Refugees, Disengagement, and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

The 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict disrupted the lives of and displaced hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. Almost one million of the four million Palestinian refugees registered with the UN Relief and Works Administration for Palestinian Refugees in the Middle East (UNRWA) live in Gaza. In April 2005, the Georgetown University Institute for the Study of International Migration (ISIM) brought together experts on Palestinian refugees, policy makers and individuals who have worked on refugee and reconstruction efforts for a two-day workshop with the goal of examining the opportunities, barriers and challenges to bettering the lives of refugees in Gaza as a long-term solution to the refugee crisis is negotiated.

continued on page 2

Third Annual Fritz Institute Lecture on Humanitarian Relief

The Third Annual Fritz Institute Lecture on Humanitarian Relief was delivered by former Secretary of State, and current Georgetown University Mortara Distinguished Professor of Diplomacy, Madeline Albright on Wednesday, March 16, 2005. The Fritz Institute Lecture on Humanitarian Relief is funded by the Fritz Institute and undertaken in coordination with the ISIM. The lecture aims to address critical and difficult issues in the field of humanitarian relief, with the goal of discussing innovative and broad ranging solutions. Previous lectures were given by the Honorable Jan Egeland, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator at the United Nations (2004) and Andrew Natsios, Administrator, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Special Coordinator for International Disaster Assistance (2002).

continued on page 3
Refugees, Disengagement, and the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process

Half of the refugees live in eight camps that range in size from 20,000 to more than 100,000 people. Access to food, health care and potable water is often difficult, and as a result abnormally high levels of malnutrition and anemia have been reported among the refugee children. About 45 percent of the refugees are younger than age 16, and unemployment levels persist at around 50 percent. More than half of the population lives under the poverty line on an income of less than $2 a day.

In the summer of 2005, Israeli troops and settlers are scheduled to withdraw from Gaza in a move that many political observers believe will re-invigorate the stagnating Israeli-Palestinian peace process. What this proposed withdrawal might mean for Palestinian refugees is unclear. It presents many challenges and opportunities for governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) seeking to reverse the longstanding poverty, unemployment and dependency of the refugees of Gaza.

The issue for the workshop participants was essentially humanitarian in nature: how present conditions of life for Palestinian refugees could be improved in the context of Israeli disengagement and of the evolving dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis on a variety of questions. However, this question inevitably entailed broader discussions about the peace process overall. While the workshop did not debate the final status of Palestinian refugees, participants accepted the premise that improvements in the physical conditions under which Palestinians are living do not prejudice claims regarding rights to return or compensation. All also agreed that establishing a viable economy and improving governance in Gaza – and West Bank – depend on continuing progress in the peace plan.

The workshop participants recommended greater consultation and coordination between the Israeli government and the Palestinian authority to ensure successful disengagement. This is difficult to achieve because the process has been unilaterally Israeli-driven and the two parties have very unequal weight in decision making. It is, therefore, important to establish mechanisms for coordination in which all relevant parties will have influence and weight. Issues to be placed on the consultation agenda include access to contested areas, border crossings with Israel, Egypt, use of Israeli infrastructure, the management of future checkpoints, and physical connections between Gaza and West Bank.

The present well being and future status of Palestinian refugees is the shared responsibility of the international community, Israel, the Palestinians and other refugee receiving countries, and remains a central issue on the peace agenda. In the short term, donors and NGOs, working with UNRWA and the Palestinian Authority, should emphasize employment generation and projects that can be quickly funded and executed to alleviate poverty. These should benefit refugees and the non-refugee poor. In the longer run, development options for Gaza and other parts of the present Palestinian territories will require private as well as public investment. This, in turn, requires increased confidence in enduring peace and good governance. Israeli disengagement and the departure of the settlers offer important opportunities for improving refugees’ well being, opportunities that need to be capitalized upon by all parties.

Recent Publications

Third Annual Fritz Institute Lecture on Humanitarian Relief

Madeleine Albright’s inspired and lively speech focused largely on the need to see beyond partisan divides and embrace partnerships that have the ability to address the vital issues of our time, from the needs of those affected by conflict to HIV/AIDS. Professor Albright answered tough questions from a large audience of staff, students and the general public, and challenged the leaders of the United States and others to find ways to move forward. As she stated, “There could be no better time to bring serious-minded liberals, conservatives, and centrists together in support of renewed U.S. leadership on humanitarian issues. For that to happen, we have to stop letting disagreements on some things prevent us from cooperating on other things. We need to move beyond ideological battlegrounds.”

Please see the ISIM website at http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/isim/index.html for a webcast of the event. For more information on the Fritz Institute, a leader in the improvement of humanitarian assistance delivery systems, please see the Fritz Institute website at http://www.fritzinstitute.org/.

Immigration and Refugee Resettlement in the United States

Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in a Changing America (Lexington Books, 2005) is the first large-scale systematic examination of the effects of immigration, and the policy and programmatic responses to immigration, in areas of new settlement for immigrants in the United States. During the 1990s, a small but growing number of immigrants and refugees began to move into new settlement areas such as Winchester, VA, Greensboro, NC, Atlanta, GA, the Twin Cities, MN, Rogers, AK, and Salt Lake City, UT. Immigration and refugee patterns also began to influence each other, as successful resettlement of refugee populations in places such as North Carolina attracted secondary immigrants, immigrants who move to and then within the United States. The changed pattern of immigration and refugee resettlement means that migrants and refugees are entering societies unused to dealing with newcomers who speak a different language and have different customs.

Edited by Elzbieta Gozdziak and Susan Martin, Beyond the Gateway explores the new patterns of settlement and discusses what they mean for the immigrants/refugees themselves and the host communities to which they have moved. Using a concept of integration that uses sustained interaction between and among newcomers and host communities as a benchmark, Beyond the Gateway examines the state of integration in the communities to which immigrants and refugees have begun to move, identifies areas of concern or success, and outlines challenges for the future. Beyond the Gateway also bridges the gaps in communication between both immigrants and the institutions with which they interact and the diverse communities across the United States dealing with the same stresses of immigration but ignorant of each other’s successes or failures. Beyond the Gateway concludes with best practices that assist in or limit this integration process. As such, says David Griffith of East Carolina University, it “will provide scholars and community leaders alike with the analytical and practical tools needed to understand how new immigration and new immigrants are likely to change a nation, enhance a future, and challenge minds.”

On May 20, 2005, 38 students from six different Georgetown master’s and law programs received Certificates in Refugees and Humanitarian Emergencies. The 2005 Certificate class is the largest class of Certificate graduates. This group of diverse and talented students also received degrees from the following programs: the Master of Science in Foreign Service (M.S.F.S.), the Juris Doctor (J.D.), the Master of Laws (LL.M.), the Master of Arts in Security Studies (M.A. in Security Studies), the Master of Public Policy (M.P.P), and the Master of Arts in Arab Studies (M.A.A.S). For brief biographies of the 2005 Certificate graduates, please visit the ISIM website at http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/isim/pages/Certificate.html.

The keynote speaker at the Certificate Commencement was retiring Professor and expert on humanitarian emergencies, Professor Charles B. Keely, the Herzberg Professor of International Migration. Excerpts from his speech, “Human Rights and Humanitarian Assistance and Protection,” are included to the right.

I am supposed to urge you to go out with your newly acquired knowledge and do great things. You learned well about refugee flows, refugee law, human rights and practical matters about assistance. The problem is the international community is poorly set up to allow effective prevention, protection or assistance activities.

[Since the early 1990s], the record has been poor to dismal: Bosnia and Kosovo, Somalia, Rwanda, the Congo. We still discuss Darfur, call it a genocide, and then discuss it some more. Meanwhile, in the Congo nearly four million people have died. Do we have to equal the Jewish holocaust of six million dead to get the international community to notice and take action? How did we get to such an impasse; what can we do about it; and what does it have to do with your graduation and Certificate ceremonies?

First, international action on behalf of refugees by states has usually and fundamentally been made for reasons of state and strategic interests, not humanitarianism. During the Cold War, after World War II displaced persons were settled, a dual refugee regime was developed by the international community. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees established in 1951 focused on refugees in the Third World. In the North, the Western Alliance set up its own regime of country-by-country programs to admit escapees from the Soviet orbit or other Communist-dominated countries. Asylum and resettlement from Communism in Europe and North America were part and parcel of the containment strategy dating to 1947.

Then the Soviet Empire collapsed. The strategic basis for a system designed to embarrass Soviets by encouraging and giving residence to escapees disappeared, while the system was feeling the pressure of very large and growing movements from Third World countries.

If we look at all the refugee incidents of the 1990s and after the turn of the millennium, one thing stands out. A fundamental aspect, a key determinant in virtually every case is major violations of human rights by one or more sides to a disagreement. Human rights violations are no longer a third or fourth order issue,
no longer are not a real international relations issue, no longer are not an issue of war and peace. And, the great powers may not want to be policemen, may not want to risk the soldiers and money. But, they have and they will. If not early, then later. While the nature of warfare is shifting under our noses and its outcome not clear in the instance of urban warfare in Iraq, we have spent billions on humanitarian assistance after the fact, billions on rebuilding.

What you need to do, both in the field and in policy development, in your career is to make a convincing case to political leaders that human rights is not just an issue of ethics but an issue of war and peace, and of global stability. Continued human rights violations will lead to more refugees and internally displaced persons, more instability around the globe and close to home for Europeans in the Balkans and the U.S. in Central America and northern South America.

The international community is in a quandary about how to act. Your challenge is to make the case that war, civil strife, economic backwardness, while real, are not the source of the problem. They are the expression of the denial of human rights, of contempt for other human beings. That world is fundamentally unstable and unsustainable. That is your challenge at this historical moment in the history of the international community’s response to refugees. You must work to convince governments and publics that it is their self interest and the interest of global stability to not permit human rights to be violated wholesale with impunity.

Congratulations to the 2005 Certificate Graduates

Huda Abdi Aden, M.S.F.S.
Günther von Billerbeck, M.S.F.S.
Adriana Boscov, M.S.F.S.
Melissa Chua, J.D.
Daniel A. Costa, LL.M.
Amalia Maria Costin, M.A. in Security Studies
Dennis Craythorn, J.D.
Pierce Michael Davis, M.S.F.S.
Jamie Ann Ekern, M.S.F.S.
Pamela Christine Erickson, M.S.F.S.
David Hartstone, M.S.F.S.
Margaret Burr Hendrickson, M.S.F.S.
Jennifer L. Hird, M.S.F.S.
Sarah Birgitta Kanafani, M.S.F.S.
Michael Keller, B.S.F.S./ M.S.F.S.
Stacy Jeanne Kosko, M.S.F.S.
Leah Krauss, M.S.F.S.
Elizabeth Lang, M.S.F.S.
Theresa Lawson, J.D.
Glenna MacGregor, J.D.
Sarah Michelle Margon, M.S.F.S.
Magnea Marinosdottir, M.S.F.S.
Bushra Ismail Mukbil, M.S.F.S.
Michal Tamara Lacy Murphy, M.P.P.
Lauren Beth O’Brien, M.S.F.S.
Pritima Kassan O’Brien, LL.M.
Janet Elizabeth Phillips, M.P.P.
Alexis M. Pierce, M.A. in Security Studies
Aparna Polavarapu, J.D.
Heather Erin Powell, M.S.F.S.
Lorea Russell, M.S.F.S.
Claudia Slavin, J.D.
Helki G. Spidle, J.D.
Nicholas David Stein, J.D.
John Giffen Warner, M.A.A.S.
Taylor White, M.S.F.S.
Congratulations to Graduates of Managing Complexity 2004

The “Managing Complexity” training program for mid-career professionals consists of a three-week intensive core course in Washington, D.C., followed by up to six months of continuing education through distance learning. In the distance-learning component of the program, participants develop an individual project in coordination with an ISIM mentor that will allow them to apply the skills learned in the core course while assisting their organization meet a specific challenge. The results of these projects have been written into papers published on the ISIM website. Topics from 2004 include the relevance of new technologies to humanitarian work, new ways to approach the relief-development dichotomy, emergency preparedness, and the applicability and dissemination of traditional humanitarian aid principles. Papers from 2004 are available on the web at http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/programs/isim/pages/ManagingComplexity.html.

Graduates

Roberto Alvarado, CARE (El Salvador)
Arthur Amay Andambi, Government of Kenya (Kenya)
Emilienne Anikpo N’Tame, World Health Organization (Switzerland)
Gawaher Atif, World Food Program (Zimbabwe)
Dilli Raman Dhakal, Community Study and Welfare Center (Nepal)
Mamadou Pethe Diallo, United Nations Population Fund (Sierra Leone)
Ciaran Donnelly, International Rescue Committee (Uganda)
Nicole Gaertner, United States Department of State (USA)
Jean-Claude Gasana, CARE (Rwanda)
Sally Gregory, United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (Afghanistan)
Mirkka Henttonen, United Nations Population Fund (Switzerland)
Sylvester Kalonge, CARE (Malawi)
Jean Enokou Koffi, United Nations Population Fund (Côte d’Ivoire)
Husnul Ma’ad, Mercy Corps (Indonesia)
Marijn Noordam, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (Sudan)
Kate Peacock, CARE (Iraq)
Sanda Richtmann, Catholic Relief Services (Bosnia)
Mohammad Farid Safi, CARE (Afghanistan)
Firoz Verjee, FOCUS Humanitarian Assistance (USA)
News from Fritz Institute

Each year Fritz Institute hosts the Humanitarian Logistics conference, a forum for discussion of the changes, challenges and opportunities in humanitarian logistics. The 2005 conference, held in April brought together 50 logistics leaders from the largest international humanitarian organizations. Among the topics discussed this year were the logistics lessons learned from the Tsunami, the importance of technology to humanitarian logistics and the role of a professional association to serve as a community of practice. For more on the 2005 Humanitarian Logistics Association, please see [http://www.fritzinstitute.org/programs_hlc2.html](http://www.fritzinstitute.org/programs_hlc2.html).

Fritz Institute has just released its survey on the dynamics of the humanitarian relief supply chain associated with the December 2004 Tsunami. *Logistics and the Effective Delivery of Humanitarian Relief* found that the relief requirements from this unprecedented destruction brought the importance of logistics in the delivery of humanitarian aid into the spotlight. This survey reflects the experiences of about 100 logisticians from 18 of the world’s largest humanitarian organizations. For more information, please see [http://www.fritzinstitute.org/features/tsunami_sect/TsunamiLogistics0605.pdf](http://www.fritzinstitute.org/features/tsunami_sect/TsunamiLogistics0605.pdf).

As a result of the Tsunami experience during which many organizations stated that they had inadequate tracking tools to coordinate their relief effort, Fritz Institute has begun to develop an ASP-based Humanitarian Supply Chain solution designed for use in the field. This product, in production, focuses on the tracking and tracing of goods from the appeal to the End Distribution Points. It is designed to be cost effective for small organizations that may not have the resources necessary to support an enterprise solution requiring their own servers and other hardware.

About Fritz Institute

Fritz Institute addresses complex challenges in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to vulnerable people around the world by collaborating with the private and academic sectors to mobilize expertise, technology and resources. For additional information visit [www.fritzinstitute.org](http://www.fritzinstitute.org).