## Introduction to Symposium

## T. Alexander Aleinikoff,† Ian M. Kysel†† & Monette Zard†††

A little over one year ago, the scope and scale of the COVID-19

† T. Alexander Aleinikoff is University Professor at The New School and has served as Director of the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility since January 2017. He received a J.D. from the Yale Law School and a B.A. from Swarthmore College. Aleinikoff has written widely in the areas of immigration and refugee law and policy, transnational law, citizenship, race, and constitutional law. Aleinikoff is a co-author of leading legal casebooks on immigration law and forced migration. Before coming to The New School, Aleinikoff served as United Nations Deputy High Commissioner for Refugees (2010-15) and was a professor at Georgetown University Law Center, where he also served as dean and Executive Vice President of Georgetown University. He was cochair of the Immigration Task Force for President Barack Obama's transition team in 2008. From 1994 to 1997, he served as the general counsel, and then executive associate commissioner for programs, at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Aleinikoff was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 2014.

†† Ian Matthew Kysel is a Visiting Assistant Clinical Professor of Law at Cornell Law School. He is the founder and director of the Cornell Law School Transnational Disputes Clinic and of the International Migrants Bill of Rights (IMBR) Initiative, codirects the Asylum and Convention Against Torture Appellate Clinic and is a core faculty member in the Migration and Human Rights Program. He is also a non-resident fellow at the Zolberg Institute for Migration and Mobility at The New School. His scholarship has focused on the rights of migrants, children's rights and the domestic implementation of international human rights law in the U.S. Kysel previously held appointments at the University of Oxford and at the Georgetown University Law Center, Kysel has written and edited several human rights reports; his opinion articles have appeared in The New York Times, The Washington Post and The New Humanitarian. Kysel has argued or participated in litigation before international tribunals as well as U.S. immigration, federal and state courts. He has provided testimony to various legislative bodies and commissions. Kysel was previously a staff attorney at the ACLU of Southern California. He also served as the Aryeh Neier Fellow at both the National ACLU and Human Rights Watch and practiced in Shearman & Sterling's International Arbitration Group and its Public International Law Practice. Kysel holds an LLM in Advocacy, with distinction, a JD, Magna Cum Laude, Order of the Coif, and a Certificate in Refugees and Humanitarian Emergencies from Georgetown University Law Center. He holds a BA, with high honors, Phi Beta Kappa, from Swarthmore College.

††† Monette Zard is an expert on forced migration and human rights, and her career has spanned the fields of policy, advocacy and philanthropy. She has served as the Global Human Rights Program Officer at the Ford Foundation in New York and as Research Director at the International Council on Human Rights Policy in Geneva, Switzerland, a think tank focused on applied human rights research. Her work there explored issues of political violence and the human rights obligations of armed groups, economic and social rights and human smuggling. From 2000-2003, she was a Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. and held a visiting research fellowship in law at the Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford University. Prior to that, she directed the international refugee work of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, where her work focused on the use of legal strategies to strengthen refugee protection in Africa and the particular issue of how international law should deal with refugees and asylum-seekers accused of serious international crimes. She has consulted on international human rights and forced migration issues for a number of organizations, including Amnesty International, the Brookings

pandemic was becoming apparent, as first China, and then Italy and the United States grappled with the spread of the virus. We began to witness a number of trends in national responses that raised profound implications for all of us, but in particular for migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers.

First was the reflexive and default response on the part of States to unilaterally close international borders and limit mobility, both international and internal. Second, we saw attempts by politicians to assign a nationality to the virus and to scapegoat certain groups, usually foreigners or marginalized groups. There have been many examples of stigma and xenophobic violence during the current pandemic, which the UN Secretary-General has described as a "tsunami of hate." And third was the sense, in those early days, by States and even amongst the general public, that to battle a public health emergency, anything was permissible in terms of restrictions on rights and civil liberties.

These troubling developments made apparent the need for a human rights-based approach to State responses to the pandemic. It was not just the "right" thing to do; it was, and continues to be, a necessary part of an effective public health strategy, both to build predictability into the response—to the extent that it can be cabined within the boundaries of State commitments and duties—and to ensure that everyone in society feels safe being voluntarily tested, treated and vaccinated.

A group of international lawyers came together to spell out some key human rights principles that should guide policy responses to the pandemic. These "14 Principles," as they have become known, garnered over 1,000 signatures from legal and migration scholars across the globe, endorsing the document as an authoritative restatement of the law, and have been translated into multiple languages.

To some degree, the *14 Principles* have served as an effective tool in advocacy and outreach. They have, for example, been <u>invoked</u> by the United Nations Secretary-General. But significant encroachments on human rights have not abated. Restrictions on cross-border movement, though eased to some extent, remain in place throughout much of the world. These measures fall with particular harshness on asylum-seekers who are denied access to territories in which they seek safety and protection from *refoulement*. Also, in many States, refugees and other migrants continue to be excluded from medical treatment and pandemic-related benefit programs or have difficulty accessing them.

Equally important, as the pandemic and responses to it have evolved, new challenges to fundamental rights of refugees and migrants have arisen. Central among these is nondiscriminatory access to vaccines. COVID-19 has also been the impetus for new forms of bio-surveillance, particularly as an aspect of border control, which raises fundamental issues of the right to privacy, among others. And an emerging issue—not foreseen in the drafting of the 14 Principles—is whether States may condition admission on proof of vaccination or whether such measures would violate the right to refuse medical treatment.

The four papers in this Symposium, some of them written by co-authors of the *14 Principles*, along with two closing essays, take up these challenges and provide new thinking on the scope of the human rights of refugees and other migrants in a pandemic. They should also be of relevance to conscientious government policy-makers as they continue to fashion responses to COVID-19. These papers were also the subject of a three-day symposium jointly hosted in the spring of 2021 by the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility at The New School, the Migration and Human Rights Program at Cornell Law School, and the Program on Forced Migration and Health at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health (the recordings of which can be viewed here, here and here).

We would like to thank symposium authors for the opportunity to edit their work and the editors of the *Cornell International Law Journal* for their partnership in publishing the Symposium.