is now on the verge of a socioeconomic and security explosion. SOCIAL CRISIS BREEDING SECURITY PROBLEMS The economic and social pressure caused by the refugee crisis has led Lebanese authorities to declare that they will seek to limit the flow of refugees. But this makes it risky for any refugee to return to Syria for fear of not being readmitted into Lebanon. Despite the declaration, some 2,500 refugees still cross the border every day. Over time, the resources available to support the growing body of Syrian refugees have dwindled. This has le[a]d[ing] to the rise of human trafficking, prostitution, and other types of criminality in refugee ranks, further increasing tensions with the Lebanese population. Clashes with local Lebanese residents have led several municipalities to establish restrictions on the freedom of movement of the refugees, especially at night. In addition, municipal security forces are engaging in a mapping and identification process for Syrian refugees living in their vicinity. The unstable security situation and the rise of extremist Syrian groups are making the situation even worse. THE ARSAL BATTLE IN AUGUST 2014 The clashes in Arsal are a key example. In August 2014, this Sunni-majority border town that has hosted thousands of refugees witnessed a battle between the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) and the Nusra Front along with fighters from the al-Qaeda offshoot known as the Islamic State. A couple hundred refugees were mobilized in support of the militants and backed by local Sunni Lebanese. Once a ceasefire was reached, these fighters dissolved into the refugee and local communities in Arsal. Such events make every Syrian refugee a suspected supporter of the jihadi factions in the eyes of the Lebanese people, who fear the expansion of the Islamic State in Lebanon. Hezbollah’s propaganda has further contributed to a rising fear about the refugees’ potential links with militants. Counterpropaganda by anti-Hezbollah Sunni groups has accused the LAF of being a tool used by Hezbollah to persecute Sunnis in Lebanon, and extremist groups present themselves as protectors of the Sunnis against Shia oppression, generating more support from local Sunnis. Government and military sources in Lebanon claim that, until now, more than 40 sleeper cells affiliated with either the Islamic State or the Nusra Front have been discovered among the Syrian refugees. In addition, the jihadis took a large number of soldiers and police hostage during the Arsal crisis, and some have since been beheaded. The gruesome killings of LAF personnel—who, being both Sunni and Shia, appear to have been chosen to cut across sectarian lines and divisions in Lebanon—have bred increased antagonism toward the refugees in all of Lebanon’s communities. REFUGEE CAMPS WON’T SOLVE THE PROBLEM The government’s sole response to this crisis has been to belatedly identify locations where it could establish camps for the refugees on the Syrian side of the border. This proposition has been debated by the government ever since the eruption of the Syrian crisis as a measure to limit the spread of the Syrian refugees on Lebanese territory. But gathering Syrians in a specific area under the current dire economic and social circumstances would only nurture the radicalization of a refugee community left with few options for survival, and it would further polarize the Lebanese community. Moreover, such a camp could not host more than 120,000 refugees, leaving the destiny of the rest of the approximately 2 million refugees uncertain. RAISING THE RISK OF CIVIL WAR Prior to Lebanon’s own civil war of 1975–1990, a similar trend was witnessed among the Palestinian refugees. Palestinian refugee camps became safe havens for armed factions and militant leaders who ended up playing an integral part in the civil war as they joined with sympathetic Lebanese militants. This history now seems to be playing out again in the Syrian refugee community. The Lebanese government is incapable of dealing with the consequences of the flow of refugees alone without major financial, logistical, and security assistance from the international community—and mere promises won’t suffice. In addition, the LAF and other security institutions are in need of weapons and equipment to fight the expansion of extremist groups and preserve Lebanon’s stability. Without such support, the ingredients for civil strife in Lebanon are likely to tip the country into open-ended instability.

## Advocacy

#### Plan text: Resolved: Wealthy nations have an obligation to provide development assistance to other nations for refugees. To clarify, acts include resettlement and grants to nations with large refugee populations. I’ll defend the OECD definition of recipient nations, wealthy nations, and development assistance. I reserve the right to clarify and grant links in CX.

## Aff solves in 4 ways:

#### WNs work with regional authorities and the refugees themselves to finance change- Solvency advocate, soros ‘16

Soros, George. [Soros has been active as a philanthropist since the 1970s, when he began providing funds to help black students attend the University of Cape Town in apartheid South Africa,[99] and began funding dissident movements behind the Iron Curtain. Soros's philanthropic funding includes efforts to promote non-violent democratization in the post-Soviet states. These efforts, mostly in Central and Eastern Europe, occur primarily through the Open Society Foundations (originally Open Society Institute or OSI) and national Soros Foundations, which sometimes go under other names (such as the Stefan Batory Foundation in Poland). As of 2003, PBS estimated that he had given away a total of $4 billion.[69] The OSI says it has spent about $500 million annually in recent years. ] “This Is Europe's Last Chance to Fix Its Refugee Policy.” Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy, 19 July 2016, foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/19/this-is-europes-last-chance-to-fix-its-refugee-policy-george-soros/. cw//az

A European solution is currently emerging on the ground in Greece, where the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) de facto examines asylum applications in order to assist the overwhelmed Greek authorities. A single European asylum procedure would remove the incentives for asylum shopping and rebuild trust among member states. Fifth, once refugees have been recognized, there needs to be a mechanism for relocating them within Europe in an agreed way. It will be crucial for the EU to fundamentally rethink the implementation of its stillborn resettlement and relocation programs; a tentative step in this direction was taken last week in new proposals put forth by the European Commission. The union cannot coerce either member states or refugees to participate in these programs. They must be voluntary; a matching scheme could elicit[s] preferences from both refugees and receiving communities so that people end up where they want to be and where they are welcome. EASO has begun to develop such a matching scheme. These programs should be deeply anchored in communities. Mayors across Europe have shown a remarkable willingness to receive refugees but have been thwarted by national governments. Public-private sponsorship programs — wherein small groups of individuals, community organizations, and companies support newcomers, financially and otherwise, as they negotiate schools, job markets, and communities — could benefit from the untapped goodwill of citizens throughout Europe. Canada provides a good role model (although its geographic context differs from Europe’s). In just four months, it admitted 25,000 Syrian refugees and is integrating them through public-private partnerships and local nonprofits. The government has promised to accept another 10,000 Syrians by year’s end and 44,000 refugees in total in 2016. (At the same time, it is admitting 300,000 migrants in total every year; this would be the equivalent of the EU accepting 4.5 million migrants annually.) The process by which Canada resettles refugees has been refined through repeated use over a long period of time and passes even the hyperstringent security standards of its southern neighbor. The vetting of Syrian asylum-seekers was meticulously carried out by some 500 consular and military officials mobilized immediately after Prime Minister Justin Trudeau took office last November and made the project a top priority. Both the public and media responded positively, despite the shock of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels, which occurred at the height of Canada’s Syrian refugee program. Determined leadership from the top, close coordination with receiving local communities, robust screening and resettlement procedures, and honesty in confronting inevitable problems — these were the main ingredients of success. Compare that to conditions prevailing in Europe, and you get an indication of the distance that the EU has to travel. Sixth, the European Union, together with the international community, must support foreign refugee-hosting countries far more generously than it currently does. The required support is in part financial[ly], so that countries such as Jordan can provide adequate schooling, housing, training, and health care to refugees, and partly in the form of trade preferences, so that these countries can provide employment both to refugees and to their own populations. It simply does not make sense for Europe to commit upwards of 200 billion euros between 2015 and 2020 to deal with the crisis on its own shores — this is the amount member states are on track to spend on refugee reception and integration — when a small fraction of that amount spent abroad would have kept the influx of migrants to manageable proportions.

#### Resettlement relieves host-countries, allowing them to stabilize and better support the refugees, Marks 3/24

Marks, Jesse. “The Unintended Victim: Jordan's Struggle under Trump's Refugee Ban.” The Huffington Post, TheHuffingtonPost.com, 24 Mar. 2017, [www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-unintended-victim-jordans-struggle-under-trumps\_us\_58d5267fe4b0c0980ac0e511](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-unintended-victim-jordans-struggle-under-trumps_us_58d5267fe4b0c0980ac0e511).

Refugees in Jordan do not have the option to informally migrate to Europe, one available to those in Lebanon and Turkey who opt for making the journey over land and sea. Instead, Jordan’s refugee population, without the option of resettlement, must choose one of three options: life in a refugee camp, life among the host community, or return to Syria. The protracted conflict and prolonged absence of durable solutions for those choosing to stay increases their exposure to extreme poverty and the associated drivers of radicalism (e.g. lack of education opportunities, lack of legal employment, and susceptibility to recruitment by non-state actors). Resettlement is the only legal means for decreasing the number of refugees in neighboring Middle East countries housing significant refugee populations, specifically Jordan. This is reflected in an increasing annual total of Syrians resettled to the United States. From 2011 to 2015, the annual total of resettled Syrians rose from 29 Syrians (less than 1 percent of total resettlement to the US) to 12,600 (15 percent) in 2016. In 2015, Obama announced a new Syrian resettlement program that would step up US resettlements efforts by admitting nearly 12,000 Syrian refugees (resettled from Jordan, Egypt, and Turkey). While the program only accounted for roughly 1 percent of Jordan’s total Syrian population, it was [are] the first major step to assist Jordan’s struggling refugee[s] population. Since the beginning of FY 2017 until the first executive order suspended Syrian resettlement, 5,500 Syrians were resettled to the United States. Suspending USRAP will result in increased pressure on Jordan to provide for an increasing Syrian refugee population. Without resettlement, the total population will continue to grow further stretching the limited assistance provided and subjecting refugees to further poverty. Furthermore, the suspension could likely influenc[ing]e the behavior of Syrian refugees both already in the resettlement process and those who see resettlement as the last hope of survival. The US refugee resettlement program, a chief example of international assistance, is a critical foreign policy tool that directly impacts the global war on terrorism and the fight against ISIS by addressing the root causes of these issues, a point agreed on by both Congressional democrats and republicans, but missed by the executive order. Jordan’s stability is imperative for the advancement of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. By ensuring the continuity of the US resettlement program, the United States allows Jordan to confidently invest their focus on stabilizing their country, fighting terrorism, and strengthening their economy. And, in turn, the United States maintains a strategic relationship with a regional partner for peace.

#### Resettlement of refugees, where wns open their borders to more asylum-seekers, stems the flow of those risking their lives and drowning at sea, Soros 1

See citations of Soros 16

An effective alternative to the EU’s current approach would be built on seven pillars. First, the EU and the rest of the world must take in a substantial number of refugees directly from front-line countries in a secure and orderly manner, which would be far more acceptable to the public than the current disorder. If the EU made a commit[s]ment to admit[s] even just 300,000 refugees each year, and if that commitment were matched by countries elsewhere in the world, most genuine asylum-seekers would calculate that their odds of reaching their destination are good enough for them not to [not] seek to reach Europe illegally, since that would disqualify them from being legally admitted. If, on top of this, conditions in front-line countries improved thanks to greater aid, there would be no refugee crisis. But the problem of economic migrants would remain.

#### Development assistance efficiently integrates refugees into society, decreasing international tensions and discrimination, Soros 2

See citations of Soros 16

Spending a large amount at the outset in that way will allow the EU to respond more effectively to some of the most dangerous consequences of the refugee crisis and prevent some of its worst consequences. These include anti-immigrant sentiment in its member states that has fueled support for authoritarian political parties and despondency among those seeking refuge in Europe, who now find themselves [are] marginalized in Middle East host countries or stuck in transit in Greece. Making large initial investments in border protection, search-and-rescue operations, asylum processing, and dignified refugee sheltering will help tip[s] the economic, political, and social dynamics away from xenophobia and disaffection and toward constructive outcomes that benefit refugees and host countries alike. In the long run, this will reduc[ing]e the total amount of money Europe will have to spen[t]d to contain and recover from the refugee crisis.

#### The aff confronts Western ideology by creating spaces where resettled refugees can change the perspective from within; the method is uniquely good

Pipo 18, 1-30-2018, How the Latest Great Migration Is Reshaping Europe, PIPO NEWS, http://www.piponews.co.uk/how-the-latest-great-migration-is-reshaping-europe/, cw//az

Hostility toward immigrants in Germany has been strongest where the fewest of them live, in the former East German states. They remain poorer than western Germany. The widening gap between rich and poor people in the country as a whole may also promote[s] anti-immigrant sentiment—and yet there’s no material basis for angst about the refugees, said Naika Foroutan. The German economy is strong, unemployment is low, and the government[s] ran a 19.4-billion-euro surplus last year. Germany could afford to integrate the refugees while still investing in infrastructure to benefit all Germans. “It’s not a real panic,” Foroutan said. “It’s a cultural panic.” Foroutan, 44, whose mother is German and whose father is a refugee from Iran, puts her hope in education. “You can educate people to see integration as self-evident,” she said—just as Germany has tried, with limited success, to stamp out anti-Semitism. Since World War II a generation of hardened anti-Semites has died, and new generations have grown up confronted by television and also in school, by teachers like Damm, with what the Nazis did. Foroutan’s survey suggests a similar change is under way with respect to immigrants. You[th]ng Germans are much more likely to accept circumcision and mosques.

#### Net benefit: Integration counters terrorism, Daniels ‘15

Daniels, Owen. “4 Reasons the US Should Support the Resettlement of Syrian Refugees.” The Huffington Post, TheHuffingtonPost.com, 23 Nov. 2015, [www.huffingtonpost.com/owen-daniels/four-reasons-the-us-shoul\_b\_8630704.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/owen-daniels/four-reasons-the-us-shoul_b_8630704.html). Cw//az

Countering ISIS narratives, which vilify the US and are intended to radicalize youths on the fringes of society, should remain a priority for policymakers. The politicization of the refugee issue plays directly into ISIS’s hands. While lawmakers have presented their posturing as standing tough on domestic security, the group has aimed to cast itself as the only alternative to a Western society indifferent to the plight of Syrian Muslims. ISIS has incorporated footage of drowning and mistreated refugees into its propaganda alongside religious rhetoric to demonstrate that it is the true protector of the global Sunni Muslim community. Comparing refugees to rabid dogs or calling for the resettlement only of Syrian Christians (a call, it is worth noting, that US Christian groups do not support), combined with the politicians’ arguments against resettlement in their states, seemingly affirm these narratives. Openly welcoming beleaguered Syrians could go a long way toward combat[s]ing ISIS’s depiction of an uncaring West, and appeal[s] to the marginalized populations the group hopes to radicalize.

## Underview

#### Neg should check possible interps in cx for a chance to comply and engage in substance

#### Aff gets RVIs Otherwise, I go for multiple layers in 4 min and theory’s norms produced won’t be true, just under covered. Outweighs as it’s about the purpose of theory and indicts the validity of your shells.

#### No neg RVIs: it allows for a 6 minute blipstorm through 2n collapse, I can’t cover that in 3 minutes, if I spend all the 1ar on it, they go for dta and win off substance. Prefer ts: if I don’t have time to make arguments, u can’t see if I’m a good debater, and it’s quantifiable/verifiable

#### give me dtd on 1ar theory: dta allows them to collapse to an undercovered layer in the 2n, win, and not change their strat

#### I’m definitely topical. Prefer this specification on applicability/recency, it was made by the OECD a month ago Anders 11/1/17

<https://www.devex.com/news/oecd-dac-clarifies-rules-on-in-donor-aid-spending-for-refugees-91433>

The DAC has now clarified how aid can be spent on refugees as they arrive in transit or host countries, an issue that has been a source of contention in recent years. While more than 86 percent of refugees remain in the global south, donor countries have pushed for clearer guidance on how and when ODA can be spent domestically to support refugee arrivals. For the first time, the DAC has offered a comprehensive list of ODA-eligible and non-eligible expenditure. Costs such as detention centers, border security and patrol, and the costs of returning failed asylum-seekers are now clearly excluded from ODA. Any spending on asylum seekers after their application is rejected, and on refugees determined to be “in transit” to other countries for resettlement, will also not be classifiable as aid. The committee decided to retain the one-year limit, which means that ODA can only be used to support refugees during their first year in the host country, but clarified that the year begins from the date an asylum application is submitted. No cap was implemented on host country refugee costs, but the committee clarified previously vague guidance on costs incurred before or after the one-year period, as well as the cost of operations that serve either rescue or security purposes. Winnie Byanyima, executive director of Oxfam International, who was one of the civil society leaders attending the meeting, said the charity stood by its belief that aid spent in donor countries should not count toward ODA, but welcomed the clarification of the rules, which she said would prevent[s] double-counting and the repurposing of aid for security purposes.

#### Critique is useless without a concrete alternative that solves for your harms – intellectual stances are worthless.

Bryant 12 Levi Bryant (Professor of Philosophy at Collin College) “A Critique of the Academic Left” 2012 <https://larvalsubjects.wordpress.com/2012/11/11/underpants-gnomes-a-critique-of-the-academic-left/>

#### Unfortunately, the academic left falls prey to its own form of abstraction. It’s good at carrying out critiques that denounce various social formations, yet very poor at proposing any sort of realistic constructions of alternatives. This because it thinks abstractly in its own way, ignoring how networks, assemblages, structures, or regimes of attraction would have to be remade to create a workable alternative. Here I’m reminded by the “underpants gnomes” depicted in South Park: The underpants gnomes have a plan for achieving profit that goes like this: Phase 1: Collect Underpants Phase 2: ? Phase 3: Profit! They even have a catchy song to go with their work: Well this is sadly how it often is with the academic left. Our plan seems to be as follows: Phase 1: Ultra-Radical Critique Phase 2: ? Phase 3: Revolution and complete social transformation! Our problem is that we seem perpetually stuck at phase 1 without ever explaining what is to be done at phase 2. Often the critiques articulated at phase 1 are right, but there are nonetheless all sorts of problems with those critiques nonetheless. In order to reach phase 3, we have to produce new collectives. In order for new collectives to be produced, people need to be able to hear and understand the critiques developed at phase 1. Yet this is where everything begins to fall apart. Even though these critiques are often right, we express them in ways that only an academic with a PhD in critical theory and post-structural theory can understand. How exactly is Adorno to produce an effect in the world if only PhD’s in the humanities can understand him? Who are these things for? We seem to always ignore these things and then look down our noses with disdain at the Naomi Kleins and David Graebers of the world. To make matters worse, we publish our work in expensive academic journals that only universities can afford, with presses that don’t have a wide distribution, and give our talks at expensive hotels at academic conferences attended only by other academics. Again, who are these things for? Is it an accident that so many activists look away from these things with contempt, thinking their more about an academic industry and tenure, than producing change in the world? If a tree falls in a forest and no one is there to hear it, it doesn’t make a sound! Seriously dudes and dudettes, what are you doing? But finally, and worst of all, us Marxists and anarchists all too often act like assholes. We denounce others, we condemn them, we berate them for not engaging with the questions we want to engage with, and we vilify them when they don’t embrace every bit of the doxa that we endorse. We are every bit as off-putting and unpleasant as the fundamentalist minister or the priest of the inquisition (have people yet understood that Deleuze and Guattari’s Anti-Oedipus was a critique of the French communist party system and the Stalinist party system, and the horrific passions that arise out of parties and identifications in general?). This type of “revolutionary” is the greatest friend of the reactionary and capitalist because they do more to drive people into the embrace of reigning ideology than to undermine reigning ideology. These are the people that keep Rush Limbaugh in business. Well done! But this isn’t where our most serious shortcomings lie. Our most serious shortcomings are to be found at phase 2. We almost never make concrete proposals for how things ought to be restructured, for what new material infrastructures and semiotic fields need to be produced, and when we do, our critique-intoxicated cynics and skeptics immediately jump in with an analysis of all the ways in which these things contain dirty secrets, ugly motives, and are doomed to fail. How, I wonder, are we to do anything at all when we have no concrete proposals? We live on a planet of 6 billion people. These 6 billion people are dependent on a certain network of production and distribution to meet the needs of their consumption. That network of production and distribution does involve the extraction of resources, the production of food, the maintenance of paths of transit and communication, the disposal of waste, the building of shelters, the distribution of medicines, etc., etc., etc. What are your proposals? How will you meet these problems? How will you navigate the existing mediations or semiotic and material features of infrastructure? Marx and Lenin had proposals. Do you? Have you even explored the cartography of the problem? Today we are so intellectually bankrupt on these points that we even have theorists speaking of events and acts and talking about a return to the old socialist party systems, ignoring the horror they generated, their failures, and not even proposing ways of avoiding the repetition of these horrors in a new system of organization. Who among our critical theorists is thinking seriously about how to build a distribution and production system that is responsive to the needs of global consumption, avoiding the problems of planned economy, ie., who is doing this in a way that gets notice in our circles? Who is addressing the problems of micro-fascism that arise with party systems (there’s a reason that it was the Negri & Hardt contingent, not the Badiou contingent that has been the heart of the occupy movement). At least the ecologists are thinking about these things in these terms because, well, they think ecologically. Sadly we need something more, a melding of the ecologists, the Marxists, and the anarchists. We’re not getting it yet though, as far as I can tell. Indeed, folks seem attracted to yet another critical paradigm, Laruelle. I would love, just for a moment, to hear a radical environmentalist talk about his ideal high school that would be academically sound. How would he provide for the energy needs of that school? How would he meet building codes in an environmentally sound way? How would she provide food for the students? What would be her plan for waste disposal? And most importantly, how would she navigate the school board, the state legislature, the federal government, and all the families of these students? What is your plan? What is your alternative? I think there are alternatives. I saw one that approached an alternative in Rotterdam. If you want to make a truly revolutionary contribution, this is where you should start. Why should anyone even bother listening to you if you aren’t proposing real plans? But we haven’t even gotten to that point. Instead we’re like underpants gnomes, saying “revolution is the answer!”without addressing any of the infrastructural questions of just how revolution is to be produced, what alternatives it would offer, and how we would concretely go about building those alternatives. Masturbation. “Underpants gnome” deserves to be a category in critical theory; a sort of synonym for self-congratulatory masturbation. We need less critique not because critique isn’t important or necessary– it is –but because we know the critiques, we know the problems. We’re intoxicated with critique because it’s easy and safe. We best every opponent with critique. We occupy a position of moral superiority with critique. But do we really do anything with critique? What we need today, more than ever, is composition or carpentry. Everyone knows something is wrong. Everyone knows this system is destructive and stacked against them. Even the Tea Party knows something is wrong with the economic system, despite having the wrong economic theory. None of us, however, are proposing alternatives. Instead we prefer to shout and denounce. Good luck with that.

#### Focus on global paradigms comes prior it’s the only domestic affairs resettlements empower refugees to introduce inclusive perspectives from within Butts 15

Authors & Contributors of this Policy Overview Marbre Stahly-Butts, Center for Popular Democracy Daryl Atkinson, Southern Coalition For Social Justice DOWNLOAD PDF <https://policy.m4bl.org/invest-divest/> (CWLC) no explicit date

The interlinked systems of white supremacy, imperialism, capitalism and patriarchy shape the violence we face. As oppressed people living in the US, the belly of global empire, we are in a critical position to build the necessary connections for a global liberation movement. Until we are able to overturn US imperialism, capitalism and white supremacy, our brothers and sisters around the world will continue to live in chains. Our struggle is strengthened by our connections to the resistance of peoples around the world fighting for their liberation. The Black radical tradition has always been rooted in igniting connection across the global south under the recognition that our liberation is intrinsically tied to the liberation of Black and Brown people around the world. The movement for Black lives must be tied to liberation movements around the world. The Black community is a global diaspora and our political demands must reflect this global reality. As it stands funds and resources needed to realize domestic demands are currently used for wars and violence destroying communities abroad. State violence within the U.S. is intimately linked with empire and war-making globally.

#### Solutions to critical issues must be discussed through pragmatic approaches within hegemonic power structures. Kapoor ‘08[[2]](#footnote-2):

There are perhaps several other social movement campaigns that could be cited as examples of a ‘hybridizing strategy’.5 But what emerges as important from the Chipko and NBA campaigns is the way in which they treat laws and policies, institutional practices, and ideological apparatuses as deconstructible. That is, they refuse to take dominant authority at face value, and proceed to reveal its contingencies. Sometimes, they expose what the hegemon is trying to disavow or hide (exclusion of affected communities in project design and implementation, faulty information gathering and dissemination). Sometimes, they problematize dominant or naturalized truths (‘development = unlimited economic growth = capitalism’, ‘big is better’, ‘technology can save the environment’). In either case, by contesting, publicizing, and politicizing accepted or hidden truths, they hybridize power, challenging its smugness and triumphalism, revealing its impurities. They show power to be, literally and figuratively, a bastard. While speaking truth to power, a hybridizing strategy also exploits the instabilities of power. In part, this involves showing up and taking advantage of the equivocations of power — conflicting laws, contradictory policies, unfulfilled promises. A lot has to do here with publicly shaming the hegemon, forcing it to remedy injustices and live up to stated commitments in a more accountable and transparent manner. And, in part, this involves nurturing or manipulating the splits and strains within institutions. Such maneuvering can take the form of cultivating allies, forging alliances, or throwing doubt on prevailing orthodoxy. Note, lastly, the way in which a hybridizing strategy works with the dominant discourse. This reflects the negotiative aspect of Bhabha’s performativity. The strategy may outwit the hegemon, but it does so from the interstices of the hegemony. The master may be paralyzed, but his paralysis is induced using his own poison/medicine. It is for this reason that cultivating allies in the adversarial camp is possible: when you speak their language and appeal to their own ethical horizons, you are building a modicum of common ground. It is for this reason also that the master cannot easily dismiss or crush you. Observing his rules and playing his game makes it difficult for him not to take you seriously or grant you a certain legitimacy. The use of non-violent tactics may be crucial in this regard: state repression is easily justified against violent adversaries, but it is vulnerable to public criticism when used against non-violence. Thus, the fact that Chipko and the NBA deployed civil disobedience — pioneered, it must be pointed out, by the ‘father of the nation’ (i.e. Gandhi) — made it difficult for the state to quash them or deflect their claims.

#### The state is inevitable- speaking the language of power through policymaking is the only way to create social change in debate.

Coverstone 5 Alan Coverstone (masters in communication from Wake Forest, longtime debate coach) “Acting on Activism: Realizing the Vision of Debate with Pro-social Impact” Paper presented at the National Communication Association Annual Conference November 17th 2005

An important concern emerges when Mitchell describes reflexive fiat as a contest strategy capable of “eschewing the power to directly control external actors” (1998b, p. 20). Describing debates about what our government should do as attempts to control outside actors is debilitating and disempowering. Control of the US government is exactly what an active, participatory citizenry is supposed to be all about. After all, if democracy means anything, it means that citizens not only have the right, they also bear the obligation to discuss and debate what the government should be doing. Absent that discussion and debate, much of the motivation for personal political activism is also lost. Those who have co-opted Mitchell’s argument for individual advocacy often quickly respond that nothing we do in a debate round can actually change government policy, and unfortunately, an entire generation of debaters has now swallowed this assertion as an article of faith. The best most will muster is, “Of course not, but you don’t either!” The assertion that nothing we do in debate has any impact on government policy is one that carries the potential to undermine Mitchell’s entire project. If there is nothing we can do in a debate round to change government policy, then we are left with precious little in the way of pro-social options for addressing problems we face. At best, we can pursue some Pilot-like hand washing that can purify us as individuals through quixotic activism but offer little to society as a whole. It is very important to note that Mitchell (1998b) tries carefully to limit and bound his notion of reflexive fiat by maintaining that because it “views fiat as a concrete course of action, it is bounded by the limits of pragmatism” (p. 20). Pursued properly, the debates that Mitchell would like to see are those in which the relative efficacy of concrete political strategies for pro-social change is debated. In a few noteworthy examples, this approach has been employed successfully, and I must say that I have thoroughly enjoyed judging and coaching those debates. The students in my program have learned to stretch their understanding of their role in the political process because of the experience. Therefore, those who say I am opposed to Mitchell’s goals here should take care at such a blanket assertion. However, contest debate teaches students to combine personal experience with the language of political power. Powerful personal narratives unconnected to political power are regularly co-opted by those who do learn the language of power. One need look no further than the annual state of the Union Address where personal story after personal story is used to support the political agenda of those in power. The so-called role-playing that public policy contest debates encourage promotes active learning of the vocabulary and levers of power in America. Imagining the ability to use our own arguments to influence government action is one of the great virtues of academic debate. Gerald Graff (2003) analyzed the decline of argumentation in academic discourse and found a source of student antipathy to public argument in an interesting place. I’m up against…their aversion to the role of public spokesperson that formal writing presupposes. It’s as if such students can’t imagine any rewards for being a public actor or even imagining themselves in such a role. This lack of interest in the public sphere may in turn reflect a loss of confidence in the possibility that the arguments we make in public will have an effect on the world. Today’s students’ lack of faith in the power of persuasion reflects the waning of the ideal of civic participation that led educators for centuries to place rhetorical and argumentative training at the center of the school and college curriculum. (Graff, 2003, p. 57) The power to imagine public advocacy that actually makes a difference is one of the great virtues of the traditional notion of fiat that critics deride as mere simulation. Simulation of success in the public realm is far more empowering to students than completely abandoning all notions of personal power in the face of governmental hegemony by teaching students that “nothing they can do in a contest debate can ever make any difference in public policy.” Contest debating is well suited to rewarding public activism if it stops accepting as an article of faith that personal agency is somehow undermined by the so-called role playing in debate. Debate is role-playing whether we imagine government action or imagine individual action. Imagining myself starting a socialist revolution in America is no less of a fantasy than imagining myself making a difference on Capitol Hill. Furthermore, both fantasies influenced my personal and political development virtually ensuring a life of active, pro-social, political participation. Neither fantasy reduced the likelihood that I would spend my life trying to make the difference I imagined. e political cynicism that is a fundamental cause of voter and participatory abstention in America today.

### EXTD

DROWN

Extend Merli 17, uniqueness, the 2nd card in the harms: 30,000 refugees have died trying to cross the sea to a safer home

Extend Soros 1, the 2nd card in solvency: if wealthy nations took 300,00 refugees in, many would be deterred from crossing when they have safe and legal alternatives. This solves and is the biggest piece of offense under the oppression-based framing: we need to look to the lives of the oppressed as a prereq to achieving recognition of these marginalized bodies.

CIV WAR

Extend Abou Zeid, the last card in the harms, uniqueness: increasing refugee populations in Syria’s neighboring states stretches resources, increasing discriminatory tensions and have historically caused civil war- look to Palestine’s.

Extend Marks 17 at the bottom of solvency: resettlement takes some of the pressure of the resource overstretch when there’s less mouths to feed and ensures there’s no discriminatory tensions: there’s a v strong link to the framing mechanism of material harms: we recognize refugees need assistance in supporting for their families and actively stop excluding bodies

### A2 tradeoff

#### aff solves: fiat forces wn to increase international aid AND increase the number of refugees taken in

#### The improvement of asylum conditions allows resettled refugee to invest in their state of origin in the place of aid

Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics 2009, Global (Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics (Global)) 2009 ed. Edition, Kindle Edition Boris Pleskovic (Author, Editor),‎ Justin Yifu Lin (Author, Editor) https://books.google.com/books?id=9lJXbsSQlgkC&pg=PA148&lpg=PA148&dq=Gubert+(2003)+presents+a+striking+calculation:+if+France+accepted+just+60,000+more+Malian+migrants,+and+if+the+new+migrants+had+the+same+propensity+to+send+remittances+home+as+those+currently+living+in+France,+total+remittances+would+be+equivalent+to+the+aid+that+France+is+currently+sending+to+Mali.+This+is+a+negligible+number+of+migrants+for+a+country+whose+population+is+more+than+1000+times+larger.+The+added+migration+would+reduce+public+expenditures,+as+the+aid+budget+and+the+French+aid+administration+could+be+cut+sizably+and+fewer+police+would+be+needed+for+tracking+illegal+migrants&source=bl&ots=gDdCAxMuar&sig=Z16za1pB4wq1GDskF5TQ5D7c9s8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi4kb2mgOPXAhWs1IMKHToDCRAQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=Gubert%20(2003)%20presents%20a%20striking%20calculation%3A%20if%20France%20accepted%20just%2060%2C000%20more%20Malian%20migrants%2C%20and%20if%20the%20new%20migrants%20had%20the%20same%20propensity%20to%20send%20remittances%20home%20as%20those%20currently%20living%20in%20France%2C%20total%20remittances%20would%20be%20equivalent%20to%20the%20aid%20that%20France%20is%20currently%20sending%20to%20Mali.%20This%20is%20a%20negligible%20number%20of%20migrants%20for%20a%20country%20whose%20population%20is%20more%20than%201000%20times%20larger.%20The%20added%20migration%20would%20reduce%20public%20expenditures%2C%20as%20the%20aid%20budget%20and%20the%20French%20aid%20administration%20could%20be%20cut%20sizably%20and%20fewer%20police%20would%20be%20needed%20for%20tracking%20illegal%20migrants&f=false

Other benefits have been identified outside the labor market. Gubert (2003) presents a striking calculation: if France accepted just 60,000 more Malian migrants, and if the new migrants had the same propensity to send remittances home as those currently living in France, total remittances would be equivalent to the aid that France is currently sending to Mali. This is a negligible number of migrants for a country whose population is more than 1000 times larger. The added migration would reduce public expenditures, as the aid budget and the French aid administration could be cut sizably and fewer police would be needed for tracking illegal migrants, and the French aid administration could also be cut sizable were the aid flow to be reduced correspondingly. Remittances are the key benefit that developing countries receive from the outflows of migrants that they send to rick countries every year. Klein and Harford (2005) demonstrate that remittance are now one of the main sources of external finance for developing countries, and one that is growing steadily, with a fairly smooth time profile. Remittances have become at least as important as foreign aid for many developing countries.

### t

#### im definitely topical, ur OECD card

https://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/34086975.pdf

Social and cultural programmes - As with police work, a distinction is drawn between building developing countries’ capacity (ODA-eligible) and one-off interventions (not ODA-eligible). Thus, the promotion of museums, libraries, art and music schools, and sports training facilities and venues counts as ODA, whereas sponsoring concert tours or athletes’ travel costs does not. Cultural programmes in developing countries whose main purpose is to promote the culture or values of the donor are not reportable as ODA. Assistance to refugees - Assistance to refugees in developing countries is reportable as ODA. Temporary assistance to refugees from developing countries arriving in donor countries is reportable as ODA during the first 12 months of stay, and all costs associated with eventual repatriation to the developing country of origin are also reportable. Nuclear energy - The peaceful use of nuclear energy, including construction of nuclear power plants, nuclear safety and the medical use of radioisotopes, is ODA-eligible. Military applications of nuclear energy and nuclear non-proliferation activities are not. Research - Only research directly and primarily relevant to the problems of developing countries may be counted as ODA. This includes research into tropical diseases and developing crops designed for developing country conditions. The costs may still be counted as ODA if the research is carried out in a developed country. Anti-Terrorism - Activities combatting terrorism are not reportable as ODA, as they generally target perceived threats to donor, as much as to recipient countries, rather than focusing on the economic and social development of the recipient.

Interpretation the affirmative debater may only specify one part of the resolution, being the type of development assistance, if

1. 1 The aff is disclosed after it’s broken
2. I was willing to grant links in cx
3. There’s a solvency advocate
4. The type of assistance specified is greater than 10% of the current ODA breakdown

I meet- x-apply the planks as bright lines on reasonability

UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF THE REFUGEE CRISIS ON EUROPEAN DONORS’ DEVELOPMENT BUDGETS An analysis by SEEK Development – May 2017 This review can be quoted as: SEEK Development (2017): Understanding the impact of the refugee crisis on European donors’ development budgets https://donortracker.org/sites/default/files/donor\_pdfs/17-05-30\_Donor%20Tracker\_Impact%20of%20refugee%20crisis%20on%20ODA.PDF

Costs for hosting refugees make up increasing shares of ODA. Taken together, all donor countries spent 11% (US$15.4 billion) of their ODA on refugee costs in 2016, up from 3% (US$3.9 billion) in 2012. Germany (US$6.2 billion; 25% of ODA) and Italy (US$1.7 billion; 34% of ODA) spent by far the largest amounts of all European donors.

Planks check abuse- I only allow for maximum of 9 spec affs, all with tons of topic literature and ground that they should’ve prepped since they’re common advantage areas too. Plus you had an hour to prep me out and can get stable links from wealthy nations and recipient nations.

Defending whole res means you can pic out of anything: there are 37000 different combinations of countries and thousands of types of development assistance, you can always coopt my ground in infinite ways while mooting 6 minutes of offense which wrecks fairness. Counterinterp checks- the planks create a very reasonable aff flex and makes sure that the neg researches into the topic in order to craft specific PICs and allows access to reps/discourse like the development pic. Plus, when aff sets the ground, they are able to prepare against different pics so the clash is better, so I control the internal link to clash and topic education which comes first and is the strongest link to education because discounting the breaks we only get a month to learn ab this topic.

Plans are the only topic specific education application to real life possible within debate; they take concepts and show students how debate matters right now, not just in the abstract. Interp controls the topic specific education: congress wouldn’t pass a policy that increases all types of development assistance- they’re super stingy on the budget want to make sure their money is going to things that create change not just a void of spending: this is empirically proven when stats show countries are increasing development assistance in middle-income countries but not the least developed ones- that means they are specifying Advocacy skills come at a net benefit: students need to have a comprehensive understanding of the policy and withstand counterpropositions, intense questioning, etc., which is applicable to any stances they take in the real world. Real world education comes prior: we need to be able to take our skills out of the round and apply them else we aren’t really learning.

Voters

Education is the only voter. Fairness is a subjective, immeasureable concept that the interp can always improve upon b/c it will never be perfect and education is the purpose of debate.

#### Real World edu internal link to education and comes prior: only reasoning skills are portable: edu in the round doesn’t extend past our career: o/w on timeframe Strait and Wallace

L. Paul Strait (George Mason University) and Brett Wallace (George Washington University). “The Scope of Negative Fiat and the Logic of Decision Making.” WFU Debater’s Research Guide. 2007.

Why debate? Some do it for scholarships, some do it for purpose, and many just believe it is fun. These are certainly all relevant considerations when making the decision to join the debate team, but as debate theorists they aren't the focus of our concern. Our concern is finding a framework for debate that educates the largest quantity of students with the highest quality of skills, while at the same time pre- serving competitive equity. The ability to make decisions deriving from discussions, argumentation or debate, is the key skill. It is the one thing every single one of us will do every day of our lives besides breathing. Decision-making transcends boundaries between categories of learning like "policy education"' and "kritik education," it makes irrelevant considerations of whether we will eventually be policymakers, and it transcends questions of what substantive content a debate round should have The implication for this analysis is that the critical thinking and argumentative skills offered by real-world decision-making are comparatively greater than any educational disadvantage weighed against them. It is the skills we learn, not the content of our arguments, that can best improve all of our lives. While policy comparison skills are going to be learned through debate in one way or another, those skills are useless if they are not grounded in the kind of logic actually used to make decisions. The academic studies and research supporting this position are numerous. Richard Fulkerson (1996) explains that "argumentation... is the chief cognitive activity by which a democracy, a field of study, a corporation, or a committee functions...And it is vitally important that high school and college [for] students [to] learn both to argue well and to critique the arguments of others" (p. 16). Stuart Yeh (1998) comes to the conclusion that debate allows even cultural minority students to "identify an issue, consider different views, form and defend a viewpoint, and consider and respond to counterarguments...The ability to write effective argument [it] influences grades, academic success, and preparation for college and employment" (P. 49). Certainly, these are all reasons why debate and argumentation themselves are valuable, so why is real world decision-making critical to argumentative thinking Although people might occasionally think about problems from the position of an ideal decision-maker (c.f. Urlich, 1981, quoted in Korcock, 2001), in debate we should be concerned with what type of argumentative thinking is the most relevant to real-world intelligence and the decisions that people make every day in their lives, not academic trivialities. It is precisely because it is rooted in real-world logic that argumentative thinking has value. Deanna Khun's research in "Thinking as Argument" explains this by stating that "no other kind of thinking matters more or contributes more to the quality and fulfillment of people's lives, both individually and collectively" (p. 156)

Assume the neg voters and vote for education

1. They lose minimal fairness claims whereas we lose a massive amount of education: Comes prior and even if not o/w on scale

#### take an innocent til proven guilty stance and don’t drop me if I have sufficient td on their shell, Yi ‘14

http://nsdupdate.com/2014/a-reasonable-compromise-to-competing-interpretations-by-yang-yi/

Take a survey on the state of debate, and one will find that there exists quite a great deal of dissatisfaction with regard the status quo conceptions of theory debate. Ever since competing interpretations effectively replaced reasonability as the model for evaluating debates, frivolity and trivialness have permeated. And while advocates of reasonability have had some impact, the most common arguments for reasonability are viewed as arbitrary and unpersuasive (for reasons I won’t go into detail here). I think this view is problematic because it sets up an unnecessary binary- one of reasonability and competing interpretations. However, the two need not be mutually exclusive. In this article, I advocate for a system of reasonability under competing interpretations, in an effort to capture the benefits of both worlds. Run effectively, this approach would allow debaters (especially on the defensive side) to sidestep generic debates for why reasonability trumps competing interpretations. Instead, they can effectively concede the competing interpretations debate, while still garnering many of the benefits of reasonability or even set up multiple layers (reasonability comes first, but even if competing interpretations prevails, evaluate competing interpretations under reasonability). But first off, what do I mean when I say reasonability under competing interpretations? At face value, the statement seems to contradict- competing interpretations mandates that the judge accept the “better” interpretation, however marginally better, whereas reasonability would justify the judge ignoring some marginal offense to a better interpretation so long as the alternative interpretation was “fair enough” or reasonable. What I mean by reasonability under competing interpretations probably falls under the former rather than the latter, that the judge should accept the “better” interpretation. Where reasonability comes in is in how the judge adjudicates what the “better” interpretation actually is. One of the reasons theory debate is so difficult and esoteric[because it] is due to the fact that is so technical, requiring not only a wide knowledge of theory itself, but also the ability to execute, particularly on the line by line. More often than not, debaters do not execute as well as they should, or even well at all, leading judges to resolve issues such as which standard comes first, or who has a stronger link to such standard by themselves. Often when faced with the prospect of intervention, judges will vote on whom they believed more, or who they thought was marginally ahead. At the very core, this is a paradigm of judging, that the judges ought to prefer arguments that they believe was justified more, no matter how marginally better that argument was justified. And like all judging paradigms, they can be challenged, especially within the confines of a theory debate. One example of a call to reasonability here could be that the onus is on the debater initiating theory debate to justify beyond a reasonable doubt that they are ahead on the voting issues and the benefit of the doubt is always afforded to the counter- interpretation. So if the judge finds that the neg. is marginally ahead on the reciprocity outweighs ground debate, but is not convinced, they will err in favor of the aff. even though the neg. was probably ahead. While this may seem to fall into the trap that many other reasonability arguments, I believe that it can be justified and quite non-arbitrary. One particular argument the aff. can make is that running a theory shell is like an accusation, the neg. is accusing the aff. of being unfair/ not educational. The aff. can argue that with regards to accusations, it is better to operate under a paradigm similar to that of “innocent until proven guilty” or the AC is fair/ educational until proven otherwise. This would shift the burden of proof more heavily on the neg., justifying why the judge should side aff. on issues even if they believe the neg. is ahead. And, debaters can introduce weighing arguments as well. For instance, if the neg. argues that this reasonability paradigm may lead to more abusive affs. getting away with abuse, the aff. could counter that this would also lead to less fair affs. getting branded as abusive and insert reasons why punishing “innocents,” even if we get more “guilty” people is worse than letting both the innocents and guilty free. Technically speaking, if push comes to shove, I think the aff. can even frame this “reasonability” argument as a competing interpretation, the interpretation that fair debaters ought not be punished in order to punish more abusive debaters. If the aff. chooses this route, the aff. does not even need to justify reasonability because they would offer a competing interpretation, just one on the paradigm of theory debate. And yet they would coopt many of the benefits of theory. Strategically, there are many benefits to this alternative model of theory debate and this model should not be conflated with traditional reasonability. One key difference is under this model, you MUST have a competing interpretation, since you do effectively concede that theory is a matter of competing interpretations since you only argue that you use reasonability to evaluate which is the better interpretation. This isn’t necessarily harmful and could be leveraged against traditional neg. arguments against reasonability i.e. they don’t have to read an interpretation so it becomes very unclear what they actually defend. Overall, I think this is a start to mak[es]ing theory debate less esoteric, yet still preserving all the sophistication (arguably even adding more nuance). I’ve only recently been thinking about this model of theory debate, so I apologize if certain parts are unclear or if you feel that there could be more elaboration (I haven’t fully conceptualized it myself either). My ultimate goal in this article was to put the idea out there, so the community could get feedback and determine whether this was a viable and welcome alternative to the current conception of theory.

Prefer:

* + 1. less esoteric debate means more accessible, int link to all your offense
    2. real world education: the legal system operates in the same way
    3. deters friv theory for more substantive debate as neg has more of a burden to prove abuse

### pol

#### Boosts econ: prefer on scientific concensus

https://archive.is/q7rLS#selection-2297.0-2305.555

It’s no wonder that numerous studies have found that refugees are a net benefit to the American economy. The administration’s own study — which the president solicited from the Department of Health and Human Resources — concluded that refugees added $63 billion to the economy between 2005 and 2014. Support for refugees creates another form of currency for the United States. Call it respect or admiration or credibility [which], this currency accrues when the United States leads by example and champions human rights on the world stage. It’s an invaluable and fungible resource, amassed over many decades. It enabl[ing]es the United States to forge ties with democratic movements. It also helps Washington persuade allies to do difficult things and pressure foes to stop their bad behavior. It is crucial to forging trade pacts, military coalitions and peace deals.

### Framing

Education acessability

since 1. Those are the circumstances the aff is passed in, for better discussion 2. We learn to be like policymakers which is educational and key to enacting change 3. The oppressed are underrepresented and this aff is a step to resolve that

### CPS

#### WNs decisions override the ability of ngos to function- doing the aff is prereq and uniquely justifies perm do the aff to enable the neg for double solvency

#### Ilaw

#### Lib a2

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/refugee-crisis-ngo-rescue-ships-mediterranean-sea-italy-libya-eu-code-of-conduct-deaths-2300-latest-a7866226.html

Aid workers have accused the EU of “wilfully letting people drown in the Mediterranean” as they face being forced to suspend rescue missions for refugees attempting the world’s deadliest sea crossing. Italy is attempting to impose a code of conduct on NGOs operating ships in the search and rescue zone off the coast of Libya, which is now the main launching point for migrants trying to reach Europe on smugglers’ boats. Humanitarian groups have argued the code will impede their work by banning the transfer of refugees to larger ships, which allows vessels to continue rescues, and forcing them to allow police officers on board. The 11-point plan, which has been approved by the European Commission and border agency Frontex, could see any groups refusing to sign up denied access to Italian ports or forbidden from carrying out rescues. They are currently deployed by officials at Rome’s Maritime Rescue and Coordination Centre (MRCC) and charities fear any move to restrict their operations, leaving just Italian coastguard and naval ships, will dramatically reduce rescue capacity during peak season. Libyan Coast Guard puts refugees and rescuers in danger during rescue operation at sea German charity Sea-Watch announced the deployment of a second rescue vessel in response to the plans, which it called a “desperate reaction” by a country abandoned on the frontline of the refuge crisis by its European allies. “The EU is wilfully letting people drown in the Mediterranean by refusing to create a legal means of safe passage and failing to even provide adequate resources for maritime rescue,” said CEO Axel Grafmanns. “The NGOs are currently bearing the brunt of the humanitarian crisis and they are being left alone.” “MSF employees are humanitarian workers, not police officers, and that for reasons of independence they will do what is strictly requested by the law but nothing more so as to protect our independence and neutrality,” a spokesperson said. “MSF’s search and rescue operations have always been conducted in respect of national and international laws and under coordination of the MRCC in Rome.” The charity opposed a commitment compelling vessels to notify multiple states if they leave designated search and rescue zones, which it said could cause deaths by delaying rescues, and said the ability to transfer migrants to larger ships and continue operations was “crucial to saving lives”. “The inefficient back and forth of all rescue ships to disembarkation points will consequently lead to a decrease in the presence of rescue vessels,” a MSF spokesperson said. The group is also seeking assurances on the scope of the requirement to allow police on board, which it said could prevent victims of torture, human trafficking and sexual violence coming forward. Amnesty International characterised the code of conduct as part of a “concerted smear campaign” against NGO rescue ships, which has culminated in a far-right group calling itself Defend Europe sending its own vessel to “monitor” operations in the Mediterranean Sea. Right-wing politicians have made persistent claims that aid agencies are aiding or even directly colluding with Libyan smugglers without citing evidence, despite inquiries and academic studies finding no evidence of misconduct. The stories of the refugees rescued from the Mediterranean The debate came as smugglers continued to launch boats into the Central Mediterranean, where almost 2,400 men, women and children have lost their lives so far this year, including 13 people found dead at the bottom of an overcrowded dinghy this week. The EU announced €46m (£41m) extra funding for Italy on Friday, to help it protect Libya's northern and southern borders and stop the flow of sub-Sahran African migrants through the country. Rome plans to send navy vessels to Libyan waters next month to combat human smuggling, despite warnings that moves to force refugees from international waters back to a warzone is a flagrant violation of international law. Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni said the initiative will “reinforce Libyan sovereignty”, adding that Italy would “not be sending a huge fleet or air squadrons.” It is already furnishing Libya's coastguard, which stands accused of beat[s]ing and kill[s]ing migrants and attacking NGO ships, with boats and training aimed at strengthening its patrols. The EU has also donated €90m (£80m) to improving living conditions for migrants stranded in squalid Libyan camps, although thousands more are being held by armed gangs who control swathes of the country still engulfed in the bloody chaos that followed its civil war. A House of Lords report branded the EU’s Operation Sophia anti-smuggling mission a “failure” on all counts, saying it “has not in any meaningful way deterred the flow of migrants, disrupted the smugglers’ networks, or impeded the business of people smuggling”. The committee concluded that the mission was driving refugee deaths by destroying smugglers’ boats and forcing them to switch to unseaworthy dinghies, and raised concern over reports of “serious abuses of the human rights of migrants by the Libyan coastguard”, which is being trained by the UK and equipped by the EU as it seeks to gradually unburden itself of responsibility for rescues. The UN has warned of widespread torture, kidnap, ransom, arbitrary detention, rape, forced labour and “slave auctions” in Libya, where people smugglers have set up a lucrative business in the continuing conflict. Refugees interviewed by The Independent have told of horrific abuses at the hands of both state security forces and Libyan gangs, including seeing other migrants being beaten to death and raped, and being “sold” between owners until they can escape over the Mediterranean. A study commissioned by Unicef found that most children making the crossing did not intend to travel to Europe when they left home, with the journey taking up to two years. Children interviewed in Italy said they fled their home countries for reasons including conflict, poverty and child marriage, frequently being drawn to Libya by the promise of work but finding “systematic trauma and abuse”. Almost half of children said they were kidnapped for ransom in Libya, and a quarter held in prison without charges. Sol Oyuela, director of public affairs at Unicef UK, said: “These devastating journeys must end and the UK Government has an opportunity to change this, by ensuring our immigration rules allow children to reunite with siblings, grandparents and other loved ones.”

#### Cp of similar territories can’t solve

https://shorensteincenter.org/united-states-syrian-refugee-crisis-plan-action/

Some Americans question why Syrian refugees should be resettled here, but the fact is that there are no viable alternatives. The existing refugee camps in the Middle East are overcrowded and underfunded. The President has considered and rejected safe zones that could harbor displaced civilians inside Syria. Safe zones require air cover and ground troops. A safe zone is not safe without perimeter protection by combat capable ground troops and continuous air cover. No country has stepped forward to provide these ground troops, and the available ground forces—Kurdish fighters and Sunni militias—are unsuitable for the mission of civilian protection. Meanwhile the Syrian civil war grinds on, rendering refugee return currently impossible. Nor can the U.S. safely assume that Europe can continue to absorb indefinite numbers of fleeing refugees. Sooner rather than later, Germany and other countries will find themselves unable to provide further assistance. When Europe closes its doors, pressure will increase on other countries, especially the United States, to step in and provide an alternative. If the refugees lose all hope of a better life, if they feel they have been abandoned, some of them will be easy targets for radicalization and terrorist recruitment. Keeping doors of refuge open for Syrian refugees is critical if the West is to prevail against jihadi extremism. If the United States remains a bystander in the refugee crisis, existing strains in the U.S.-European alliance will grow and the disunity and instability of Europe will continue to increase, jeopardizing American and European unity of action in the face of Russian pressure in Ukraine and elsewhere. It is time for the United States to use its refugee policy to support Chancellor Merkel and other European leaders. Doing so will reinforce these leaders, strengthen the Western alliance and help prevent anti-American, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant voices gaining power in Europe. Nor can the U.S. continue to look to the front line states—Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan—to handle the refugee problem. They are all at capacity and further refugee flows will destabilize the fragile political order of all three. Taking 65,000 refugees will allow the U.S. to encourage other allies to take refugees; it will send a strong message of support to its front line allies; and it will assert a common front against jihadi propagandists who would like nothing more than to stop Western countries from providing refuge for civilians fleeing their murderous caliphate. The most important dimension of refugee policy is strategic communication in the U.S. battle with jihadi extremism. The leaders of the Islamic State (IS) are masters of strategic disinformation. They want to convince Western publics that refugees fleeing barrel bombs and IS terror pose a security threat to states that give them refuge. It serves the strategic interests of terrorists if Western democracies begin to close their doors to desperate people. In this context, it is vital that U.S. refugee policy directly rebuts IS’ strategies of disinformation. It is in the U.S. national interest to demonstrate that it can accept refugees and, in doing so, strengthen rather than weaken the security of its citizens in the battle against jihadi extremism

### More inher

#### Wealthy nations don’t take in their share of the refugee population Oxfam ‘16

Bassoul, Joelle. [Joelle Bassoul has been Oxfam’s media advisor for the Syria Crisis since 2014. She is based in Beirut, and covers Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. She is a media and communication expert with 16 years of experience in the Middle East, East Africa and Europe, having worked for organisations such as Agence France-Presse, UNEP and the Thomson Reuters Foundation.] “Resettling 10 Percent of Syrian Refugees : The Commitment Needed at the Geneva Conference.” ReliefWeb, OCHA, 29 Mar. 2016, reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/resettling-10-percent-syrian-refugees-commitment-needed-geneva.

Rich countries have resettled only 1.39 percent of the nearly five million Syrian refugees, a fraction of the 10 percent of people who need to be urgently offered a safe haven. As wealthy states meet in Geneva on 30 March to discuss the Syria refugee crisis, Oxfam urges them to redouble their efforts and offer their ‘fair share’ of support to hundreds of thousands of refugees. Oxfam’s new analysis released today shows that only three countries – Canada, Germany, Norway – have made resettlement pledges exceeding their ‘fair share’, which is calculated according to the size of their economy, and five others – Australia, Finland, Iceland, Sweden, New Zealand – have pledged more than half of it. The other 20 countries included in the analysis need to offer safe and legal routes to more Syrians fleeing the conflict, and increase their share of resettlement to fairer levels. For example, France has only pledged to take four percent of its fair share, the Netherlands and the United States seven percent each, Denmark 15 percent and the United Kingdom 22 percent. Winnie Byanyima, Executive Director of Oxfam International, said: "Six years into this terrible crisis, more than 4.8 million Syrian people are now refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and elsewhere in the region. The most vulnerable of them – women, children, the elderly – can’t go back, but don’t have the resources or support to live properly where they are. They need help moving forward to a better future." While peace talks and a partial ceasefire have given Syrians a glimmer of hope, it will take years before they can go back home and rebuild their lives. Rich countries have reacted to this crisis by providing aid funds, and offering resettlement to refugees, but have failed to match the levels needed. Moreover, some attempts to use resettlement as a bargaining chip in political deals, like the recent EU-Turkey deal, are deeply troubling and pose political, ethical and probably legal questions. Resettlement should be about providing a home to vulnerable refugees, not a method for managing migration or justifying harsh asylum policies. Oxfam calls for the resettlement or other forms of humanitarian admission in rich countries of 10 percent of all registered refugees by the end of 2016, the equivalent of around 480,000 people. Collectively, rich nations have so far offered places to 129,966 people, only 27 percent of the minimum they should. And of those, only 67,000 have actually made it to their final destination. ‘We need to show Syrian people that ‘solidarity’ is an action, not a sound-bite. Countries with a strong economy, good services and developed infrastructure [but] can immediately resettle 500,000 refugees between them – if they choose to. This is less than Washington DC’s population. Some countries have reached their fair share, and more. Others need to follow,’ said Byanyima. In Lebanon, one in five inhabitants is a Syrian refugee. In Jordan, they constitute 10 percent of the population, and the fourth largest ‘city’ is a refugee camp. "These countries have fragile economies and weak infrastructure. They can no[t] longer shoulder this responsibility virtually alone. The Geneva meeting should result in urgent solutions, offering people safe and legal routes to a welcome in third countries," said Byanyima.

#### Growing number of refugees

https://www.undispatch.com/not-just-syria-refugees-fleeing-new-conflicts-emerged-year/

Today marks World Refugee Day. Once again, this past year was record breaking for refugees and the forcibly displaced, albeit all the wrong records. The number of forcibly displaced in the world hit a record high in 2016, with an estimated 65.6 million people displaced. Of this number, 22.5 million are refugees – the highest number ever recorded – while 40.3 million are currently displaced within their own countries. Finally, 2.8 million people sought asylum in 2016. But beyond the numbers are real people and a more complicated picture. Refugee hosting and resettlement remains a controversial topic among the countries most able to contribute, while new crises threaten to continue to overwhelm the international refugee system. It’s Not Just Syria. Refugees Are Fleeing from New Conflicts UNHCR Global Trends Report Although refugees and IDPs from Syria and Iraq still dominate headline, several new hotspots have emerged over the past year. Nearly 1.9 million people have now fled South Sudan with more than 700,000 fleeing in 2016 alone, making it the fastest growing refugee population in the world. The speed of the crisis is such that Uganda’s Bidi Bidi refugee camp is now estimated to be the world’s largest, taking the title from Kenya’s Dadaab refugee camp which has accepted and hosted Somali refugees for almost 30 years. And there are no indications that the number of people fleeing South Sudan will abate any time soon. While the civil war there started in 2013, the rapid increase in indiscriminate killings along ethnic lines over the past year has led some to call the conflict genocide. The declaration of famine in parts of South Sudan with an estimated 1 million more people on the brink is also fueling the exodus. Both of these issues require political solution, but political will among the warring factions within South Sudan is notably lacking. Venezuela is Poised to Explode On the other side of the world Venezuela’s growing political and economic crisis is also pushing thousands of people to flee. Even though Venezuelan emigration has been trending up for the past decade, this past year saw a considerable spike in Venezuelans leaving the country. In the United States, by the end of 2016 Venezuelans became the largest national group requesting asylum in the U.S., a first for the formerly middle-income Latin American nation. According to Voice of America, Venezuela cracked the top ten asylum seeking nationalities in early 2014 meaning it took only a little over two years for it to vault to the top spot, a striking increase. But the impact of Venezuelan emigration is better seen closer to home. Although the border between Colombia and Venezuela has always been relatively open, these days thousands of Venezuelans cross the border every day in search of work, safety, food and medical care. Some stays are only temporary, but increasingly those who cross are refusing to go back. As a result, Colombian hospitals and social services are starting to buckle under the strain. A similar development is also occurring in Brazil where tens of thousands of Venezuelans arrive every month. Like Colombia, some of those who come are only there for short stays to stock up on food and medicine, but the number of those planning to stay in rapidly increasing. In the first five months of 2017, more than 8,000 Venezuelans have requested asylum with thousands more still waiting for the appointment where they too can formally request not to return to Venezuela. Although on opposite sides of the world, the situations unfolding in South Sudan and Venezuela highlight the difficulties facing neighboring governments and humanitarian organizations in responding the growing number of forced migrants around the world. While the hotspots of forced migration may change, one thing has not: developing countries still host the majority of the world’s refugees. Refugees per capita In fact, out of the top ten hosting nations only one – Germany – is in the developed world. Furthermore, one-third of refugees are currently hosted in countries termed as “least developed,” a stark comparison to the roughly 10 per cent of refugees and asylum seekers hosted by the far wealthier nations of Europe and North America. Despite this and a drop in the number of new refugees and migrants reaching Europe, individual EU countries are still abstaining from burden sharing. Battles over the resettlement of approved refugees from Greece and Italy to the rest of the EU have come to a head with Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic refusing to accept any refugees. This week the Central European Defence Cooperation – made up of Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic – met to discuss migration into the bloc, including the use of armed forces to prevent it. The refusals to take part in the EU’s resettlement scheme comes as Italy struggles to keep up with migration receptions now that the main route through Greece has been closed. Instead the EU has been focusing its attention at stopping migrants at the Libyan coast, impeding them to complete the last leg of a usually long and arduous journey. In February a deal was reached that saw the EU give Libya $200 million in exchange for beefed up patrols by the Libyan coast guard and the creation of refugee camps within the country. Further agreements have been reached to have European border agents patrol with the Libyan coast guard and target human traffickers. However, human rights and aid groups are extremely critical of these measures, especially as evidence grows of migrant mistreatment by Libyan authorities. In April the IOM reported that African migrants and refugees were being sold at modern-day slave markets within Libya, while new evidence suggests that some refugees may be held for ransom by Libyan officials. The lack of security within Libya has made adequate funding and operation of migration centers slow going, leading to the UN calling for the government to shut down its detention centers due to their inhumane conditions. Such abuses, however, have not slowed Europe’s attempts to turn refugee and migrant boats back to Libyan shores. Once again a similar situation is playing out on the other side of the world regarding Australia. After years of reports of abuse in offshore detention centers, the Australian government agreed last week to a record AU$70 million settlement for the 1,905 current and former asylum seekers sent to the Manus Island Regional Processing Centre in Papua New Guinea. Although the government does not admit liability in the case, the settlement is believed to be the largest human rights settlement in Australian history. Yet despite calls by the UN for Australia to shut down its offshore detention centers and repatriate qualified refugees and asylum seekers, the Australian government is determined not to allow any of the asylum seekers at Manus or Nauru to resettle on the mainland. The desire to keep these asylum seekers – who are mainly from the Middle East, South and Central Asia – led Australia to turn down New Zealand’s offer to resettle 150 asylum seekers as they could eventually re-enter Australia as New Zealand residents. Instead, plans for what to do with the hundreds of people still at Manus and Nauru remain unclear even as the centers are scheduled to be closed by the end of the year. Despite numerous calls for international greater cooperation and burden sharing when it comes to dealing with refugee crises, real cooperation has yet to appear. From UNHCR’s Global Trends Report On the diplomatic stage, one of the most significant developments of the past year was the UN Summit on Refugees and Migrants in September. From the summit came the New York Declaration, setting up a framework for working towards a Global Compact on refugees in 2018. Still, progress is slow. The uptick in nationalist parties and political candidates across the West, coupled with frustrated governments in the Global South, is creating a dangerous setting for refugees, IDPs and asylum seekers. Rather than finding new ways to embrace those who are forcibly displaced, the world still seems more intent on finding ways to ensure refugees will not be their burden. There is a chance that the Global Compact will change this. Regional and stakeholder consultations will take place later this year, allowing many countries who feel sidelined in the debate a proper voice. But as the past year has shown, basic attitudes towards refugees need to change if real progress is to be made as the next refugee crisis may just be around the corner.

#### Refugee influx into areas like Lebanon causes political strife due to overstretched resources, triggering a civil war

ABOU ZEID, Mario [Former advisor to the Minister of Social Affairs of Lebanon and former Research Analyst at Carnegie Middle East Center.]. “A Time Bomb in Lebanon: The Syrian Refugee Crisis.” Carnegie Middle East Center, CMEC, 6 Oct. 2014, carnegie-mec.org/diwan/56857?lang=en.

Fierce clashes rocked Lebanon on Sunday, October 5, as gunmen aligned with the Nusra Front, a Syria-based al-Qaeda franchise, fought Shia militiamen from the Hezbollah guerrilla force in the eastern Bekaa Valley. More than twenty people were killed. The Bekaa clashes are the latest in a long line of security incidents related to Syria, and tension is rising in all of Lebanon. A major driver of violence and political tension is Lebanon’s refugee crisis. Three years after the eruption of the Syrian crisis, Leban[on]ese government sources estimate that the country houses more than 2 million Syrian refugees, equivalent to half of the indigenous population, although only around 1.1 million Syrians have so far been officially registered by the UN Refugee Agency. Tolerance for the refugees is gradually turning into resentment, as Syrians are now present in almost every town and city in Lebanon. According to Lebanese government sources, Syrians occupy 60 percent of the Lebanese labor market, while the economic burden caused by the refugee problem has reached $3 billion, putting severe strain[ing] on the national infrastructure. While the international community has repeatedly promised to support the Lebanese government, it has failed to make good on these promises, and Lebanon is now on the verge of a socioeconomic and security explosion. SOCIAL CRISIS BREEDING SECURITY PROBLEMS The economic and social pressure caused by the refugee crisis has led Lebanese authorities to declare that they will seek to limit the flow of refugees. But this makes it risky for any refugee to return to Syria for fear of not being readmitted into Lebanon. Despite the declaration, some 2,500 refugees still cross the border every day. Over time, the resources available to support the growing body of Syrian refugees have dwindled. This has le[a]d[ing] to the rise of human trafficking, prostitution, and other types of criminality in refugee ranks, further increasing tensions with the Lebanese population. Clashes with local Lebanese residents have led several municipalities to establish restrictions on the freedom of movement of the refugees, especially at night. In addition, municipal security forces are engaging in a mapping and identification process for Syrian refugees living in their vicinity. The unstable security situation and the rise of extremist Syrian groups are making the situation even worse. THE ARSAL BATTLE IN AUGUST 2014 The clashes in Arsal are a key example. In August 2014, this Sunni-majority border town that has hosted thousands of refugees witnessed a battle between the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) and the Nusra Front along with fighters from the al-Qaeda offshoot known as the Islamic State. A couple hundred refugees were mobilized in support of the militants and backed by local Sunni Lebanese. Once a ceasefire was reached, these fighters dissolved into the refugee and local communities in Arsal. Such events make every Syrian refugee a suspected supporter of the jihadi factions in the eyes of the Lebanese people, who fear the expansion of the Islamic State in Lebanon. Hezbollah’s propaganda has further contributed to a rising fear about the refugees’ potential links with militants. Counterpropaganda by anti-Hezbollah Sunni groups has accused the LAF of being a tool used by Hezbollah to persecute Sunnis in Lebanon, and extremist groups present themselves as protectors of the Sunnis against Shia oppression, generating more support from local Sunnis. Government and military sources in Lebanon claim that, until now, more than 40 sleeper cells affiliated with either the Islamic State or the Nusra Front have been discovered among the Syrian refugees. In addition, the jihadis took a large number of soldiers and police hostage during the Arsal crisis, and some have since been beheaded. The gruesome killings of LAF personnel—who, being both Sunni and Shia, appear to have been chosen to cut across sectarian lines and divisions in Lebanon—have bred increased antagonism toward the refugees in all of Lebanon’s communities. REFUGEE CAMPS WON’T SOLVE THE PROBLEM The government’s sole response to this crisis has been to belatedly identify locations where it could establish camps for the refugees on the Syrian side of the border. This proposition has been debated by the government ever since the eruption of the Syrian crisis as a measure to limit the spread of the Syrian refugees on Lebanese territory. But gathering Syrians in a specific area under the current dire economic and social circumstances would only nurture the radicalization of a refugee community left with few options for survival, and it would further polarize the Lebanese community. Moreover, such a camp could not host more than 120,000 refugees, leaving the destiny of the rest of the approximately 2 million refugees uncertain. RAISING THE RISK OF CIVIL WAR Prior to Lebanon’s own civil war of 1975–1990, a similar trend was witnessed among the Palestinian refugees. Palestinian refugee camps became safe havens for armed factions and militant leaders who ended up playing an integral part in the civil war as they joined with sympathetic Lebanese militants. This history now seems to be playing out again in the Syrian refugee community. The Lebanese government is incapable of dealing with the consequences of the flow of refugees alone without major financial, logistical, and security assistance from the international community—and mere promises won’t suffice. In addition, the LAF and other security institutions are in need of weapons and equipment to fight the expansion of extremist groups and preserve Lebanon’s stability. Without such support, the ingredients for civil strife in Lebanon are likely to tip the country into open-ended instability.

#### The plan is cost effective and builds capacity for the refugees’ self-reliance- they are able to put food on the table themselves, Soros 3 NO ACT OMISSION DISTINCTION AS GOVTS ARE ACTIVELY CHOOSING TO DETER MIGRANTS BY LETTING THEM DROWN

See citations of Soros 16

This brings us to the second point: The EU must regain control of its borders. There is little that alienates and scares publics more than scenes of chaos. Fifteen months after the acute phase of the crisis began, confusion continues to reign in Greece and its Mediterranean waters. More than 50,000 refugees live in squalor in a series of poorly organized, impromptu camps throughout the country. Europeans see this on their screens and wonder why the mighty European Union is incapable of supplying even basic provisions to children and women fleeing war. Meanwhile, the most advanced navies of the world appear incapable of saving those crossing the Mediterranean; the number of drownings has increased dramatically this year. The cynical explanation for all this — that the EU is intentionally allowing [this] these conditions to persist so that they [to]serve as a deterrent — is equally troubling. The immediate remedy is simple: provide Greece and Italy with sufficient funds to care for asylum-seekers, order navies to make search-and-rescue missions (and not “protection” of borders) their priority, and implement the promise to relocate 60,000 asylum-seekers from Greece and Italy to other EU member states. Third, the EU needs to develop financial tools that can provide sufficient funds for the long-term challenges it faces and not limp from episode to episode. Over the years, the EU has had to finance an ever-growing number of undertakings with a shrinking pool of resources. In 2014, member states and the European Parliament agreed to reduce and cap the overall EU budget at a modest 1.23 percent of the sum of its members’ GDPs until 2020. That was a tragic mistake. The EU cannot survive with a budget of this size. At least 30 billion euros a year will be needed for the EU to carry out a comprehensive asylum plan. These funds are needed both inside the union — to build effective border and asylum agencies and ensure dignified reception conditions, fair asylum procedures, and opportunities for integration — as well as outside its borders — to support refugee-hosting countries and spur job creation throughout Africa and the Middle East. Robust border and asylum agencies alone could cost on the order of 15 billion euros. Although 30 billion euros might seem like an enormous amount, it pales in comparison to the political, human, and economic costs of a protracted crisis. There is a real threat, for instance, that Europe’s Schengen system of open internal borders will collapse. The Bertelsmann Foundation has estimated that abandoning Schengen would cost the EU between 47 billion and 140 billion euros in GDP lost each year. The current approach is based on reallocating minimal amounts from the EU budget and then asking member states to contribute to various dedicated vehicles, such as the Facility for Refugees in Turkey and the EU Regional Trust Fund for Syria, which were used, respectively, to provide financial compensation for Turkey and additional EU funding to international organizations and neighboring countries as a response to the Syrian crisis. These, however, can only be a temporary solution, as they are neither sustainable nor large enough to finance efforts that must grow in size and scope. Although these trust funds can be powerful instruments in the short term to redeploy resources and allow member states to commit more funds to a particular endeavor, they also illustrate the fundamental deficiency of the current system — namely that it remains dependent on the good will of the member states at each step. In order to raise the necessary funds in the short term, the EU will need to engage in what I call “surge funding.” This entails raising a substantial amount of debt backed by the EU’s relatively small budget, rather than scraping together insufficient funds year after year. Today, the EU stands out for having a remarkably low amount of debt given the size of its budget; it should therefore leverage this budget like all sovereign governments in the world do.

#### Their new homes have turned against them- refugees are now being prosecuted and have no choice but to flee again

https://www.vice.com/gr/article/dpw87y/life-is-hell-for-syrian-refugees-in-egypt

Given that Syria is being torn apart by a horrible civil war, it's inevitable that many are fleeing the country. Some are seeking shelter in Egypt, a country with strong ties to Syria where the cost of living is cheaper than in Jordan, Turkey, or Lebanon. But what’s harder to fathom is the sudden change in Egyptian policy toward Syrian refugees. Welcomed with open arms before the fall of Mohamed Morsi, Syrian refugees are now targets of the Egyptian Army’s latest witch hunt. As with the disgraced Muslim Brotherhood and anyone else who supported Morsi, Egyptian society is beginning to turn against the refugees and increasing numbers of Syrians are making a dangerous decision—to cross the Mediterranean illegally, in search of more welcoming shores. ΔΙΑΦΗΜΙΣΗ According to the latest UNHCR figures, there are 123,229 registered Syrian refugees in Egypt. In July, the Egyptian government said that there were nearly 300,000 Syrians in the country, with 45 percent of them under the age of 18. It’s hard to settle on a figure, because neither report accounts for the exodus of Syrian refugees in the past three months, or for the Syrian-Palestinians, whose cases do not fall under the UNHCR’s mandate. Until June 30, most Syrian refugees were better off in Egypt than in the crowded camps of Lebanon and Jordan. Morsi’s government tried to support Syrian refugees, offering them residency visas, helping them to find employment, and allowing Syrian children to register in schools. But when the army—supported by millions of Egyptians—overthrew Morsi, government assistance for Syrians dried up. On July 8, the government stated that Syrians must now obtain a visa and a security clearance before being allowed into the country for the first time in history. A side effect of this is that refugees arriving in Egypt from Syria are now met with suspicion, discrimination, and violence. A Syrian father of two named Thair said that since the June 30, Egyptians who notice his Syrian accent have spread rumors that he’s affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, now seen by many as bona fide enemies of the state. Accused of supporting the Brotherhood, Syrians and Palestinians have been victims of “systematic physical and verbal attacks,” according to Marwa Hesham of the UNHCR. Many Syrians have lost their jobs and Syrian-owned businesses have been destroyed in Cairo and Damietta. Refugee boat intercepted off the coast of Alexandria in October. Photo by Refugee Solidarity Movement Spurred by a past they would like to forget and a present they are afraid of, increasing numbers of Syrian refugees are embarking on boat trips to Europe. But leaving Egypt by sea carries its own risks and Syrians are often exploited by the travel agencies and fixers who promise to arrange the dangerous journey. At the beginning of October, Sukher—a Syrian mother of three young girls—went to a tourism agency in Alexandria to pick up travel papers she thought were legal. Sukher and her family were planning to meet their relatives in Europe, where Sukher hoped to get treatment and medication for her disabled daughter. Arriving at the office with her daughters and their suitcases, Sukher was joined by 170 other people, mainly Syrian and Palestinian refugees, also waiting for papers. When they entered the building, they were greeted by a group of armed men brandishing knives. Stripped of their possessions, the refugees were forced onto four small boats and after a few minutes, were moved to a bigger boat. It wasn’t big enough; the ship could hold only 50 passengers. After five minutes, the alarm was raised: the ship, groaning beneath the weight of 170 refugees, was sinking. Twelve passengers drowned, and 35 are missing. Eighteen of those 35 are children. ΔΙΑΦΗΜΙΣΗ Sukher cannot swim, and nor could her daughters. She put on a life jacket and clung to her three girls, trying to keep them all afloat. When the refugees were rescued after over five hours in the water, Sukher’s daughters were lost. I met Sukher four days after the shipwreck, in a crowded police station where she was being held in Alexandria. Refugees who are caught attempting to cross the Mediterranean illegally by the Egyptian authorities are arrested and taken to prisons in Alexandria and the Nile Delta. UNHCR says that 946 Syrians have been arrested trying to cross the sea to Europe and 724 remain in detention, 200 of whom are under the age of 18. The refugees are initially charged with attempting to leave the country illegally, but this charge is soon dropped by the public prosecutor, under one condition: they accept an uncertain future in quasi-legal and hostile state detention. Refugee Solidarity Movement's spokesperson, Mahienour Al-Massry. Photo by Norman Halim “The public prosecutor says that the refugees must be put into the custody of Egypt’s National Security Agency,” said Mahienour al-Massry, the spokesperson of Alexandria’s Refugee Solidarity movement. “The Syrian and Palestinian ‘victims’—who, under Egypt’s bizarre laws, are not criminals—are detained for long periods without charges and without trial.” After hundreds of pro-Morsi supporters died during the violent dispersal of recent protests, the government announced a state of emergency under which detention without trial is technically legal. However, it appears that the law is being used against people who were not its target when it was conceived. Indefinitely detained, not criminals but not free to leave, the refugees live in “inhumane conditions in Egyptian prisons,” according to Taher Mukhtar, a doctor who works with some detained refugees. Up to 60 men are packed into tiny cells, while women and children simply sit in filthy corridors because there are no more free cells. The men don’t have blankets or mattresses and must sleep in shifts because there isn’t enough space for everyone to lie down at once; they are not allowed to use bathrooms without specific orders from the guards. Some of the men said that to use the toilet, they had to bribe the guards. ΔΙΑΦΗΜΙΣΗ Dirty water and sewage covers the cell floors; many Syrian refugees have caught infections in their overcrowded cells, with no treatment and no way to stop the spread of disease. Lice and fleas are everywhere. Depression and hopelessness are breeding, too. There is only one escape. Refugees can choose to be deported back to Syria, Lebanon, or Turkey. One underage boy, about to be deported home to Syria, told me that he was terrified of returning. His family are well-known members of the Sunni opposition, but he was to be sent to Latakia, one of Bashar al-Assad’s Alawite strongholds. Under international humanitarian law, this practice is illegal. Amnesty International highlighted the issue in a report released last week. “Sending refugees back to a bloody conflict zone is a serious violation of international law," said Sherif Elsayed Ali, Amnesty's head of Refugee and Migrants’ Rights. "Refugees who have fled are at an obvious risk of human rights abuses.”

#### No obligation right now

https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugee-resettlement-needs-outpace-growing-number-resettlement-countries

Members of UNHCR's Executive Committee (currently made up of 87 members) are not required to participate in resettlement initiatives. In fact, there exists no law requiring states to resettle refugees. Diffusion of participation has been driven largely by UNHCR lobbying efforts. It is also worth noting that UNHCR is dependent on contributions from member states, especially from the United States and the Nordic countries. The agency does not provide material rewards or incentives to states participating in resettlement initiatives. Developing countries that agree to establish programs are offered financial assistance, but this is limited and sometimes insufficient to enable the integration of refugees into their host society, as evidenced by the failure of assisted resettlement programs in Benin and Burkina Faso in 2001.

### solvency

#### Solvency is reasonable- takes into account capacity and material conditions

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/bp-where-theres-a-will-syria-refugees-161216-embargo-en.pdf

Oxfam has campaigned for 10 percent of the Syrian refugees registered by UNHCR in neighbouring countries (equivalent to about 480,000 people), to be resettled or offered humanitarian admission by the end of 2016, in rich countries that have signed the 1951 Refugee Convention. The table below looks at admissions from countries since 2013 against a ‘fair share’ calculated on the basis of the size of their economy. As of figures available on 6 December 2016, only 130,701 people have arrived in these countries through resettlement or humanitarian admissions programmes.11 This is the equivalent of 2.7 percent of the entire registered Syrian refugee population.12 Table 1: Resettlement arrival figures compared with countries’ fair share Arrivals Fair share % of fair share contributed

Australia 10044 10552 95%

Austria 1476 4008 37%

Belgium 644 4771 13%

Canada 39532 15945 248%

Czech Republic 52 2794 2%

Denmark 385 2600 15%

Finland 1268 2246 56%

France 1800 25926 7%

Germany 43570 36854 117%

Greece 0 3084 0%

Iceland 70 118 59%

Ireland13 669 1773 38%

Italy 575 21510 3%

Japan 0 49747 0%

Korea, Republic of 0 16643 0%

Luxembourg 101 376 27%

Netherlands 599 7854 8%

New Zealand 472 1418 33%

Norway 5185 3610 144%

Poland 0 8768 0%

Portugal 12 2804 0%

Slovakia 0 1440 0%

Spain 289 16031 2%

Sweden 2159 4513 48%

Switzerland 666 4835 14%

United Kingdom 4414 25056 18%

United States 16719 170709 10%

Russia 0 35038 0%

TOTALS 130701 481022 n/a

Soros, George. [Soros has been active as a philanthropist since the 1970s, when he began providing funds to help black students attend the University of Cape Town in apartheid South Africa,[99] and began funding dissident movements behind the Iron Curtain. Soros's philanthropic funding includes efforts to promote non-violent democratization in the post-Soviet states. These efforts, mostly in Central and Eastern Europe, occur primarily through the Open Society Foundations (originally Open Society Institute or OSI) and national Soros Foundations, which sometimes go under other names (such as the Stefan Batory Foundation in Poland). As of 2003, PBS estimated that he had given away a total of $4 billion.[69] The OSI says it has spent about $500 million annually in recent years. ] “This Is Europe's Last Chance to Fix Its Refugee Policy.” Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy, 19 July 2016, foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/19/this-is-europes-last-chance-to-fix-its-refugee-policy-george-soros/.

New York - The refugee crisis was already leading to the slow disintegrati[ng]on of the European Union. Then, on June 23, it contributed to an even greater calamity — Brexit. Both of these crises have reinforc[ing]ed xenophobic, nationalist movements across the continent. They will try to win a series of key votes in the coming year — including national elections in France, the Netherlands, and Germany in 2017, a referendum in Hungary on EU refugee policy on Oct. 2, a rerun of the Austrian presidential election on the same day, and a constitutional referendum in Italy in October or November of this year. Rather than uniting to resist this threat, EU member states have become increasingly unwilling to cooperate with one another. They pursue self-serving, discordant migration policies, often to the detriment of their neighbors. In these circumstances, a comprehensive and coherent European asylum policy is not possible in the short term, despite the efforts of the EU’s governing body, the European Commission. The trust needed for cooperation is lacking. It will have to be rebuilt through a long and laborious process. This is unfortunate, because a comprehensive policy ought to remain[s] the highest priority for European leaders; the union cannot survive without it. The refugee crisis is not a one-off event; it augurs a period of higher migration pressures for the foreseeable future, due to a variety of causes including demographic and economic imbalances between Europe and Africa, unending conflicts in the broader region, and climate change. Beggar-thy-neighbor migration policies, such as building border fences, will not only further fragment the union; they also seriously damage European economies and subvert global human rights standards.

#### Resettlement decreases pressure on infrastructure

http://lhif.org/uploaded/Items/dd71d14e8bfd46778d48d47f27f848f8Making%20the%20Case%20for%20Strategic%20Resettlement.pdf

In protracted refugee situations, where return is not possible in the foreseeable future, or where a country hosting refugees has not adopted the necessary policies that ensure refugee protection, resettlement may be the most appropriate way to provide durable solutions and meet the protection needs of refugees38. In the absence of a solution to the conflict in Syria, voluntary return in safety and dignity is not currently an option. Even when the conflict ends, many refugees from Syria may not be able to return in safety. The Government of Lebanon (GoL) has repeatedly stated that local integration of refugees from Syria is not an option. As such, resettlement is the only durable solution currently available to refugees from Syria in Lebanon, and for those who can’t return it will be the only durable solution available at all. Resettlement should not be viewed in isolation and should be integrated into broader protection strategies. The strategic use of resettlement can open avenues for international responsibility sharing and reduce problems impacting the country of first asylum. Used effectively, resettlement can bring about positive results beyond providing a durable solution for those refugees who are resettled. It also may open avenues for refugees in the country of first asylum to enjoy improved conditions of asylum39, as well as relieving pressures on refugee hosting countries and communities. “The planned use of resettlement in a manner that maximizes the benefits, directly or indirectly, other than those received by the refugee being resettled. Those benefits may accrue to other refugees, the hosting State, other States or the international protection regime in general” Increasing resettlement for refugees from Syria in Lebanon would demonstrate to both the Government and people of Lebanon a true commitment to responsibility sharing from the international community and a true recognition of the scale and complexity of the crisis. Such an approach would challenge the overarching political narrative that the international community is seeking to ‘contain’ refugees in the region, and provide a challenge to the increasingly anti-refugee rhetoric and policies throughout the Western world. By operationalizing a rights-based approach to refugee resettlement, much needed political leverage could also be created to ensure that refugees are able to live in dignity wherever they have accessed asylum. In addition increased resettlement opportunities could also help alleviate pressure on public infrastructure, services and the labor market in the poorest Lebanese communities that are hosting the majority of the refugee population. Resettlement must be part of a comprehensive approach that includes increased development investment and overall job creation in Lebanon, as well as domestic policy changes with respect to refugee residency and access to livelihoods for refugees from Syria who are still living in Lebanon. The primary barrier for refugees from Syria in Lebanon accessing resettlement is a distinct lack of available resettlement places, and an unwillingness of many countries (with the exception of Canada40 and Norway41) to expand their resettlement and alternative admissions programs. UNHCR estimates that 477,000 Syrian refugees across the region will be in need of resettlement in 2017 (a 16% increase in the projected resettlement needs for Syrian refugees compared with 2016 when 410,000 Syrians were estimated to be in need of resettlement). However since 2011, less than 20,000 Syrian refugees living in Lebanon have been resettled through the UNHCR resettlement progr

#### Affirming pushes wealthy nations to provide transportation for the refugees to seek asylum in the wealthy nations and end their dangerous journey while boosting the donor country’s economy

Refugees are spending thousands of euros to make treacherous journeys over land and sea. As the world has lately been reminded (but too infrequently for my taste), many die along the way. This is an economic problem as well as a moral one. An impoverished refugee will have a harder time making a fresh start, and a dead refugee never gets the chance. That’s why it makes sense for Germany and other host countries to pay for refugees’ safe transit; they’ll have to shell out less to support refugees upon arrival, and they’ll likely have more successful refugees paying taxes in the future. So how much would it cost to send trains, planes, buses, and ships to pick up refugees from their most common way stations, such as Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan? Could it be more than 500 euros per person? Maybe 800 euros? That’s a pittance to pay for someone who will end up generating thousands of euros in tax revenue every year for decades. Germany may understand the long-term benefits of refugees, but it hasn’t taken this understanding to its logical conclusion. Of course, Germany is still much further along than the United States, Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, or other growing European countries. All of them are in the privileged position of being able to absorb refugees into their economies relatively painlessly. Yet the United States has set a quota of just 70,000 refugees this year — the same number as last year — despite the fact that the American economy is five times the size of Germany’s.

https://reliefweb.int/report/italy/oxfam-helps-syrians-find-safety-without-risking-their-lives-sea

Oxfam has joined a program to help Syrians find refuge in Europe. 60 people, including many families, will arrive in Italy today to seek asylum as part of a humanitarian visa programme approved by the Italian government. The people will be hosted by Oxfam in the Italian region of Tuscany for the duration of their asylum process. The scheme, called ‘Humanitarian Corridors’, allows people to reach Europe on a safe and regular route in order to claim asylum, without having to risk their lives in perilous sea crossings or long and dangerous journeys over land. Already this year more than 1000 people have died trying to cross the Mediterranean. The initiative is the only concrete example in Europe of such a project by civil society alongside an EU government. It aims to support 500 people from different regions in 2017 that are currently located in three transit countries – Lebanon, Morocco and Ethiopia. Roberto Barbieri, Executive Director of Oxfam Italy, said: “The people who try to reach Europe are often desperate, searching for a life in safety and dignity. For many, risking their lives in unseaworthy boats is a last resort to escape violence, disaster and poverty. We are now offering an alternative route for people in need so they can reach Europe in safety.” The programme was started by three faith-based organizations – the Sant’Egidio Community, the Union of Methodist Churches and the Waldensian Church – with Italian government permission. Oxfam Italy is joining the initiative this year to host Syrians in reception facilities. Oxfam will also provide legal assistance and help for them to access cultural mediation services and Italian language courses, as well as work and education mentorship for up to 250 people. The ‘Humanitarian Corridors’ program selects people who are either, according to the United Nations refugee agency UNHCR, likely to be recognised as refugees in Italy, or particularly vulnerable people, for example those who have been abused, unaccompanied minors, families with children, women alone, elderly people or ill people. 28-year-old Fatem from Syria, who is a mother of two and is arriving in Italy as part of the first group hosted by Oxfam, said: “We just want to be happy. We don’t want to live in constant fear that we will not be able to make it through the day. My children deserve a chance at a better future." “We cannot find work here in Lebanon. And when it comes to rent, landlords are not merciful. My son is disabled, he needs a roof to protect him,” adds Ayman, 42, a father of three who will also find refuge in Italy. European member states have repeatedly turned their back on these people by shutting their borders and putting in place deals like the EU-Turkey deal and EU-endorsed Italy-Libya deal. “EU member states have consistently failed to expand alternative safe and regular routes to Europe, nor expanded resettlement and humanitarian admission schemes for vulnerable refugees. Organizations have stepped into the gap because there is such an immense need. This programme shows it is possible to provide more humane routes to Europe that have government support,” Barbieri said. In addition to falling short on resettling vulnerable refugees, the lack of other safe and regular routes also means that many people see no choice but to turn to smugglers and use increasingly dangerous routes to cross to Europe. “Instead of shutting borders and migration routes, which only leaves people to turn to smugglers and risk their lives, European governments need to provide real alternatives. Not one more person should die trying to cross the Mediterranean in search of a life in safety and dignity,” Barbieri added. Oxfam is calling on European governments to urgently improve access to international protection for those fleeing conflict and persecution, including through humanitarian visas. In addition, more flexible family reunification policies and more resettlement programmes are needed. The agency has called on rich countries, including European nations, to resettle or offer other forms of admission to 10 percent of the Syrian refugee population by the end of 2017. Oxfam is also calling on European governments to create more and varied channels for regular labour migration beyond selected highly-skilled sectors and take a more progressive approach to creating safe, transparent, temporary as well as permanent options for migrants across sectors.

#### Plan text: Resolved: Wealthy nations

https://www.amnesty.org/en/i-welcome-community/welcoming-refugees-solutions/

Prime ministers and presidents have lots of solutions at their fingertips for solving the global refugee crisis – here are some of them. But while most governments turn their backs, people worldwide are finding clever and creative ways to welcome refugees using their local networks, skills and generosity. 1. Grant people access to asylum Everyone should be allowed to enter another country to seek asylum – it’s a human right. The process should be fair and effective, but in reality many governments leave asylum-seekers without a final answer for years. Others are sent back to countries where their lives could be in real danger. 2. Sponsor refugees Some countries allow groups of people to organise and raise money to bring refugees to their country and help them settle in. Nearly 300,000 people have come to Canada through sponsorship since the 1970s, and more countries, including the UK, Australia and Ireland, are gearing up to follow suit. 3. Reunite families Having close family around can make all the difference to people adjusting to a different life and culture, often while recovering from deep trauma. Governments have an obligation to let refugees join family members who are already settled abroad through family reunification. 4. Provide medical visas Refugees who have a serious medical condition can get life-saving treatment – if governments decide to grant them visas to a country where they can access it. About 200 refugees with life-threatening illnesses were being resettled in the United States during an average month until President Donald Trump announced a four-month ban on refugees in early 2017 and crushed many people’s hopes of recovery. 5. Allow people to study Universities and schools can offer refugees visas to start or carry on their studies in another country. This opportunity can turn people’s lives around through completing their schooling, integrating, making a living and contributing to society. According to the UN’s refugee agency, UNHCR, only 1 per cent of refugees currently attend university. A staggering 3.7 million refugee children and teenagers are not in school right now - five times the global average. 6. Embrace technology A smartphone can be a lifeline if you’ve had to leave everything else behind, lost touch with friends and relatives, or are trying to find your way in a new country. Amnesty recently found that one of the top things refugees search for online is information about their own situation and the solutions open to them. Many tech-savvy groups are responding to that need through innovative projects ranging from online phrasebooks to smartphone recycling and launching start-ups for refugees. 7. Help newcomers settle in Anyone who has lived abroad knows how difficult it can be to learn a new language, make friends, understand the culture, find somewhere to live or a new job. That’s why integration is paramount for refugees. In many parts of the world, a whole range of community initiatives have sprung up to welcome newcomers, such as offering advice about asylum, language classes, bicycle recycling schemes and support for women who are on their own. 8. Offer work visas or employment For many refugees, getting a job is a vital solution to their problems. As well as surviving and supporting their families, it helps people maintain their self-respect and independence, and to integrate in a new community. Many countries offer refugees work permits. Businesses can potentially offer work visas to refugees with particular skills, as well as training and work experience. 9. Scale up resettlement This is a crucial way that governments can protect refugees who need it most – people who have been tortured, for example, or women at risk of abuse. But it’s a heavily underused solution. Right now, around 1.2 million people urgently need resettlement, but only 189,300 refugees got the chance in 2016. And only 30 countries currently offer this option. Extreme danger has forced 22.3 million people to flee abroad. Most are stuck in less wealthy countries which offer few opportunities and are struggling to cope. That’s why Amnesty is pushing for all countries, especially the wealthiest, to do their fair share by welcoming refugees in any way they can.

#### Plan text: Resolved: Wealthy nations have an obligation to provide development assistance to refugees from other nations in the form of resettlement. I can clarify and grant links in cx.

http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/34904/MPC\_2015-02\_PB.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Whilst providing significant humanitarian assistance for refugees in those countries is laudable, the EU policy of containment is dangerous as it threatens the stability of the countries bordering Syria. Moreover, the case of Jordan clearly demonstrates that open border policy can easily become a mere rhetorical device which a country can use for domestic priorities: for example, to secure the conspicuous flux of money channelled through humanitarian aid. Paradoxically, European countries can enforce a genuine open-border policy only by accepting more refugees currently hosted in Jordan in Europe – and helping Jordan to scale down its burden. In this context, European countries should implement a range of measures largely, but not only, centred on temporary protection: these are easier to implement than resettlement and, thus, best suited to address the Syrian refugee emergency. As other studies have argued, this can be done by simply reinforcing pre-existing norms and policies: extending humanitarian admission/temporary protection regimes for refugees (not only Syrians) in the EU; expanding European countries’ resettlement programmes; exempting Syrian refugees from visa requirements; and by developing alternative legal routes for refugees, such as family reunification, university fellowships and scholarships, training programmes, private sponsorships, and labour mobility33.

### Reparations

https://tcf.org/content/report/why-america-could-and-should-admit-more-syrian-refugees/

In 1975, an Indochinese Refugee Resettlement program was established in recognition of the fact that U.S. evacuation from the region had left many—especially those who had assisted with military operations in Vietnam and Cambodia—at risk. The Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act marked a new commitment to mass resettlement: in the five years leading up to 1980, 130,000 Indochinese refugees were resettled in the United States through the program. Perhaps most important was the establishment of a federal program offering post-arrival assistance, despite widespread opposition to incurring such high costs ($1 billion a year) in a time of high American unemployment.30 The program also reflected a special interest in helping to resettle refugees from areas where U.S. military engagement may have contributed to displacement, or exposed certain groups—for instance translators assisting U.S. operations—at special risk of persecution. This continues to be an important consideration, as demonstrated by current Special Immigration Visa (SIV) programs for Iraqi nationals.31

### Ilaw

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/what-legal-obligation-does-the-us-have-to-accept-refugees-a7552621.html

Yes. Not only does the US have an international legal obligation to do so, based on the requirement of complying with the object and purpose of the 1951 Refugee Convention, and implementing legal obligations in good faith, it has an obligation to do so under its own domestic law. The executive order cannot displace domestic legal obligations. So those who, with great difficulty, manage to reach the US will have to have their asylum claims examined. The duty not to return a person to a state where they may face torture or other serious harms is absolute under the UN’s Convention Against Torture. The US has signed and ratified this convention. READ MORE Trump immigration ban branded 'unlawful' by 16 Attorney Generals However, with the likely increase in asylum detention of people crossing the US-Mexico border that will arise from one of Trump’s earlier executive orders, there is potential for decisions on whether a person is a refugee being made in an exceptionally tight time frame. It’s possible that, more generally, asylum decisions will be rushed through and the law not properly adhered to. Under international law, can the US ban asylum seekers from certain countries? Under international law, the US cannot ban asylum seekers from certain countries. The US has signed and ratified a number of international treaties that prohibit religious and race discrimination in the operation of legal systems, and this extends to operating a migration system in line with international non-discrimination protections.

### A2 kap

Merli, Francesco. “Capitalism's Endless War against Immigrants.” IDOM, IDOM, 20 Oct. 2017, [www.bolshevik.info/capitalism-s-endless-war-against-immigrants.htm](http://www.bolshevik.info/capitalism-s-endless-war-against-immigrants.htm).

The cause of this wave of immigration and refugees is not hard to find. It is the result of the general instability into which one country after another in the Middle East and North and sub-Saharan Africa have been plunged. In some cases, direct military intervention by European and Western imperialist powers and their allies and proxies have contributed heavily to the chaos. This is not just provoking an increasing influx of people trying to flee inhumane conditions, but also providing the breeding ground for criminal organisations and local warlords who are set to profit from human trafficking. The looting of Africa Imperialist exploitation of African natural resources (both under direct colonial rule and the post-colonial regimes up to the present day) has drained revenue and profits out of continent and undermined the livelihoods of millions. Unequal terms of trade have destabilised weaker economies, ruining local farming and small workshops. Systemic corruption of the local elites – who are taking a slice of the loot – has become the prevalent means by which the imperialists ensure their interests of are catered for. As an indicator of the African elites’ participation in the imperialist looting of Africa: a 2014 study estimated that rich Africans were holding $500 billion in tax havens, while the majority of the population is plunging into poverty. But that alone would not be enough to explain the level of damage caused by imperialist domination. Competition between rival imperialist powers for influence, resources and markets underlies countless coups d’état, conflicts and civil wars raging in the continent and beyond. But it is not just war that millions of people are fleeing from: it is poverty and the general worsening conditions of life. The European governments’ hypocritical attempts to justify their present repressive immigration policies by introducing an artificial distinction between “legitimate” political refugees (escaping war and oppressive regimes), “Fortress” Europe The daily death toll at sea hardly makes headlines, except when the tragedy becomes simply too great to be completely ignored. This occurred in May 2017, when in two separate incidents on the same night, two boats capsized and 210 people drowned. Similarly, on 11 October 2016, distress calls coming from a sinking boat with 260 people on board were wilfully dismissed by the Italian coast guard, whose patrol boat Libra was just a few miles away, waiting for an order to intervene. The reason for the delay was a dispute with the authorities of Malta over who should intervene. Dozens of refugees drowned as a result. Recordings of their distress calls, revealing the dismissive attitude of the Italian authorities, were then leaked to the Italian magazine L’Espresso, causing a major scandal. What has happened since the 2015 refugee crisis, when hundreds of thousands of people determined to reach Europe through Turkey and Greece walked their way through the Balkans in order to reach Hungary, Austria, and eventually Germany? Angela Merkel’s promise to welcome the Syrian refugees was promptly forgotten. A few months later, in March 2016, the EU signed a deal with Turkey, which meant that all refugees (including asylum seekers) reaching the Greek soil would be automatically sent back to Turkey. Migrants in Hungary wikimedia Fortress Europe / Photo: Wikimedia Commons Human rights organisations have – to no avail – denounced the deal as breaking both European law and the UN Refugee Convention. What this shows is that international ‘legality’ is twisted to suit the interests of the powerful, regardless of the human cost. In exchange, the EU promised to give €6 billion to the Turkish government, allegedly to support the estimated 2.7 million Syrian refugees in Turkey at that time. Even by effectively closing down the Aegean route, the European governments have not stopped immigration. What they have achieved is to make more difficult and dangerous routes – like the one across the desert through Libya, or through Morocco – the only options. There is no way that immigration can be stopped. Considering the official figures released by the UN, which puts the amount of refugees worldwide at over 65 million, only a minimal proportion is even attempting to make their way to Europe. Among the global refugee population, there are 5.3 million Syrians in Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq and Egypt. Turkey has more than three million, Lebanon over one million. These refugees have been trying to remain as close to from alleged “illegitimate” economic migrants, is nothing short of a travesty. their homes as possible, hoping to return at some point. In the meantime, their status in the countries hosting them is uncertain. They are not allowed to work legally and most of them have no income, little or no access to the local healthcare system, and almost no access to education for their children. They see little money other than the occasional international aid contributions, and are eating into their savings. After seven years of war in Syria, more and more refugees are abandoning the idea that there is something they can go back to and are attempting in increasing numbers to make their way towards Europe. A similar process is happening everywhere there are large populations displaced by war, famine or other calamities. Scenes of dozens or hundreds of overcrowded, shaky vessels and dinghies, full of scared, hungry, dehydrated men, women and children, venturing from the Libyan coast in the dark into the open sea, epitomise the migrants’ ordeal. Thousands of people are collected from these boats by the Italian or Greek coast guards or by the many NGOs that have filled in the vacuum left by the European authorities’ decision to withdraw from search and rescue missions in international waters. This decision has led immediately to a sharp increase in the death toll at sea. Amnesty International has denounced the deadly consequences of these policies in a report published last July (A perfect storm: The failure of European policies in the Central Mediterranean). By ceding the lion’s share of responsibility for search and rescue to NGOs and by increasing cooperation with the Libyan coastguard, European governments are willingly increasing the deaths at sea and turning a blind eye to abuse the immigrants that are sent back to Libya are subject to, including torture and rape. “European states have progressively turned their backs on a search and rescue strategy that was reducing mortality at sea in favour of one that has seen thousands drown”, commented John Dalhuisen, Amnesty International’s European director. Instead, EU governments have shifted their focus to “regulating” the influx of immigration and “destroying the smugglers’ business model” – hypocritical euphemisms for harsher repression, tougher border controls and pouring money and resources into the Turkish, Libyan and Moroccan authorities for blocking immigrants before they dare to enter Europe. This failing strategy has led to a threefold increase in the death-rate from 0.89% in the second half of 2015 to 2.7% in 2017. Libya – a failed state What is happening in the Mediterranean is the graphic illustration of the sickness of capitalism. But it is only the tip of the iceberg. Thousands die en route even before they reach the coast of Turkey or North Africa. Those rescued at sea by the Libyan coast guard in Libyan territorial waters are brought back to Libya. They are regarded as illegal immigrants and imprisoned in corrugated-iron warehouses, exposed to the heat, in subhuman conditions, without medical assistance, deprived of water and food, brutalized by guards who are at best unprepared to deal with these conditions, and simply forgotten. According to an account by Italian journalist, Francesca Mannocchi, in February 2017, the official detention centre “Garian” in Tripoli hosted 1,400 people (250 children) distributed in 15 warehouses. She reported that there was not even enough floor space for people to lie down and sleep, poor sanitary conditions and scarce water and food – and these were the conditions of an official detention centre. Britain, France and the USA claimed hypocritically that there were humanitarian reasons for their bombing campaign against the Gaddafi regime in 2011. But since the collapse of the regime, Libya has been plunged into chaos, with rebel militias loosely aligning with rival governments, or operating on their own and carving out fiefdoms under their direct control. The collapse of state control and enforcement of borders made Libya the ideal base for all types of trafficking. By blocking the way through Turkey and Greece, the Libyan route has opened up and became the only possible option for African migrants. Warlords and local militias have become more and more reliant on smuggling as a revenue source. It is estimated that 200,000-300,000 African immigrants are at present in Libyan territory. They are vulnerable to abuse, whether they are working in Libya, held in slave-like conditions, or waiting for a chance to get a passage to Europe. Armed groups often detain migrants, pretending to be enforcing the law but in reality just to extort money or labour in exchange for a passage on one of their boats. They run their own detention centres without answering to the so-called central authorities. It is estimated that 50 percent of the Libyan coast’s GDP is connected with the smuggling operations.

### A2 rep/word

#### https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/07/30/why-the-language-we-use-to-talk-about-refugees-matters-so-much/?utm\_term=.61ba48596eac

#### Plan Inclusive kritiks are a voting issue- extend the conceded dtd and no rvis points from the underview which go entirely conceded.

Neg coopts the entirety of my ground when the only mutual exclusivity is for my reps so I can’t weigh case against k and the only thing I can do to get offense is to impact turn since the link is verified.

I apologize for my disrespectful representations, but this isn’t a voting issue- I’ll still learn from my mistake but we can still engage in the rest of our discourse.

#### Turn: better

https://www.pri.org/stories/2015-09-08/migrant-or-refugee-dont-shrug-these-words-matter

Q. But couldn't you be a migrant and a refugee? "Critics do say sometimes that the distinction between refugee and migrant can be imprecise." Q. Then why does the difference "matter quite a bit?" "Refugees are entitled to basic protections under the 1951 convention and other international agreements. Once in Europe, refugees can apply for political asylum or another protected status, [and] sometimes temporary. By law, refugees cannot be sent back to countries where their lives would be in danger." Q. So that's why I've heard politicians in Europe use the word migrant? "Politicians may use the word migrant because their countries are under no legal obligation to offer them sanctuary." Simply put: if you are a refugee you get certain rights in Europe and if you are a migrant, you don't get them.

#### no link – I use specific discourse regarding development as resettlement and infrastructure, prefer on specificity.

#### no impact – reps don't shape reality, prefer: It specifically indicts debate practicies

Balzacq 5—Thierry, Professor of Political Science and International Relations at Namur University [“The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context” *European Journal of International Relations*, London: Jun 2005, Volume 11, Issue 2]

However, despite important insights, this position remains highly disputable. The reason behind this qualification is not hard to understand. With great trepidation my contention is that one of the main distinctions we need to take into account while examining securitization is that between 'institutional' and 'brute' threats. In its attempts to follow a more radical approach to security problems [that] wherein threats are institutional, that is, mere products of communicative relations between agents, the CS has neglected the importance of 'external or brute threats', that is, threats that do not depend on language mediation to be what they are - hazards for human life. In methodological terms, however, any framework over-emphasizing either institutional or brute threat risks losing sight of important aspects of a multifaceted phenomenon. Indeed, securitization, as suggested earlier, is successful when the securitizing agent and the audience reach a common structured perception of an ominous development. In this scheme, there is no security problem except through the language game. Therefore, how problems are 'out there' is exclusively contingent upon how we linguistically depict them. This is not always true. For one, language does not construct reality; at best, it shapes our perception of it. Moreover, it is not theoretically useful nor is it empirically credible to hold that what we say about a problem would determine its essence. For instance, what I say about a typhoon would not change its essence. The consequence of this position, which would require a deeper articulation, is that some security problems are the attribute of the development itself. In short, threats are not only institutional; some of them can actually wreck entire political communities regardless of the use of language. Analyzing security problems then becomes a matter of understanding how external contexts, including external objective developments, affect securitization. Thus, far from being a departure from constructivist approaches to security, external developments are central to it.

if our reps are bad, reject those and vote aff for other reasons: even if nelson mandela advocated for incredibly violent tactics before, we don’t immediately reject his proposals once he changed

A) Good ideas should be accepted regardless of single instances of poor reasoning — otherwise one bad reason eliminates every proposal from policy discussion, dooming policy-making.

B) Key to logical decision-making – don’t reject a policy because it could be supported by bad reps especially when I have td on it – outweighs since learning to make good decisions is a transferable skill

D) Solves their offense – the judge can just reject my bad reps in their RFD

#### Third – no alt solvency – there’s no brightline between what’s considered “vague” and “specific discourse”

#### Fourth – perm do both – net benefit is double solvency.

#### Turn: this is elitist and actively ignores material conditions so no offense under my rotb and creates a solvency deficit. Instead we must look to state policy solutions Schwartz 9

(Joseph, Poli Sci Prof @ Temple, “The Future of Democratic Equality,” Routledge, pg 64-5)

'Discursive' performance is not the sole manner by which individuals deal with (and express) the material and cultural structural realities that both empower and constrain individuals. For example. individuals cannot readily "discursively perform" themselves out of their socio-economic or class position. There is a certain materiality to poverty or to being "bossed" that can't simply be "ironically" and "performatively" transformed. Class relations are structural, as well as discursive. The greater difficulty in forming unions in the United States- as compared to other advanced industrial democracies-has much to do with American legal, ideological, and political constraints and not simply with the rel- ative inefficacy of the "performative," "counter-hegemonic" behavior of (frag- mented) individuals. Even the "parodic" possibilities of "gender" reversal are constrained by the communities in which one resides. ls the "reversal" of "drag" a viable public possibility in a violently homophobic community? Were not the "performative" options of a Matthew Sheperd (extremely) more limited than those of a gay or lesbian student at a "progressive" residential liberal arts college (and unsafe-and even degrading and violent-social spaces confront gay and lesbian people and women and students of color in the most allegedly "cosmopolitan" of social spaces). Simply put, distinct "social spaces" set differ- ential constraints on "performative" choices. Of course, how individuals express class, race, gender, and sexuality does, in part, involve how we "perform" (or "racist") cultural and discursive "norms." Hence, the inevitable controversies over "authenticity" within racial, sexual, and ethnic communities, as well as criticism of people taking on the mores of a class different from those who share their "place" in the labor process, neighborhood, or income strata. But there are material constraints to performative "choice": one can't "perform" one's way out of an under-funded inner city school or out of being a laid-off auto worker with dim prospects of finding a new job with comparable wages and benefits. Traditional sociological theories of "structuration" provide greater insight into how these individuals would deal with these social dilemmas than do micro-level theories of the disc[o]ursive construction of subjectivity. To her credit, Wendy Brown is more concerned with issues of class and political economy than are many post-structuralist political theorists. She expressly claims to bring class back into her political analysis and condemns identity poli- tics as a "phantasmagorical reflection of the 'middle-class' American dream." But there is little attention in her work to developing a political strategy that could promise a structural and material redistribution of power, rather than an alter- ation of how we think of epistemology, discourse, and politics." While ideology and culture play a relatively autonomous role in constituting subjectivity, both have a material structure that must be altered if society is to be democratized. Brown implies that radical social change does not as much involve democratiz- ing social structural relations as it does popularizing a radical epistemological approach to discourse. Brown argues that if we will ourselves to "surrender epis- temological foundations" and give up "specifically moral claims" we will all be able to engage in "the sheerly political: 'wars of position' and amoral contests about the just and good in which truth is always grasped as coterminous with power, as always already power, as the voice of power."""' Even if one resists asking whether democracy can rest on "amoral" principles, one can still ask whether Brown's Foucauldian assertation that power and truth are co-terminous can distinguish between more or less democratic forms of power? The post-structuralist hyper-emphasis on "discourse" and the agonal construction of the self also overly devalues the state as an arena for political reform. Brown's work makes a positive political contribution by warning social movements about fetishizing the struggle for group rights within the law as potential minefields of "reversed" power/knowledge formations. State regulation and technocratic control which claim to defend the interests of newly, legally- recognized identities may yield the perverse consequence of "domesticating" the identity of the insurgent social group (e.g. state micro-management of the work place in "comparable worth legislation," or enforcement of patriarchal values in regard to punitive workfare or "child support" regulation)?" Sometimes, as Brown contends, new-found rights may enhance separation and alienation between and within individuals and groups, as well as constitute new forms of state regulation in the name of the impersonal subject. But Brown rejects the possibility (and historical reality) that new "rights" can, in other contexts, con- tribute to human emancipation by enhancing individual choice and freedom. To deny this is to ignore the elective affinity between the struggle for "rights" and struggles to achieve political equality for formerly subordinate peoples. Not all new-found rights are "co-optative" and a "reinscribing of domination.""7 Nor will the conflict within the American polity over how we should interpret and defend "rights" ever cease. One only has to witness contemporary political con- conflict over "abortion rights," "voting rights," "gun rights," etc. Rights are both politically contested and protective of certain forms of human choice and agency. Rights do not "fix" identities as intransigently as Brown and other post-structuralists claim. Do rights only serve, as Brown contends, to promote "the discursive denial of historically layered and institutionally secured bounds, by denying with words the effects of relatively wordless, politically invisible, yet material constraints"?"" Patri- cia Williams and other critical race theorists have argued that being included under the state's equal protection law helped limit violence against people of color." Despite legitimate fears about excessive state regulation of sexuality, would Brown reject the use of state force to limit domestic violence? How does her philosophical fear of the bureaucratic-regulatory powers of the state speak[s] to the experience of hundreds of thousands of women who have been spared the "privatization'' of domestic violence by the extension of the rights of state author- ity (e.g. the police) to act against violence within the household? Are such prac- tices solely evidence of the "reconstruction of domination by the regulation of the technocratic-bureaucratic state"? Of course, state regulation of domestic violence may, in Brown's language, produce a female subject "dependent upon the pater- nal state" for protection. But is this not preferable to the prior form of paternal state that let a man be the violent definer of "rights" in his home?

## Integ/Refugee bad

#### Inevitable Rejection of migrants forces refugees to take illegal routes incentivizing bad abuse and turning d/a

#### Look to the migration drowning deaths

Dearden Italy, Lizzie. “Refugee Crisis: European Leaders Blamed for Record High Deaths in the Mediterranean.” The Independent, Independent Digital News and Media, 2 Nov. 2016, [www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/refugee-crisis-closing-borders-people-smugglers-human-trafficking-mediterranean-deaths-record-a7391736.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/refugee-crisis-closing-borders-people-smugglers-human-trafficking-mediterranean-deaths-record-a7391736.html).

Britain and other European nations are making the refugee crisis worse by forcing people fleeing conflict and persecution to undertake covert and treacherous journeys, a report has found. The damning report by the Unravelling the Mediterranean Migration Crisis (Medmig) project, seen exclusively by The Independent ahead of its release, concluded that the refusal to open up legal routes for those seeking safety in Europe has increased demand for people smuggling on ever more dangerous routes. Operations to combat the thriving trade has drive[s]n the use of smaller and less seaworthy boats to cross the Mediterranean, contributing to the deaths of almost 4,000 migrants so far in 2016 – now the deadliest year ever for refugees. Professor Heaven Crawley, an author of the report from Coventry University’s Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations told The Independent politicians have been “wantonly ignoring” the reality of the crisis to maintain ill-informed government positions. “The problem is there’s a huge political agenda around migration, so more pragmatic of effective alternatives are being overridden by political aspirations of leaders across the EU,” she said. … Far from combating people smuggling, the report found European operations, border closures and the tightening of asylum regulations in several countries was directly driving refugees into their hands, with every single person interviewed using a smuggler for at least one leg of their journey. Dr Franck Duvell, from the Centre on Migration Policy and Society at the University of Oxford, said: “EU politicians and policy makers have repeatedly declared they are ‘at war’ with the smugglers and that they intend to ‘break the smugglers business model’. “The evidence from our research suggests that smuggling is driven, rather than broken, by EU policy. “The closure of borders seems likely to have significantly increased the demand for, and use of, smugglers – who have become the only option for those unable to leave their countries or enter countries in which protection might potentially be available to them.” One in 10 refugees interviewed in Greece for the report had attempted to find a legal way to enter Europe but failed, resorting to almost a hundred different and potentially deadly routes that often cost far more than a legal journey.

#### Health

https://www.newsdeeply.com/refugees/community/2017/07/05/integrating-refugees-can-strengthen-greeces-health-system

### Econ

#### Education

http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/02/03/refugees-are-a-great-investment/

Yet nobody could have guessed when they arrived in the United States that those refugees would be so successful. Had they been denied entry, nobody would have realized the opportunity that America had missed. So just imagine what some of the brave Syrians fleeing the barbarism of the Islamic State, President Bashar al-Assad’s brutal regime, and the bombing raids ordered by Russian President Vladimir Putin could go on to achieve in the United States. After all, the biological father of the late Steve Jobs, the co-founder and legendary CEO of Apple, America’s most valuable company, was a Syrian who fled his country for political reasons. People originating from the seven countries on Trump’s blacklist already have contributed a lot to America. eBay was founded by an Iranian-American, Pierre Omidyar. Its market capitalization of $36.1 billion dwarfs the value of Trump’s unlisted business holdings, while Omidyar’s self-made $8.2 billion fortune is more than twice as big as Trump’s partly inherited one. Oracle Corp., a software giant worth $162.2 billion, was co-founded by the late Bob Miner, who was also Iranian-American. While the communities from the other countries are much smaller and generally more recent, one notable Somali-American is author and activist Ayaan Hirsi Ali, an outspoken critic of both Islamic extremism and Trump’s anti-Muslim policies. Of course, not all refugees and immigrants turn out to be exceptionally successful. But prejudice is a poor predictor of how [refugees] they will fare. When Vietnamese “boat people” fled their country in the late 1970s and sought refuge elsewhere, they were seen as undesirable and often turned away. Eventually, many were allowed to settle in America. Most arrived speaking little or no English, with few assets or relevant job skills. Yet Vietnamese refugees in the United States are now more likely to be employed than people born in America and have higher average incomes.Vietnamese refugees in the United States are now more likely to be employed than people born in America and have higher average incomes. They have also played a key role in building trade and investment links with Vietnam. One notable entrepreneur is David Tran, who founded Huy Fong Foods. Its main product is Sriracha chili sauce, that big red bottle you see in every Vietnamese restaurant. Most of what he makes is exported to Asia, something that Trump ought to approve of, given his obsession with America’s trade balance. Refugees contribute to the economy in many ways: as workers, entrepreneurs, innovators, taxpayers, consumers, and investors. Their efforts can help create jobs; raise the productivity and wages of American workers; increase capital returns; stimulate international trade and investment; and boost innovation, enterprise, and growth. Some do low-skilled jobs that Americans spurn, such as working on farms, cleaning offices, and caring for the elderly. Contrary to fears that they steal jobs, studies show that refugees enable Americans to do better-paying jobs that they prefer. Higher-skilled refugees — and their highly educated children — provide valuable talent and boost the productivity and wages of Americans with complementary skills. For instance, Syrian nurses can help American doctors provide better care to more patients. Some 28 percent of refugees have a bachelor’s or advanced degree, the same proportion as people born in the United States. Among the immigrants on Trump’s banned list, those from Iran, Libya, Syria, and Sudan are more likely to have a degree than the U.S. average. Many work for leading U.S. businesses, notably in the technology sector, that are now up in arms about the travel ban. Whatever their skill level, refugees tend to be highly motivated and work hard to rebuild their lives. At Chobani, the company that makes America’s leading brand of Greek yogurt, three in 10 employees are refugees. Chobani founder Hamdi Ulukaya doesn’t just employ them to do good; it also turns out to be good for the bottom line. Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz’s admirable announcement that the company plans to hire 10,000 refugees worldwide in the next five years is likely to be financially rewarding, too. Enterprising refugees start businesses that create wealth, employ locals, boost growth, and stimulate trade and investment. Like migration itself, starting a business is a risky venture that takes hard work to make it pay off. For those who arrive in America without contacts or a conventional career, it is a natural way to get ahead. A study by the Kauffman Foundation found that in 2012, immigrants to the United States were almost twice as likely to start businesses as people born in America.

#### Boosts econ: prefer on scientific concensus

https://archive.is/q7rLS#selection-2297.0-2305.555

It’s no wonder that numerous studies have found that refugees are a net benefit to the American economy. The administration’s own study — which the president solicited from the Department of Health and Human Resources — concluded that refugees added $63 billion to the economy between 2005 and 2014. Support for refugees creates another form of currency for the United States. Call it respect or admiration or credibility, this currency accrues when the United States leads by example and champions human rights on the world stage. It’s an invaluable and fungible resource, amassed over many decades. It enabl[ing]es the United States to forge ties with democratic movements. It also helps Washington persuade allies to do difficult things and pressure foes to stop their bad behavior. It is crucial to forging trade pacts, military coalitions and peace deals.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/08/15/within-7-years-refugees-are-self-sufficient-and-contributing-to-the-u-s-on-average/?utm_term=.ce1d45ff6c2e> Within 7 years, refugees are self-sufficient and contributing to the U.S., on average Ramya M. Vijaya is a professor of economics at Stockton University, New Jersey, and co-author of Indian Immigrant Women and Work (Routledge, 2017). Monica Miller and David Fletcher are student research assistants at Stockton University.

Prefer my evi

Who’s right? How well do refugees integrate into local U.S. communities? Are they an economic burden or boon? We examined these questions for refugees resettled in the city of Philadelphia between 2000 and 2015. How we did our research A little more than 7,300 refugees arrived in the city from 2000 to 2015. Though people fleeing the civil war in Syria have dominated recent news, Philadelphia’s refugees have come from all over. The largest number of refugees arrived from Bhutan, closely followed by Liberia, Burma and Iraq. Large groups of refugees also come from Ukraine, Democratic Republic of Congo, Russia, Sudan, Eritrea and Sierra Leone. Congress receives an annual report about recently resettled individuals, but no specific mechanism tracks their progress over a longer period. A few researchers have begun to use a relatively new and effective methodology to identify refugee populations in national census data. This lets us evaluate long-term economic resettlement outcomes such as median incomes and government program use. In our research we adapt this method to identify local refugee populations in particular cities. Our data source is the American Community Survey, an annual survey conducted by the Census Bureau. Respondents from consecutive ACS surveys are usually aggregated to increase the sample size and develop more reliable multiyear estimates. We pooled together d. ACS includes information on country of birth and — if that’s not the United States — year of entry for all those surveyed. It does not distinguish refugees from other immigrants. As previous studies have done, we use the combination of country of birth and year of entry to determine which immigrants were likely refugees. To find those combinations for Philadelphia, we used the State Department’s detailed refugee entry data to identify the 10 most common countries from which Philadelphia’s refugees originate. We impute refugee status to everyone from those 10 countries in years when the refugee entry numbers represent more than half of the ACS total entry numbers. For example, if an ACS respondent from Iraq migrated in 2005, they are only assigned refugee status if, for 2005, the ratio of total refugee entry into Philadelphia from Iraq to the ACS total weighted Iraqi-origin entrants to Philadelphia is greater than 50 percent. This way we are more confident that, in the countries and years selected, a majority of entrants are refugees. 1. Household income We compared those identified as refugees to all the other Philadelphians in the ACS data. We found that the median household income estimate for refugees resettled in the area is $37,574 — which is close to Philadelphia’s ACS median household income estimate of $38,253. If we look just at refugees resettled at least seven years earlier, median household income estimates jump to $46,126. To put these numbers in perspective, the median refugee household includes three people — which is comparable to all Philadelphia households, where it’s 2.5. 2. Food stamps About 36 percent of the refugees identified in the ACS data reported using food stamps. However, the highest use is among new entrants just beginning to rebuild their lives. Among refugees resettled seven or more years ago, only about 25 percent were using food stamps — the same rate as all Philadelphians in the comparable ACS data. 3. Employment Refugees’ unemployment rates were 12 percent, notably higher than the overall Philadelphia ACS rate of 8 percent. However, Philadelphia refugees’ labor force participation rate — those actively looking for work and those who are currently working — was a high 66 percent. In comparison the labor force participation rate for all Philadelphians for the same ACS years is 59 percent. Apparently, many refugees actively look for work despite higher barriers to employment, arriving as they have in a place where they have few local networks. 4. Language It can be hard to integrate into American life without being fluent in English. Among recent entrants, only 19 percent say they can speak English “well” or “very well.” However, that improves significantly over time. Nearly 76 percent of refugees resettled seven or more years earlier say they can speak English well. Our findings suggest that within a handful of years after arriving, quite a few refugees are doing as well as or perhaps better than the average Philadelphian, according to basic economic indicators. Within seven years, refugees reach a higher median income and lower use of food stamps than their neighbors. They develop language competency fairly quickly, and remain active in the workforce, buoying the local economy. Though solvency cannot be the only measure of successful resettlement, these findings do suggest that Philadelphia’s mayor, among others, are right to suggest that welcoming diverse and vulnerable groups of people may in the end benefit the city.

#### Also look to econ/terror file

#### Great

Migrant workers make important

contributions to the labour market in both

high- and low-skilled occupations

Over the past ten years, immigrants represented

47% of the increase in the workforce in the United

States, and 70% in Europe (OECD, 2012). Across

OECD countries, only a relatively small part of these

workforce entrants came through managed labour

migration (which represents only a fraction of all

movements to the OECD), and more came through

other channels, including family, humanitarian and

free-movement migration.

The education status of immigrants varies. Since 2000/01,

immigrants have represented 31% of the increase

in the highly educated labour force in Canada, 21%

in the United States and 14% in Europe.

Even though most migration is not directly driven

by workforce needs, immigrants are playing a

significant role in the most dynamic sectors of the

economy. New immigrants represented 22% of

entries into strongly growing occupations in the

United States and 15% in Europe. These include

notably health-care occupations and STEM

occupations (Science, Technology, Engineering and

Mathematics).

At the same time, immigrants represented about a

quarter of entries into the most strongly declining

occupations in Europe (24%) and the United States

(28%). In Europe, these occupations include craft

and related trades workers as well as machine

operators and assemblers; in the United States,

they concern mostly jobs in production, installation,

maintenance and repair. In all these areas,

immigrants are filling labour needs by taking up

jobs regarded by domestic workers as unattractive

or lacking career prospects.

In Europe free movement migration helps

address labour market imbalances

In Europe, the scope of labour mobility greatly

increased within the EU/EFTA zones following the

EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007. This added to

labour markets’ adjustment capacity. Recent

estimates suggest that as much as a quarter of the

asymmetric labour market shock – that is occurring

at different times and with different intensities

across countries – may have been absorbed by

migration within a year (Jauer et al., 2014).

Migrants contribute more in taxes and social

contributions than they receive in individual

benefits

Recent work on the fiscal impact of migration for all

European OECD countries, as well as Australia,

Canada and the United States, has provided new

and internationally comparative evidence (Liebig

and Mo, 2013). The study suggests the impact of

the cumulative waves of migration that arrived over

the past 50 years in OECD countries is on average

close to zero, rarely exceeding 0.5% of GDP in

either positive or negative terms. The impact is

highest in Switzerland and Luxembourg, where

immigrants provide an estimated net benefit of

about 2% of GDP to the public purse.

Immigrants are thus neither a burden to the public

purse nor are they a panacea for addressing fiscal

challenges. In most countries, except in those with

a large share of older migrants, migrants contribute

more in taxes and social contributions than they

receive in individual benefits.

This means that they contribute to the financing of

public infrastructure, although admittedly to a

lesser extent than the native-born. Contrary to

Migration Policy Debates © OECD May 2014 3

widespread public belief, low-educated immigrants

have a better fiscal position – the difference

between their contributions and the benefits they

receive – than their native-born peers. And where

immigrants have a less favourable fiscal position,

this is not driven by a greater dependence on social

benefits but rather by the fact that they often have

lower wages and thus tend to contribute less.

Cross-country differences in the fiscal position of

immigrant households are shaped by the design of

tax and benefit systems and, even more so, by

differences in the composition of the migrant

population in terms of age and migrant-entry

category.

In countries where recent labour migrants make up

a large part of the immigrant population,

immigrants have a much more favourable fiscal

position than in countries where humanitarian

migrants account for a significant part of the

immigrant population. Labour migrants tend to

have a much more favourable impact than other

migrant groups, although there is some

convergence over time. On the other hand, the

fiscal position of immigrants is generally less

favourable in countries with longstanding

immigrant populations and little recent labour

immigration.

Employment is the single most important

determinant of migrants’ net fiscal contribution,

particularly in countries with generous welfare

states. Raising immigrants’ employment rate to

that of the native-born would entail substantial

fiscal gains in many European OECD countries, in

particular in Belgium, France and Sweden, which

would see a budget impact of more than 0.5% of

GDP. It would also help immigrants meet their own

goals: Most immigrants, after all, do not come for

social benefits, but to find work and to improve

their lives and those of their families. Efforts to

better integrate immigrants should thus be seen as

an investment rather than a cost.

Migration contributes to spur innovation and

economic growth

International migration has both direct and indirect

effects on economic growth. There is little doubt

that where migration expands the workforce,

aggregate GDP can be expected to grow. However,

the situation is less clear when it comes to per

capita GDP growth.

Components of total population growth in OECD countries,

1960-2020, per thousand inhabitants

Source: OECD Population and Vital Statistics database.

First, migration has a demographic impact, not only

by increasing the size of the population but also by

Estimated net fiscal impact of immigrants, with and without the pension system and per-capita

allocation of collectively accrued revenue and expenditure items

Note : The “baseline” calculations include estimates for indirect taxes as well as expenditure on education, health and active labour

market policy.

Source: Liebig and Mo (2013).

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changing the age pyramid of receiving countries.

Migrants tend to be more concentrated in the

younger and economically active age groups

compared with natives and therefore contribute to

reduce dependency ratios (Gagnon, 2014).

Second, migrants arrive with skills and abilities, and

so supplement the stock of human capital of the

host country. More specifically, evidence from the

United States suggests that skilled immigrants

contribute to boosting research and innovation, as

well as technological progress (Hunt, 2010).

The proportion of highly educated immigrants in

OECD countries is rising sharply. The number of

tertiary-educated immigrants in OECD countries

showed an unprecedented increase in the past

decade (up by 70%), reaching a total of almost

30 million in 2010/11. Of these, about 5 million, or

17%, arrived in the past five years. This trend is

mostly driven by Asian migration – more than

2 million tertiary educated migrants originating

from this region arrived in the OECD in the past five

years (OECD-UNDESA, 2013).

Few empirical studies have tried, however, to

estimate the overall impact of net migration on

economic growth, in part because of a shortage of

harmonised comparative data on international

migration by skills levels.

One study that looks at the impact of migration on

economic growth for 22 OECD countries between

1986 and 2006 demonstrates a positive but fairly

small impact of the human capital brought by

migrants on economic growth. The contribution of

immigrants to human capital accumulation tends to

counteract the mechanical dilution effect (i.e. the

impact of population increase on capital per

worker), but the net effect is fairly small, including

in countries which have highly selective migration

policies. An increase of 50% in net migration of the

foreign-born generates less than one tenth of a

percentage-point variation in productivity growth

(Boubtane and Dumont, 2013).

### A2 terror

#### Extend the 3rd card under solvency, Daniels ’15: turn: welcoming refugees addresses terrorists recruitment efforts and o/w on timeframe- if there’s no reason for people to turn to terrorism, the mvmt will die out

#### Good for security

1. Refugees undermine ISIS recruitment. The U.S. has killed over 20,000 ISIS fighters in its air campaign, and yet the group’s size has been largely unaffected, hovering between 25,000 and 30,000 fights. This means that the only thing keeping [isis]the Islamic State alive is recruiting new fighters to its black flag. Its recruitment of foreign fighters from the West focus[ing]es on the grandeur of its “caliphate.” Refugees, however, carry a very different message: that the supposed divine kingdom is a fraud and disaster, a total failure. One escapee from the Islamic State told the New York Times, “People heard good words from them but didn’t see anything good come out of it.” Another said, “We thought they wanted to get rid of the regime, but they turned out to be thieves.” Refugees warn of foreign fighters who might be tempted to join the terrorist organization. One refugee resettled in the United States said, “Before the war, life in Syria was heaven on Earth... safe and secure... After that, we were targeted, so we had no choice but to leave.” There’s never been a better anti-ISIS ad than that. 2. Accepting refugees deprives ISIS of resources. The Islamic State’s [ISIS] army relies on a population to exploit. “Islamic State takes in more than $1 million per day in extortion and taxation,” the New York Times reports. It finds that “a broad consensus has emerged that its biggest source of cash appears to be the people it rules.” A huge number of people are fleeing its state to avoid the extortion. It’s one reason that ISIS hates the refugees who leave its pseudo-state. “ISIS would not let us leave,” one told the Times. “They said, ‘You are going to the infidels.’” Making the “infidels” more attractive than ISIS is the key to winning this fight. Fortunately, many are escaping. “So many people are migrating,” one ex-ISIS resident said, “ISIS wants to build a new society, but they’ll end up alone.” Good. 3. Refugees counter ISIS propaganda about the United States. ISIS propaganda portrays the West as an anti-Muslim cabal. Muslims fleeing ISIS territory are told that they “will be forced to convert to Christianity, in exchange for money or citizenship.” Accepting refugees refutes this narrative. In the process, it undermines the Islamic State’s credibility and bolsters America’s reputation in the region. It flips the narrative. Instead of the anti-Muslim violent crusaders, the United States becomes a safe haven for fugitives from a terrorist regime. One Syrian who was resettled in the United States told the Las Vegas Sun that despite their initial perception, “When we came here, we liked it.” 4. Accepting refugees undermines ISIS’s strategy. ISIS has said that its attacks on the West are specifically intended to “compel the Crusaders to actively destroy the grayzone themselves,” forcing western Muslims to “either apostatize... or [emigrate] to the Islamic State and thereby escape persecution from the Crusader governments and citizens.” They want America to overreact and reject potential Muslim allies. Arguing that Muslim refugees fleeing ISIS-held areas should only be accepted by Muslim countries, as Ted Cruz says, or deporting those the United States has already accepted, as Donald Trump has promised to do, would appear to verify the ISIS narrative, rather than rebut it. 5. Accepting refugees provides the U.S. with valuable intelligence against ISIS. In 2014, a U.S. intelligence official told the Los Angeles Times that Syria was a “black hole.” That’s changing, largely due to Syrian refugees. Former-CIA intelligence officer Patrick Eddington explained last year that Syrian refugees from these areas are “the single best source of information on life inside ISIS controlled territory.” In fact, Syrian refugees have already handed over huge amounts of information on ISIS military inventory, leaders, and finances. Americans should not view Syrian refugees as enemies, but as assets to our cause. The U.S. has much to gain by accepting them and much to lose by rejecting them. Humanitarianism is an important reason to accept refugees, but foreign policy is no less significant.

#### Correlation not causation and turn: refugees help prevent terrorism. Prefer my evidence; it indicts yours

http://sites.dartmouth.edu/emmaxsampugnaro20/files/2016/06/The-Case-for-Developed-Countries-to-Accept-Refugees.pdf

Syrian Refugees Are Not Likely Terrorists Choi and Salehyan conclude in “No Good Deed Goes Unpunished: Refugees, Terrorism, and Humanitarian Aid” that terrorism is more likely to occur in countries with refugees17. Their research is very compelling, showing a practically undeniable correlation between refugees and terrorism. Therefore, resettlement is an unconvincing argument to those who would reject immigration on national security grounds. If terrorism increases and the host country is put in danger, a greater number of areas would require assistance, leading to both a major problem and a poor allocation of resources. In this case, mass resettlement would not be worth it. However, while their study shows that countries with many refugees are more likely to experience terrorism, This is a classic case of correlation, not causation. Choi and Salehyan themselves admit it is possible that “more populous countries simply tend to experience more terrorism (in absolute numbers) because they harbor more terrorists and provide more targets than small countries.” While this is just one possible explanation, it is a likely one, especially when coupled with other data show[s]ing the low likelihood of resettled refugees becoming a source of terroris[ts]m. In fact, refugees can provide their host countries with unique valuable intel, as occurred recently in Leipzig, Germany. A major terrorist attack was averted when a group of refugees nabbed and held a would-be terrorist in their homes and called the authorities18. Immigrants, as a whole, are grateful for a new start and want to keep their new home safe. The extensive vetting process currently in place practically eliminates the chance of extremist refugees entering the United States. Refugees are thoroughly screened by the U.N. High Commission for Refugees National Counterterrorism Center, the FBI's Terrorist Screening 17 Choi and Salehyan 2013, 53-75. 18 CBS News, 10 October 2016. 7 Center, and the Departments of State, Defense and Homeland Security19 . The process takes 18- 24 months, requires biometrics, interviews, and background checks – yet it still turns most refugees away. No system is bulletproof, so of course some miscreants will slip through, but that is a statistical inevitability. According to the Migration Policy Institute, out of 784,000 refugees resettled in the United States since 9/11, only three resettled refugees have been arrested for planning terroris[m]t activities20 . We regularly endure levels of uncertainty much higher than that. We drive cars even though there’s a high chance of accident and go outside even when there’s a good chance of catching a cold. Readily, we accept a small amount of risk for a necessary cause and there is no better cause than resettlement. Danger arises when harsh vetting policies are being called for not to improve the process, but to reject refugees – especially on the basis of religion. A study by the PEW research center shows that a majority of people in European countries believe both that refugees pose an increased risk of terrorism and that the Muslims already in their countries are prone to extremism21 . According to the U.S. Department of Justice, from 1980-2005, Islamic extremists only carried out 6% of terrorist attacks on U.S. soil as compared to 42% from Latinos and 24% from extreme left wing groups23. If the concern is not that these refugees are religious moderates but that they are radicals following the teachings of ISIS, a new AP investigation shows that 70% of ISIS recruits have no more than a basic knowledge of Islam24. To blame Islam for terrorists is to blame Christianity for Jeffrey Dahmer.

#### Reps first: Discourse shapes reality and policy, making it an epistemological indict and prereq. With prefiat implications

Doty 93 (Roxanne Doty, Professor at Arizona State University. “Foreign Policy as Social Construction: A Post-Positivist Analysis of US Counterinsurgency Policy in the Philippines” International Studies Quarterly)

This kind of approach addresses the how-question discussed earlier because it does not presuppose that particular subjects are already in place. It thus does not look to individual or collective subjects as the loci of meaning. Regarding language practices themselves as relatively autonomous admits the question of a kind of power that constitutes subjects, modes of subjectivity, and “reality.” In contrast to the Social Performance Approach in which signifiers (words, images) ultimately refer back to signifieds (shared templates), in the Discursive Practices Approach signifiers refer only to other signifiers, hence the notion of intertextuality, i.e., a complex and infinitely expanding web of possible meanings. That meaning does often appear to be fixed and decideable rather than an infinite play of signifiers is indicative of the workings of power. This presents us with a radically new conception of power which is inherent in the linguistic practices by which agents are constructed and become articulated within particular discourses. This approach, like any approach, has its analytic form. The form of this approach is a “discursive practice.” A discursive practice is not traceable to a fixed and stable center, e.g., individual consciousness or a social collective. Discursive practices that constitute subjects and modes of subjectivity are dispersed, scattered throughout various locales. This is why the notion of intertextuality is important. Texts always refer back to other texts which themselves refer to still other texts. The power that is inherent in language is thus not something that is centralized, emanating from a pre-given subject. Rather, like the discursive practices in which it inheres, power is dispersed and, most important, is productive of subjects and their worlds. A discourse, i.e., a system of statements in which each individual statement makes sense, produces interpretive possibilities by making it virtually impossible to think outside of itand. A discourse provides discursive spaces, i.e., concepts, categories, metaphors, models, and analogies by which meanings are created. The production of discourses and of subjectivity and sociality is indissoluble (Henriques et al., 1984:106). This is because discourses create various kinds of subjects and simultaneously position these subjects vis-a-vis one another. For example, a traditional discourse on the family would contain[s] spaces for a subject with traits conventionally defined as “male” and another kind of subject with traits conventionally defined as “female.” These subjects would be positioned vis-à-vis one another in a particular way, e.g., female subservient to male. Within the traditional discourse on the family it is impossible to think outside of these categories except in terms of deviance or abnormality. Within this discourse, there is no discursive space for the single mother by choice or the gay or lesbian couple with children except as departures from the “normal” family or as deviants. Subjects, then, can be thought of as positions within particular discourses, intelligible only with reference to a specific set of categories, concepts, and practices. Policy makers also function within a discursive space that imposes meanings on their world and thus creates reality (Shapiro, 1988:100, 116). An approach that focuses on discursive practices as a unit of analysis can get at how this “reality” is produced and maintained and how it makes various practices possible. The analytic question addressed is not why particular decisions are made; the policy decision in itself becomes a secondary concern. What is central is the discourse(s) which construct a particular “reality.” An analysis of discourses can reveal the necessary but not sufficient conditions of various practices. Applying this approach to the study of foreign policy, not only do we broaden our conception of what foreign policy is, the sites of foreign policy, i.e., where foreign policy takes place, also become much more extensive. This approach suggests that what foreign policy is need not be limited to the actual making of specific decisions nor the analysis of temporally and spatially hounded “events.” Similarly, “foreign policy makers” need not be limited to prominent decision makers, but could also include those rather anonymous members of the various bureaucracies who write the numerous memorandums, intelligence reports, and research papers that circulate within policy circles. The discourse(s) instantiated in these various documents produce meanings and in doing so actively construct the “reality” upon which foreign policy is based. Moreover, foreign policy making can also extend beyond the realm of official government institutions. The reception as meaningful of statements revolving around policy situations depends on how well the[ir]y fit into the general system of representation in a given society. Even speeches and press conference statements produced for specific purposes, in order to be taken seriously, must make sense and fit with what the general public takes as “reality." Thus, the analysis of statements can entail the examination of what was said and written within broad policy-making contexts as well as statements made in society more generally 8

#### Your reps immediately associate “Middle East refugee” with ”terrorist”, creating a securitized threat that’s empirically denied and justifies the Iraq war, islamophobia, and are complicit in the harms outlined in the AC, RCIC’17

I N T E R N A T I O NA L CO N F E R E N C E

Redefining Community in Intercultural Context Bari, 5-6 June 2017 283 SECURITY AS SPEECH ACT. DISCOURSE CONSTRUCTIONS ON THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS Laura HERȚA Department of International Relations and German Studies, Faculty of European Studies, Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania http://www.afahc.ro/ro/rcic/2017/rcic%2717/LSDA/283-287%20Herta.pdf

This article argues that refugees are portrayed as major dangers and that this discourse construction is part of a securitiz[ing]ation process. Some political elites (President Donald Trump and Prime Minister Viktor Orban are selected here, because their speeches are illustrative in this sense) resort to speech acts, construct a specific discourse, and present a specific issue (the contemporary Syrian refugees) as existential threat to North-American borders and to European security, respectively. Moreover, the issue of Syrian refugees is presented to an audience (American public opinion, Hungarian public opinion, but, in extenso, European and international public opinions) and it is emphasized as key priority for American or European survival and values. Also, these speech acts trigger the shift from normal, accountable, democratic politics to “emergency politics” which require specific actions (such as building fences in order to fend off the incoming flows of refugees). The “point of no return” (key stage in the securitization process) is also stressed, since the existential threats are presented not only as sources of insecurity for American and European citizens, [and] but also as major dangers to fundamental Christian values and to the very basic pillars of the West. The UNHCR presents the issue as “Syrian emergency”, since “millions of Syrians have escaped across borders, fleeing the bombs and bullets that have devastated home” (UNHCR, http://www. unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html). And yet, the discourse which links Syrian refugees with existential threats to European values or terrorism indicates a European crisis. In speech acts presented above, the issue is turned into a turning point wherein refugees pose a major threat. In other words, the refugees, usually associated with desperate people who are forced to leave their homes because of fear and violence, are described as existential threats and potential sources of insecurity.

#### Impacts

https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jun/01/refugee-crisis-migrants-changing-perception

People move. The history of humanity is a history of migration. Since the earliest movement of Homo erectus out of Africa across Eurasia, humankind has had reason and the means to travel from one place to another. Sometimes that movement is orderly, planned and peaceful. But just as often it is harried and desperate, a violent expulsion of large numbers of people fleeing persecution, war, famine or other natural disasters. Throughout history, communities, polities and civilisations have been destroyed, supplanted or enriched by inflows of people from foreign cultures and ethnic groups. People have always moved, but today more people are being unwillingly displaced from their homes than at any time since the end of the second world war.

That displacement is sustained: more than 3 million Syrians remain forced from their homeland by four years of conflict; 130,000 Burmese ethnic minorities perennially huddle in camps on the Thai border; and over a million Afghans live, with varying levels of official sanction, in Pakistan. Some have been there more than 30 years, waiting for a chance to go home.

But the two near concurrent crises in the Mediterranean and Andaman seas have brought the issue of boat-borne asylum seekers from the abstract – a discussion of numbers, of people-smuggling “rackets”, and of push-and-pull factors – into the personal.

Pictures of stricken boats jammed with desperate Rohingyan asylum seekers pleading to be allowed to land anywhere, or the sight of an Eritrean woman being rescued by a Greek army sergeant from the waves off Rhodes has transformed asylum seekers from an anonymous, undifferentiated mass into people. And this concurrence emphasises the fact that the issue of irregular migration is not a European problem or a south-east Asian one. It doesn’t belong to poor countries, or to rich. It is a global issue.

For the media, the issue of irregular migration is an inherently difficult one on which to report. The people making these journeys are often coming from war zones, or situations of persecution. Some might be seeking to hide their true motives for moving, for good or other reasons. Others are stranded on boats in the ocean, almost inaccessible, or they are incarcerated, or living clandestine existences in the places where they have arrived.

As a result the voices least heard in the debate around migration are often the migrants themselves. They are defined, instead, by the language used by others to describe them, and their image – the broader understanding of who they are – is created not by themselves, but by others.

The media has a responsibility in how it reports on some of the most vulnerable people in the world, a responsibility not always upheld. There are outliers in the discourse, but asylum seekers are condemned by some as “vermin” and “like cockroaches”, or sneered at as “filthy”, “grubby” or “penniless”.

Rohingya migrants swimming to collect food supplies dropped by a Thai army helicopter

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Rohingya migrants swimming to collect food supplies dropped by a Thai army helicopter. Photograph: Christophe Archambault/AFP/Getty Images

But the rhetorical manipulation exists more subtly too. On the debate around asylum seekers, governments hold disproportionate influence because they often hold all the information: how many people have arrived and how; what action has been taken on the high seas.

Politicians globally use this control of information to build broader narratives around “illegals”, “queue jumpers”, or “suspected terrorists”, constructions that are often uncritically accepted, reproduced and disseminated by reporters. The false dichotomy of the “good” refugee – who waits patiently in a camp for the resettlement that might never come – and the “bad” refugee, who takes her chances on a boat, amplifies fear of the unknowable interloper.

At its heart, the inherent tension in the asylum-seeker debate is a conflict of competing rights, and of concern over control. Nations have a sovereign right, and governments a responsibility to their citizens, to control their borders. But people facing persecution have a legal right to seek asylum, and the nature of their arrival is mandated in law not to be prejudicial to their claim or treatment.

Politicians use control of information to build broader narratives around 'illegals' or 'suspected terrorists'

Migration when it is controlled and orderly is far less challenging to politicians and their publics. When it is disordered and chaotic – when it is perceived to be “out of control” – it carries with it a fear of the unknown.

It should not take a tragedy like the deaths of hundreds drowned in the Mediterranean, or a standoff involving boatloads of starving asylum seekers looking for any port that will let them land to inspire the world to find a long-term solution that might reduce the chances of these things happening again, to find safer, more ordered ways of enabling people to move.

But if nothing changes, nothing will change, and these calamities will be with us once more.

1. Matsuda 88 (Mari, Associate Professor of Law, University of Hawaii, “When the First Quail Calls: Multiple Consciousness as Jurisprudential Method”, 11 Women's Rts. L. Rep. 7 1989) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Kapoor, 2008 (Ilan, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, “The Postcolonial Politics of Development,” p. 138-139) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)