

PROJECT SYNDICATE

Making migration work for everyone



MD SHAHIDUL HAQUE

In a globalised world, migration is a fact of life that should be governed accordingly. To that end, it is time to establish what I call "Migration Order 3.0," a new framework that would make migration work for everyone.

Until World War II, transnational human mobility was subject to Migration Order 1.0: immigration controls were established solely at the national level by governments. After the war, international institutions such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the forerunner to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) were created to manage refugee and migrant flows, primarily from and within Europe. During this era of Migration Order 2.0, the movement of people across national borders was governed by mutually agreed norms, standards, and practices.

Large-scale cross-border movements of people, however, have exposed fault lines in that post-war framework. We now know that Migration Order 2.0 is inadequate to the task at hand. According to the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, most migrants tend to move within their own continents, and not necessarily toward the destinations that one would assume.

Moreover, interconnected global forces are ushering in a new phase of migration, defined by different dynamics than in the past. A global shift in the balance of power

has created new geopolitical tensions, and governance failures have led to armed conflicts and civil wars, violent extremist movements, and the rise of ultra-nationalism and populism in many countries. The world is experiencing a violent backlash against globalisation, rising inequality, and sudden labour-market disruptions.

Social inequities, humanitarian crises, demographic changes, and identity politics all pose a challenge to a development paradigm that was supposed to leave no one behind. At the same time, climate change and biodiversity loss are threatening to displace entire populations from vulnerable locations around the world.

In the past, the movement of people tended to follow four broad patterns: migration for work, education, and family; irregular migration, mostly due to human trafficking; cross-border displacements triggered by conflicts and natural disasters; and refugees fleeing persecution. But these four categories have increasingly begun to overlap, which places strain on a system that was designed to manage each type separately.

Today's mixed migratory patterns demand a more cohesive yet differentiated approach. The costs of maintaining the *status quo* in response to disorderly migration cannot be ignored. Growing anxieties among host populations are causing an unwarranted backlash, with far-reaching negative implications for economic and political systems. There is also a moral dimension to consider: migrants in all categories are increasingly vulnerable to abuse, owing to lack of access to resources and power.

Fortunately, there are realistic options



An exhausted Rohingya refugee woman touches the shore after crossing the Bangladesh-Myanmar border by boat through the Bay of Bengal, in Shah Porir Dwp, Bangladesh, on September 11, 2017.

PHOTO: REUTERS/DANISH SIDDIQUI

for improving migration governance. With objective information about migration and its consequences, we can dispel popular misperceptions and reduce social tensions. We can also design and implement policies that will secure the many benefits of migration. Investment in empowering migrants is a win-win proposition for everyone. The vicious cycle of migration,

economic hardship, and social backlash can be turned into a virtuous cycle of integration and economic growth.

Of course, all of this is easier said than done. National sovereignty and universal human rights can be difficult to reconcile. Governments struggle to strike a balance between realising the economic gains of migration, protecting native-born citizens'

interests, and ensuring national security. And it doesn't help that the capacity and resources for governing migration effectively are often in short supply.

Nonetheless, the international community is making progress toward overcoming these challenges. The UN Sustainable Development Agenda includes a specific target (Target 10.7) for optimising migration governance. And the new Global Compact on Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration (GCM) provides a non-binding framework to guide countries and other stakeholders toward a more comprehensive approach.

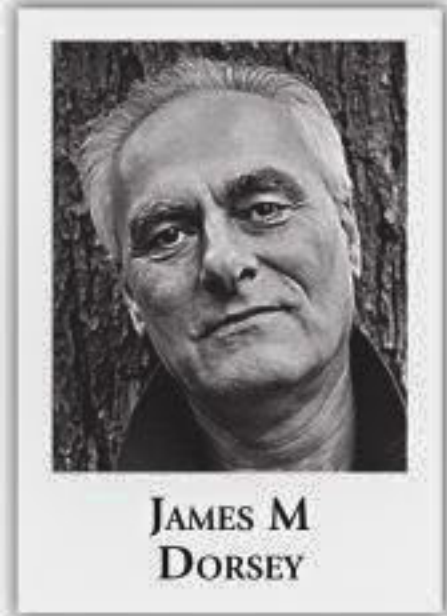
The GCM's implementation is being overseen by the IOM. Astute observers will note that the GCM's provisions are perfectly aligned with the principles and objectives that governments have already embraced under the Sustainable Development Agenda and the IOM's Migration Governance Framework. It does not offer a silver bullet, but it will serve as the blueprint for building a workable Migration Order 3.0.

The final text of the GCM was agreed only last year. As always, mustering a constructive multilateral effort will take political will. But the GCM promises to make migration work for everyone. The only question is how long it will take governments and other stakeholders to recognise it as a powerful tool for addressing the geopolitical dimensions of migration and unite around realising its potential.

Md Shahidul Haque is Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh.

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Saudi-Iranian rivalry polarises Nigerian Muslims



JAMES M DORSEY

A recent ban on a militant, Iranian-backed Shiite group raised the spectre of the Saudi-Iranian rivalry spilling onto Nigerian streets as security forces launched a manhunt to find the alleged Boko Haram operatives who killed

65 people attending a funeral. Nigeria, Africa's foremost oil producer, banned the Iranian-backed Islamic Movement of Nigeria (IMN) last week after demonstrations in the capital Abuja to free its leader, Ibrahim El-Zakzaky, turned violent. At least six people were killed.

"The Saudis watching the Iranians trying to break into northern Nigeria is almost like watching someone else try to befriend your best friend," said Ini Dele-Adedeji, a Nigerian academic at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, referring to the region's religious elites that have aligned themselves with the kingdom.

Saudi cables released in 2015 by WikiLeaks reveal concern about Iranian-funded Shiite expansion in West African and Sahel nations including Mali, Mauritania, Burkina Faso and Nigeria.

Mr Dele-Adedeji said Saudi and Iranian funding was "on the surface... about these countries helping out with 'charitable work' activities. But beyond that it's also a way for those countries to almost create extensions of themselves."

Mr El-Zakzaky, a Sunni Muslim student activist inspired by the 1979 Iranian revolution, initially agitated for a repeat in his native Nigeria. When that didn't work, Mr El-Zakzaky went to Iran, converted to Shiism, and started wearing the white turban of a Shiite cleric. Returning home in the 1990s, he became the leader of the Islamic Movement and turned it into a vehicle for proselytising and gaining followers.

Things got out of hand when Nigerian troops killed hundreds of Shiites in the ancient university town of Zaria in December 2015 and arrested Mr El-Zakzaky and

hundreds of his followers. The army accused the Shiite group of attempting to kill Nigeria's army chief-of-staff, a charge the movement denies.

Iran has been funding Mr El-Zakzaky for years and the area of Zaria he worked in became the "mecca for the dispossessed in Nigeria," according to Matthew Page, a former US State Department specialist on Nigeria. The Islamic Movement has been receiving about USD 10,000 a month from Iran, he estimated. Mr El-Zakzaky used the money to fund soup kitchens and homeless shelters, Mr Page said. "This was a very inexpensive way for Iran to have a toehold in Nigeria," he said.

Ghanem Nuseibeh, founder of the London-based Cornerstone Global Associates estimated that Mr El-Zakzaky's organisation operates more than 300 schools, Islamic

centres, a newspaper, guards and a "martyrs' foundation." The network is similar to welfare systems established elsewhere by Lebanese Shiite militia Hezbollah and other Iranian-backed groups.

The Nigerian government first declared the Islamic Movement a security threat in 2017, comparing it with the Boko Haram insurgency, according to Nigerian diplomats. Peregrino Brimah, a trained medical doctor who teaches biology, anatomy and physiology at colleges in New York, never gave much thought while growing up in Nigeria to the fact that clerics increasingly were developing links to Saudi Arabia.

"You could see the money, the big ones were leading the good life, they ran scholarship programmes. In fact, I was offered a scholarship to study at King Fahd

University in Riyadh. I never thought about it until December 2015 when up to a 1,000 Shiites were killed by the military in northern Nigeria. Since I started looking at it, I've realised how successful, how extraordinarily successful the Wahhabis have been," Mr Brimah said.

He decided to stand up for Shiite rights after the incident in which the military arrested Mr El-Zakzaky.

The Nigerian military said that it had attacked sites in Zaria after hundreds of Shia demonstrators had blocked a convoy of Nigeria's army chief General Tukur Yusuf Buratai in an effort to kill him. Military police said Shiites had crawled through tall grass towards General Buratai's convoy "with the intent to attack the vehicle with [a] petrol bomb" while others "suddenly resorted to firing gunshots from the direction of the mosque."

A phone call to Nigerian President Mohammed Buhari in which King Salman expressed his support for the government's fight against terrorist groups was widely seen as Saudi endorsement of the military's crackdown on the country's Shiite minority. The state-owned Saudi Press Agency quoted King Salman as saying that Islam condemned such "criminal acts" and that the kingdom, in a reference to Iran, opposed foreign interference in Nigeria.

Mr Brimah's defence of the Shiites has cost him dearly, illustrating the degree to which Saudi-funded ultra-conservatism and Iranian agitation has altered Nigerian society.

"I lost everything I had built on social media the minute I stood up for the Shiites. I had thousands of fans. Suddenly, I was losing 2-300 followers a day. My brother hasn't spoken to me since. The last thing he said to me is: 'how can you adopt Shiite ideology?' I raised the issue in a Sunni chat forum. It became quickly clear that these attitudes were not accidental. They are the product of Saudi-sponsored teachings of serious hatred. People don't understand what they are being taught. They rejoice when a thousand Shiites are killed. Even worse is the fact that they hate people like me who stand up for the Shiites even more than they hate the Shiite themselves," Mr Brimah said.



A man carrying an axe walks past a house marked with bullet holes in Gyallesu district after clashes between Shi'ites and the army in Zaria, Kaduna state, Nigeria, on February 3, 2016.

PHOTO: REUTERS

In response to Mr Brimah's writing about the clash, General Buratai invited him for a chat. Mr Brimah politely declined. When Mr Brimah reiterated his accusation, General Buratai's spokesman, Colonel SK Usman, adopting the Saudi line of Shiites being Iranian stooges, accused the scientist of being on the Islamic republic's payroll.

"Several of us hold you in high esteem based on perceived honesty, intellectual prowess and ability to speak your mind. That was before, but the recent incident... and subsequent events and actions by some groups and individuals such as you made one to have a rethink. I was quite aware of your concerted effort to smear the good name and reputation of the Chief of Army Staff to the extent of calling for his resignation," Colonel Usman said in an email to Mr Brimah that the activist shared with this writer.

General Buratai "went out of his way to write to you and even invited you for constructive engagement. But because you have dubious intents, you cleverly refused... God indeed is very merciful for exposing you. Let me make it abundantly clear to you that your acts are not directed to the person of the Chief of Army Staff, they have far reaching implication on our national security. Please think about it and mend your ways and refund whatever funds you coveted for the campaign of calumny," Colonel Usman said.

Mr Brimah's inbox has since then been inundated with anti-Shiite, anti-Iranian writings in what he believes is a military-inspired campaign. His predicament reflects the fallout of the Saudi-Iranian rivalry in West Africa as a result of Saudi and Iranian funding that has let the genie of intolerance, discrimination and bigotry out of the bottle.

Issoufou Yahaya, in the Sahel state of Niger, recalls his student days in the 1980s when there wasn't a single mosque on his campus. "Today, we have more mosques here than we have lecture rooms. So much has changed in such a short time," he said.

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QUOTABLE Quote



ERNEST HEMINGWAY (1899-1961)

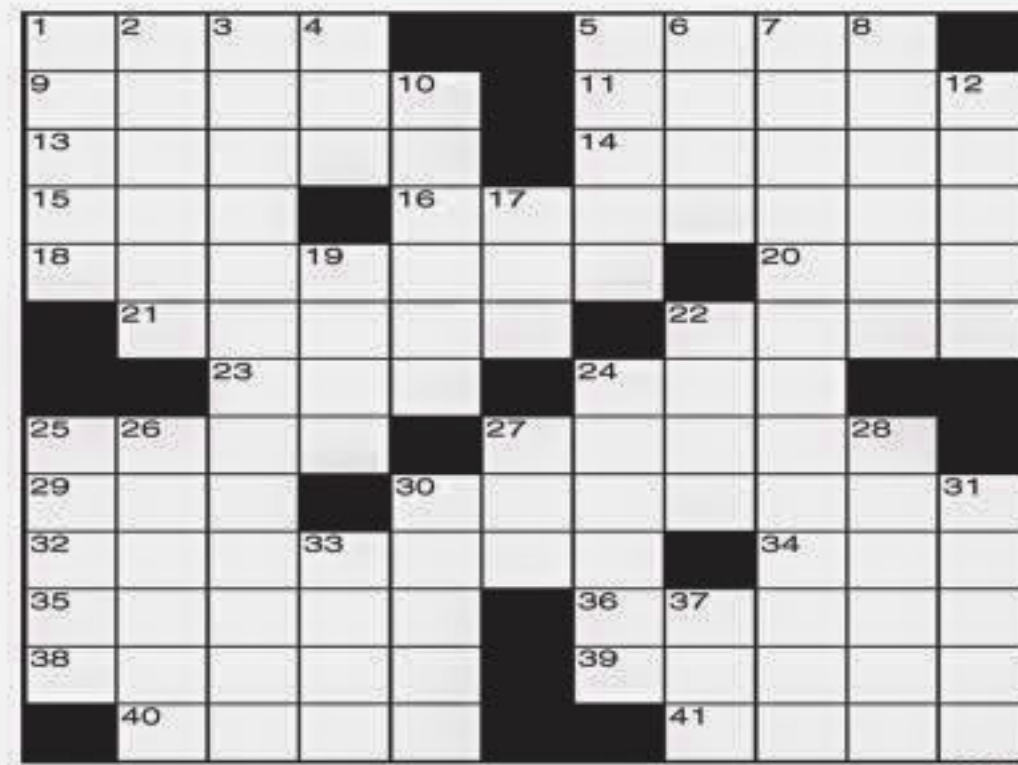
American journalist, novelist, short-story writer, and sportsman.

"The first panacea for a mismanaged nation is inflation of the currency; the second is war. Both bring a temporary prosperity; both bring a permanent ruin. But both are the refuge of political and economic opportunists."

CROSSWORD BY THOMAS JOSEPH

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|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ACROSS | 30 Boats and ships | 6 Fully developed |
| 1 Cuban | 32 Strikingly bright | 7 Store of data |
| 5 Sacred chests | 34 Slugger's need | 8 Try hard |
| 9 Outfit | 35 Some messages | 10 Read |
| 11 Milk buys | 36 Fill with joy | 12 Panache |
| 13 Russian coin | 38 Rodeo rope | 17 Is for two |
| 14 Left on a liner | 39 Intense beam | 19 Carpet fastener |
| 15 Grier of "Jackie Brown" | 40 Lewd look | 22 Holster fillers |
| 16 Track | 41 Laura of "Blue Velvet" | 24 Zero of film |
| 18 Height | | 25 Crude home |
| 20 Rap's -- Kim | DOWN | 26 Zoo resident |
| 21 Make blank | 1 Crime doers, in slang | 27 Kayo count |
| 22 Heredity unit | 2 Consider | 28 Christian of "Mr. Robot" |
| 23 Water cooler | 3 comparable | 30 Bravery |
| 24 Coffee, in slang | 3 Naval installation | 31 Boat back |
| 25 Slugger Aaron | 4 Well output | 33 Increase |
| 27 Salad servers | 5 With speed | 37 Young fellow |
| 29 Count start | | |

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YESTERDAY'S ANSWERS

M A G I C I L U R C H
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J E T L A G U S E
M O P E L E E S
M A N S P O T
O R E T E A B A G
D I S H R A G A B E
U N T I E I S S U E
L E A V E N E S T S
E R R E D N P O S E

BEETLE BAILEY

by Mort Walker



BABY BLUES

by Kirkman & Scott

