

IOM IDM @ UN

Gregory A. Maniatis Remarks

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1. My sincere thanks to Bill Swing for inviting me to join a
2. We are meeting on an anniversary that reminds us, in many ways, of the reason why we're here today.
3. On April 18, 2015, two years ago, 800 children, women, and men died when their boat sunk in the Mediterranean. They had been locked below deck by smugglers and couldn't escape; just 26 survived. Since then, nearly 10,000 more have perished.
4. We're here because of them. That tragedy triggered the Mediterranean crisis as we know it, with all the human suffering and political ramifications that have come since.
5. It also set us down the path to the UN Summit last September, which concluded with the New York Declaration and the agreement to negotiate a Global Compact on Refugees and a Global Compact on Migration.
6. [Pause]
7. I imagine most of you know Peter Sutherland.
8. When Kofi appointed him in January 2006, he called Peter a "romantic pragmatist"—said this was what the position demanded. This says a lot about both Kofi and Peter.
9. What did he mean by this?
10. By romantic, I think Kofi was evoking Peter's ability to look past the immediate moment, and whatever constraints it implied, to imagine a better future.
11. I'd also like to think it referred to Peter's faith in the people around him, and in their capacity to do more than what they thought might be possible.
12. It was his romanticism that let him look past John Bolton in March 2016, when the latter told him that he would never allow

- the Global Forum on Migration and Development to come into existence.
13. Kofi also called Peter a pragmatist. I've never taken this in its traditional sense when it comes to Peter.
 14. Certainly, he is highly aware of what is politically viable.
 15. But he never defined viability in the moment—he tried to understand what was needed to keep our societies institutionally stable and vibrant *over time*.
 16. And in his assessment of what is viable, he always figured in maximum personal responsibility—his own and those of the people around him—to do everything within their powers to deliver.
 17. He believed profoundly in institutions, but he knew that those institutions needed individuals to lead and leverage them.
 18. Which brings us to this moment.
 19. This is a moment for Peter's style of romantic pragmatism.
 20. Peter's mission is complete.
 21. He brought migration into the UN, with some controversy for sure, but definitively.
 22. He persisted even when migration seemed to have fallen off the agenda or to be a poisonous pursuit.
 23. He also did it the right way. Gradually.
 24. Through the Global Forum on Migration & Development, he built trust and common understanding.
 25. He then gradually created the basis for common action—through the Migrants in Countries in Crisis Initiative, and above all by ensuring the presence of migrants and refugees in the 2030 Agenda, and by proposing and fiercely advocating for the UN Summit on Migrants & Refugees.

26. His last achievement, the one that framed his entire tenure, from his first conversation with Kofi, was strengthening the UN's capacity by making IOM part of this house.
27. But that is not enough. The IOM implements. You decide.
28. We've spent 11 years on process and institution-building. Now we have to deliver. Otherwise, the relevance of the UN and multilateralism will be subverted.
29. It would be easy to say today that Trump and other populists have constrained our room for action.
30. We could simply take our existing commitments—in the NYD, the 2030 Agenda, etc.—rephrase them and call it a day.
31. Many of you have seen the Sutherland Report.
32. There are 16 recommendations built on one basic insight: sovereignty is best ensured through cooperation.
33. In the absence of such cooperation, criminals have taken control. Unscrupulous employers subvert labor conditions for all workers.
34. The road to order runs through multilateralism and cooperation.

1. I truly wish Peter could have been here with us, but he fell ill in September and is not yet able to engage in work.
2. If he were here, I know he would issue a rousing call to all of us.
3. This is not a moment to pause or to argue amongst ourselves—and we've seen too much of that this fall.
4. It's a moment for individual and collective responsibility, for individual and collective action.
5. I've been involved in the migration debate in this house since 2002, when Kofi Annan and Michael Doyle first put it on the agenda, and never has there been a time more fraught with peril—for this institution, for our communities, for migrants—than today.
6. But oddly, because of the threats we face, there's also real potential. There's a latent will to respond to the closing of borders and the losing of minds.
7. It is up to all of us to channel that will, to vigorously debate and then to decide on a course of action. This is what people are expecting of us.
8. Today, this leadership is needed more than ever before—not only because the scale of migration has grown, but because migration has become a fiercely contested and divisive political issue.
9. What started several years ago as a manageable humanitarian crisis...quickly became an existential crisis for the EU...and is now a generational threat to the post-WWII international order.
10. In this respect, today is harder than yesterday, and tomorrow will be harder still. Anti-migrant populism is the cheap fuel propelling the rise of the authoritarian regimes.
11. The UN, and the IOM, will come under attack in the coming months and years.
12. We are at the beginning, not the end, of a wave of anti-globalization, anti-universalist populism.

13. For many people around the world, migrants are the face of globalization, and the UN is the face of universalism. Our issues, in other words, are in the crosshairs.
14. The response of this organization, and of the multilateral system writ large, must be to show that international cooperation is indispensable in meeting the needs of member states, in protecting the rights of migrants, and promoting the wellbeing of the communities that receive them, and the communities they leave behind.
15. Unfortunately, this progress at the international level has occurred in parallel with serious backsliding on states' commitment to international norms (refugee protection) and a surge in unilateralism (opening or closing of borders) that has fanned mistrust.
16. Many governments face enormous political pressure to curb migration (under attack from populists) and are intensely focused on short-term measures, while many publics have lost confidence that their leaders are up to the task.
17. The answer cannot be more of the same. (Neither from States nor the UN.)
18. It is, in other words, a moment of redefinition for all the main actors:
 - a. IOM above all
 - b. GMG agencies and the GMG collectively
 - c. And of course the GFMD
19. This responsibility falls to GSB and Germany, the 10th GFMD chair.
20. The GFMD has been the enabler of progress over the past decade.
21. It also has had weaknesses—broaden its constituency, work more closely with capitals.

22. But it remains best engine for generating a common understanding of the problems we face among states, IOs, civil society.
23. It must now bring that strength to the GC process.
24. I know Germany has plans, long-considered ones.
25. But you should now seize the moment.
26. We need consensus building on the GC, and the GFMD is a crucial source for this.
27. Last year, Peter and his team embarked on the drafting of a report that we hope can serve as a roadmap for such action. It will be released next month, but today I want to share with you an overview of the recommendations featured in the report.
28. We believe these are highly relevant to the upcoming global compact consultations and negotiations.

The Report: A decade of progress

29. Report comes after 11-years of Peter's service as SRSG. Its intention is to chart concrete avenues for progress for states and the UN system– working closely with other stakeholders.
30. We cannot afford to spend the next two years simply renegotiating existing commitments, or on high-flying, but un-tethered rhetoric.

What would an ambitious Global Compact look like?

31. The Compact should identify common goals for migration management and establish a global framework, including shared principles and minimum standards to guide future inter-regional, regional and bilateral migration agreements in key areas.
32. In order to meet the interests of all parties, it would likely need to combine substantive opportunities for (temporary) legal movement with cooperation on immigration enforcement and return, and financial support for development and governance capacities in origin countries.

The Report: 3 compacts x 5 priorities

33. The report makes recommendations pertaining to five policy priorities:

- a. Improving protection for migrants, and coordination in crisis movements
- b. Creating opportunities for labor mobility
- c. Enhancing orderliness through return and reintegration
- d. Promoting inclusion and development
- e. Strengthening governance capacities

Protection and crisis movements

34. Define who needs what kind of protections (develop guiding principles) with special attention to children
35. Strengthen capacities to assist migrants (network of assistance centers, consular cooperation)
36. Establish legislative framework for and agreements around legal pathways so people can move in a safe and orderly way

Opportunities for labor and skills mobility

37. Reduce recruitment costs for migrant workers; improve access to finance, advance recruitment regulation using incentives, and promote consolidation in the recruitment industry
38. Facilitate conclusion of migration agreements: develop model contracts and agreements; technical support capacity; platform for negotiating regional and bilateral agreements; alliance of origin countries
39. Strengthen knowledge exchange and partnerships around skills development, certification and recognition

Return and reintegration

40. Start dialogue to develop principles governing international cooperation on return and reintegration (GFMD, RCPs, IOM)

Inclusion and development

41. Protection of fundamental rights and access to basic social services for all migrants, regardless of migration status (health, education, shelter)
42. Portability of earned social benefits, in particular health care (benefits design, bilateral agreements)
43. Improve remittance markets and financial inclusion to fight poverty (access to financial services at origin and destination; competition in remittances markets; risk-based financial regulation)
44. Alternative proof of legal ID for migrants (universal registration at national and local levels; explore internationally portable ID)

Governance capacities

45. The report highlights 5 areas where a strengthened UN system must perform better:

- a. Anticipating and reacting quickly to movements in crisis;
- b. Speaking with one voice to deliver political messages;
- c. Supporting and monitoring the implementation of the SDG commitments;
- d. Supporting “soft law” development and the formulation of common standards; and
- e. Working towards the conclusion of new, issue-specific treaties

46. Plus:

- a. Data and monitoring (SDGs; big data; rights database)
- b. Financial and technical support to enable countries to deliver on their commitments (global facility) bundling contributions from states, IFIs, regional development banks, private sector/foundations
- c. Support for cities and their networks: empowerment (decentralize responsibilities and resources), inclusion in policy deliberation at national and international levels,

d. Coherence and transparency at the national level: policy coordination bodies and engagement of parliaments

Process

47. Governments need to adopt a ‘whole-of-government approach’ going forward (including different ministries and levels of government) and to bring civil society and private sector partners along if they are to succeed (deliver on their commitments).
48. Progress must not wait for universal agreement: Small coalitions of states and other stakeholders can take things forward now, attract others, and move the consensus along.
49. In fact, many of the recommendations of the Sutherland Report could be pursued now, and be developed into well-considered, broadly consulted draft operational agreements by the time we reach 2018.
50. Working in this spirit of solving problems now is the best response to the assault on universal ideals and multilateralism that is taking place today.
51. We find ourselves at one those decisive crossroads in history when we as individuals cannot assume that others—governments, international institutions, political leaders—will quell the danger.
52. Each of us now bears the responsibility to act. The Sutherland Report offers us a roadmap for such action.