

## Immigration and Security European Challenges and International Perspectives

Lecture Rita Süßmuth

Member, Global Commission on International Migration, Berlin

25.03.06

Dear participants of this conference,

dealing with immigration and security - global security, national security -, I am not a specialist of security, but during the last ten years I got more and more a specialist for migration and integration, and perhaps I have to say in addition I came from woman's issues. Over years I was working in this area and I learned a lot about inclusion and exclusion, and I learned a lot about hidden potentials not discovered potentials, and I learned a lot of ... keys, and discrimination. So, it's not so unusual, that you enlarge your own area - it's the main topic for me how to avoid these kinds of weakness and to bring empowerment to individuals, how to avoid exclusion. And in which way can we do much more than we did in the past, to live together in different cultures.

So, when you deal with immigration and security - in most countries and I would tell you some issues of the global commission and at the same time I tried to discuss: what is the case in the European Union. In a lot of countries you can see: it's the security, the national, the international security for the citizens but it's very little the discussion about the security of the migrants. And, therefore, I think, what is the, perhaps, what is important of what we have done in the Global Commission, you will not find new topics. You have to deal with irregular migration, with migration and work, with migration and integration, with migration policy and development policy.

So you see where we have a big chapter. Which are the principals, what is going on in the area of human rights? Our approach is a two-fold-one. On the one side you need a principal basis, and there our basis was human rights. And then you have at the same time a pragmatic approach because you are working on the recommendations for the international community and the national governments, individual states.

And that means, you have to take in account both. What is the basis, what is the direction? And this is also the title of this global commission report: new directions, for action. And at the end of my speech I'll come back: which are the guide-lines for what you are doing where ever you live? The different approach is the following: that I can say, our main question was how can we change the topics in a way that we create a win-win-situation for both, for the migrants as well or for the receiving as the sending countries. And which are the necessities to get in this direction?

I think, for us it was very important to have not only in our mind, what was very focussed by Kofi Anan at the Commission, to work for Kofi Anan and deliver the report on the 5<sup>th</sup> of October last year, with nineteen members from all continents. It was not only the demographic question, because believe me, it's very important: when you reduce the opportunity, the chances and the risks for the whole migration policy on demographic developments, it will be very one-sided and very short-sided. Because one of our assumptions is: even if there would be no demographic problem, there would be migration - for different reasons. So, don't reduce the problem on demographic reasons. That's one important reason for more and more industrial countries but it is only one reason, and we never assumed, that you can solve the problems of aging and shrinking populations by immigration.

But when you think in terms of globalisation: migration is the other side of globalisation, it's part of globalisation. And we have to do with the world-wide migration, there is nearly no state which is not concerned with migration. There are two millions ... migrants round the world. We say about 9 to 10 million refugees, and of course you have all the statistics saying you most they try to get in the richer countries - that's true -, 60 percent are in Europe or United States, the traditional immigration countries, and of course these people who are very, very poor even those who have the opportunity to migrate, coming what we call middle classes. I would say from those families or social groups which collect money to bring one of them to a saver and more prospered country, to take care for the others. So, there is from the beginning a linkage between the home country and the receiving country, and what we forget in most cases: 52 percent of these migrants are woman. In my country that was ignored for a long time, and most of them are migrating separately, independently and many of them leave their family behind. That's the problem we don't discuss very little. There is brain-drain and circulating-drain but we don't treat all the families. I will not speak only about what happened in Europe, but when you travel around in Asia - a country like China has 120 millions migrants - intern and extern, and a lot of them don't see their families once a year, twice a year and the majority has children. So we have to see the complexity within in the world-wide

migration going on and increasing. And of course we have in our industrial countries a lot of irregular migration, but also in the developing countries. There are different reasons but the majority still of all refugees leaving their countries because of war, natural catastrophes, hunger, persecution, are living in the neighbourhood. And therefore, when I see the figures in Europe dealing with refugees, I have to say: we have a policy to reduce from year to year the group of refugees. Look, what happened in Germany in the year 1992, 1993, when we said those persons who got already a stay in a safe country, there it begins what is a safe country, there are very little strict standards for that, they can't ask for asylum in another country of the European Union. So, we have the lowest figure in Germany we ever had. You see, up to now I speak very little about security and let me start therefore with the security of migrants, trying to leave their country and to get in a safer country with better live-conditions.

The estimations are at least two thousand people are dying every year, because they try to migrate. And what happened in the last months from those African migrants and in the last fortnight there was only one thousand within a week? So, they don't have security, and it's an international task, a task of the European Union and of the community of national governments following our international human rights to give them security. It's not only for legal migrants because you see we avoided in our report the term 'illegal', a human being can't be illegal. But the access to a country can't be regular or irregular; therefore we have chosen the word 'irregular', not illegal. Most countries have in all their official documents illegal. I learned this from a well known advocating personality, Mary Robison. She really was the member in our group fighting for these kinds of approaches. You know first it starts in your brain, in your mind and then by wording you express what is important and what makes the difference.

The main question since September 2001 is now security. There is a legal and a necessary need of each state to look for security, on the national level but we learn quickly, you can do it alone. It's the same for migration no single state is any longer capable to find solutions only on the national level. That's one of the reasons why we have to look for new structures and management and policy making, not only for management but for better governments. It's not sufficient to speak only in terms of management, it's much more, it's really a government and then you have to look for management. And what are the impacts of ninth of eleven? In my opinion, and that's not only the case for the United States, it's nearly a world-wide reaction, but the reaction is of course stronger in Europe as in Asia. But that depends on which state in the Asian area you are needing or speaking off. So there is a tendency - some are saying no migrants at all, but if migrants they should

come from East Europe, from European context. They shouldn't come; there is a really campaign hidden and open against Moslems. That's you know this kind of sometimes hysteric reactions instead of making a difference, seeing the complexity that you have in Europe about between the estimations are saying between fifteen and twenty million Moslems. So are three millions in Germany, six millions in France, that's already nine millions. I think it's a responsibility for all of us not only to follow hunting, because when you follow the press in Germany in the last weeks there is more hunting than it should be done in a responsible way. And a lot of people don't know that there is a second book, the first book was the clash of civilization main group Moslems. Now, there is a second book and hunting the changing those opinion. Now it's not the Moslems but the main risk and he describes and than analyses the situation for America once more. Those are the black people, the Africans and the Hispanics. So you see we know that islamists in a fundamentalistic way are using religion and are using conflicts for their own power but it's very dangerous to instrumentalize religion. But you will have a special entity today for religion and identity. We have to take it seriously and there is not only a Moslem fundamentalistic approach; you have similar tendencies now in Christian fundamentalism. And we have new nationalistic waves - all these waves are perhaps not, in a way, I can't explain it so, that it is really sufficient but believe me, more people are uncertain of their existence and their future more they look where are the reasons and in which way we can instrumentalize religion and ...essity and so on. And therefore I think when you deal with security you have to work on the conflicts, believe me it's not sufficient to look at the border control. You will not solve the problem by a strong and stronger border control! That's insufficient. That's what in Europe the dominant approach is. How we can protect our borders so that nobody can get in as a non wished person. You need to work on the conflicts and to let people more learn about the different cultures, that's the problem not only in Germany, most of the countries they are not familiar, they live side by side and then we are criticising the migrants that they separate themselves from the society, mainstreams. It's more complex and more complicated.

Security will for instance increase when the situation, the social and economical situation, will improve different areas of the world. So migrants in the different countries contribute a lot to reduce conflicts in their home countries by their relationship but especially because they improve more than all other institutions and organisations the private situation of their families and not in this narrow concept of families but in the broader concept of families. Over years there was never any approach to the remittances, nowadays only the registered, that means remittances done by the

official way of the banks are more than 200 buildings. Two and a half more than all what is done by the World Bank and all the others international organisations and the bilateral development help. So this kind of reducing problems in the home countries bringing investors, looking and supporting democracy or democratic developments, establish a civil society - all that seems to be forgotten that their special contributions of migrants as well in our receiving countries as in their home countries. In most countries you find this way of saying: yes they can come, they get stay. But they can't come and go home and come back, it's all for long stay, for even later immigration. The world changed a lot when it deals with migration that would be learned in the different continents because we made a lot of hearings in each continent. What are the changes? It's no longer the one type of emigration to immigration, you have more and more circulating migration, you start in one country for instance it's very little known that for example ethnic Germans come from the former Soviet Union, are staying a short time in Germany perhaps they had in mind to stay here but then because they don't find appropriate integration and education and then labour in the labour force or in the culture. They migrate to Canada, to United States or to Australia or New Zealand. So and where you have different groups - that was the same for Kosovo refugees, a lot of them migrated to Canada. That doesn't mean that they stay in Canada, that's what because circulating and migrating and a lot of polish people during the cold war lived in United States and we don't imagine what we know are twelve millions. So only few Europeans do know this and they don't understand certain political decisions in Poland. You have to know more about this kind of relationship, this kind of migration. And we need new regulations for temporary migration. Another example I'll give you, when there was a chance in Afghanistan to reconstruct the country only naturalized Afghans in Germany, German citizen could go there. It would have been better to open - to give the opportunity, let them go there but give them at the same time the protection that they can go back because what happened afterwards in Afghanistan was quite different from a save country. So these kind of approach what are we doing with temporary migrants changing from home country to the receiving country in both directions up to now. Most countries don't have regulations for that. And you need it when you will really combine migration and development policy.

The next point is that we need in our globalized world, in our complex world in exchange cooperation with people from different cultures, so from different continents. Migration policy saying we will only have people from Europe is punishing them selves because they don't profit from the richness of diversity. So to have a different look on solutions, we know this from research, we know this from culture and we know this from project dealing

with environment. Nations who block this kind of exchange are less dynamic, less creative than those who practice this openness. That was the very important approach of the global commission to look at the richness of human potential. And not to allow them to come to work, to participate - that will reduce human potential not enlarge it. So that's the case for education, for work, for research - for the different areas of our life. That means, when you look for migrant workers - I think worker is just the word we are still practicing and will not be appropriate to all the people really coming. Now we have this criteria we need the best heads, high qualified people. But believe me what we learn around the world is we need high qualified, we need qualified and what we shouldn't do is, and that's the problem, when you only ask for unskilled people and that was the main mistake in Germany during the fifties, sixties and the early seventies. A lot of illiterates, a lot of unskilled people when you take them as we did for unskilled work and these jobs will then be embellished than you have to qualify them. The problems in a lot of European countries are the problems of the past being those nowadays but they are less the problems of the present and the future. But you will always have a mix. And there is another wrong distinction: refugees here - migrant workers there. This split is not a ...ed one, because all these are human beings, they're coming from perhaps for different reason, but they all hope to be integrated, and for the German practice, not to allow them to work, and there we had different periods, the longest one was six years, not to allow them to have access to the labour force, that creates a lot of exclusion, of separation and of not belonging to.

And when we know from all the international research - education and work are the most important criteria's for integration because you will have very little participation in this civil society when there both are not given. So work is a main and very important area of integration. And it's true for refugees as well as for labour migration.

And then you have this point: what is with the irregulars? First criteria: they are human beings and following our international law and regulations, they need human protection not only for health but also for housing, for education. So we have a long debate in Germany since years, if they have access to education, they don't have to accept two countries. That's human right.

And this kind of integration in education, in work, in the civil society has a high importance for security. Because when you look only at the fundamentalists and at the criminals, then I have to say: We have problems with youth criminality but it's especially among those groups with no perspective for their life. And if it is ethnic Germans what we call 'Spätaussiedler' or if it is other groups - there is no difference why and

how they get criminals. So you see that was what we discussed in the Global Commission. We are not neglecting security and migration and the threats and the ...ies of the people but we said: have a broader approach to it. And can't bring a report of the whole, of all aspects we dealt with but these are the most important one how we come to integration and also when you - it will deal with religion then it is important how to live with diversity and to promote cohesion? And so I finish by giving you the main principals of our work and I would say the first principal was: people shouldn't migrate not because they are forced but it should be on the basis of voluntary migration. That means we have to reduce forced migration.

And then second, it's one of the guiding principals: We have to appreciate the contribution migrants are giving to our societies and recognizing their culture. Therefore, in our report we didn't promote assimilation, of course we said there is lot of taking over, but don't reduce the culture of the migrants they brought with them, bringing to the inter change and all historical studies we do have from the Hinduism, the Buddhism and other religions - it's at the long term an enrichment it's also true for Moslems and Christians. So look what this culture really is and how and in which way it change also and it's enrichment for both. And look at the same time at the countries of origin and the receiving countries. Of course, each state has a right to decide who should come, not come. But they have their obligations what human rights they rectified. We came to the result, at the moment we don't need new conventions. Perhaps there was one in these days: access to water as a human right. But what we need is implementation of human rights world-wide. That's what we suffer from.

Next principle: in all our societies we have to practice an integration policy of mutual recognition, of mutual change and of mutual working together. And perhaps when in all our state we would make less policy for migrants that was the same policy for woman, but with woman, with migrants. That's an important point - and perhaps one of the most important for integration.

And it's important to have open channels for migration, you will have more irregulars, less you have channels. And if your legislation is very strict against migrants you will have more irregulars. United States have a third irregulars out of 35 millions, you have 10 millions, but in Europe more and more you have big groups of irregulars we suppose in Germany between 500.000 and a million.

And finally it is the obligation of the states, of these different state holders, so the governments and the civil society to look for better governments and management for migration, and therefore the Global Commission

proposed: We need on the UN-level initiatives to have a better cooperation, coordination and improvement of migration policy. Thank you!

Applaus.