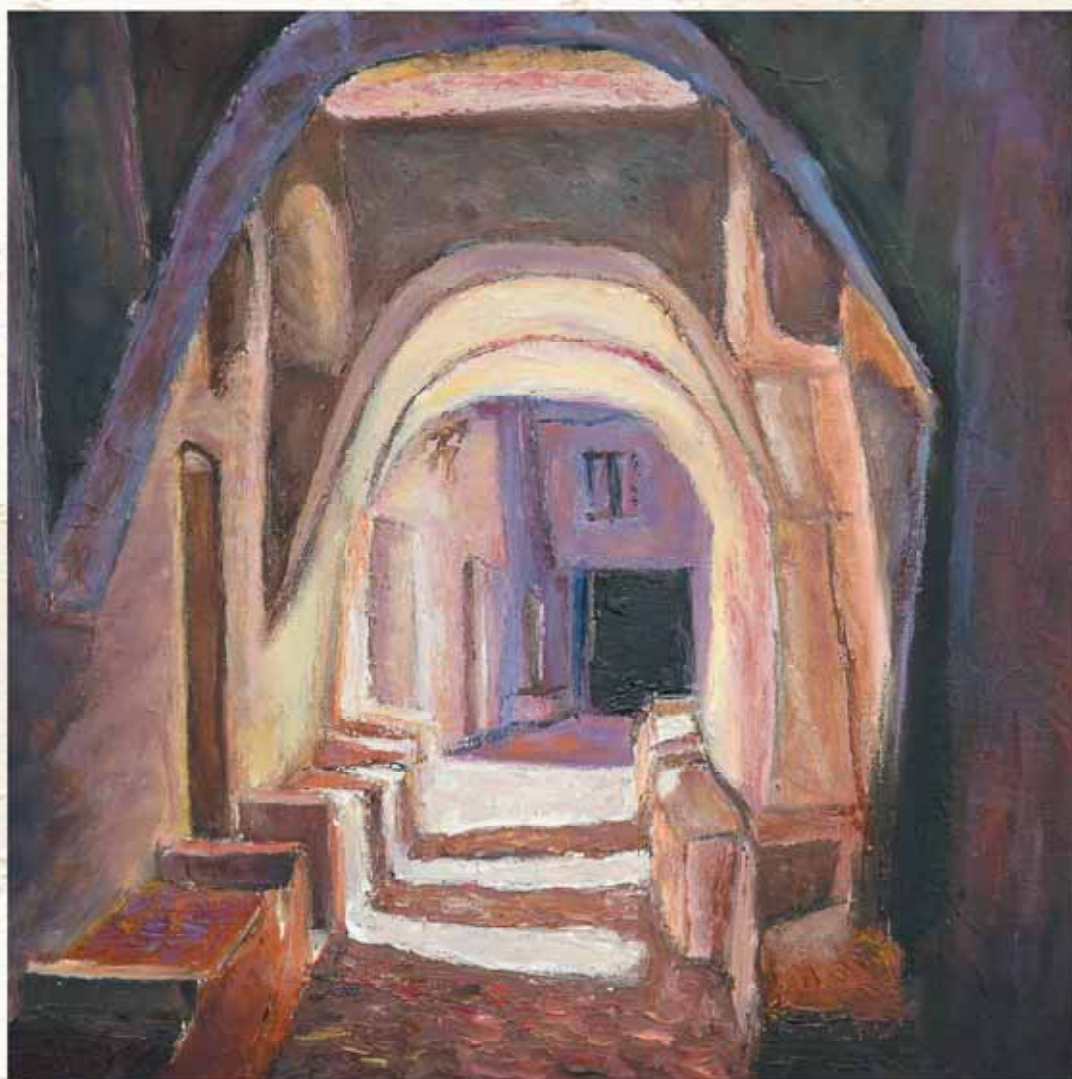


S e l e c t e d p a p e r s

International Conference on
Human Security in the Arab States

14–15 March 2005, Amman, Jordan



Selected papers presented at the

International Conference on
Human Security in the Arab States

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Any communication concerning this publication may be addressed to:

Ms Moufida Goucha / Ms Claudia Maresia
Section of Human Security, Democracy and Philosophy
Social and Human Sciences Sector
UNESCO
1, rue Miollis
75732 Paris Cedex 15, France
Tel: +33 – 1 45 68 45 54 / 52
Fax: +33 – 1 45 68 55 52
E-mail: peace&security@unesco.org
Website: <http://www.unesco.org/securipax>

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Human Security

in the Arab States



Contents

Preface	7
Rethinking strategies for human security in the Arab region <i>Ghada Ali Moussa</i>	9
The role of law in protecting human security: a comparative study <i>Badria Al-Awadhi</i>	27
Tolerance as a way to achieve human security in the Arab States <i>Rawan Fadayel-Bahou</i>	45
Poverty as a major challenge to human security <i>Abdul Hakim Al-Shargabi</i>	65
The human security dimension in the Palestinian Territories: an overview <i>Munther S. Dajani</i>	91
Human security: Sudan case study <i>Osman Hassan</i>	97
Ethical criteria for eligible and responsible civil society involvement in response to the needs and challenges of human security in the Arab region <i>Ziad Abdel Samad</i>	103
Human security in the Arab World: reflections from an outsider looking in <i>Keith Krause</i>	115
Main conclusions and recomandations	133

ANNEXES

Welcoming speech	
<i>Farouk Kasrawi</i>	141
Opening addresses	
<i>Abdullah Madadha</i>	143
<i>Pierre Sané</i>	145
<i>Atef Odibat</i>	149
Debate	153
Agenda	157
Short biographies of speakers	163

Preface

This volume contains selected papers presented at the International Conference on Human Security in the Arab States, jointly organized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Regional Human Security Center at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy, held in Amman (Jordan) on 14–15 March 2005.

The conference was part of a series of similar events that have taken place in Latin America, East, Central and South-East Asia and which were concluded in Africa in March 2007.

The conference brought together experts from the Arab region and the international community, including ministers from Jordan, government officials from the Middle East and North Africa region, local and international civil society and non-governmental organizations, academics, and members of UN agencies and programmes. Its overall objective was to identify and discuss various issues relating to human security in the Arab States. The two-day event was organized as follows:

After the warm welcoming speeches made by high-level officials during the opening ceremony, participants heard a presentation by Mr Bechir Chourou (University of Tunis, Tunisia) of a study entitled ‘Ethical, normative and educational frameworks for the promotion of human security in the Arab States’. Session I was devoted to this presentation and detailed discussion of the study.

The theme of Session II was ‘The regional context and perspectives of regional cooperation’. The human security situation prevailing in three countries was discussed during Session III, while Session IV took up ‘Possible strategies to improve human security in the Arab States’. During the closing session participants heard a presentation by Ms Moufida Goucha, Chief of Section, Philosophy and Human Security Programmes, on UNESCO’s Human Security Programme; they also discussed a draft of final recommendations for the promotion of human security in the Arab States, prepared by Dr Chourou.

In September 2005 UNESCO published a volume entitled *Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in the Arab States* which contains the finalized version of Mr Chourou's study, as well as the recommendations for the promotion of human security in the Arab States that were adopted at the conference. Available in English and Arabic, it may be obtained from UNESCO's Human Security Programme, or downloaded at

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001405/140513e.pdf>

(English version) and

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001405/140513a.pdf>

(Arabic version).

These two documents have therefore not been included in this volume.

It is hoped that this undertaking will make a contribution to the ongoing efforts to achieve human security in all parts of the world.

Rethinking strategies for human security in the Arab region

Ghada Ali Moussa

Introduction

Human security has recently emerged as a complementary approach to address in a holistic manner the sources of insecurity affecting people worldwide. From the human security standpoint, the security of the individual is no longer defined exclusively within the realm of states, and as a consequence of state security. The origins of today's insecurities are diverse, relating among others to social, economical, environmental, and health factors. These insecurities increasingly transcend state borders and have global consequences (Human Security Network, 1999, p. 2).

The term 'human security' may be new, but the ideas that inspired it have developed over the last century and a half from the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1864 through the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions of 1949. Human security takes the safety of people as its point of reference. The human security approach addresses non-traditional, non-state threats to people's security relating to economic, food, health and environmental factors as well as issues such as drugs, terrorism, organized crime, landmines and gender-based violence. It does not offer a single definition of the content of human security, but aims to bring a more diversified perspective to security interests. In addition, 'human' security is about recognizing the importance of security needs of the people side by side with those of states, minimizing risks and taking preventive measures to reduce human vulnerabilities, or taking remedial action when preventive measures fail (Human Security Network, 1999, p. 4).

In addition, the concept of human security is more or less the 'measure' of the achievements of UN summits – the global conferences of the 1990s (Earth Summit, social development,

human rights, development and population, women). In spite of the high expectations raised, not much has been realized if we think about the lack of progress on the issues that former international conferences have raised.

Human security approaches

Two different approaches to human security arose during the 1990s. The first approach essentially equates human development and human security by proposing that human security involves alleviating all types of human insecurities, and it was first enunciated by the UNDP in its 1994 *Human Development Report*. The human development approach to human security argues that security should not focus exclusively on nations and territories, but also on individuals who should be at the centre of security concerns. What is more, people should be secure everywhere: in their homes, their jobs, their streets, their communities and their environment. The major categories of human insecurity are unchecked population growth; environmental degradation and pollution; drug trafficking; international terrorism; financial instability; trade instability; and global inequality. For adherents of the human development approach to human security, security is best achieved through development, not through the use of force. Additionally, human security is best achieved by addressing all components of human insecurity.

Thus, the UNDP has identified seven main categories of human security that reflect both the list of causes of human insecurity and the human development agenda: economic security; food security; health security; environmental security; personal security; community security; political security. Strengthening human security requires attention to each of these dimensions.

The second approach is more narrowly focused on protecting individuals and communities against violence (UNDP, 1994, pp. 51–74). Despite the lack of a clear definition of the concept of human security, it is a concept that encompasses very many issues. The concept goes beyond a political-security term.

It is widely acknowledged that in societies where the minimal conditions of human security for individuals and communities are not met, sustainable human development is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. The situation is particularly difficult in countries that have experienced prolonged periods of conflict.

Nevertheless, there remains a concern, especially among some developing countries, that a focus on human security may distract attention from the ongoing need for development in their societies. This feeling is reinforced by the fact that lack of security is related to lack of development rather than the threat of violence (International Symposium on Development, 1999, pp. 1–4).

In the final analysis, sustainable human development is at the heart of human security, it is pro-people, pro-jobs, and pro-nature. It gives the highest priority to poverty reduction, productive employment, social integration and environmental regeneration. It brings human numbers into balance with the coping capacities of societies and the carrying capacities of nature. It accelerates economic growth and translates it into improvements in human lives, without destroying the natural capital needed to protect the opportunities of future generations. Sustainable human development empowers people, allowing them to design and participate in the processes and events that shape their lives (Hoell, 2000, p. 4).

Human security status in the Arab region

The population of the Arab States will reach 600 million in 2050, compared with 400 million in 2015 and 285 million in 2005. These figures show that the population in the region doubles every fifteen years, a vast and rapid demographic growth. Half of the population will still be under the age of 15, which means that in order to sustain and fulfil their needs (health care, education, employment opportunities, clean water) a 6 per cent growth in GNP is needed in each Arab country. If Arab countries fail to achieve these growth rates, this will result in subjecting the region to everyday threats that go beyond traditional threats (conflicts over borders or natural resources, conflicts relating to weapons of mass destruction and

arms transfer) to threatening the well-being and the welfare of the Arab citizen, transforming those suffering from despair and the lack of basic needs and opportunities to potential sources of threat.¹

Today as many as 1.3 billion people – about one-fifth of the world population – are forced to sustain themselves on less than one dollar a day. The per capita GNP in the Arab region reached US\$2,462 in 2003, which is higher than East Asian states at US\$1,351 for the same year and South Asian states at US\$516.

However, the annual growth in GNP in the Arab States is only 1 per cent, which still falls behind all developed and semi-developed countries and is rated the lowest among them, compared with 3.2 per cent in South Asia and 4.5 per cent in East Asia and the Pacific.²

These findings indicate the great imbalances between other countries and societies and the Arab region.

These indicators are the cause of the failure to achieve the Millennium Goals in the region (poverty eradication, decreasing infant mortality rates, access to clean water and sanitation, providing education and combating gender discrimination):

- 70 million people in the region are illiterate, the majority being women and children;
- 7.4 million children do not attend school;
- 13.5 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 are working in hazardous forms of labour and living on the streets, subjected to all manner of abuse and violence.³

These figures confront us with difficult challenges that need to be overcome through a comprehensive vision of human development, in order to achieve the essential aspects of human security in the Arab region, allowing people to deal with ‘traditional’ forms of human security. In other words, this approach envisions security extending beyond the nation and its territory to individuals, who are at the centre of security concerns.

¹ Arab Human Development Report, 2003.

² UNDP, Human Development Report, 2004.

³ UNICEF, Situation of Children in the Arab World, 2004.

Against this backdrop, it is becoming urgent to concentrate on the kind of issues that threaten the security of the individual in the Arab region and to identify appropriate intervention programmes.

A humane society where people can live free from poverty and despair is still a dream for many Arabs, although it should be enjoyed by all. Safety in the region is the hallmark of freedom from fear, while well-being is the target of freedom from want. Human security and human development are thus two sides of the same coin, mutually reinforcing and leading to a mutually conducive environment.

Although globalization has brought substantial benefits, including the growth of the world economy and improvements in the standard of living in some Arab countries, such benefits have not necessarily been shared equally by all the countries and people in the world, and have widened the gap between rich and poor both nationally and internationally.

For this reason, the concept of human security should focus on the viewpoints of individuals to protect them from threats to human life, livelihood and dignity, and to bring out the full potential of all.

Each human being in the region is equal in potential in their society. The Arab citizen should be respected as an individual regardless of race, religion and gender, for human development has been promoted by the accumulation of creative activities by free individuals. However, it is extremely difficult for individuals to realize their potential and capabilities if their lives are threatened and their dignity impaired.

Under such conditions, the future of the whole society as well that of the Arab states could be at stake.

The first task of implementing a strategy for human security in the region is to focus on the priorities that relate to the individual Arab citizen, which constitute real challenges to the security of the Arab States.

The second task is to identify the following:

- the vision (desired future);
- core beliefs and principles, which could enhance human security in the region and provide future guidance;

- desired objectives until 2015;
- activities to achieve these objectives;
- monitoring and measuring the results achieved (Wright, 2004, pp. 1–11).

The vision

In order to visualize the region's human security picture in the future, it is important to identify strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

What are the distinguishing and unique features about this region and what do we wish to be known for?

The religious and cultural heritage of the Arab region bears witness to the notion of human rights and related concepts. In other words the region has deep-rooted issues of human security that have formed the basis of a long-lasting civilization. The concept is not alien.

Support and cooperation are practical manifestations of brotherhood and mercifulness, and the prohibition of exploitation of the weak by the powerful. Solidarity (living, scientific, literary and military) and mutuality exist where the powerful assist the weak. The responsibility for the dignity and welfare of the people of Arab society is an obligation for each individual. The most important characteristic of Arab society is that it is progressive (spiritually, morally, culturally and materially) measured with respect to the aims to which Arab citizens aspire. Human security was established within this integrated concept of progress.

Another aspect of strength is the ability of the Arab region to absorb and incorporate, to lead dialogue and ensure coexistence among different cultures, races and ethnicities.

Weaknesses of the states in the region

Given the above details of the challenges faced by the region, whether economic, social or political, the following points emerge:

- The imbalance in resource allocation at national and regional levels hinders the long-term development and prosperity of

Arab citizens and the improvement of living standards in the region.

- The rise in unemployment rates and the fall in income levels, which have affected the ability of ordinary citizens to live on three dollars per day and to educate their children, provide them with health care and realize their potential.
- The failure of the state to secure basic needs, because of economic structural transformation and adjustment policies.
- The lack of a sufficient degree of political stability so that individuals are willing to invest in poverty-reducing development.
- The state inefficiency in distributing national income equally.
- The marginalization of Arab citizens and the absence of security in families.
- The threats that the region faces are the result of the lack of security at the individual level and the weaknesses mentioned above.
- A wide range of old and new threats may be considered challenges to human security; these range from epidemic diseases to natural disasters, from environmental changes to economic upheavals (DFAIT, 2000, p. 5).

However, the humanized security concept does not equate overcoming all causes of human insecurity with improving human security. Rather, it sees human development and human security as two sides of the same coin. Addressing some of the causes of human insecurity will improve human development, while focusing on others will strengthen human security.

Based on people's descriptions, types of insecurity can be broadly linked to the following factors: health, illness and death; social vulnerability; survival and livelihood; crime and violence; persecution by police and lack of justice; civil conflict and war.

Threats arising from these types of insecurity include:

- Social instability.
- Increase in the rate of crime and corruption.

- Increase in the illiteracy rate and deterioration of health care systems, with a consequent greater risk of infectious diseases.
- Eruption of violence among the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ (HD Centre, 2003, p. 5).
- Dual role of states, which are seen both as a major threat to human security and a major vehicle for providing human security. Yet ensuring the security of the state does not automatically ensure individual security.
- Human costs of insecurity, which are greater for vulnerable groups and individuals in poor societies and in non-democratic countries, because they lack equitable distribution mechanisms. Yet the public perception of and confidence in personal security in many of the more developed states has decreased as their economies have matured and their democratic institutions have strengthened.

On the other hand, the last five years have seen some progress in opportunities, especially in the following fields:

- Existence of a policy framework for the protection of human rights, firmly entrenching this issue on the national security agenda.
- Commitment to work together and individually to establish a culture of human security protection.
- Improvement in knowledge of international humanitarian law on the part of security forces and judicial bodies.
- Growing role of non-state actors, including NGOs, corporations, educational institutions, private donors, religious organizations, the scientific community, private individuals, the media and, increasingly, the internet community. Their shared characteristics result from their distinct ‘unofficial’ nature compared with state actors, their greater flexibility and often unaccountability under national and international laws, the private sector and ‘corporate citizenship’ principles and initiatives in advancing human security objectives.

Non-state actors are particularly well suited to engendering human security in the Arab region. Indeed, in the case of failed states, they are the only actors present who are able to do so. During internal conflicts, non-state actors benefit from closer involvement with the local community and greater potential for local capacity-building than traditional actors. For example, organizations such as the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and other philanthropic agencies can and do play many roles in the protection of human security. They can talk to several parties at once without losing credibility, deal directly with grass-roots populations, and operate without political or public scrutiny. In addition, non-state actors can more effectively build a network with civil society representatives and focus with them on longer-term perspectives. They are less subject to complaints of outside interference or breaches of sovereignty. In short, they are often more flexible than state bodies, especially in internal conflicts. Efforts should be devoted to benefit more from their role and to take full advantage of their contributions to the elaboration and implementation of international standards concerning human security.

Mission and values

Human security activists and advocates should be guided in promoting human security in the region by the beliefs and principles of governance towards strengthening accountability and transparency, including human capacity-building in the public sector and within civil society, comprehensiveness, partnership: working collaboratively with key partners, including state apparatus, civil society and the business community, placing individuals and communities at the heart of security policies.

Objectives

- To achieve political stability in the Arab States, especially in conflict areas.
- To achieve stability at the macro economic level.

- To achieve social security through the redistribution of national resources to reach vulnerable people, especially women and children.
- To design innovative policies to create work opportunities.
- To enhance law enforcement in all the Arab States.
- To introduce the teaching of human rights and international humanitarian law in schools and government bodies.
- To improve the quality of the environment.
- To strengthen the role of the state in taking collective action to provide Arab citizens with efficient and sufficient basic needs.
- To improve partnerships between non-state actors and state systems.
- To enable Arab citizens to be active partners in policy-making.

Strategic direction

In order to enable the Arab States to be a credible and efficient partner in achieving all aspects of human security, they need to act on two fronts:

1. Achieving a balance between the role of the state and its capabilities and resources by determining vital areas of intervention: protecting citizens from external attacks, providing social security, creating an efficient health care system and making education compulsory for all children.
2. Increasing state capabilities through strengthening public institutions, by legislating to decrease corruption, to expose state institutions to more competition in order to improve performance and to be able to respond to citizens' needs in all aspects of human security.⁴

⁴ The State in a Changing World – Report on Development in the World, 1997, pp. 3-4.

Proposed strategies to enhance human security in the Arab region

Governance as a conflict-prevention tool

Violent conflicts are increasingly occurring within rather than between states, and the principal victims are civilians. In addition to the obvious effects of death and destruction, the social, political and psychological effects of these conflicts are long term, as in the Arab–Israeli conflict. Such crises can reverse decades of economic progress and severely limit future development. The escalation of social, economic or political tensions into open confrontation is a major obstacle to sustainable human development. For states to successfully deal with these tensions and avoid escalation to violence, they must be able to effectively manage competing societal interests and loyalties and to control socio-political tensions. Development strategies that emphasize the foundations of good governance offer the best chance for sustainable human development under peaceful conditions (UNDP, 1998, Ch. 7.2).

If the core features of human security relate to freedom from fear of violence, there are a number of areas where human security and human development intersect. While armed conflict clearly affects the capacity for human development and the quality of human security, there is a need to adopt a more comprehensive view of violence in the community, at home and within institutions.

Governance

A human security agenda cannot be implemented in the absence of accountability and transparency in state affairs. Some argue that strengthening governance might well be the most important strategy of all to promote human security. There are clear links between improved governance that reduces the risks of conflict, repression and criminal activities on the part of state actors (corruption), on the one hand, and the implementation of human-centred development strategies, on the other.

Strengthening systems of governance involves a range of activities. It means strengthening the capacity of state employees and organizations to carry out their tasks effectively and efficiently. It also means developing and implementing the rule of law, so that there is predictability and accountability in state affairs.

Strengthening the security sector

Countries have been encouraged to make the security decision-making process more inclusive and democratic. To succeed in doing so, patterns of government spending should not be solely consistent with their own preferences or priorities. Arab countries may choose, through democratic debate, to meet national policy goals (both economic and security related) through military spending. The long-term challenge of security sector reform should, therefore, be seen as that of bringing about changes in social norms and values consistent with a greater emphasis on achieving national policy goals through non-military and preventive means (DFID, 2000, p. 50).

Security sector reform

Transforming the security sector, basically part of strengthening governance, has been given special emphasis as it encompasses three critical preconditions for human security: physical security, justice, and the rule of law. Evidence from participatory poverty assessments, such as those carried out in conjunction with World Bank work on poverty during 2000, underscores the degree to which the lack of physical security and freedom from fear of violence inhibit the well-being and human development of the poor.

Since state-sponsored conflict and repression are major sources of physical insecurity and fear of violence, the instruments of violence controlled by the state must be transformed, so that they support, not undermine, the achievement of human security.

One important element in this transformation in the Arab region is teaching the security forces respect for human rights.

A second important element involves enforcing the principle that the security forces do not engage in either political or commercial activities which, in the past, have given them and their civilian allies privileged access to political and economic resources.

A third objective is to link the principle of accountability to democratic, civilian governments, which involves transparency on a broad range of issues relating to the development and implementation of security policy.

Since crime is also a major component of violence, it is important that the elements of the criminal justice system function effectively. Although some development assistance agencies have begun to support judicial and police strengthening activities in the Arab region, a comprehensive view of how to approach the criminal justice system is frequently lacking. For example, the World Bank, the major source of development funding, is unwilling to support police reform and has had a limited view of legal and judicial reform. Additionally, donors have tended to view security sector reform as essentially a matter of reducing military spending (DFID, 2000, pp. 58–62).

Peace-building

Peace-building is an essential and integral element in the Arab region. Parties in conflict require assistance not only in negotiating peace agreements, but also in sustaining and consolidating the peace. Arab countries have been experiencing prolonged and intensive periods of violent conflict, which have resulted in institutional weaknesses, limited human and financial resources, and economic fragility. There are three main components of peace-building: strengthening political institutions, reforming internal and external security arrangements, and revitalizing the economy and the nation's social fabric.

Partnerships

In view of the complexity of the issues involved in creating and maintaining human security, efforts to promote it require the

collaboration of a number of strategic partners at regional and local levels. Regional organizations, national governments, local governments, civil society, and private enterprise are among the groups most frequently mentioned as having a key role to play in creating an environment conducive to human security.

Consistent with the Human Security Network's strong interest in promoting the role of civil society as a formal partner in the process of building human security, a great deal of attention has been given to the role of civil society. Civil society organizations can also provide training in areas such as human rights and conflict management. Furthermore, civil society can enhance social capital.

Local capacity-building

For human security to become a reality, individuals, communities, governments and regional organizations need to have the capacity to address the human security agenda.

Developing and implementing security policy has long been the preserve of security professionals who have actively discouraged the involvement of civilians, in both government and civil society. Critical human security issues such as promoting human rights, incorporating a gender perspective and strengthening governance must become mainstream activities. Security affairs continue to reside primarily with the security forces, while civilians in the executive branch, the legislature, the political parties, and civil society remain at a considerable disadvantage. The inclusion of non-traditional security issues will help to alter the balance of power between civilians and security force personnel (UN, 2004, pp. 28–31).

Activities – areas, actors, actions

Promoting national and regional governance structures

Combining policy-oriented programmes with statistical methodologies to allow human security needs to be addressed in

each Arab country and forecasting future threats to human security in the region through joint efforts between researchers and policy-makers.

Designing a flexible health care and social security system, which encompasses all citizens regardless of their income, which could be possible through reform of administrative structures and public finance systems, improving the state infrastructure.

Strengthening countermeasures against poverty through encouraging small enterprises and micro financing and establishing a security trust fund in each state. All non-state actors invited to participate in the fund for the benefit of the underprivileged in the region.

Improving the information technology sector to increase the people's capacity and to empower them with advanced tools to eliminate poverty. This could be achieved through agreements with developed nations to transfer technology and to improve the IT infrastructure in the region.

Ensuring effective partnerships between non-state actors and state systems through networking among different parties, especially between law enforcement agencies and individuals, to enhance the emergency response capabilities of the states in the region and to contribute to efforts to resolve societal conflicts in a non-violent manner.

Initiating national and regional dialogues and forums among all concerned parties in the region to identify best practices to ensure human security and to protect people from the inevitable downturns inherent in market economies.

Strengthening cooperation among Arab universities and non-state and state actors to mainstream and incorporate human security approaches into educational programmes and curricula, to mobilize each person to become the subject of his/her rights.

Establishing various human security networks in the region, and encouraging them to concentrate on supporting research into the elements of human security, establishing and maintaining reliable databases on causes of insecurity. These networks should function as an initiator of innovative ideas and become more visible to the national public.

Integrating local and concerned people into problem-solving and strategic planning to ensure effective outcomes and enhance partnerships.

Encouraging NGOs and human security networks to design participatory learning programmes at grass-roots level through local capacity-building: developing the capacity of local actors to tackle the human security agenda, especially civilian specialists on human security issues, and security issues more generally.

Encouraging the mass media, especially when seen under the prism of technological advances and globalization processes, in disseminating information on human security and promoting social peace, highlighting that building human security is an essential contribution to the development process.

Organizing training workshops and programmes for police forces, government officials and parliamentarians on human rights and human security issues and for observation, monitoring and verification mechanisms for better safeguarding citizens' rights.

Reforming the security sector, which can contribute to laying the foundations of confidence and accountability.

Measuring and monitoring human security

Former conferences on human security have discussed a proposed human insecurity index. Recognizing that such an index would play a central role in defining the concept of human security, participants strongly supported including subjective as well as objective measurements of insecurity (CBRSS, pp. 4–6).

The idea of the index is important, but taking into consideration the need for finance and the growing need to find solutions for insecurity problems in the Arab region, and methodological difficulties in measuring forms of insecurity, especially subjective ones, and in view of the difficulty in obtaining data across many Arab countries, we could benefit from existing data in the UNDP Human Development Reports, adding a section on human security, which could be measured by an equation (to be determined) to clarify the links between security, poverty and the lack of

democracy and governance in the region (Human Security Network, 2004, p. 3).

My suggestion is that a comprehensive report should be produced by the UNDP in cooperation with the Human Security Network. While saving money, this would serve to measure the achievement of the objectives set out above, thus helping policy-makers to assess the probability of future events and provide an early warning system of growing human insecurity.

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The role of law in protecting human security: a comparative study*

Badria Al-Awadhi

Introduction

Islam considers security in its wide meaning as important in the life of individuals and communities, provided that security is based on justice and law, and not on injustice, oppression and hostility. The Holy Koran states: ‘Those who believe and mix not up their belief with injustice – it is they who shall have peace, and who are rightly guided.’ (Chapter of the Cattle, 6:82).

If all members of a community are to achieve progress and prosperity in all aspects of life, not only is it necessary that the state be protected against foreign aggression, it is equally vital to ensure human security – the type of security that considers the person as its ultimate objective or target.

The quest for human security requires tools. One of the more important of these is a legal framework that guarantees peace and security to society and citizens without giving preference to one over the other. In order to understand the role of law and evaluate its efficacy in protecting human security, this paper reviews existing national and international laws relating to human security, evaluating their impact in the light of the political, economic and security conditions that currently prevail in the Arab region where human security is in jeopardy as a result of human rights violations and the absence of democracy and rule of law, the spread of terrorist activities and of domestic and inter-state conflicts.¹

*Translated from Arabic.

¹ The Arab Charter on Human Rights, adopted by the Summit of the League of Arab States held in Tunis on 23 May 2004, provides that everyone has the right to liberty and security of person, and that no one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, search or detention without a legal warrant (Art. 14). Other articles (especially 2–7) enumerate rights and freedoms relating to personal human security. See, for example, the OHCHR website for more details: http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/compilation_democracy/arabcharter.htm.

The study focuses on the role of the state in implementing national and international laws that protect human security (security of individuals and societies), the latter being a complement to state security. Protecting human security means protecting basic rights and freedoms that guarantee access to and utilization of assets needed to protect people's physical integrity and dignity, whether in time of peace or during internal crises or armed conflicts. It also means ensuring citizen participation in the decision-making process relating to human rights. The study reviews standards and instruments used in three countries (Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait) to empower citizens and protect their rights in the framework of humanitarian international law.

Note that the legal framework for protecting human security currently in force in the three countries under study is similar to that of other countries, except for differences in the ways in which citizens participate in the adoption of political and other important decisions, the legal guarantees available to them to invoke and exercise civil rights and freedoms, and the attitudes of governments towards civil society institutions that militate in favour of human rights.

We now turn to the role of law in protecting human security in the framework of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the two Additional Protocols attached to them in 1977.

Protection of human security in Arab constitutions

Definition and delimitation

Various international organizations and scholars of international law have proposed definitions of human security. Practically all of them agree that the person is the referent of human security, and that states should allow people to participate in the decision-making process. Of all the definitions that we reviewed we found the one proposed by the United Nations to be the most comprehensive and most inclusive. In addition to conventional rights and freedoms, it includes some new and original ones. In his report *Road map*

towards the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration (A/56/326, 6 September 2001), Secretary-General Kofi Annan states that human security is not limited ‘to the absence of armed violence and wars, but should include human rights, good governance, access to education and health care, and equal opportunity for each person to achieve his/her aspirations. Each of these is also a step to reduce poverty, to achieve development, and reduce conflicts. Freedom from want, freedom from fear, the right of future generations to inherit a clean environment – these interrelated elements constitute together human security’.

On another occasion, Annan said: ‘human security should not be understood from a military point of view; it should include economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democracy, disarmament, respect of human rights, and the rule of law.’

To understand how human security is understood in Arab States, it is necessary to refer to the relevant constitutions, laws and international instruments to which the states are signatories and which are in force in those states, as they constitute the framework for achieving human security. Law in the broad sense plays a vital role in protecting human security of peoples and individuals living in the Arab world, which is going through a transition period that could lead to major transformations in state political, social and security systems. This would have a direct impact on individual rights and freedoms and other components of human security as defined by the United Nations.

This study is divided into three parts:

1. Arab constitutions and conventional protection of human security.
2. Gaps in the human security of women in time of armed conflicts.
3. Recommendations for enhancing human security.

Arab constitutions and conventional protection of human security

Arab constitutions contain several articles dealing with general principles of individual rights and freedoms. However, citizens can exercise these rights only if this does not threaten the political security of the state. In fact, most constitutional rights and freedoms are subject to the sweeping condition of not affecting the political and economic security and stability of the state. This is known as conditional rights, and reflects the narrow definition that is usually given to security as ‘state security’. For example, Article 30 of the 1973 Constitution of Bahrain reads as follows: ‘Public rights and freedoms enunciated in this Constitution cannot be implemented or exercised except by law. Such a law cannot change the nature or content of the right or freedom in question.’²²

Similarly, the constitutions of Jordan and Kuwait specify conditions under which citizens may exercise a human right or invoke a civil freedom. Such preconditions can have a negative effect on human security if strict measures and national institutions are not provided to ensure that official authorities in charge of applying these conditions do not commit any abuses or violations of citizens rights in the name of law and national security. However, it is well known that Arab citizens suffer from the wide interpretation that is given to legal restrictions imposed on the exercise of human rights and basic freedoms, and from the abuse of laws supposedly enacted to protect the national interest or state security. Such practices are a denial of human security and contrary to democratic principles.

It should be pointed out that limitations or conditions on the exercise of human rights are authorized in international law. Thus, Article 29 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: ‘In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society’.

²²The author has written a more detailed study of this question (1985).

Similarly, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) stipulates in Article 12: ‘The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant’. Similar restrictions are found in Articles 19, 21 and 22.

However, the purpose of these provisions is to define legal boundaries that states should not cross when they impose limitations on human rights, and avoid arbitrary use or abuse of state authority in restricting citizens’ rights. Moreover, international human rights instruments are careful to specify that legal restrictions should not prejudice rights and guarantees contained in those instruments on the grounds of protection of a state’s internal or external security, and that such authorized restrictions should be interpreted in the narrowest way possible.

Turning to restrictions found in Arab constitutions, and starting with Kuwait, we find the following:

- arrest, detention, house arrest or restrictions on freedom of movement can be imposed only in conformity with law or other legal measures (Article 31 of the Constitution);
- freedom of expression, of the press, of association and of assembly can be exercised only in conformity with conditions specified by law (Articles 36, 38, 43, 44);
- social justice, cancellation or withdrawal of nationality and cancellation of property rights are subject to law or other legal measures (Article 18, 20, 27);
- rights are to be exercised with due regard to public order and public morals (Article 49);³
- forced labour can be imposed only in conditions specified by law and for the national interest (Article 42).

³ This restriction (public order and morals) as well as other legal restrictions to the exercise of rights and freedoms, is found in Article 44 of the 1971 Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Emirates.

Jordan's constitution contains similar restrictions; the main ones are:

- there shall be no arbitrary arrest and detention, or press censorship, except when authorized by law (Articles 8 and 15-3);
- freedom of expression is guaranteed within the limits defined by law (Article 15-1);
- the right of residency is guaranteed, except in situations defined by law (Article 9-2);
- currency export must conform to legislation (Article 12);
- secrecy of correspondence and telephone communications is guaranteed within the limits defined by law (Article 18);
- forced labour cannot be imposed, except to protect the population or individuals against danger or in other situations.

These examples show that Arab constitutions have adopted the conventional definition of security, and are mainly concerned with rights that may have an impact on the state's political free will. Hence, they attach less importance to rights that are not directly linked to state security, but which are nevertheless important components of human security.

Education is a case in point. All Arab constitutions require states to provide compulsory and free primary education in accordance with the law. In the case of Kuwait, no provisions are made for free education beyond the primary level, but economic conditions in that country (and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council) are such that states have come to finance education at all levels.

In Jordan, the constitution requires the state to provide free compulsory education, but only at the primary level, to Jordanian citizens, and within the limits of its financial resources (Article 2-6).

Another important element of human security is the right to work and to a decent income upon retirement or in case of incapacity. States are expected to offer citizens opportunities to hold jobs of their own choosing, and social security benefits for elderly/retired people. Most Arab constitutions provide for such rights.⁴

⁴ Article 11 of the Kuwaiti Constitution and Article 6-2 of Bahrain's constitution deal with benefits for the retired and elderly; Jordan's Constitution of 1952 contains no such provisions.

With respect to health care, Arab constitutions provide that citizens are entitled to care and protection against illness and disease.⁵

Citizens can petition for and exercise their rights only if they live in democratic systems and the rule of law. In this regard, Arab constitutions recognize the right of citizens to express themselves through speeches, writings or publications, to carry out scientific research, etc. However, most of these freedoms can be exercised only within limitations and restrictions related to the preservation of state security.

If human security as defined by the Commission for Human Security is to be achieved, people need to be protected from violations of their political, civil or economic rights, and from exposure to dangerous or criminal acts. The state must provide that protection as a matter of priority, and do so at the national, regional and international levels. In this regard, all constitutions guarantee the right to a fair and equitable trial, not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, search without warrant, house arrest or restriction of movement. They also prohibit torture and degrading punishment.

As a corollary, constitutions provide for various courts and judicial bodies to punish those who infringe upon these rights. For example, Ch. 2-4 of Bahrain's Charter stipulates: 'Under no circumstances can a person be subjected to any form of physical or mental torture, or any inhuman or degrading insulting treatment. Any statement obtained as a result of the use or threat of torture or by coercion shall be null and void. In particular, no physical or moral harm shall be inflicted on suspects. Violations of these rules shall be considered as crimes and punished as such.'

When force is necessary, it should be used not to protect the security of the state but the lives of citizens threatened by various dangers. Thus, police and security forces should be used to fight criminality, arms and drugs trafficking.

Other measures are needed to achieve human security, such as improving the education system, adopting rules and regulations for protecting the environment, and setting up early warning

⁵ See Ch. 2 and Ch. 3 of Kuwait's Constitution of 11 November 1962, which deal with legal rights relating to human security.

systems to deal with crises, disasters and conflicts that may threaten human security.

This is the orientation adopted by Bahrain's 2001 National Charter to promote human security. Three chapters of that document are of particular interest:

Chapter 4: the state is to promote a fair distribution of the gains of growth and income derived from economic activities, and protect the nation against the effects of international economic disturbances.

Chapter 5: the state is to ensure a wise and sustainable exploitation of natural resources, promoting development strategies that do not harm the environment or public health. To that effect, it shall take appropriate measure to prevent or limit pollution in all its forms and subsidize industries to switch to cleaner production methods.

Chapter 6: Citizens are to help public authorities in the management, preservation and investment of national resources and public monies.⁶

Another element of human security is protection in time of armed conflicts, emergencies and natural disasters. Kuwait's Constitution provides for such a protection: 'the state shall compensate all damages due to catastrophes or disasters or wars, as well as prejudice incurred during military service (Article 25).'⁷

On the other hand, Arab legislations relating to the duties of members of the armed forces do not take up this issue, even though it is an important element of human security. This gap is all the more regrettable in that the Arab region has been suffering for over half a century from international and intra-Arab armed conflicts. This has had a negative effect on regional peace as well as international peace (as a consequence of threats to major powers interests), and creates serious risks for Arab populations. There is no better illustration of these risks than what civilians are enduring in Arab-occupied territories, in Iraq before and after Saddam Hussein's downfall, in Lebanon, in Darfur and southern Sudan, and other Arab areas.

⁶ There are similar provisions in Kuwait's Constitution (Article 31), but not in Jordan's Constitution.

⁷ Similar provisions are found in Article 12 of Bahrain's 1973 Constitution.

To sum up, the preceding discussion shows that human security in its broad sense is far from being achieved. The continuing insecurity is due to a number of factors. On the one hand, Arab regimes oppose any attempts that citizens make to exercise their rights and claim their freedoms, and continue to consider that the only security that matters is that of the state (read: of the regime). On the other hand, some members of the international community are reluctant to take any initiatives to defuse regional and international conflicts taking place in the area, and to make a serious contribution to the fight against terrorism, which is a serious threat to the human security of the local populations. In fact, some regimes are using the prevailing instability as a pretext to continue their violations of human rights, arguing that priority should be given to the preservation of security in the state and the region.

However, there are some exceptions. Canada, for example, has invited states to work towards conflict prevention as one of the five priority measures towards advancing human security, as well as towards ‘strengthening the capacity of the international community to prevent or resolve conflict, and building local indigenous capacity to manage conflict without violence’.⁸

Insecurity in time of armed conflict

If human security is to be achieved in the Arab world, it is necessary to resolve armed conflicts, intensify efforts at all levels to bring peace through international cooperation, and design national and regional strategies to reduce the effects of conflicts on civilian populations in general and women in particular, keeping in mind that women represent more than 70 per cent of war victims.

In time of armed conflict women are subjected to physical and mental torture and other violations of their human rights. This is why the international community has sought special protection for women in times of internal and international crises and wars.

⁸ For the other priorities for advancing human security, and a definition thereof, see the website of the Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at <http://www.dfait-maecigc.ca/foreignp/humansecurity/menu-easp>.

It should be pointed out that all Arab States are bound to apply the provisions of international humanitarian law, as they are signatories to the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the two Additional Protocols of 1977 – these instruments being the legal foundation of the treatment that must be extended to women in time of armed conflict.

We now turn to a review of the main provisions of these instruments designed to protect the security of Arab women, as well as that of men, since there is no sexual discrimination in international law.

1949 Geneva Conventions

The four Geneva Conventions (GC) of 1949 contain the main guarantees that international humanitarian law extends to women in time of armed conflict. They require that women be treated humanely, whether they are soldiers, prisoners of war or civilians. We shall examine some specific guarantees that apply to women.

Basic principles

Article 12 of the 1st Geneva Convention (GC1) and the 2nd Convention (GC2), Article 16 of the 3rd Convention (GC3) and Article 27 of the 4th Convention (GC4) stipulate that all prisoners of war must at all times be treated equally and humanely. In particular, the articles prohibit subjecting prisoners to acts that may cause death or other acts of violence. Prisoners of war are entitled in all circumstances to respect for their persons, their honour, their family rights, their religious convictions and practices, and their manners and customs. The 2nd paragraph of Article 27 of GC4 states: ‘Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault.’

Special protection for women prisoners of war

Article 14 of the Convention calls for granting women prisoners of war a treatment as favourable as that granted to men concerning

respect for their persons and their honour, while giving all due regard due to their sex. In particular, Article 24 of GC4 requires that women be provided with separate dormitories in camps where men and women prisoners of war are accommodated. It further stipulates that ‘prisoners of war shall be quartered under conditions as favourable as those for the forces of the Detaining Power who are billeted in the same area’. Concerning hygiene, Article 29 of GC3 states that ‘in any camps in which women prisoners of war are accommodated, separate conveniences shall be provided for them; these should conform to the rules of hygiene and be maintained in a constant state of cleanliness’. With regard to penal and disciplinary sanctions, Article 88 stipulates that ‘a woman prisoner of war shall not be awarded or sentenced to a punishment more severe, or treated whilst undergoing punishment more severely, than a woman member of the armed forces of the Detaining Power dealt with for a similar offence’, whereas Article 108 requires that ‘a woman prisoner of war on whom a prison sentence has been pronounced shall be confined in separate quarters from men and shall be under the supervision of women’.⁹

Protection of women detainees and internees

Article 85 of GC4 requires that women internees be provided with separate sleeping quarters and sanitary conveniences from men, and Article 76 of the same Convention states that women detainees shall be confined in separate quarters from men detainees and shall be under the direct supervision of women. Article 97 states that a woman internee shall not be searched except by a woman. Parties to a conflict are required to abide by these stipulations even if they are not clearly stated in the Geneva Conventions.¹⁰

⁹ On the general question of the protection of women and children, see J. De Preux, ‘Special protection of women and children’, *International Review of the Red Cross*, No. 248, October 1985, pp. 292–302.

¹⁰ See Françoise Krill, ‘The protection of women in international humanitarian law’, *International Review of the Red Cross*, No. 249, December 1985, pp. 337–363.

Protection of mothers and pregnant women

The 4th Geneva Convention requires parties to a conflict to make special provisions for certain categories of persons, for example, expectant and nursing mothers and children under 15 years of age shall be given additional food, in proportion to their physiological needs (Article 89). Similarly, Article 132 calls on the parties to a conflict to endeavour during the course of hostilities, to conclude agreements for the release, the repatriation, the return to places of residence or the accommodation in a neutral country of certain classes of internees such as children, pregnant women and mothers with infants.

Women cannot achieve human security if they are not free from fear and want. This applies particularly to women with special needs who live in occupied territories or under foreign military rule. Therefore, pregnant women and mothers with infants should receive additional food required by their condition. Also, pregnant women should be delivered in appropriate health centres similar to those that attend to women of the occupying power. Finally, maternity cases shall not be transferred if the journey would be seriously detrimental to them, unless their safety imperatively so demands (Article 127, GC4).

Penal and disciplinary sanctions

The Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (4th Geneva Convention – GC4) provides that preferential treatment should be given to women detainees even in the application of penal and disciplinary sanctions. For example, Article 119 states: ‘In no case shall disciplinary penalties be inhuman, brutal or dangerous for the health of internees. Account shall be taken of the internee’s age, sex and state of health’, and Article 124: ‘Women internees undergoing disciplinary punishment shall be confined in separate quarters from male internees and shall be under the immediate supervision of women.’

The Geneva Conventions do not deal with the condemnation of women to the death penalty, but the 1st Additional Protocol does. It recommends that the death penalty should not be pronounced on women, but it has not been able to abolish it, because this would contradict many national legislations of the signatory states. To ensure a wide acceptance, the Protocol simply recommends that the Parties avoid imposing the death sentence on women. The exact wording is: ‘To the maximum extent feasible, the Parties to the conflict shall endeavour to avoid the pronouncement of the death penalty on pregnant women or mothers having dependent infants, for an offence related to the armed conflict. The death penalty for such offences shall not be executed on such women’ (Article 76-3).

We have briefly reviewed the general provisions contained in the four Geneva Conventions for the protection of women in time or armed conflicts. Practical experience shows that in most contemporary armed conflicts, women enjoy no security and continue to be the main victims in domestic and international conflicts throughout the world. The two Additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions, to which we now turn, sought to correct this situation and alleviate the insecurity and suffering of women in time of conflict.

Additional Protocols of 1977

Recent developments in weapons technology, and especially in air-delivered weapons, underscored the need to revise international humanitarian law to ensure greater protection of civilian populations and greater security for victims of armed conflicts. The two Additional Protocols adopted in 1977 came as an attempt to fill the gap left by the 1949 Conventions and provide protection for civilians in general, and women in particular.¹¹

¹¹ As of 2004 the 1st Protocol has been ratified by 155 states, and the 2nd by 148 states.

General protection of women

Article 75-2b of the 1st Protocol prohibits acts that are usually committed against women, such as humiliating and degrading treatment, enforced prostitution, and various forms of indecent assault. The Protocol mentions other criminal acts that may be committed against women in time of armed conflict, and which require greater protection than that provided by the Geneva Conventions.¹²

Article 76 deals specifically with the protection of women against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault. In all parts of the world women are exposed to such crimes in time of armed conflict, particularly rape which is used to terrorize, demoralize or defeat the adversary group to which the victims belong.

If women are to enjoy human security in its broad sense, and benefit from the protections offered by international humanitarian law, the Parties to the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols need to apply these instruments to all persons who do not participate in armed action. More importantly, sexual crimes (rape, forced prostitution) committed against women need to be severely punished. This requires that all Parties to the instruments under discussion honour their commitments to prosecute and punish those who are guilty of such abject acts which, in effect, are considered as war crimes.

Perhaps the verdicts that have been recently pronounced by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) against war criminals will open the way to a better implementation of international humanitarian law designed to enhance and promote human security for women and their families, and put an end to all violations of women's rights.

¹² Article 75, par. 2-8, enumerates acts against which persons arrested, detained or interned for actions relating to the armed conflicts are protected.

Proposals for promoting human security

Women in the Arab world have been suffering for over fifty years from violations of their human rights as a result of domestic and intra-state armed conflicts, the Arab-Israeli conflict, international wars and the spread of terrorism. To reverse this trend, we need to ensure that international humanitarian law is as well known locally as national laws. From a practical point of view, we think that the five priorities identified by the Canadian Government for the promotion of human security constitute a good starting point for ensuring human security before and during armed conflicts. States ought to incorporate the Canadian proposal into their foreign policies, and use it as a general framework for protecting civilian populations. If states have the political will to adopt this approach, the international community will avail itself of the tools and capabilities to reduce the number of victims of armed conflicts.

Arab women desperately need protection against rape, violence, displacement, mental anguish resulting from the loss of husbands, sons or fathers, terrorism, kidnapping, and killing – not to mention exposure to the insecurity that prevails in most Arab countries. The multiplicity and seriousness of these threats and violations of women's rights should compel Arab States to give due consideration to the Canadian approach for promoting human security, and to incorporate that approach in their foreign policies. Of course, this supposes that Arab States are intent on protecting their citizens against the ever-present violations of their human rights, and ensuring their security and survival.

1. The continuing insecurity in the Arab region requires that Arab States move quickly, at both regional and national levels, to adopt strategies for extending legal protections to civilian populations, and in particular to set up a general framework for ensuring the security of women, children, elderly persons and other vulnerable groups who are likely victims of armed conflicts. Women in particular are likely to suffer most not only from insecurity resulting from armed conflicts, but also from scarce humanitarian assistance and

insufficient national human resources for distributing or managing such assistance when it is available. There are also insufficient means to combat terrorist acts that target individuals and represent a serious threat to law and order in the region.

2. Most Arab penal codes contain no specific provisions to protect women victims of armed conflicts or to uphold their rights in time of conflict. In the absence of measures and institutions to provide law and order in time of conflict, women are exposed to constant physical and mental threats. For them as well as for other civilians, human security in the sense of a peaceful and secure life and of freedom from fear and want, remains a distant dream. This is particularly true of women who live in areas where factions fight for political power using terrorism and physical liquidation as their main tools.¹³

3. Civil society has not been able to play its role as a promoter and protector of human security in the Arab region. Legal, political and economic obstacles, as well as the lack of awareness of international humanitarian law, are among the reasons for this failure. As a result, organizations such as the National Committees of the Red Cross and Red Crescent, which are supposed to work in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross to give assistance to civilians, refugees, children and other victims of armed conflicts, have remained ineffective in the Arab world.

4. If the various strata of Arab societies are to enjoy human security, Arab humanitarian and human rights organizations that have sufficient material and human resources should cooperate with each other and with international humanitarian organizations with the objective of improving legal frameworks currently in use in the field of human security. Where they exist, laws relating to human security

¹³ The Government of Japan defines human security as ‘the preservation and protection of the life and dignity of individual human beings. Japan holds the view, as do other countries, that human security can be ensured only when the individual is confident of a life free of fear and free of want’. See Tukiyo Takasu, Third Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia’s Tomorrow, Bangkok, 19 June 2000.

are often sacrificed in the name of national security or, more accurately, for the sake of the security of ruling regimes. This situation is unlikely to change as long as authoritarian rulers continue to hold power, and the state of emergency (in effect for decades in some Arab countries) does not come to an end.

5. Laws and constitutions currently in force in most Arab countries need to be revised or amended. If they contain rights and guarantees relating to human security, they need to be put into effect, and if they contain restrictions or limitations to those rights, they need to be removed. Civil society actors need to be empowered to participate in the process of promoting and defending human security. Arab citizens are in dire need of human security. Human security must become an inalienable right which cannot be used by rulers to preserve their hold on power and fulfil their illegitimate and self-serving interests.¹⁴

¹⁴ This topic has been addressed by the present author in a paper presented at the Congress of Arab Women held in Kuwait in 2004.

Tolerance as a way to achieve human security in the Arab States

Rawan Fadayel-Bahou

Introduction

The human security concept and methodology are concerned with tolerance as a workable plan for achieving human security in the world.

We at the Regional Human Security Center in Jordan are concerned with promoting tolerance in the Arab States and institutionalizing tolerant values. This comes from our commitment to promote human security in the region, while addressing any threats to it. Furthermore, recent world events have resulted in a new era of political, religious and cultural intolerance. As a result, the world's security and peace are threatened.

In fact, the Center's work in raising awareness of tolerance started in October 2003 when we held a regional conference on tolerance values, and I was responsible for the preparations and organization. The conference was successful in many ways. First, the quality of experts and speakers; second, the reach of participation was broad including most countries of the Arab world in addition to experts and practitioners from Europe and elsewhere; third, the topics and themes discussed at the conference; fourth, the discussions during the conference sessions provided a liberal platform for people to express their ideas and to exchange points of view on all aspects of the subject.

Now the chance has come again to allow me to share the work of the Regional Human Security Center at this extremely important event. The importance of this conference on Human Security in the Arab States stems from the fact that, first, it is jointly organized by UNESCO and the Center, embodying the cooperation between international and regional organizations. Second, an important function in this phase of our work, it highlights and explores the

status and prospects of human security in the Arab world. Third, it allows the participation of national, regional and international experts, practitioners, academics and IGO and NGO representatives. Moreover, this event is a valuable chance to highlight diverse views on tolerance and its relation to human security, based on previous experiences and lessons learned by the Centre.

Although we can look at tolerance itself as a factor that presupposes an open, pluralistic and democratic society, which respects civil liberties and human rights, in this paper I stress the human security concept, linking it with tolerance as a precondition for promoting and advocating human security in the Arab world.

Highlights of human security concept and methodology

The events and patterns of global conflict and warfare have already changed in the 1990s. During this post-Cold War era, observers note that the increase in conventional state security was accompanied by a drop in security for most of the world's people. This was borne out by the fact that in excess of 90 per cent of wars are within states and not between them. These conflicts were of an internal, civil and ethnic nature. Millions of people have been thus killed since the 1990s, the majority civilians, who are increasingly the main targets and instruments of recent wars (DFAIT, 2000, p. 2). They suffer from civil conflicts, political abuses of aggressive states, or the failures of weak ones, and new violations of human rights and practices of war such as using children as soldiers, genocide and ethnic cleansing, and the use of small arms and light weapons or landmines.

Increasing number of analysts have argued that this changing nature of warfare requires a shift in security thinking. Therefore, a new concept and approach to security was needed to explain what the world is facing, although conventional security between states remains vital for achieving people's security.

According to the human security concept, the primary focus of a security policy should be the protection of people rather than the political, military and territorial integrity of states. This central idea

has been articulated by Lloyd Axworthy, Kofi Annan, Sadako Ogata and others. In this regard, Kofi Annan challenged at the turn of the millennium that ‘we must put people at the centre of everything we do’ (DFAIT, 2000, p. 16). It is also one of the founding principles of the thirteen-nation Human Security Network which includes Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland and Thailand.

The roots of the concept ‘human security’ goes back to the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the 1860s when the idea of people’s security began to attract global attention (DFAIT, 1999). Furthermore, the same idea was strengthened afterwards in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions.

The term ‘human security’ was first used in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, and it was defined as a summation of seven distinct dimensions of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political. Afterwards, Canada and other countries like Norway have concentrated their work in human security on protecting people from violence and the security of the people (UNDP, 1994).

Human security is defined by Lloyd Axworthy, former Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, as people’s safety from both violent and non-violent threats. It is in other words a state that is characterized by freedom from fear of pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety and their lives. At the policy level, it means the capacity to protect innocent people and civilians caught in war zones. It means ending the use of weapons that contribute to making conflicts more brutal and more deadly. It means not being at the mercy of the violence that accompanies international crime and terrorism. It means preventing all forms of conflict.

Human security involves and includes – as working plans – issues such as combating, stopping and banning the phenomena of the spread of small arms and light weapons, landmines and anti-personnel landmines, use of children as soldiers, organized crime and illicit trade; as well as fostering and strengthening mechanisms

to promote human rights, tolerance, democracy, advocacy for good governance and accountability, conflict prevention, dialogue/tolerance and respect for others, peacebuilding and peacekeeping, public safety and protection of civilians, promotion of international criminal law (international criminal court), and so on.

Relation between human security and tolerance

Human security is seen as an approach where attention is shifted from military, political, sovereignty and territorial aspects to people; wherein politics functions to serve people and not to serve politics itself. According to Kofi Annan, during the Cold War, the definition of security was exclusive to military powers and the balance of terror, but today the concept of 'security' entails much more than the inexistence of conflict (Annan, 2001). What is considered a breakthrough in thinking is that the human security approach deals not only with the results of violent and non-violent conflicts through humanitarian action, but goes beyond that by taking preventive measures through addressing the grass-roots of problems and the sources of conflicts in order to build peace and security.

The relation between tolerance and human security follows from the fact that intolerance is seen as a strong potential breeding-ground for the escalation of inter- and intra-state conflicts. Moreover, intolerance accompanied by a lack of mutual understanding and dialogue, and the ignorance of political systems in the absence of human rights and the rule of law, is viewed as a major threat to global security. These are the main reasons for the majority of inter- and intra-state violent conflicts.

On the other hand, the adoption of tolerant values, and a proactive approach to political, social, cultural and economic systems, could be an effective tool for the enhancement of human security and the culture of peace, freeing people from their fear of violence and political instability.

When individuals and communities acquire tolerant values, these values become integrated in their attitudes, which in turn will affect their social, economic, cultural and political lives. The values must be translated into legislation and law in institutions and governments to be monitored transparently. Ultimately, this will lead to the bridging of cultural, religious and ethnic gaps, which in turn will lead to the prevention of violence associated with wars, civil conflicts and societal hostilities. This positive environment will consequently strengthen peace, justice and security at national, regional and international levels.

John Locke, John Stuart Mill and other civil libertarians have argued that tolerance presupposes the value of the individual, his or her authority and freedom of choice. A tolerant society will be more likely to be creative and innovative because it is open to new discoveries and new insights. Moreover, an open society expands the reservoir of human experience and produces mutual trust and cooperation. It tends towards a more peaceful society with less cruelty, hypocrisy and duplicity, less dogmatism, hatred, extremism and fanaticism.

Humanists have always dealt with tolerance as a principle that covers a wide range of beliefs and moral values, and it would allow individuals and groups the opportunity to fully express their diversities, beliefs, practices and life-stances.

Spectra of tolerance

It is ineffective to limit tolerance of religion. This would serve to reduce the strategic relation between tolerance and world peace, which includes many factors other than religion.

Essentially, most religions preach tolerance and the equality of all humanity. Religions form an important source of tolerance strengthened by a divine source. Christianity and Islam, for example, both honour humanity on the basis of justice and equality and their divine call for kindness, love and peace. Religions have helped people to reach knowledge and further truths about existence and creation, contributing to the promotion of tolerance worldwide.

In spite of these religious aspirations to peacemaking and the promotion of tolerance, examples of intolerant practices, inability to coexist, even violent conflicts and wars, have unfortunately been common between groups of different religious affiliations throughout history. There are many complex reasons for this, starting from the fact that beliefs and religions touch the core of our humanity. Religions determine our view on the world and reflect from what angles we see each other. Religious affiliation is often intermingled with economic, social, political, ethnic, cultural and psychological factors. Consequently, these images are exaggerated through the media in order to attract public opinion and politicians to maintain political power. And because we live in an age of globalization, with accelerating progress in all aspects of electronics, technology, communications, open markets and international investment, any problem could be considered international or global, therefore more wide-ranging and harder to solve.

Consequently, the contribution of religions to world peace is affected by many basic elements:

- Human understanding and interpretation of religions is subject to the passage of time, although religious truth is absolute in itself.
- Tolerance is a group of principles, according to UNESCO resolutions at the twenty-eighth session of the General Conference in 1995: Declaration of Principles on Tolerance and Plan of Action to follow up the United Nations Year for Tolerance.
- National democratic management for religions, beliefs, minorities and sects through workable mechanisms allowing participation and access for all civilians to decision-making processes and economic resources, including the rule of law.
- International justice according to UN principles and resolutions.

The phenomena surrounding intolerance expand outside the barriers of religion, of course. They vary from old communal feuds even to

children teasing one another in the playground (Spanish Ministry of Justice, 1999). Tolerance involves all aspects of our lives and the different understanding of these stances by all humans.

Tolerance is an integrated process of knowledge, understanding and respect of the 'other' whom is different to 'myself' in understanding, religion, belief, etc. It is not a temporary acceptance of the other, but a sustainable process that starts with a behaviour and continues as an obligation.

Tolerance helps individuals and communities to be creative and competitive in a positive direction. It assists us all to learn from all. Tolerance and the culture of dialogue open people's minds and sweep out dogmatism and rigidity.

Contributions of international conventions towards tolerance

In order to eliminate all types of intolerance and achieve international peace, justice and stability, the United Nations was established after the Second World War to ensure peace and security, human freedom and respect for human rights according to the UN Charter.

This was followed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 to confirm the noble values for human rights for all which include the right to life, liberty and security, equality before the law, freedom of thought and movement, opinion and belief. These concepts were further assured through a series of UN agreements on human rights,¹ in addition to the contributions of individual UN agencies.

International efforts again underlined the importance of tolerance in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by the UNESCO General Conference on 16 November 1995.²

¹ Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Convention against Torture, Convention against Genocide, Geneva Conventions, Convention on the Rights of the Child, Convention on Elimination of All Sorts of Discrimination against Women.

<http://www.hrweb.org/legal/undocs.html>

² <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001018/101803e.pdf>

In Article 1, the definition indicates the meaning of tolerance: ‘Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world’s cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference’ (UNESCO, 1995, p. 71).

The definition continues to elaborate that tolerance is not only a moral duty, ‘it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace’.

Tolerance, according to UNESCO, is not concession, condescension or indulgence. ‘Tolerance is, above all, an active attitude prompted by recognition of the universal human rights and fundamental freedoms of others. In no circumstance can it be used to justify infringements of these fundamental values. Tolerance is to be exercised by individuals, groups and States.’

The definition speaks of tolerance as a responsibility that upholds human rights, pluralism (including cultural pluralism), democracy and the rule of law. It involves the rejection of dogmatism and absolutism and affirms the standards set out in international human rights instruments. The definition also removes any misunderstanding in practice when clarifying: ‘the practice of tolerance does not mean toleration of social injustice or the abandonment or weakening of one’s convictions. It means that one is free to adhere to one’s own convictions and accepts that others adhere to theirs. It means accepting the fact that human beings, naturally diverse in their appearance, situation, speech, behaviour and values, have the right to live in peace and to be as they are. It also means that one’s views are not to be imposed on others.’

Articles 2, 3 and 4 deal with tolerance from the political, social and economic dimensions of policy.

‘Tolerance at the State level requires just and impartial legislation, law enforcement and judicial and administrative process’ (UNESCO, 1995, p. 71). Article 2 also fosters the idea that tolerance requires economic and social opportunities being made

available to each person without any discrimination. Tolerance is an obligation on the state in that states should ratify existing international human rights conventions and should draft new laws in order to secure equality of treatment and opportunity.

Article 3 states that tolerance is more essential than before in this age ‘marked by the globalization of the economy and by rapidly increasing mobility, communication, integration and interdependence, large-scale migrations and interdependence ...’ (UNESCO, 1995, p. 72).

Article 4 states that education is the most effective means of preventing intolerance, and that education for tolerance should be considered ‘an urgent imperative’ (UNESCO, 1995, p. 72). It is necessary to prevent social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance, which are major roots of violence and exclusion. Here again the relation between tolerance and human security is apparent.

This definition is considered a good reference and background material for all, individuals, communities and states, in combating intolerance. Its importance of the definition stems from various aspects:

- It comes from a UN agency therefore is an international source of knowledge and declaration representing state parties.
- It is inclusive and comprehensive of all components of tolerance. It affirms that tolerance is necessary between individuals and at family and community levels. It suggests that tolerance should be adopted as state policy and as an obligation not to be violated. It states that tolerance consists of a continuing interdependent relationship of rights and duties between individuals and communities, states and civilizations.
- It suggests new mechanisms and plans of action to support and implement programmes of social science research and education for tolerance, human rights and non-violence.

It considers intolerance as a source of instability, violence and potential conflicts. It maintains that without tolerance there can be

no peace, and without peace there can be no human development, human rights or democracy, which are the objectives of human security.

International responsibility for tolerance as a way to human security

Individuals, communities and states have to consider the responsibility for the welfare of all humanity and care for the planet. Differences must not prevent our common involvement. The opportunity is still there to achieve a more adequate international order and a global ethic.

This project is however threatened by ethnic, religious, economic and social tensions, bringing into focus the challenge of tolerance and religious coexistence to address these negative aspects and to work on defeating them. Moreover, state policies require more rational decision-making processes. We, as individuals and states, must commit ourselves to a non-violent culture and respect for all human life.

The conditions that the world is facing now: globalization, interdependence, large-scale immigration and intra- and inter-state conflicts are real challenges for thinkers, writers, politicians, journalists, the media and religious leaders to work together within the framework of justice, peace and respect for life.

Situation in the Arab States

Today, the Arab world (the twenty-two members of the Arab League) is facing huge challenges. Much of these challenges were mentioned in the Arab Human Development Report 2002. (UNDP, 2002). This report is considered highly important in self-evaluation. Unlike many documents, this report, entitled *Creating Opportunities for Future Generations*, is the result of cooperation between many Arab thinkers and intellectuals and shows new goodwill and an unprecedented initiative to study their own societies and to report on the situation of their own countries in a transparent way.

Consequently, the report stimulates Arab policy-makers, experts, officials and practitioners to rethink ways and strategies to address new challenges in the Arab world. Also, it does not blame outsiders for Arab problems. It deals with problems from the grass roots. The region suffers from obstacles to human and economic development posed by widening gaps in freedom; gender equality and women's empowerment; and knowledge; together with government policies that fail to encourage economic growth and good governance.

In 2003, another Arab Human Development Report was published on the theme Building a Knowledge Society. Taking into consideration the three obstacles to development mentioned above, the report indicates that they still exist and may be worsening, especially in the area of freedom (UNDP, 2003, Executive Summary). However, it goes on to affirm that knowledge can assist the region to expand the scope of human freedoms, strengthen the capacity to guarantee those freedoms through good governance and achieve the higher moral human objectives of justice, human dignity and peace.

If we consider the points referred to in the reports, we will see that these circumstances can easily contribute to a climate of intolerance and restrict the area for dialogue between individuals and groups and between groups and governments. At the same time, the negative climate impedes human security in the region. This complex situation affects pan-Arab problems beyond that area where intolerance, lack of dialogue and the refusal to coexist may result in extremism, violence and terrorism between the region and other regions or within the Arab region itself.

One of these complexities could be acted out along the lines of Samuel Huntington's famous thesis on the clash of civilizations (Huntington, 1996) or that of Francis Fukuyama on the end of history (Fukuyama, 1992). Many observers, practitioners and thinkers find Huntington correct in various aspects; such as his assurance that culture – which includes religion – matters. Religion affects values, morals and attitudes; legacies and contemporary behaviours and the understanding of social, political, economic and even scientific aspects of life, all of which form a culture and eventually take the form of a civilization.

However, Huntington exaggerated in referring to only religion or religious culture in the ‘gap’ between East and West and in disregarding histories and legacies other than the Western one. There are far more essential factors that affect this relationship, including liberty, gender equality and democracy. Democracy, in its components of rule by elections and polls, separation between the legislative, executive and judiciary authorities, guaranteeing basic and human rights and the rule of law, is a connecting link between them all. It is the common ideology that the world could now share. We all call for democracy in spite of our differences. From a human security perspective, democracy is seen as a prerequisite for achieving tolerance and human security in the Arab world, as elsewhere.

The dramatic terrorist events of 11 September and the ‘war against terrorism’ have made the maximum contribution to widening the gap between the West and the Arab world, as seen in anti-American behaviour. Attacks have also taken place in other countries in Europe, the Arab world and Asia, such as the 2004 events in Spain.

Various violent escalations in the Arab world, such as the Darfur crisis in the Sudan, violence in Algeria, terrorist attacks in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and recently in Lebanon, all contribute to more intolerance and a violent climate in the Arab world against the West, especially the US. This has also contributed to the infiltration of Christianity into the political practices of the West and to political Islamism.

Nevertheless, there are many indicators of increasing movement towards strengthening civil society and flourishing signs of progress towards peace and democratization. Concerning other aspects, observers may remark that few steps have been undertaken to advance human development and reduce poverty.

Organizations in a number of Arab States are also actively moving forward into promoting and advocating human rights and women’s rights. The voices of thinkers, observers and academics everywhere are calling for governments to adopt systems of good governance and transparency. Restructuring policies and reforms are taking a few steps forward within some institutions in the Arab States in

order to enhance government performance to address people's increasing demands for human and economic development and fair distribution of resources.

All of this helps to re-establish fertile ground for tolerance and bridging the gap between texts and behaviour on one side and between theory and practice on the other side. Moderate thinkers and observers are increasingly calling on people to eliminate dogmatism and extremism and to show more tolerance and expand their spectra of understanding of those that are different in religion, ethnicity, race, etc.

Mechanisms for promoting and reinforcing tolerance in the Arab States

Tolerant values, behaviours and duties should be given more attention in all aspects of youth education, especially as the Arab community is considered a young one. 'No generation of young Arabs has been as large as that of today' (UNDP, 2002). However, youth are not the centre of attention of Arab policies. Education, especially public education, is suffering from various problems in the Arab world. The lack of financial resources and infrastructure together with the inconsistency between school and university curricula and the labour market and modern employment requirements are some of the reasons for the knowledge gap.

In addition there are other institutions – religious, media, civil society and legal – that play an essential role in strengthening tolerance and reinforcing the culture of peace. Some mechanisms of promoting tolerance that these institutions could adopt are set out below.

Educational institutions

Tolerance is not given the importance and attention that it should in Arab educational institutions, although some small reforms can be traced in one country or another.

Tolerance education is a responsibility common to all educational bodies and state departments. It is an obligation on the state itself. It requires educating students about different religions and cultures in order to change the stereotypes imposed by a closed social climate and wrong practices.

The process starts in the family itself, preschool and kindergarten, to continue in schools and universities. It is important that tolerance education is introduced as a comprehensive process, starting from parents themselves. The home is the first place where children learn about mutual respect and how to handle dialogue. Sisters and brothers play important roles in preparing the child from its early stages to deal with other members of the community. In the preschool and kindergarten phases infants begin to face other more difficult climates than within their close families.

In schools and universities, much more needs to be done concerning respect for others and a culture of coexistence and tolerance. Children and youth are educated and prepared to be the future labour force, to integrate into their communities and continue the development process.

Tolerance could be taught to children in many ways, starting from simply allowing a wider range of human relations among family members and at school. It could also take the form of training children in communication skills, dialogue, role playing and simulations, or of organizing various functions, meetings and field trips. Class discussions could be held on understanding the concept of tolerance with examples taken from the local surroundings. Presentations with students talking about their social backgrounds, homes, families, parents and surroundings could also be adopted in order to familiarize children with different lifestyles. Drama, theatre and non-curriculum activities could be encouraged; students could be incorporated in the teaching process through what is called 'cooperative learning'.

Another potential tool is school curricula specially designed to spread the values and morals of tolerance. At the same time, children have to be taught human rights and knowledge of obligations and duties. They have to be taught civic education to

reinforce the idea of citizenship and suggest universal values to expand their spectra of thinking. In the Arab world, it is time for curricula to be re-examined and restructured.

Teachers play the main role in this process in that they have to be facilitators for dialogue and understanding of others. In order to succeed, teachers need to forget conventional teaching methods and be trained in the mechanisms of teaching students (train-the-trainers methodology) the values of democracy, tolerance and dialogue. Manuals need to be developed to help all the parties involved in education – teachers, supervisors and parents.

Role of civil society and NGOs

The Arab world is witnessing an increase in the movement of non-governmental and civil society organizations, which bear a major responsibility for change in society. These organizations could run projects and programmes to promote tolerance values and mechanisms among societies. They are considered as a venue for people to express their views and exchange perspectives. They help in attracting thinkers and experts to help politicians and officials to plan better policies in line with the current and future circumstances.

Their work should not be limited to the national level; it could expand to regional and international levels by networking, specializing, and exchanging information among relevant organizations working in the same field.

Media and communications

The media (television, newspapers, radio, satellite stations, etc.) open people up to all aspects of human life. They open discussion and dialogue and affect public opinion. Their contribution to tolerance is thus highly important. Through press reports and broadcast programmes, the media could acknowledge tolerance and strengthen its values and practices. In order to change in the people's attitudes and minds, journalists, reporters, news anchors,

programme producers and columnists need to be trained in modern media and information techniques.

Religious institutions

In the Arab world, religious institutions have an important affect on people's lives. As mentioned, religions do contribute to peace but misunderstanding and poor practices also contribute to intolerance and conflict. Religious institutions today could promote tolerance, not only as a value, but also as a practice. For example, human rights, dialogue, peaceful coexistence and tolerance should be fostered in speeches in churches and mosques, which should encourage youth activities and meetings.

In practice, religious leaders should participate in local, regional and international activities relating to dialogue between religions and concentrate on the positive sides of the tolerant history of religions. They need to be more proactive in tackling issues such as religious freedom and intermarriage, the difference between texts and practices, religious extremism, and so on.

Legislation and laws

Generally speaking, tolerant values and attitudes need to be further stressed in Arab constitutions and laws. In this regard, some laws exist already such as the respect for religious minorities and rituals, while others need to be updated to harmonize with changes in society. On the other hand, the problem often does not lie in the laws themselves but in the gap between legislation and practice, and people's ignorance of the law due to the dominance of social, tribal and clan traditions and customs.

Implementation of legislation and the rule of law in general require the understanding and acceptance by individuals, groups and societies, otherwise obstacles can easily arise to their application. Accordingly, people and policies in the Arab world need to eliminate extremism and intolerance then to translate positive behaviour into laws, where they will be monitored in a transparent climate within the three authorities of the political system.

Conclusion: what needs to be done?

Tolerance is a fertile climate for promoting human security in the Arab world. Neglecting tolerant morals and practices by individuals and political systems will only result in extremism and violence, impeding the human security agenda in the region and ignoring the promotion of human rights. Individuals and institutions need to adopt initiatives for change to a better environment.

Tolerance expands our understanding for others as well as ourselves. It helps us to think of substituting serenity, peace and justice for the extremism and fanaticism that lead to violence.

Tolerant practices have to start from individuals themselves by rethinking some of their values and morals into a greater understanding of the positive and peaceful sides of human nature. These morals and values have to be translated into practices between individuals in families, schools, workplaces, neighbourhoods, communities and institutions and to be incorporated into a transparent democratic political system that respects obligations, human rights and the rule of law at the national, regional and international levels.

Finally, tolerance does not mean accepting injustice or wrong practices by individuals, groups or states; on the contrary, it is a methodology to prevent violent practices on the one hand and to assist in restructuring and rebuilding peace on the other. Tolerance is an obligation on individuals, communities and states nationally, regionally and internationally, to find areas of harmony in a world that is full of differences in order to make the life of future generations more peaceful, secure and just.

We, in the Arab States, may recognize tolerance as an ethical value. However, recognizing this is no longer enough. A great effort is needed to bridge the gap between texts and stereotyped practices, and between theories, correct understanding of these theories, and their implementation. We could build on our valuable assets: our respect for religious values and family relationships, our continuing desire for knowledge and human development, our history and civilization, our modest moves towards reform and our tired calls for freedom and

democracy. Then, we should apply the lessons learned within the region and the good practices from other regions of the world that could help us to be, regionally and internationally, in harmony with others on common problems in an obligation of tolerance, security and peace. This is easier said than done but we have to start from a known point, and in my view we have already started.

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Poverty as a major challenge to human security*

Abdul Hakim Al-Shargabi

Human security

An examination of the components currently included in the definition of human security shows that they are numerous, varied and seemingly unrelated. Following the chronological order of their appearance over the last half of the twentieth century, they may be listed as follows:

- Economic and social security, which includes food security and protection against unemployment, poverty, hunger and sickness.
- Cultural security, which includes protection of the various civilizations, their heritage, and the right of every human being to identify with a culture. Cultural security also includes the right to education.
- Civil and political security, which includes all civil and political rights that allow a person to feel secure.

To these components, another may be added:

- Existential security, which includes environmental security.

All these aspects of human security apply to individuals, communities at the national level, and the international community or humanity.

If we look at human security from this angle it may appear to be quite similar to the concept of human rights, which is itself an open-ended and dynamic concept that has been recently enriched by the addition of new elements such as the right to development and cultural rights.

*Translated from Arabic.

Does this mean, then, that the concept of human security is in the process of replacing that of human rights, or can become a substitute for it? I do not believe so, because the concept of human rights has become sufficiently consecrated and well defined not to be replaced by a concept that is still too vague and ill-defined. If we consider human security as a right – a right to security in the broad sense, it can easily be incorporated in the concept of human rights. As a person who feels respected will also feel secure, achieving human security becomes the result of an enforcement of human rights. Conversely, human rights are likely to be violated when there is insecurity. Therefore, I consider that security is an essential element for promoting human rights.

Of course, it is possible to achieve security without respecting human rights! This can be done through repression, but the resulting ‘security’ is fake and ephemeral. Experience has shown time and again that whenever insecurity sets in, human rights become the first victim. For this reason, it can be said that human rights and human security are closely related, if not identical, given the fact that human security in its broad definition is a constitutive element as well as an objective of human rights.

Let us now turn briefly to some of the definitional issues relating to human security. The referent of human security is the individual, not the state; and any policy in this area should seek to guarantee the security of the person, and not just that of the state, as it is possible to have situations where insecure citizens live in a secure state. In fact, there are situations where the state itself becomes a threat to the security of its citizens. Therefore, there should be no separation between state and individual security.

The concept of human security emerged in the mid-1990s as a result of changes in the perception of security and in the framework of security studies that took place following the end of the Cold War. It became clear that the dominant approach to security – that of the realist school – was no longer adequate to deal with the new security issues and sources of threats. The concept of security had to be extended to incorporate them. Proponents of the realist school of international relations had considered that the referent object of

security was the state, as the state was the main (if not the unique) actor in international relations. Hence, states sought to protect themselves against any foreign military action that may threaten their territorial integrity, sovereignty, stability of their political system, or their national interest. Military force was considered as an essential tool for protecting national interests and achieving national security. Hence, relations between states were viewed as an ongoing competition or confrontation in which there were always winners and losers. Long-term cooperation between states was considered as a utopia.

This conceptualization of security, in existence since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, prevailed for three and a half centuries. After the end of the Cold War, international relations students began to re-examine the concept of security and new concepts emerged, including that of human security.

Changes on the international scene and revision of concepts

The reconceptualization of security is a logical consequence of the qualitative changes that have taken place on the international scene. These changes have imposed a revision of the basic hypotheses relating to the place of security in the international relations equation. On the one hand, action and influence in international relations are no longer monopolized by the state: Other actors have emerged, such as regional and universal intergovernmental organizations and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

On the other hand, threats to state security are no longer of a military nature alone (as claimed by the realist school). States are now confronted with other threats that are not necessarily military, such as cross-border drug trafficking, organized crime, international terrorism, global pandemics such as AIDS, poverty, environmental pollution, etc. Conventional approaches to security are unable to deal with such threats, many of which are often invisible or unclear. Furthermore, these threats cannot be dealt with militarily, and their destructive impact is often higher than that of

military operations. Thus, it is estimated that some US\$240 billion have been spent globally in the last ten years to deal with AIDS, and that twenty-four people die of hunger every minute. The situation is all the more serious in that no state can close its borders or use military force to protect itself from these threats. Nor can states that are victims of epidemics, pollution, terrorism or massive migration expect to prevent such problems from affecting people outside their national borders. Therefore, all such problems and dangers can be dealt with only through worldwide cooperation and multiple tools.

The result has been the appearance of major changes in the conduct of international relations. Over the last few decades, there has been a focus on particularly important issues, such as environmental pollution, demographic growth, refugees, security on the oceans, and other problems of a global nature. It has also become clear that no state can guarantee its security by relying exclusively on its own means. The Soviet Union disintegrated despite the fact that it had enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world several times over.

A change has also occurred in the nature of conflicts. According to some studies, of the sixty-one conflicts recorded in the 1990s, fifty-eight (i.e. almost 95 per cent) were between groups within the same state rather than between states. In addition, victims of these internal conflicts are mostly (90 per cent) civilians rather than military personnel and, more specifically, women and children. Yet another change is the fact that threats to security facing states come not only from abroad but from within their own borders, as can be seen from the numerous armed conflicts that are taking place in the Arab world from Somalia to the Sudan.

Typically, internal conflicts are complex and have their origins in distant historical events, they involve the use of extreme violence, and lead to frequent and severe violations of human rights.

Components of human security and threats to its elements have existed for quite some time, but the re-emergence of the concept in recent years is associated with globalization, a process that has made our destinies interlinked. Globalization has lowered or dismantled

barriers to facilitate the movement of goods and services, and instituted economic liberalism throughout the world. Economic studies have shown that global economic liberalism has many dangers, including the emergence of unstable and uncontrollable systems, particularly in the financial sector. They have also indicated that globalization can have negative effects on the world economy which could, in their turn, negatively affect aspects of environmental or political stability.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report 1999: Globalization with a Human Face indicated that globalization, despite the fact that it offers great opportunities for human progress in all fields as a result of the speed with which knowledge and technological know-how can be transferred, and to the freedom of movement of goods and services, would nevertheless create major threats to human security in the twenty-first century, and these threats would affect people in developed as well as developing countries. The report identified seven main challenges that threaten human security in the era of globalization:

1. Financial instability: an outstanding illustration of this was the crisis that hit South-East Asia in mid-1997. The report indicated that in an era of globalization and rapid movement of goods, services and capital, similar financial crises are to be expected in the future.
2. Precarious employment and unstable income: global competition has pushed governments and employers to adopt flexible labour codes that do away with long-term contracts and job security, resulting in precarious conditions of employment.
3. Lack of health security: ease of transport and freedom of movement have facilitated the spread of diseases such as AIDS. According to the report, the number of AIDS victims worldwide was estimated at 33 million in 1998, 6 million of whom contracted the virus in 1998 alone.
4. Cultural insecurity: globalization favours the mixing of cultures and the movement of ideas and knowledge through

various means of communication, including satellite. But the problem, according to the report, is that this process is unbalanced and unidirectional, knowledge and ideas moving mostly from developed to developing countries where they threaten to displace or supplant local cultures and values.

5. Personal insecurity: the result of the spread of organized crime, which uses the most recent technologies.

6. Environmental insecurity: the result of recent inventions and innovations which have extremely nefarious side effects on the environment.

7. Political and social insecurity: globalization has given a new impetus to violent conflicts as a result of the easy movement of weapons across borders. Conflicts have become more intense and more deadly. Furthermore, weapons manufacturers and suppliers have become more prosperous and entrepreneurial, sometimes going as far as offering training to governments themselves. This represents a major threat to human security.

In the post-Cold War period, there has been a greater focus on the state's economic capabilities – in addition to its military ones – as a tool for providing security in the above-mentioned areas. Thus, there has been a growing trend towards achieving economic integration and complementarity between states with differing political, economic and social systems and backgrounds. This, in turn, has created a favourable environment for the development or the launching of various security initiatives.

Traditional security analyses followed the institutional approach, which considered that all international relations were based on governmental procedures and international treaties. Yet the existence of such procedures and instruments does not necessarily mean that states abide by them. Take for example the question of refugees. There are numerous rules and agreements dealing with most issues relating to refugees. But what we observe is a growing trend for states not to respect their commitments concerning the treatment of refugees. There are today some 15 million refugees and

27 million internally displaced persons throughout the world whose plight remains largely unaffected by international agreements. For this reason, efforts are now turning to the search for a proper framework that allows the implementation of existing rules and prevailing practices aiming at helping these people, especially in time of crisis.

Components and evolution of the concept of human security

Once the need to revise the concept of security became evident, students of international relations sought to find new definitions and to develop new theories to capture and explain existing and evolving realities. In particular, it became imperative that sociological studies reflect more faithfully the needs of citizens – a process known as the humanization of sociology or the humanization of security issues.

The concept of human security is based mainly on the protection of the dignity of groups and individuals, and on meeting their material and psychological needs. This conceptualization implies that security can be achieved by following wise development policies, and insecurity comes not just from military threats, but also from economic deprivation, inequality in various aspects of human life, and insufficient protection of basic human rights. Therefore, achieving human security requires sustainable human development, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, good governance, social equality, and the rule of law.

Although recent definitions of human security consider the individual as the referent or unit of analysis, they also hold – in agreement with current approaches to international peace and security studies – that peace and security in any state depend on peace and security in all other states. Thus, state security, important as it may be, can only be one of the elements of an integrated security construct. In other words, a secure and stable global security system must be built from the bottom up, from the individual to the globe. In this approach, state security becomes a mere intermediary phase in the construction of global human security.

The origins of the concept of human security can be traced back to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1945 which sought to lay down some ground rules for protecting human rights and, hence, achieve human security. Subsequently, some limited initiatives were undertaken to deal specifically with the concept of human security, but they had little impact on mainstream international relations studies.

The next major step was the publication of the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report. The second chapter of that report, entitled ‘New Perspectives on Human Security’, was entirely devoted to this concept, and it predicted that the notion of human security, despite its apparent simplicity, would lead to a revolution in the management of societies in the twenty-first century.

The report identified four characteristics of human security:

1. Human security is universal; it is a right for every individual wherever he/she may be.
2. The components of human security are complementary and interdependent.
3. Human security is best achieved through preventive measures to avoid insecurity rather than corrective measures to solve problems that have been allowed to emerge.
4. The referent of human security is man, and the concept relates to the quality of life of every human being.

The report classified the components of human security in two categories: freedom from want and freedom from fear.

There are other elements of the concept of human security which are discussed in the literature; some of these are set out below.

An effective tool for achieving human security is known as ‘soft power’, and can be used concurrently with human development and democratization. Hence, human security can be achieved through structural reform rather than military action.

If force is required to achieve human security in areas beset with armed conflicts or ruled by authoritarian regimes, its use must be legal, collective, and under the aegis of international organizations.

There has to be cooperation between states, regional and international intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to adopt ground rules for achieving human security, on the basis that no state can deal alone with threats to human security.

Although the concept goes beyond the conventional view of state security, it does not imply marginalization of the state. In the final analysis, the state remains responsible for providing security to its citizens, especially at a time when threats to security are becoming more complex under the effect of globalization.

Any economic or security policies that decision-makers may adopt need to include a social dimension. The concept of human security insists that public policies should deal with all forms of oppression, exclusion, marginalization and deprivation.

Conventional security theories considered that the quest for security was a zero sum game, whereas the concept of human security is built on the premise that security is beneficial to all parties and leads to balanced human development and long-term collective security.

Human security: a better future through empowerment of individuals and communities

Many prerequisites need to be met to achieve human security in this era of globalization, at local, regional and international levels.

Local level

1. Finding an appropriate framework for conciliation between the realization of human security and state security. The two are interrelated and one cannot be achieved without the other.
2. Ownership of the process of political and economic reform by the people concerned, the ultimate objective being individual security achieved through appropriate institutions designed to bring about security and prosperity.
3. Achieving an equilibrium between the respective needs of states and individuals for security, and incorporating it in local

development policies by balancing expenditures on health and education on the one hand, and on defence on the other. In this respect, the UNDP Human Development Report 2001 indicates that there has been a relative decline in the share of social expenditures (health and education) in gross domestic product (GDP) in comparison with the share of military expenditures, especially in countries with low levels of human development.

Regional level

Given the fact that issues relating to human security are difficult, intricate and complex, regional cooperation can be appropriate for dealing with threats to human security, especially in areas such as the question of refugees. But regional organizations continue to have a rather limited role in this field. This needs to change, and regional organizations should go beyond trade and economic cooperation to deal with various aspects of human security, including refugees. In South-East Asia, for example, there are some 2.2 million refugees, but only a few organizations such as ASEAN deal with human security issues. There is a need for greater interaction between regional organizations to confront the various challenges, whether refugees, drug trafficking, or organized crime.

International level

Human security issues are, by and large, global issues that can best be tackled with tools that are identified and used by the international community as a whole. Global actions that need to be undertaken to achieve human security include:

1. Reform of the United Nations system to make it more responsive to human security concerns. A Human Security Commission may be set up to study and report on the status of human security in various parts of the world. Binding instruments should also be adopted requiring states to respect

and implement their commitments as parties to various human rights instruments.

2. Design of a new model of human development and a new framework for cooperation capable of facilitating the quest for universal human security. The objectives of development policies and tools should include fighting poverty, AIDS and environmental pollution.

There is no doubt that human security has received a decisive impetus in the last few years as a result of the decision of some countries, such as Canada and Japan, to incorporate human security in their foreign policy. They have defined human security as one of the objectives of their official development assistance (ODA). They have also decided that assistance funds should be used to build and improve capabilities of individuals and local communities to achieve human security and improve the quality of people's daily lives.

Focusing on the individual makes methodological sense. It is true that man is a social animal, and everything that concerns him also concerns other members of the community. But this structural relationship does not change the fact that man is also an individual with a personality distinct from other members of the community. Therefore, there is no line separating individual rights from collective rights, the distinction being merely a methodological artefact.

A member of any community will not feel secure unless a number of basic rights are guaranteed, including access to civic education, political culture and democracy, as well as the enjoyment of other rights that make a person feel a full citizen of a country.

People cannot exercise their rights as citizens in the absence of a minimum level of political security that allows individuals and groups to express their opinions and to organize into trade unions, political parties or other groupings. Any curtailment of freedom of thought, expression and organization is a threat to human security and a violation of fundamental human rights.

There is no doubt that the lack of security in many countries is a major reason of their underdevelopment. In principle, the state is responsible for the security of its citizens, but in many cases states are more interested in the security of rulers than that of their citizens. In fact, they even violate citizens rights and abuse institutions of civil society.

This situation explains why international humanitarian law is becoming more and more important. It may also be noted that human rights are becoming globalized. Globalization is not limited to economic activities; it naturally seeks to extend to every other activity, including terrorism, be it state terrorism in the form of states terrorizing other peoples or states as is the case in the Palestinian Territories, or terrorizing their own citizens as is the case of all dictatorships; or counter-terrorism carried out by groups or individuals at the international level; or intellectual terrorism that attacks freedom of thought and expression, and is practised by dictators or groups of ignorant fanatics that can flourish only in darkness.

It is therefore the responsibility of states, human rights organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and intellectuals to defend the right of people everywhere to life, security and dignity. As far as our region is concerned, the truth is that Arabs are threatened in their security and dignity more than other people, and today more than at any other period. It is vital that rulers of our countries realize, before it is too late (if it is not already too late) that the current acute crisis that we are living through while the entire world is watching, can be resolved only if our peoples are given back their freedoms and rights, and their creative energies are allowed to be unshackled. The nightmare imposed by despots and the new visionaries has to come to an end.

One of the biggest challenges that our region confronts today is to become free from fear and free from want, and meeting that challenge will be the acid test for our capacity to achieve shared security. More specifically, we need urgent action to deal with extreme poverty, lack of development, depletion of resources, civil and other conflicts, crime, short life expectancy, demographic

growth, spreading disease – those are but a few of the problems that millions of Arabs suffer from.

Political instability, social disintegration, growing obscurantism: this is the present reality of the region, and its consequence is failing and failed states, civil strife, disorder and environmental degradation. A vicious circle is in full operation, political instability leading to stalled development, which leads to inter-state conflicts, which in turn lead to environmental problems. The only way to break this circle is to achieve human security. Progress towards peace, prosperity, development and security that our countries will have achieved will be measured on the basis of the amount of human security that our people will enjoy.

Achieving human security will require more vigorous and more extensive partnerships between national governments, peoples and civil societies in the region. Several actions are awaiting our governments: protect national borders, constitutional institutions, laws and internal order; promote and protect democratic practices, human rights and fundamental freedoms; provide prosperity for all; protect the environment; promote economic growth and foreign trade; acquire/improve capabilities to intervene for the protection of citizens' interests; and participate in the ongoing globalization and liberalization.

If there is human security, citizens, peoples and communities will be able to give free rein to their creativity and mobilize their energies to resolve their problems, which are often the consequence of the collapse of social life. We firmly believe that the reduction of poverty and of the gap between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' is the backbone of durable human security. Therefore, we do not accept a conceptualization of human security that excludes democracy and development, and which is limited to human needs, persistent conflicts, natural or man-made disasters, and protection of vulnerable groups. This self-proclaimed restrictive definition can easily open the way to naked intervention in the internal affairs of states, and threaten the collective security of the region as well as international peace in general. Any reconceptualization of human security should start with the framework proposed in the 1994

UNDP Human Development Report, and expand it – not reduce it. For all of these reasons, we submit that human security, along with national security and environmental security, are links in the same chain, that of the common and shared security of the region. Hence, contributions that Arab States have made in international efforts to deal with issues such as anti-personnel mines, small arms, drug trafficking, organized crime, and providing humanitarian assistance to refugees, should be considered only as part of the efforts that the region is exerting to achieve economic development and democratic rule.

Poverty as a violation of human security

Many studies dealing with human rights, human security, and development argue that human rights stand on two pillars: democracy and development. Democracy is the foundation of civil and political rights, and development is the foundation of economic, social and cultural rights. Hence, there is a relationship between human rights (including human security) and development. The Declaration on the Right to Development, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 4 December 1986, states in its Article 1 that ‘the right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized’.

The right to development is considered as part of human rights, as the person is the central subject of development. In addition, the development process cannot reinforce human rights if due recognition is not given to the right to a full and effective participation in all aspects of global development, the right to participate in all stages of the decision-making process, the right to equal opportunity, the right to access to natural resources, the right to a fair distribution of the fruits of development, the right to a full respect of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, and the right to an international environment conducive to a full

realization of these rights. Full participation in the development process gives all citizens an equal opportunity to have access to available resources and to use them for the benefit of individuals. It also guarantees an equitable distribution of the fruits of development, as well as full respect for civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

Development is not just a basic right; it is also a fundamental human need. It allows people to find the best means to secure and protect their freedom and dignity. In the revised approach to development, the individual is no longer a mere fuel or raw material to kindle the development process, but its ultimate objective and its central beneficiary. Genuine development is that which seeks to strengthen human rights and human security and sets them as its objective. Promoting and protecting human rights have become basic elements of the right to development, and the yardstick that measures the legitimacy of the methods and tools used in the development process.

The right to development raises two fundamental issues: equal opportunity and participation. Therefore, it is not sufficient to have laws establishing equity between groups and individuals; governments and public institutions need to ensure the implementation of laws and create the wherewithal to allow people to enjoy their rights on an equal footing. This clearly demonstrates that the rule of law is an important element of the development process.

The UNDP is one of the main UN institutions helping states design their development strategies. It considers that the individual is at the centre of the development process, and individual participation in the process is essential. It also asserts that among the objectives of development, the reduction of income inequality and the fight against poverty are most prominent. In sum, the link between human rights and sustainable human development is as follows:

- sustainable human development seeks to give more opportunities to all people – men, women, children – and to present and future generations, while protecting nature's life support systems;

- contrary to earlier views that put economics at the centre of development, sustainable human development considers man as the end and the means of development;
- sustainable human development seeks to promote an environment that allows all people to lead a secure and creative life;
- hence, sustainable human development is oriented towards the elimination of poverty, reinforcing the respect for human dignity and human rights, and giving all citizens equal opportunities on an equitable basis through good governance.

Poverty as a violation of human rights and human security

Violation of human economic and social rights has many forms: poverty, hunger, unemployment, lack of shelter/low-quality housing, and absence of social justice.

A non-negligible number of states signed/ratified the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Declaration on the Right to Development, but neither they nor states that are yet to sign/ratify those instruments, respect the letter or the spirit of the documents. Few, if any, of their stipulations are respected. In many countries, people are still victims of discrimination; labour unions are non-existent or dominated and controlled by governments; women do not have equal rights in the areas of employment or civil liberties; living conditions are below recognized minimum standards; and children have no social protection, particularly against employment in general and carrying out strenuous tasks in particular.

In most countries national resources are squandered, and the income they generate is used irrationally and to the benefit of a privileged minority. Another manifestation of the open disregard of human rights is the exclusion of civil society from the process of economic and human development, and from decisions that governments take affecting the lives and future of citizens, including decisions to go to war which are taken without first referring to the people. There is also a total absence of democracy in economic activities and

institutions. Decisions on economic, social and political issues, no matter how important they may be or what impact they may have on people, are taken by the rulers unilaterally. Sometimes, such decisions are referred to legislatures, but this is usually just a formality, as those bodies are not democratically chosen and are under the tight control of the executive branch.

Governments and public institutions operate without control or supervision. The people, with whom sovereignty is supposed to rest, are unable to exercise that sovereignty by requiring politicians to account for their acts and decisions. In fact, some countries have gone so far as to impose restrictions on legislative bodies regarding the fields or methods of control over, or intervention in the decision-making process.

In many developing countries, the environment is suffering from widespread pollution and continuous degradation. Two factors account for this. On the one hand, national governments show little concern for nature and the environment. On the other hand, advanced industrialized countries are deliberately causing or contributing to environmental degradation in the developing world through their selfish and irresponsible behaviour. In their relentless search for profit, they pollute and destroy the environment, depleting scarce non-renewable resources without giving any consideration to the interests of future generations. This behaviour is highly prejudicial to the local populations, and a violation of their right to live in a clean and healthy environment, and to a rational and sustainable use of natural resources that protects the long-term interests of present and future generations.

Another cause of concern is the impact of weapons, including chemical and biological ones, used during past and present wars in the region. In the first Gulf war between Iran and Iraq, the second Gulf war following the invasion of Kuwait, and the war waged by the US-led coalition against the Saddam regime, a wide variety of laser-guided missiles, cluster and fragmentation weapons have been used. Also, oil wells have been set on fire, and oil spilled on land and sea. All of this has had disastrous effects on humans and the environment; some of them have already

become visible, while others are most likely to appear in the future, not only in the region but also in far away places where former combatants return to live.

The global redistribution of power that has taken place in the last decade of the twentieth century may resuscitate a practice that was seldom used in the past – the imposition of economic sanctions on a country or population. This measure prevents the target country from carrying on trade with other countries, i.e. importing and exporting freely. People in the sanctioned country may, as a result, face dire consequences, including death. For this reason, economic sanctions (embargo, blockade) may be considered as a clear and dangerous violation of the rights to life, work and sustenance. As such, they are in contradiction with the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, all international instruments relating to human rights, as well as with a number of articles of the United Nations Charter.

Nevertheless, economic sanctions on the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Iraq caused many deaths and exposing tens of thousands of people to malnutrition and disease as a result of the lack of food and medicine. In the specific case of Iraq, it has been established that economic sanctions have caused the death of more than 600,000 children between 1990 and 2003.

Any country is exposed to similar measures regardless of the merits of the question or who the guilty party may be. It is therefore important to prevent such a violation of human rights, and to prohibit the use of economic sanctions in any form of conflict and give preference to other methods and tools for resolving conflicts and disagreements.

In the light of this, several corrective actions need to be taken:

1. Human rights movements should be transformed into extensive people's movements capable of using peaceful democratic methods to impose their will on those who deny freedom, democracy and human rights.
2. Current human rights militants should become more sincere and principled. Regretfully, many of them, when they accede to political office, forget and even violate human rights.

3. Human rights should be considered as indivisible, and an appropriate basis for building democracy and achieving national development. Furthermore, instituting human rights is not instantaneous: it requires a long-drawn-out process of preparation and continuous learning.

4. The process needs planning and organization, and its implementation carried out according to a predetermined schedule. Also, it should involve not only states but sub-national, regional and supra-national entities as well. Lastly, it should be kept in mind that human rights are universal and applicable to all peoples and states, although the latter may implement them through tools and methods of their choice, but without betraying their principles, their objectives or their ideals.

The right to development: review of the Human Development Reports

Sustainable human development is a theory of socio-economic development, not just a theory of economic growth. It considers the person as the end and the means of development, and is concerned with the human and social aspects of development. Because material resources are important and contribute to the improvement of standards of living, the theory of human development does not deny the need for economic growth, but it holds that growth should increase people's choices, i.e. it should allow people to enjoy the fruits of growth in the form of better nutrition and health, more security, protection against crime and physical violence, better access to knowledge, more time for leisure and rest, greater political and cultural freedom, and greater participation in community life. To put it briefly, the ultimate objective of development is to provide an environment in which the individual can lead a long, healthy and productive life.

The theory of sustainable human development deals with the methods of distributing the benefits of growth, the social and environmental impact of growth, its sustainability, and its capacity

to improve individual capabilities. Growth achieved at the expense of the most vulnerable members of society, or which benefits only a small minority, ruins the environment, leads to violations of human rights, or disturbs the social and political equilibrium – such a growth is the direct opposite of sustainable human development.

The best way to make economic growth relevant to people is to adopt responsible public policies based on the premise that people are the end and the means of all social action. If the problem were simply a bad distribution of growth, it could easily be corrected through redistribution of income and wealth. But the real issue is what type of development is needed, and how it can improve the economic and social environment for the benefit of all.

Nowadays, developing as well as developed countries are becoming aware of the returns that can be obtained from social investment, and that the latter is an import pillar of development, especially in post-industrial societies whose success has been based on greater reliance on knowledge in production (qualitative improvement of the labour force) and consumption (modification of consumer taste).

Components of sustainable human development

Sustainable human development seeks to design public economic and social policies capable of improving people's capabilities for self-realization. It attempts to provide them with the means to satisfy their material, psychological and social needs. The strategy for achieving sustainable human development is based on changing the legal and institutional environment in which people live so as to extend their choices and give them greater freedom. This means that development does have an economic component, but it is not the only one.

According to theorists of sustainable human development, human capabilities include a number of conditions and the means to bring them about. Some of those conditions are considered as minimum requirements, such as food to sustain life, shelter, clothing and good health. Others are more complex and have a social character, such

as being treated with respect, or preserving one's dignity, or participating in public life, or enjoying freedom of choice.

But setting these objectives is not enough; the individual and collective means to achieve them must also exist. This necessarily implies that people have freedom of initiative. Of course, freedom is an intrinsic value, but it is also a means to an end. Therefore, people need – among other things – freedom to work and to participate in decisions that have an impact on their destiny, especially decision relating to the development process.

Development means achieving as many of the above objectives as possible, and to the fullest extent possible, through means that include but are not limited to economic tools. Consequently, development policies have to be multidimensional and extend beyond the economic sphere. The question then becomes: Is the individual at the service of material growth, or is economics at the service of the individual?

In human development reports, measurement of human development as an extension of human choices and an improvement in human life is operationalized through four indicators: life expectancy at birth, literacy rates among adults, per capita GDP, and respect for human rights. This last indicator is considered as particularly important, and the situation of human rights in most countries is the subject of careful and continuous scrutiny and evaluation.

During the Cold War, there was much rhetoric on human rights. There seemed to be little disagreement over civil, political, economic or social rights, all of which were considered as complementary to each other. But by and large interest in human rights did not go beyond words. This situation has changed in recent years. Now, concrete results are considered as more important than speeches and, in truth, human rights are faring quite well in many parts of the world.

The link between human development and human rights is now readily acknowledged. To quote Mary Robinson, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, 'human rights are indivisible; we cannot pick and choose between them. Those rights are interrelated and interdependent. Freedom from fear and want is

linked to freedom of speech and faith, the right to education is linked to the right to health care, as there is a clear link between literacy among women and their capacity to keep their children in good health.’

Dispersion of human development: rankings among Arab States

The Human Development Report 2000 focused on twenty Arab States (leaving aside Somalia and the Palestinian Territories) and compared their Human Development Index (HDI) rankings, which vary between 1 (highest) and 0 (lowest), for 1999 and 2000. Some of the conclusions may be highlighted:

1. HDI ranks are highly dispersed, the highest ranking state being Kuwait (36th), and the lowest being Eritrea (159th); the difference of 123 places is enormous.
2. Eight Arab States showed a decline in their rankings; they are Lebanon (which lost 13 places), Libya Arab Jamahiriya (7 places), Bahrain (4 places), United Arab Emirates (2 places), Kuwait, Qatar, Iraq and the Sudan (1 place). Ranking of the Syrian Arab Republic and Yemen remained unchanged at 111th and 148th, respectively.
3. Ten Arab States improved their ranking: Eritrea and Djibouti (up 8 places), Saudi Arabia and Oman (3 places), Jordan, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania (2 places), and Tunisia and Egypt (1 place).
4. Arab States are classified as follows:
 - high human development, four states: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates;
 - medium human development, eleven states: Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Oman, Jordan Tunisia, Algeria, Syrian Arab Republic, Egypt, Morocco, Iraq;
 - low human development, five states: the Sudan, Mauritania, Yemen, Djibouti, Eritrea.
5. Low progress towards democracy in the Arab world. The report states that in the preceding two decades the world witnessed great progress towards democracy and multiparty

systems, with more than 100 countries having rid themselves of military dictatorships and single-party rule.

6. HDI values show that Arab States are lagging behind in many aspects of human development. For example, 9 million children do not attend primary school, and 60 million people are illiterate.

7. With respect to per capita income, it remains low in comparison with other countries with similar levels of development. The region has 73 million people who live below the poverty line, 15 million who are unemployed, and 10 million who are malnourished.

8. Civil society institutions are weak, and the media have no freedom. In most Arab States, governments maintain tight control over the media, whereas the same situation prevails in only 5 per cent of the other states in the world.

9. Several human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, indicate that human rights violations are frequent, and human development is low.

Growing gap between rich and poor

The Human Development Reports shed light on the link between human development and economic development, and rank 174 countries according to their HDI value.

In a preliminary reading of the Report, comparing HDI values for 1999 and 2004, one can pick out areas where progress has been made towards better human development, and areas that remain problematic. A particularly enlightening exercise is to compare where humanity stands today on some indicators and where it stood in the past on the same indicators:

- Only 1/6 of humanity enjoy high human development; they live in 46 countries considered as rich and industrial.
- The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. The ratio of the highest to the lowest per capita incomes was 3 to 1 in 1820, 35 to 1 in 1950, 44 to 1 in 1973, and 72 to 1 in 1992. The report further indicates that the 200 richest

individuals in the world have a combined income of US\$1,000 billion (1 trillion), whereas 582 million people living in the 43 poorest countries have a combined income of US\$146 billion.

- Progress has been made in the fight against poverty. In China, for example, the proportion of people living below the poverty line declined from 33 per cent in 1978 to 7 per cent in 1994. Nevertheless, poverty continues to be a major challenge for humanity. There are some 1 billion people in the world (2 out of 10 inhabitants) who still live on less than one dollar a day.
- Progress has also been made in the health sector. Between 1980 and 1999 malnutrition declined significantly. In developing countries, the proportion of children under weight for their age declined from 38 per cent to 27 per cent, and the proportion of children under height for their age fell from 47 per cent to 33 per cent. Also, the number of people with access to potable water in rural areas increased fourfold; their ratio to rural population went from 13 per cent to 71 per cent. Nevertheless, here too major challenges remain, as more than 1 billion people in developing countries have no access to improved water sources, and 2.4 billion are not using adequate sanitary facilities. Also, the number of people living with HIV/AIDS reached 34 million towards the end of the twentieth century, and some 18 million people died of transmissible diseases.

Initiatives to improve development and human security

The report suggested some initiatives that could be undertaken towards further improvements in human development:

- Make compulsory primary education a constitutional requirement in all countries by 2010.
- Achieve all 20/20 objectives in the least-developed countries by 2010.
- Start a worldwide campaign to obtain universal ratification of all human rights instruments.

- Put pressure on businesses listed in Fortune 500 to recognize and implement human rights and labour standards, and to support The Ten Principles of the Global Compact for which the UN Secretary-General has called (31 January 1999).
- Set up a World Commission for Human Security, to verify that international economic agreements are in conformity with international human rights instruments, and to promote the emergence of a just world economic order.

In conclusion, the various Human Development Reports show that progress has been made in this area. Their major contribution has been to establish a link between human development, human security and human rights, and to call for additional tools to ensure respect for those rights. However, they have failed to underline the role of developed countries in blocking development in poor countries, and the burden that indebtedness (debt stock is put at US\$2,000 billion, and annual interest payments at US\$200 billion) imposes on them. Nor do the reports mention that rich countries give support to many dictatorial regimes that violate human rights, or discuss the negative effects of globalization on developing countries in the areas of human rights, human security and human development. These are issues that the present conference may wish to take up.

The human security dimension in the Palestinian Territories: an overview

Munther S. Dajani

I would like to begin by thanking the organizers for their hard work in making this meeting possible and for inviting me to be among such distinguished participants and guests.

It is ironic that human security is always being assassinated in the name of national security or any other security, usually when the state sees fit.

Generally speaking, twentieth-century social scientists and particularly political scientists became enmeshed in discussions of grandiose concepts of nation and state-building and power politics and lost sight of universal issues of humanity, or even ignored them. The assumption was that such matters as personal security of the individual is part and parcel of the overall security of the state and/or is part of what is referred to as national security in its more comprehensive definition. So, mainstream political science literature discussed abundantly these two elements, leaving the security of the individual to the dreamers or idealists and perhaps to the highly specialized humanitarians, without addressing this human dimension.

Only in the last decade, owing to the rise of attacks on individuals who happen to hold the nationalities or passports of targeted countries, did this again become an important issue. Only after many repeated tragic incidents inflicted on ordinary people did such a concept come back into focus.

The lack of progress in the peace process raises serious concern among Palestinians. Additional concern stems from their feeling that they are not being treated as equal negotiating partners. The violent four years of the al-Aqsa intifada in the Palestinian Territories have brutally interfered with people's living and working conditions and their feelings of personal security. The military operations by both Palestinian militant organizations and the Israeli army have shown the absurdity and lack of sense in the

militarization of the Intifada. In the four years since it started in September 2000 until September 2004, official statistics show that 3,474 Palestinians were killed and more than 42,000 injured,¹ while on the Israeli side 1,017 were killed.² Furthermore, 7,600 Palestinians are in Israeli prisons,³ and 5,000 Palestinian homes have been demolished.⁴

The Palestinian economic perspective is gloomy and there are still no realistic forecasts for a noticeable improvement. All indicators show that Palestinian society in the West Bank and Gaza Strip suffers from many serious problems including high population density, high unemployment rate of more than 40 per cent, conservatively speaking, high average poverty, difficulty in reaching the workplace, particularly school and university students and, more importantly, difficulty in reaching health services. According to Nigel Roberts, the World Bank Country Director for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Palestinian personal income has collapsed by 40 per cent in real terms (taking inflation into account) over the past four years of the intifada. Israel's policies of border closures and checkpoints vastly limit the mobility of Palestinians and merchandise within the Palestinian Territories. 'There is a clear link between security and closure, and between Palestinian reforms and revival of investment and business prospects,' he has stated.⁵

Furthermore, the World Bank Report at the international conference held in London under the patronage of Prime Minister Tony Blair (1 March 2005), estimates that the removal of the Israeli barriers alone will inject US\$2 billion dollars into the Palestinian economy. The Palestinian Economic Council for Development and Reconstruction (PECDAR) estimates the size of Palestinian economic losses in the last four-year period at US\$20 billion.⁶

Harassment and movement restrictions are causing personal depression, frustration, destitution and anger. A poll conducted

¹ Al-Quds daily newspaper, Jerusalem, 24 February 2005, p. 9.

² Ibid., 15 February 2005, p. 7.

³ Ibid., 14 February 2005, p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., 29 September 2004, p. 5.

⁵ Press conference, Wednesday 2 March 2005.

⁶ Al-Quds, 27 September 2004, p. 6.

on 2 March 2005,⁷ reveals that 57.8 per cent of the respondents evaluated the general economic situation in the Palestinian Territories as 'bad'; 70.8 per cent expressed worries about the subsistence of their families; 45.1 per cent believed that their major concern at present is safety. The most significant aspect of the poll results is that the Palestinian Territories are suffering from a suffocating economic crisis coupled with a deep sense of insecurity. The continuation of Israel's economic siege and the placing of checkpoints and barriers in the Palestinian Territories have dramatically enhanced the deterioration of the economic situation.

The separation/security/apartheid wall, an 8 m high concrete fence planted deep within the Palestinian Territories and in the midst of rural areas and urban neighbourhoods, has blocked many Palestinians in one region or another, while 2,173 families have emigrated from one region to another, dramatically changing the structure of Palestinian society. The wall has prevented 40 per cent of Palestinian families from obtaining health services. It has caused a sharp increase in health costs for 46 per cent of Palestinian families.⁸ The number of Palestinians hurt by the invasive fence is increasing geometrically and multi-dimensionally.

While the demand for an efficient government is still the highest priority for restoring confidence and establishing trust among people, the lack of improvement in social conditions is a potential source of very acute social tension.

Parents are discovering that the Palestinian education system does not adequately prepare their children for the challenges of the future. It is not development oriented and is therefore not suitable for the increasing needs and demands of the growing population suffering from the restricted movement of people and controlled flow of goods and ideas. The education system needs massive reform. There is a dire need for school buildings, the appointment of new qualified teachers and the introduction of new curricula that take into consideration the major challenges of the twenty-first century.

⁷ The poll was conducted by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion (PCPO) in cooperation with the Palestinian Economists' Association (PEA) and consisting of (980) Palestinian adults.

⁸ Al-Quds, 5 December 2004, p. 3.

The poor quality of the health system also presents a serious challenge to Palestinian welfare. Thus an improvement in the conditions and quality of education and health services is a prerequisite for the improvement of the quality of life, not only in the West Bank and Gaza strip which fall under Palestinian control, but also in East Jerusalem which falls under Israeli control. The Palestinian health system should at least provide the main basic services in areas such as mother and child health, school health, and environmental and occupational health. Needless to say, the greatest need is in secondary and tertiary health care (general and specialized hospital care). Many Palestinians seek hospitalization in nearby Jordan or Egypt. The Palestinian Authority must provide comprehensive health insurance coverage.

Pollution is causing disgust and outrage among the population. Environmental hazards in the Palestinian Territories threaten the lives of thousands of citizens, causing serious damage to animal life and arable land.⁹

The crime rate has risen astronomically in the Palestinian Territories. The police presence is almost symbolic and insufficient and does not give citizens a feeling of security; on the contrary the police at times take part in law-breaking rather than law enforcement and protection. The public is sceptical and mistrustful of senior law enforcement officers. The recent dismissal of some officers was not before time, although this particular case involved a shooting incident.

In many poor Palestinian communities the Islamists won in recent municipal elections. These results gave many people reason to think that the radicalization of the situation would continue through the legislative elections then scheduled for July 2005. One of the reasons for their success is that they had succeeded in providing much-needed medical services for the poorer Palestinian populations living on the periphery of the main cities, especially in the Gaza Strip and the south of the West Bank.

Living on the periphery of society there remains the refugee population, especially those who live in the Gaza Strip. Their

⁹ Al-Quds, 27 December 2003, p. 7.

conditions of survival remain appalling, there is no bright future for them and forms of assistance are inadequate and largely inefficient. They remain marginalized and overlooked. On the same scale but slightly better are the refugees of the West Bank.

In order to avoid the hazards of the conflict, many Palestinians, particularly Christians, emigrated to live, work or study abroad, particularly to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Most students at the end of their studies do not anticipate returning, at least as long as conditions remain the same.

Some say that it did not even occur to them to return. The brain drain has done terrible damage to the Palestinian community. The number of professionals and young people that have left the Palestinian Territories is high due to the deteriorating living circumstances, the unviable economic conditions and the high cost of living, coupled with a very high unemployment rate and an acute lack of professional opportunities.

Palestinian society has changed tremendously in the last few years and in many senses has radicalized. The problems and challenges seem to grow and grow, while the future outlook remains dim. At the macro level, an economic development plan is needed to establish industrial zones in order to create jobs.

As to the future, Palestinians can only dream. The Palestinian Authority does not have enough sensitivity and knowledge concerning the innumerable changes that have occurred in the Palestinian Territories in the last two decades and therefore they do not properly understand people's expectations, aspirations and needs. More decentralization of political power, more sensitivity to the demands of the people, and more democracy could lead towards better future security for the citizenry.

In searching for a permanent, just and comprehensive solution for the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, the Palestinians are seeking both Arab and international support and assistance.

After all, let us not forget that the Oslo Agreement was based on two very important major assumptions, first the movement of people and goods, and second the gradual introduction of confidence-building measures.

These two elements were intended to bring economic prosperity to the Palestinian side in the short term as well as to the Israeli side. Neither was implemented.

In conclusion, James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, at the March 2005 conference in London, maintained that the preconditions for growth and peace were to restore self-respect and hope to Palestinian youth, and for this to happen the Israeli closure should be dismantled so that economic activity can be resumed, jobs created and mutual confidence rebuilt. Wolfensohn indicated that three elements are essential to achieve Palestinian economic recovery: an environment in which the security of both Palestinians and Israelis is assured; the dismantling of the closure regime to allow for an expansion of trade within Gaza and the West Bank, with Israel and beyond; and the implementation of a reinvigorated governance reform programme because to attract investors a well-managed, transparent administration is vital. This would include a strong anti-corruption strategy, tightened fiscal discipline to avoid serious budgetary imbalances, and vigorous legal and judicial reform. Only with the maintenance of security, the lifting of closures, a sincere governance reform effort and, importantly, additional international financial assistance, will the Palestinian economy be able to recover and long-term peace be achievable, Wolfensohn concluded. I strongly agree with his point of view.

In my view the solutions to improve human security in the Palestinian Territories are the following:

First and foremost: the Israelis must withdraw from the Palestinian Territories. The retrieve from the Gaza Strip is an excellent first step but has to be followed by other steps to withdraw from the West Bank.

Second: the Palestinian Authority must implement reform, democratize and disarm the militants in order to have one authority and one central government that will be in charge of the security of all.

Third and final point: Palestinians must equip themselves with action plans and initiatives that will enable them to have a clear vision of where they want to go, which they owe to future generations.

Human security: Sudan case study

Osman Hassan

Introduction

The Sudan is the largest country in both the African continent and the Arab world, with an area of 2.7 million km². A member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), it includes seven climatic regions where rainfall varies widely. Some places face drought while others face flood, in regions ranging from equatorial rainforest to the dry heat of the Sahara.

There are different population structures associated with the climatic regions – agricultural, pastoral, urban and semi-urban communities. The total population is 34 million, with different African and Arab peoples divided into 370 tribes, also there are different religions such as Muslim, Christian and Idolater.

The Sudan has been politically independent since 1956, but the political system is unstable because of the civil war in the southern region, which has been ongoing since 1955. Different government and political regimes have alternated through democracy and dictatorship, until now the Sudan is living through a unique internal political disturbance as a result of forty years of civil war that has killed more than 2 million people and comprehensively put an end to development in the south.

Human security threats in the Sudan

The following factors are considered to be security threats in the Sudan:

- environmental effects of drought and desertification.
- internal disputes as a result of competition for scarce natural resources.
- side effects of the civil war (e.g. There are over 1 million landmines in the country).
- spread of infectious diseases.

- the fact that there are 4–6 million refugees in the country.
- the Sudan is surrounded by nine neighbouring countries that influence it in many ways, such as the spread of disease, drugs, illegal immigration and illegal small arms.

State of human security in the Sudan

There have been many economic and political conflicts in the Sudan which have had repercussions and clearly resulted in a loosening social structure, national insecurity, abnormal population movements, spread of disease and crime in the conflict areas and loss of trust between opponents of the government, which in turn have led to weakness in the state infrastructure such as the army, police force and judicial authority.

This weakness has extended to the government which, finding itself unable to confront all these problems simultaneously resorted instead to issuing emergency legislation, rejecting other opinions, and isolating and punishing opponents. All these things have happened in the Sudan as well as in other areas of experiencing internal conflicts.

We know that the Sudan has confronted many political and economical disputes of its own, but it has also been forced to deal with problems related to neighbouring countries' internal insecurity such as illegal emigration, flight of refugees, spread of disease and new types of crime. This confirms the validity of the hypothesis that equity and development lead to stability and development.

In addition to the settlement of human security principles respecting minorities and different races and cultures, in the case of the Sudan which has now ended the war in the south and is looking forward to a comprehensive political peace with the opposition force in the north and in Darfur, we need to consider the following:

- implement the laws relating to human security;
- stop disputes and violence in all regions of the country;
- make use of past lessons and experience;
- create better living conditions for the post-conflict peace;
- disseminate peaceful culture and coexistence between the disputing parties.

The pattern of human security threats in the Sudan is founded on drugs; disease such as malaria and AIDS; natural disasters and climate change; and poverty and a low standard of living.

Drugs

The Sudan is one of the countries through which drugs are trafficked. 'Pango' is a local drug from trees that grow in southern Darfur and at the boundaries of central African states. The armed disputes in the region have made it difficult to destroy these plantations, even though the authorities have attempted to raise awareness of drug dangers, secure the region to stop their spread and implement the appropriate legislation, but these efforts have not been fruitful because of the instability in the region.

Diseases

Diseases in the Sudan vary according to the climate, sometimes being transferred from neighbouring countries, for example in 1964 the Sudan was declared malaria-free, but ten years later and as a result of refugees entering from Ethiopia and Uganda, the disease spread widely all over the country. AIDS is another serious problem associated with the entry of refugees from neighbouring countries as it is spreading at a considerable rate.

Natural disasters (climate change)

The Darfur region, the size of France, is made up of three large states with Arab and African peoples living in a harmonious population structure with an economy dependent on agriculture and grazing.

The nomadic tribes move from one place to another seeking pasture and water, but the changes in climate create drought and thus scarce resources which lead to disputes with the sedentary agricultural tribes.

Surveys indicate that although the disputes are limited they have a direct relation to climate change and rainfall.

The absence of a national strategy to solve these regular disputes and conflicts in the neighbouring country of Chad led to the spread of small arms among civilians and militias in the 1970s, and the number of victims and revenge attacks between tribes increased. The worsening situation gave rise to a complete security explosion in the region, resulting in emigration of the population, loss of homes, destruction of public property, spread of disease and rebellion of the federal government in Khartoum.

Poverty and low standard of living

A large sector of the population in the Sudan suffers from poverty and low income, the average annual per capita income being US\$330, according to a 2003 UN survey. This is due to disturbances in economic policies, natural disasters and the civil war, which lead to a vicious circle of poverty and lack of security.

Positive model project in the conflict area

This is an example of a positive model project implemented by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and funded by the Japanese Government in the conflict area of southern Sudan. The project's aim was producing and catching fish and setting up artesian fisheries in southern Sudan to raise the standard of living, increase people's protein intake, create job opportunities, increase trading activities, and accustom people to live in peace instead of war.

The main project activities are:

- renewing fishing equipment;
- training in fishing skills and preservation techniques;
- training in the construction of fishing boats using wood from local forest stock;
- creating a regional network for fish sellers and traders;
- rehabilitation and reintegration of ex-combatants.

This project in fact contributes to the peace effort and to security building, and has had a powerful strategic effect in the region. It is expected to have even greater success in coming years.

Conclusions

Now that the situation in the Sudan is gradually improving in all fields, the government has signed a comprehensive peace agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Army and thus ended the longest war in Africa.

Negotiations are ongoing to solve the armed conflict in the Darfur region with the political opposition outside the country, which could be done by convincing all parties to respect each other's privacy and their ethnic, social or political differences.

It is important to have fair distribution of power and wealth and to create a rational democratic governance, all of which will reflect positively on economic development and improvement of the infrastructure. If all these aims can be achieved, most of the human security issues in the Sudan will be solved in the future.

Ethical criteria for eligible and responsible civil society involvement in response to the needs and challenges of human security in the Arab region

Ziad Abdel Samad

Introduction

The role of civil society organizations (CSOs) can be divided into three main tracks.

1. Provision of services: this role should be seen as a very important factor in helping the poor to overcome the socio-economic impact of globalization, such as privatization, reduction of public expenditures on social services, and increasing public income mainly through new taxes.
2. Raising awareness and capacity-building: while they actively try to alleviate poverty, CSOs have to adopt a rights-based approach by empowering the poor and raising awareness about their right to development.
3. Lobbying and advocacy: it is well known that poverty eradication and social justice are core goals for all CSOs. Therefore, it is obvious that in order to achieve such goals there is a need to introduce radical changes in public policies, and reforms at the political, social, economic, cultural and administrative levels, both locally and globally. This will necessitate well-organized and strong advocacy and lobbying campaigns targeting decision-makers.

In this context, CSOs with various roles and mandates are involved in activities with a direct impact on strengthening human security in our societies. For human security is not limited to state security, but it is ‘all those things that men and women anywhere in the world cherish most: enough food for the family; adequate shelter; good health; schooling for the children; protection from violence whether inflicted by man or by nature; and a state which does not oppress its citizens but rules with their consent’.¹

¹ Louise Frechette, United Nations Deputy Secretary-General, October 1999.

Accordingly, it may be noted that human security in the Arab region is threatened by three main factors:

1. Foreign occupation and its impact on the political, economic, social and cultural aspects of life in the entire region. Therefore, ending occupation will definitely contribute to sustaining human security and to developing relevant strategies to address developmental challenges in the region.
2. Lack of democracy and the violation of human rights, whereby it is obvious that democracy is a key issue to enlarge participation of the main stakeholders. Therefore, a major tool is to elaborate fair and relevant policies and national strategies. Moreover, democracy is a tool for transparency, accountability and responsibility.
3. Deterioration of economic, social and cultural situation. It is well-known that Human Development Indicators (including the main three indicators: a decent standard of living as measured by per capita GDP; knowledge as measured by adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary cross-enrolment; and a long and healthy life as measured by life expectancy at birth), which concern increasing the choices available for citizens, show negative results in most Arab countries.

Although the concept of human security is not an alternative to that of state security, it establishes a complementary process by which the former becomes one of the means to the latter. In the Arab region it is essential to add the effects on human security that relate to foreign occupation and its tendency towards including more territories and influencing their politics, economy and culture. Two factors are indispensable for addressing the roots of human security challenges in the region: increasing the role of CSOs by empowering them and transforming public institutional socio-economic policies by responding to local needs rather than applying the stipulations of international financial institutions.

The above-mentioned challenges are indicative of the interrelation between state security and human security in its wider and comprehensive sense. Moreover, the basic definition of human security indicates the need for an active role of CSOs in the provision of factors that can guarantee such security, especially as with globalization the role of governments has been decreasing, whereas the role of international institutions and non-governmental actors has been increasing.² Thus, this situation requires that all organizations contribute to the common good in order to achieve sustainable progress, peace and justice.

This paper addresses the main challenges facing CSOs in the Arab countries, and therefore the main criteria and conditions to establish strong CSOs; to provide an enabling environment to face challenges to human security; and to play a more important and effective role in elaborating and adopting fair social and economic policies.

Challenges facing CSOs in the Arab region³

The main challenges facing CSOs in the Arab countries can be divided into two main categories: internal or subjective; and external or objective.

Subjective challenges

The majority of CSOs in most Arab countries are still service-oriented. Accordingly, they focus primarily on providing services, raising awareness and building capacities rather than conducting advocacy and lobbying campaigns on decision-makers.

This situation is in part due to the lack of active social movements, such as trade unions, youth, students, women's or environmental groups able to influence social and economic policies and political reforms.

² Non-governmental actors in this context means numerous kinds of organization, including multinational institutions, transnational companies, civil society organizations, international mafias.

³ This section is based on a paper by the present author (Abdel Samad, 2005).

A comprehensive developmental vision is lacking that could lead to the elaboration of effective strategies and national plans and thus possible opportunities to take part in decision-making. In addition, the lack of transparent and viable relations between the various stakeholders such as NGOs, trade unions, political parties and other social groups such as youth and women contributes to this situation.

CSOs in the Arab region lack coordination in their programmes and strategies that could allow them to improve their role at the national, regional and international levels. Moreover, despite their active participation in international summits and conferences, this participation still lacks clear objectives; thus it is ineffective and unable to influence global decision-making. CSOs are also unable to benefit from these experiences at national and regional levels because their participation is individualistic in nature rather than through networks, organized structures or social movements.

Objective challenges

The inadequacy of legal frameworks in the Arab region and the restrictions set by governments is another challenge faced by Arab civil societies. The main reason for the weakness of social movements in the region is the lack of political freedom, both public and private, particularly freedom of association. This leads to a lack of recognition of the role and need for civil society participation as a main factor towards political and social change and sustainable development.

Before discussing ethical criteria, it is worth noting that CSOs in the Arab region are either deprived of the right to exist or, where they do exist, their activities are strongly restricted. Moreover, decades of totalitarian practices have led to the deterioration of their role in most Arab countries. Accordingly, freedom of association and cancellation of all restrictions, including emergency and marshal laws ruling most of the Arab countries, is essential.

On the other hand, the heavy burden of debt and economic stagnation increase the role and influence of international financial institutions in formulating national policies. This threatens the stability and independence of CSOs and weakens their capacity to oppose such imposed policies. At the same time, it also increases the need for CSOs to push governments towards prioritizing national needs and agendas rather than applying foreign agendas imposed by the international financial institutions.

The question of funding CSOs also imposes great constraints and challenges in their quest to improve their work. CSOs in the Arab region lack sufficient local sources of funding, both governmental and non-governmental. They therefore look to external, national and international, governmental, non-governmental and inter-governmental sources of funding, which is increasingly affecting their independence and ability to draw national priorities according to the national agenda.

Finally, the overall situation in the region, particularly the instability and lack of security, weakens civil society structures and roles.

Despite these constraints, it is worth noting that the region is witnessing the rise of many initiatives aimed at democratization and reform. These initiatives demand the active participation of CSOs as a precondition to their success and sustainability.

A code of ethics for NGOs

In order to improve their role and increase their influence in the processes of sustainable development, reform and democratization, as well as enhanced human security measures, CSOs should apply criteria that assure their performance and good governance and commitment to a set of agreed ethical norms. Generally, a code of ethics does not tackle operational procedures but the standards following which operations are conducted. Accordingly, a code serves to provide a framework for self-governance of CSOs through a set of principles and values that inform and improve decision-making.

Committing to the norms of ethics is a voluntary action enforced by the will of the organization and its leaders. Given the expanding role

of CSOs in various fields, whether service provision, capacity-building, or advocacy and influence on policy-making, an implementable and binding code of ethics for these organizations is acquiring increasing value. Partnerships between civil society, governments, international organizations, and even the private sector are developing. Such relations necessitate a clear mandate and an accountable agreement between any prospective partners. A code of ethics is essential for building trust between CSOs and their constituencies. Accordingly, abiding by ethical norms could protect CSOs from any scrutiny from other groups regarding their legitimacy and accountability towards their constituency.

Moreover, the role of CSOs in advocacy campaigns has been significantly expanding, with a growing influence on policy-making in social or economic areas. CSOs have increasingly been lobbying governments, whether on adopting adequate development strategies through monitoring the implementation of the outcomes of international conventions such as the United Nations Millennium Summit, revising trade-related issues relating to the implications of signed agreements within the World Trade Organization or other multilateral or bilateral agreements (Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements, Free Trade Area, Greater Arab Free Trade Area, etc.), or monitoring respect for human rights according to international conventions. Moreover, CSOs are increasingly acquiring consultative status with various UN agencies, and some have been involved in lobbying corporations regarding their social and environmental responsibilities and have had a major impact on national legislation regulating their management and conduct. Committing to ethical norms would give CSOs the authority to lobby policy-makers and impact on the policies implemented.

According to a report by the World Association for Non-Governmental Organizations (WANGO) in 2004, the ethical criteria of NGOs can be divided into two main groups: quantitative and qualitative.⁴

⁴ The following section is taken mainly from the Code of Ethics and Conduct for NGOs (WANGO, 2004).

Quantitative criteria include governance structures, human resources, public trust, financial and legal issues, fundraising including general approaches, solicitations, use of funds, accountability in using funds, and the relationship with donors.

Qualitative criteria include an organization's vision and mission, and the general principles of partnerships, collaboration and networking, including partnerships with other CSOs, with government, with international organizations, and with the private sector.

Accordingly, a code of ethics would commit an organization to an adequate and transparent structure with the following implications.

A CSO should be headed by a board or coordination committee, which would be responsible for supervising the effectiveness and efficiency of the organization's programmes. Periodical elections for board members and officers are also a necessity.

The staff should be hired based on transparent and open recruitment procedures and should undergo periodical evaluations. Moreover, the honesty and integrity of the staff and leaders of the organization and the information they provide and advocate for is essential for the credibility and trust that an organization acquires. Therefore, a clear and well-identified internal guideline and employment practices are required for an organization's ethical conduct.

The organization should also commit to fully disclose financial information, including sources of funding, application of funds and audited accounts. An organization should preserve its independence and its agenda should not be dependent on the agenda of the donors. The financial accounts should be audited by an independent and accredited auditing group. Programmes and activities should be elaborated based on the needs and priorities of the organizations constituencies in a way that serves its mission and vision. In seeking to strengthening its mission and the efficiency of its programmes, an organization should seek partnerships based on common values and shared visions, while not compromising its independence and control over its programmes and mission.

Endnotes on social capital

In the context of the above ethical norms, the basis for a successful and correct role for CSOs, it is worth noting that one of their main indirect roles would be strengthening and enhancing social capital. Accordingly, it is worth looking at the role of CSOs in enhancing human security in a society through the generation of social capital.

Social capital is based on the process of connectivity between people, leading to coordination and cooperation. It can be defined as ‘an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals; not just any set of instantiated norms constitutes social capital, however they must lead to cooperation in groups and therefore are related to traditional virtues like honesty, the keeping of commitments, reliable performance of duties, reciprocity, and the like’ (Fukuyama, 1999).

Social capital is detached from the role of government, given that it cannot be enforced by public policies, and has been strongly associated with religion and tradition, especially in the Arab countries. Yet, with the increasingly secular nature and the relatively limited role of religion in today’s societies, a greater role in the creation of social capital is related to people’s involvement in associations and CSOs. Moreover, at a time of heightened global dynamics, it has been argued that social capital can be a liability by limiting the movement of individuals between groups and thereby becoming a barrier to new ideas and information (Granovetter, 1973). Accordingly, CSOs have a role in enhancing two dimensions of social capital, including bonding (exclusive) and/or bridging (inclusive). The former may be inward-looking and have a tendency to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups. The latter may be more outward-looking and encompass people across different social divides (Putnam, 2000, p. 22; cited in Smith, 2000, 2001).

Thus, social capital and the process of enhancing connectivity between people imply increasing the processes of exchange, partnerships and dialogue. Accordingly, societies are characterized by more access to information and higher levels of awareness and knowledge among citizens, as well as more developed trust relations and thus support systems for the individual.

Social capital and human security

Here lies the direct link between social capital and human security. ‘There is considerable evidence that communities with a good “stock” of social capital are more likely to benefit from lower crime figures, better health, higher educational achievement, and better economic growth’ (Smith, 2000, 2001). In other words, those with extensive networks are more likely to be ‘housed, healthy, hired and happy (Woolcock, 2001).

In addition, connectivity enhances involvement and thus should be considered to mean more democratic practices. Social capital, based on connectivity and trust, is a way towards stronger protection from undemocratic practices, thus it is a way towards finding a space for everyone to coexist in a society and a step towards more tolerance. Accordingly, it is a step away from possible violence as well as possible oppression inflicted by the state.

Thus, social capital is a factor of direct relation to human security. Consequently, the role of CSOs, including their developed operations through networks and social movements, carried out on the basis of the ethical code of conduct, is highly important in creating social capital and enhancing adequate and constructive ties within as well as between social groups.

In this framework, citizenship, as a main factor that strengthens social capital through enhancing people’s relationship with their home country, is highly important and needs to be addressed by CSOs in the process of enhancing human security. The sense of belonging and building trust in the community is basic to social capital, and it is directly implied by citizenship.

In the report prepared for the Advisory Board on Human Security, *Denial to Citizenship; A Challenge to Human Security* (June 2004), the direct link between citizenship and human security was demonstrated. Citizenship is referenced by economic, social and cultural rights as well as political and civic rights. Citizenship, including the right to vote and to participate in political, social and economic processes, is the means of empowering the individual as a citizen. In this sense, the Commission on Human Rights ‘has

acknowledged critical linkages between governance and citizenship and between violent conflict and citizenship’ (Advisory Board on Human Security, 2004, p. 5).

‘Commentators on the ways of achieving citizenship rights have ranged from Marshall’s (1950) advocacy of entitlements to basic resources, to Putnam’s (1994) and Cox’s (1995) identification of civil societies being achieved by building social capital within different levels of democracy. Marshall (1950, p. 56) is perhaps the most explicit in linking social rights to security ...’ (Rees and Blanchard, n.d.). Moreover, human security as means for ‘creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity’ (Advisory Board on Human Security, 2004, pp. 4–5) have been also linked to citizenship as a process, that if lacking can lead to significant threats.

Accordingly, civil society with its various forms of organizations has an integral role in strengthening citizenship, as a means for more prosperous social capital, and thus enhanced human security. In its quests for achieving full respect for the international conventions of human rights, including the Convention for Political and Civic Rights as well as Social, Economic, and Political Rights, for good governance and democratic practices, CSOs are the main agents for strengthening the supportive environment to preserve human security.

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Human security in the Arab World: reflections from an outsider looking in

Keith Krause

Introduction

The concept of ‘human security’, widely used by a broad range of governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations, is only the latest in a long series of attempts to challenge traditional state-centred conceptions of security. These include such ideas as global security, societal security, common security, comprehensive security and cooperative security.¹ Apart from being the most recent of these attempts to reformulate or redefine the concept of security, the human security approach is significant because policy-makers have used the idea of human security to generate important and interesting international, regional and national policy initiatives. But beyond initiatives to deal with problems such as post-conflict reconstruction, anti-personnel landmines, children and vulnerable groups in conflict, rebuilding health infrastructures, or ensuring the viability of economically vulnerable communities, has the concept of human security transformed the way in which states and international organizations approach the global security agenda? And how can it be applied in a useful and productive way in different regions – in particular in the Arab world?

To answer this question, we first need to accept that all concepts of security – including the so-called traditional concept of ‘national security’ – are social constructs. This is not difficult to demonstrate. Before the Cold War, As the historian Daniel H. Yergin has noted, ‘the term “national security” was not common in American political

¹ See, for a few key texts, the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (1982); Carter et al. (1992); Dewitt (1994); Buzan (1991); Waever (1995); Commission on Global Governance (1995, pp. 80–81).

discourse' (Yergin, 1977) – or in that of any other state. It was only in 1945, in the US Senate hearings on the post-Second World War American defence policy and military structure, that Secretary of Defence James Forrestal invoked the idea of national security as a guiding principle for US policy. It was a new idea: the term was hardly used before that time. Senator Edwin Johnson – an influential foreign policy advocate – replied, simply, 'I like your words "national security"' (Yergin, 1977).

'At certain moments, unfamiliar phrases suddenly become common articles of political discourse, and the concepts they represent become so embedded in the national consciousness that they seem always to have been with us. So it was for the phrase "national security" in 1945 ... its sudden popularity resulted from the fact that it encapsulated an outlook on the world, a mentality' (Yergin, 1977, p. 195).

From this point on, it was treated as the conventional or mainstream concept of security, with its entailments of protection from and defence against the risk of war and large-scale violence inflicted from outside the political community. Yet this concept of security was largely a twentieth-century construction, and was tied to the Cold War in important ways (Waeber, 1999).

Arguably, the concept of human security is entering international discourse in much the same way. Like all concepts of security, its meaning is constructed through the various efforts of institutions and individuals, and in today's world it is a powerful concept around which practical policies and concrete initiatives have been, and can be, developed and promoted.

This paper explores the strengths, and some of the weaknesses, of the concept of human security in four steps. First, it briefly discusses the origins and genesis of the concept of human security and highlights the two different visions of human security that are in circulation. Second and third, it examines how human security relates to the concepts of human development and state security. Finally, it makes a few critical observations on the promotion and implementation of the concept. Throughout, I try – as an informed

outsider – to reflect on how the concept of human security might or might not be useful in the Arab world.²

Overall, I argue that the use of the concept of human security by policy-makers and civil society advocates is not just a matter of labelling, and that the promotion of human security is not just a conceptual issue. It leads states and policy-makers to focus on different issues, to ask different questions, and even to promote different policies; developments that have a significant impact in shaping the security agenda for the twenty-first century.

Origins and diffusion of human security

The most striking thing about the concept of human security is that it was born in the policy world, and did not spring forth from either academics or analysts. It was first used in a serious way in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report. The UNDP vision of human security was very broad: it encompassed seven different dimensions: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. The overall goal was to expand the concept of security, which had ‘for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust’ (UNDP, 1994, p. 22). Human security was thus meant to change the referent object of security ‘from an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people’s security’, and, somewhat more problematically, to advocate ‘security through sustainable human development’ (UNDP, 1994, p. 24).

The idea behind the UNDP report was that emphasizing human security would make it possible to capture the so-called ‘peace dividend’ and to ensure that the resources devoted to the military through the Cold War were directed towards more productive ends. The direct aim of the 1994 report was to influence the outcome of the 1995 Copenhagen Social Summit, and from the outset the concept of human security was thus a practical one with clear strategic goals.

² For the most interesting and comprehensive analysis on this, see Chourou (2004); as well as his paper prepared for this conference (Chourou, 2005). See also Abdel Samad, (2004, pp. 39–41).

From the mid-1990s until today, the concept of human security has been used by a vast array of NGOs and international organizations.³ Of course, these groups and institutions were attracted to the idea because ‘human security’ was a nice slogan. But there was more to it than that: human security was a way of describing or framing what they were doing that allowed a number of disparate policy initiatives to be linked, and to be given greater coherence.

In other words, the concept of human security helped to catalyse a reframing of the parallel discourses of ‘security’ and ‘development’. In particular, by shifting the referent object of ‘security’ from that of the state to that of the individual, it highlighted the difficult relationship that can exist between promoting state security and promoting the security of individuals (which has historically often been jeopardized by the state). Ultimately, the influence of such an idea cannot be measured simply by its use, but by whether or not it informs, or is linked to, a set of concrete practices that are either new, or that represent a significant departure from previous practices. In the case of human security, there were at least two specific important political initiatives that emerged in the late 1990s, which represented a partial departure from existing ‘ways of doing business’.

The first political initiative was the creation of the Human Security Network. It was established in 1999 as a loose grouping of states led by Canada and Norway, and including Austria, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand and (as an observer) South Africa, and which had as a goal the pursuit of common policies on human security in a variety of international and regional institutions. They meet annually at foreign minister level, and throughout the year pursue their

³ Including Oxfam, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Academic Council on the UN System, UN University, Arias Foundation, Center for Defence Information, Worldwatch Institute, Commission on Global Governance, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, International Action Network on Small Arms, Pax Christi, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Harvard University’s Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, Human Security Center at the University of British Columbia, Saferworld, Bonn International Center for Conversion, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (Geneva), Regional Human Security Center (Amman), Canadian Consortium on Human Security, and so on.

initiatives in a variety of formal and informal ways, as a forum for the coordination and shaping of the international security agenda.⁴ As a result, many of the member states (in particular the two leading states and Switzerland) have also devoted significant financial resources to promoting human security initiatives, often hand-in-hand with non-governmental organizations or with other member states of the Network.

The second initiative was led by Japan, which had created a Trust Fund for Human Security in 1999. It subsequently established the Japanese-led Commission on Human Security, which was co-chaired by the former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Sadako Ogata, and the Nobel prizewinner economist, Amartya K. Sen.⁵ Its report, entitled *Human Security Now* (CHS, 2003), spawned the creation of a Human Security Advisory Board within the UN system, and ultimately a Human Security Unit at UN Headquarters. The Trust Fund for Human Security itself supports initiatives led by institutions within the UN system. Other UN agencies, in particular UNESCO, have undertaken large-scale explorations of the concept and practice of human security, or (such as WHO or UNICEF) have found it a practical support for promoting their work.

The concept of human security was also used by a wide range of NGOs or international organizations to give a new dynamism and emphasis to projects at grass-roots level. For these groups, a focus on human security meant – in the words of one advocate – ‘putting people first’.⁶ It meant adopting a bottom-up or local approach to security that focused on the relationship between states and their citizens, and that moved away from equating the security of a state or regime with the economic, political and social well-being of the citizens. In most parts of the world, the state or regime was secured at the expense of the needs of its citizens – or worse: the state itself posed the most important threat to human security.

⁴ See the Network’s website at <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org> for a good survey of ongoing activities.

⁵ See the Commission’s website at <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org>.

⁶ This phrase has been used to describe the small arms related activities of the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Two visions of human security

There were, however, two competing visions of human security that emerged out of these various initiatives, and which are loosely reflected in the Japanese and Canadian initiatives. The first, broad, ‘Japanese’ vision drew upon the original UNDP formulation, and could be summarized by the phrase ‘freedom from want’ – human security was about ensuring basic human needs in economic, health, food, social and environmental terms. It was directly reflected in the 2003 report of the Commission on Human Security, and in the funding activities of the Japanese Trust Fund for Human Security. The Commission report focused not just on situations of conflict, but also on issues of fair trade, access to health care, patient rights, access to education, and basic freedoms, while the Trust Fund has sponsored projects in areas as diverse as food security for farmers in Timor-Leste or fishermen in southern Sudan, health security in Tajikistan or Mongolia, or the rebuilding of schools in Kosovo.

The second, more tightly focused, vision was linked more closely to the activities of the Human Security Network, and its key slogan was ‘freedom from fear’ – human security was about removing the use of, or threat of, force and violence from people’s everyday lives. It includes a range of initiatives on issues such as:

- Eliminating the scourge of anti-personnel landmines;
- Stopping the use of child soldiers and implementing effective demobilization and reintegration programmes for them;
- Ending the tradition of impunity by promoting respect for international humanitarian law (IHL) and the work of the International Criminal Court;
- Combating proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons;
- Working towards security-sector reform, including not just the armed forces, but the police and criminal justice system;
- Promoting good governance in the security sector.

Note that the development of the ‘freedom from fear’ agenda was ad hoc, and based on the experience of middle-power states working together (and occasionally in partnership with NGOs), in particular on the international campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines. The Ottawa Treaty is the hallmark of the human security approach, as it is difficult to conceive of this initiative emerging as long as we remain locked into a state-centred concept of security. But international action to ban landmines began in the early 1990s, and it was only after the Ottawa Treaty was concluded in 1997 that the whole exercise was labelled as an attempt to promote human security.⁷

To some extent, the debate between the broad and narrow visions – between ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’ – is misleading. Both visions can be ranged on a spectrum; in the middle of the spectrum they blur into each other, and at the broad end, human security blurs into other concepts such as human development. The two ends of the spectrum are not the best places for a fruitful debate. At one end, the broadest vision of human security often turns into a shopping list; it involves labelling as threats to human security a wide range of issues that have no necessary link with each other. At a certain point, human security seems to capture almost everything that could be considered to challenge human well-being, and thus falls into the trap that Daniel H. Deudney aptly describes: ‘if everything that causes a reduction in human well-being is labelled a security threat, the term loses any analytical usefulness and becomes a loose synonym of “bad”’ (Deudney, 1999, p. 192).

At this point, the concept loses all utility to policy-makers – and incidentally to analysts – since it obscures what is distinctive about the idea of ‘security’. It is not clear that anything is gained by putting the label ‘human security’ on issues such as the right to education, fair trade practices, or public health challenges. Does it change our understanding of the right to basic education when we describe illiteracy as a threat to human security – does it facilitate

⁷ Two indispensable sources on landmines are Cameron et al. (1998), and Price (1998).

more effective action, does it help us solve problems? Or does it actually lead us down the wrong path in some cases, to treating certain problems, such as migration or HIV/AIDS, as threats to security, when they would better be considered as simple public policy challenges? The extensive literature on the ‘securitization’ of migration illustrates this well.⁸

On the other hand, at the other end of the spectrum, if the concept of human security remains too narrowly focused on ‘freedom from fear’, from the threat or use of violence, it risks being irrelevant – in practical and policy terms – to the very people whose security it intends to promote or protect. Even the concept of national security, which human security is designed to supplement, is seldom confined to ‘violent threats’, and national security has encompassed a wide range of existential threats to core values, always recognizing that national security remains ‘an ambiguous symbol’.⁹ Hence human security, whether ‘freedom from fear’ or ‘freedom from want’ must, as Taylor Owen puts it, be a threshold concept, that deals with existential threats to the ‘vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats’ (Owen, 2004, p. 381). And fear and violence are a key part of this: the question of eliminating fear and force from political, economic and social life has been central to the whole modern understanding of politics and the struggle to establish legitimate and representative socio-economic and political institutions. It is part of Thomas Hobbes’ vision of the political Leviathan – an institution created to bring us out of the situation of ‘war of each against all’ into a civil state in which economic, social and political life could flourish.

⁸ See, for representative contributions, Bigo (1998) and Huysmans (2000). From a security perspective, Western European states (and certain elements of the European political elite) have often reacted to migration as if it posed a threat to societal identity and values. From an economic perspective, however, the consensus is that Europe needs to encourage migration in order to sustain its welfare entitlements (including pensions), in the face of an aging workforce and population. See the papers presented at a joint European Commission/OECD conference entitled ‘The Economic and Social Aspects of Migration’, Brussels, 21–22 January 2003, at http://www.oecd.org/document/1/0,2340,en_2649_37415_15582209_1_1_1_37415,00.html.

⁹ The phrase is taken from the title of Arnold Wolfers’ key article “‘National security’ as an ambiguous symbol’ (1952).

What might this imply for human security in the Arab world? It suggests that casting the net of human security too widely – to ‘securitize’ pressing social challenges such as provision of basic health care, environmental degradation, combating illiteracy through access to education, and so forth – might not represent any practical ‘value added’. To say this does not in any way diminish the importance of practical action in these areas, but nothing is gained either in terms of new policy initiatives, or in terms of mobilizing resources, to describe these as human security challenges. On the other hand, and as we shall see below, there are some areas in which practical initiatives can be fruitfully pursued.

Human security and human development

How are the concepts of human security and human development linked? Arguably, ‘development’ and ‘security’ have been the two main pillars of contemporary multilateral action since 1945. Yet we could generalize, without being totally unfair, that for almost four decades ideas about development and security were completely disconnected, and were pursued in parallel institutional and political structures. Entire institutions were built up to promote both security and development. People in various development cooperation agencies hardly spoke to the counterparts in foreign and defence ministries, and the gap in institutional cultures remains enormous.

Debates on how to achieve development were thus effectively insulated (with some exceptions) from any considerations of security issues, for basically three reasons. First, throughout the Cold War security policy was deemed an issue of national sovereignty, and thus matters such as defence or military spending were outside the scrutiny of aid donors or international financial institutions. Second, security policies were often caught up in Cold War conflicts and alliances, and thus a taboo subject for development agencies or institutions. Third, external scrutiny of a state’s policies and practices towards its own citizens was deemed to be interference in its internal affairs. The result was that development agencies and international financial institutions, at

least until the early 1990s, excluded national security concerns from their mandates.

More importantly, however, it was widely believed in economic and development circles that development was a precondition for security, and that increased economic development would almost automatically reduce the incidence of conflict within, and potentially even between, states. It was not surprising that the UNDP 1994 formulation of human security focused on promoting ‘security through sustainable human development’. (UNDP, 1994, p. 24). It is here that the concept of human security poses the greatest challenge to existing modes of thought.

On the ground, ideas of security and development could not be so easily separated, and the development/security link proved to be a two-way street. Economic development alone turned out not to be a recipe for eliminating or reducing conflict and violence in societies. For the international development community in the early 1990s, for example, Rwanda was a success story – high levels of multilateral official development assistance (ODA) were coupled with rapid progress in a variety of economic and social indicators. But the 1994 genocide starkly demonstrated that something was terribly wrong with this picture, and that a focus on national economic development without attention to basic security concerns and needs would not by itself resolve underlying conflicts and insecurities.

In the Arab Middle East, as highlighted by the Arab Human Development Report 2002, high levels of wealth have not necessarily translated into high levels of human security, broadly defined (UNDP, 2002). In certain situations in the Middle East (and without mentioning specific examples), a failure to resolve specific conflict and insecurities – whether these arose from intensely violent communal conflicts or civil wars, from state-sponsored repression or violence, or from low-level sustained violence and insecurity in the everyday lives of people (crime, extortion, threats, etc.) – meant that whatever gains had been made in investment, health care, education or infrastructure were rapidly undermined or wiped out.

With the rise in attention on intra-state and communal conflicts in the 1990s, it was almost inevitable, therefore, that the link between development and security be re-examined. It is also not surprising that the concept of human security would encounter some conceptual ambiguity, as more traditional elements of the development community attempted to co-opt the concept of human security as a powerful slogan without altering in any way the practice of development policy. This should not prevent us from recognizing that the two concepts remain distinct, and that the most important insight of human security is that you cannot achieve sustainable human development without human security – you cannot achieve freedom from want without also working towards or achieving freedom from fear.

Noteworthy examples of this shift in thinking would be the concept of ‘security first’ (that development efforts should first ensure that security exists or can be created), the idea of ‘sustainable disarmament for sustainable development’, and the focus on ‘security sector reform’ by major aid donors and international financial institutions. These kinds of efforts represent a sea change in thinking in the international development community, whose importance cannot be overstated.¹⁰ It would make sense for the human security agenda in the Arab world to focus on practical measures that responded to these broader shifts in development thinking, in particular on improving security sector governance, or in paying due attention to creating the minimal conditions of public security and safety as a precondition to broader development efforts. This would include such issues as:

- Adequate training for state agents (police, armed forces, criminal justice system) to respect basic human rights in their use of force;
- Appropriate legislative and regulatory frameworks for the possession and use of small and light weapons in society;

¹⁰ The ‘security first’ approach has been promoted by the European Union in the context of the small arms debate; it was also the title of a major international conference sponsored in October 1998 by the Belgian Ministry of Development Cooperation, and has been the focus of numerous efforts, including that of the UK Department for International Development and the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

- Conflict resolution and violence-reduction programmes (including making use of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms), in social institutions such as schools, or between communal groups;
- Protection for weak and vulnerable groups from social and family violence;
- Eliminating the climate of judicial impunity (including from major crimes and corruption) that exists in some states in the Middle East.

In all cases we need to recognize that we cannot successfully promote human development without attention to people's basic existential need for safety and security in daily life.

Human security and state security

The sceptical reaction of many state elites in the South – and in particular in the Arab world – to the language of human security often takes another form. It is often regarded as a thinly disguised means of Western intervention, either through ideas or force, in the internal affairs of states in the global South. It can also be regarded as a more subtle means of weakening state structures and state institutions by promoting ideas that undermine their legitimacy or ability to govern. Others have seen it as a means of pitting citizens against their states, and of weakening state structures at a time when the forces of globalization challenge state autonomy and power.

There is some truth to these concerns, at least in the sense that the language of human security has been used to combat the culture of impunity and to strengthen civil society institutions and NGOs. It is also clear that there was a link between the Canadian promotion of human security (under the then Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy) and the creation of the Canadian-sponsored International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, which published its impressive report, *The Responsibility to Protect*, in 2001 (ICISS, 2001). This report was an attempt to rethink the idea of humanitarian intervention within the framework of human

security, and it adopted a cautious approach to the circumstances in which it could be considered.

But several clarifications and responses are needed here. First, we should not be too impressed by what state elites say about human security, because one of the main sources of threat to people's security around the world undoubtedly comes from the state – from corrupt politicians, police and judges, from violent and unruly gangs of ex-combatants, from predatory rulers who ignore basic rights and the rule of law. As the ICISS put it, the international community may not have a right to intervene, but it should have a responsibility to protect the weak and vulnerable members of any community, especially from the threats of large-scale violence and genocide.

Secondly, and perhaps paradoxically, most of the issues on the agenda of human security actually involve strengthening the role and resources of the state. Most of the activities around security-sector governance, or enhancing respect for human rights by state institutions (including education), or providing basic services to ensure the safety and welfare of citizens, focus on the national level, and involve working with state authorities. The promotion of human security can call into question the performance (and/or legitimacy) of particular regimes that fail to safeguard the security of their peoples, but it does not undermine the legitimacy or stability of states. The distinction between regime and state security is a crucial one.

The goal of promoting human security, whatever definition is adopted, in general enhances the relationship between a state and its citizens, and also makes the legitimacy – and sometimes sovereignty – of a state conditional on how it treats them. The responsibility of states towards their citizens includes three elements: the provision of security, the promotion of well-being, and the representation of their basic values. Providing security means that the state has a minimal duty to guarantee that its citizens can pursue their basic needs and aspirations without fear or threat of violence, either from the state and its representatives or from other people. Promoting human security is thus about making states and regimes keep their side of the social contract: states are created

(among other things) to provide security – in order that individuals can pursue their lives safely and in peace. States have the responsibility not just to provide for welfare, or representation, but – first and foremost – to ensure the security of their citizens.

Practically speaking, this involves a focus on more than just the institutions of organized violence. Other, more subtle forms of violence also exist, and the state has a responsibility to protect its citizens' right to pursue their lives as they see fit, as long as this does not endanger the state itself. Indeed, very few acts or beliefs endanger the state, and the state must therefore protect difference and diversity, especially among minority or vulnerable groups, and in particular when this is being denied by others. The respect of different opinions and ways of life does not necessarily endanger the ability of different peoples to develop a common legitimate and strong state, and the evidence from pluralist societies around the world – in both North and South – can serve as an example for the Arab world, itself a region of great social, cultural, communal and religious diversity.

Ultimately, the promotion of human security is designed to strengthen, not weaken, the state, and to cement the bonds between a state and its citizens. A state that represents, protects and promotes their interests is a strong state that will enjoy greater legitimacy and stability. A state that preys on its citizens, represses their basic rights, and denies (or does not tolerate) legitimate differences of view on any issue is one that will ultimately be weak and illegitimate.

Conclusion

Although human security may be an idea whose time has come, this does not make it immune to critical scrutiny, and I would like to make two concluding observations. First, and as noted above, there is a paradox in promoting policies that can strengthen the state at the same time as the state is diagnosed as the source of much human insecurity. Disarming the weak without controlling the strong, for example, will not enhance human security. Encouraging good

governance with lower military spending may actually, in some cases, also leave a state prey to lawlessness and anarchy. Of course the goal is to contribute to the construction of strong and legitimate states, but the potential dilemmas or unanticipated consequences that human security policies may trigger must be recognized.

Secondly, the fact that much of the conceptualization of human security, and the elaboration of concrete policy initiatives, has emerged from states, rather than from civil society, poses a problem. At the international level, states inevitably face systemic pressures that lead them to revert to more traditional foreign and security policy stances when they are perceived as ‘getting too far ahead’ of the broader international community. Within the state, the degree of faith that citizens can put in their national bureaucracies to promote human security, through education and development policies, through good governance of the security sector, or through other political reforms, is often low. This is especially true in the Arab world, where the link between state institutions and their citizens has been particularly weak because of the rentier phenomenon,¹¹ and pervasive authoritarian rule. This sort of lack of faith in institutions is not surprising, but it can undermine the commitment to promoting the real concerns of human security.

In the end, in order for freedom from fear to be achieved, individuals have to be empowered to become stakeholders in the political, economic and social processes that affect them. Yet associating a number of prominent scholars or civil society organizations with the idea of human security, and soliciting their input on a variety of policy questions, does not by itself advance this ‘bottom-up’ process of social change. A more inclusive dialogue between states and civil society is desirable, as is an effort to create links between civil society actors at the transnational level – a sort of global civil society dialogue.¹² Regrettably, it is still the case that

¹¹ Countries that derive all or a substantial part of their national revenues from the rent of their natural or strategic resources to external clients.

¹² For a trenchant critique see an unpublished paper by Alejandro Bendaña (1997), posted at http://www.iansa.org/documents/research/res_archive/ngo29.htm#1.

the people who live most in fear and insecurity are mostly passive subjects in the human security discourse.

Ultimately, promoting ‘freedom from fear and want’ draws our attention to a number of essential challenges, goes beyond the traditional conflict prevention or conflict resolution mechanisms, and leads us to ask some basic questions about how to make people safe and secure in their daily lives – in their homes and streets, within their communities, and in their regions. It also shines a spotlight on the links between violence and insecurity, and underdevelopment and poverty, and perhaps can help give new direction or energy to some parts of the development community. It gives coherence to a set of policy issues that urgently need to be addressed, including the problems of post-conflict reintegration, the situation of vulnerable groups in conflicts and in society, and the effective and legitimate operation of the institutions that we have built to provide security and safety in the modern state.

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Main conclusions and recommendations

The International Conference on Human Security in the Arab States held in Amman (Jordan), on 14 and 15 March 2005, was jointly organized by the Regional Human Security Centre at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy and UNESCO.

The conference is part of a series of consultations on human security, undertaken by UNESCO in various regions of the world, including Latin America, East Asia, and Africa, and consistent with the plans, projects and programmes of the Regional Human Security Centre towards promoting the concept of human security in the Arab region.

The participants discussed a study on ‘The Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks for the Promotion of Human Security in the Arab States’, prepared by Professor Bechir Chourou (University of Tunis, Tunisia), as well as presentations on the human security situation in various Arab states.

Main conclusions

There is as yet no universal definition of human security, and no specific indicator to measure it scientifically. Nevertheless, a useful starting point would be to consider it as a framework for ensuring that people are free from fear, free from want and free to participate in social, economic and political processes that have many impacts on their daily lives.

Traditional security focuses on states, whereas human security focuses on individuals and communities. This does not mean that state security is irrelevant, or that the state has no role to play in social life. On the contrary, weak or failed states may become a serious threat to the survival of citizens. At the same time, states that are preoccupied exclusively with their own survival and neglect the security of their citizens will always be precarious. Therefore, state security and human security are interdependent: one cannot be achieved without the other.

The interdependence and mutual support between a state and its citizens must be based on a clearly defined and commonly agreed set of principles and rules. The state has the duty to protect citizens against foreign aggression, and to provide appropriate conditions that allow citizens to fulfil their aspirations. In return, citizens will give the state the support it needs to carry out its mandate, and will cooperate in the implementation of policies defined to achieve the common good.

In this era of globalization, it is often argued that frontiers and boundaries are irrelevant inasmuch as human interactions and natural phenomena transcend such frontiers. But the fact remains that every human being lives in a specific spot on earth, with an emotional attachment to that particular spot. More importantly, all human beings have the right to a territory that they can call their own and where they and members of their community can determine their destiny.

In this respect, the human security of Palestinians requires that their legitimate right to have an independent state be fulfilled in conformity with Security Council Resolution No. 1397 (2002), and occupation must be ended.

In order for freedom from fear to prevail, there must be a strict adherence to the rule of law. This fundamental principle applies to relations between states as well as relations between a state and its citizens. At international level, laws have not been applied in a consistent manner. In some cases, swift actions are taken against states that disregard international law, but in other cases disregard for the same law is left unchecked. Such inconsistencies can only decrease the role of international law in the promotion and enhancement of universal human security.

At national level, the rule of law is a fundamental condition for achieving human security for the following reasons:

- The law defines the principles on which social life is based, and the rules that govern social interactions.
- The law defines methods by which disagreements or conflicts over the interpretation or the implementation of rules and regulations are to be resolved.

- The law defines the measures that are taken against citizens who wilfully disobey prevailing rules and regulations.

In the Arab region these principles are either non-existent or insufficiently respected. The legislative, executive and judiciary powers are often concentrated in one single office or person; or if they appear to be structurally separate their autonomy and independence is largely ignored in practice.

Citizens have many obligations but few rights, if any, and when such rights are provided for, they are often presented as favours granted by the rulers rather than inalienable rights to which all citizens are entitled.

Citizens are not all equal before the law. In many countries, women do not enjoy the same rights as men, and many forms of this gender discrimination are an integral part of national laws, rather than just part of traditions. Also, minorities are rarely mentioned. It would appear that there is a fear that any mention of such minorities would create them and, hence, would threaten social cohesion. But the fact is that no society can be totally homogeneous. Therefore, the best way to achieve national integration is to recognize the existence of minorities and to grant them the same rights as members of other social groups. As for women, who are not a minority, every effort must be made to mobilize and implicate them in the common efforts aiming at achieving human security for all.

Recommendations

On the basis of the foregoing themes, the following recommendations may be proposed. Measures should be adopted to ensure the effective participation of all citizens in the processes used to identify, implement and follow up decisions and measures having a direct impact on their lives. There are several methods through which such participation can be achieved, and each society should be free to choose those that best meet its needs.

Citizens cannot exercise their right to participate in social life if they lack the means for their empowerment. At a minimum, every citizen should enjoy:

- Access to education. All citizens must be guaranteed a sufficient amount of education that would allow them to be aware of their history and culture, to be aware of their environment – including other cultures, civilizations and religions, to meet their basic needs, ensure their welfare and contribute to the welfare of their community.
- Access to health services. Obviously, every human being aspires to be in good health, and recognizes that sickness is a major threat to security and survival. Particular attention must be paid to the specific needs of women, and special provisions must be made for their role as mothers.
- Access to income-generating activities. In order to meet their vital needs (food, shelter, etc.), people need an income, and to generate that income they need to undertake a productive activity. Proper conditions should be created (infrastructure, rules and regulations, training) so that every person – male and female – has an opportunity to undertake a gainful activity.
- Citizens who are unable to meet their basic needs through their own efforts should have public support. In particular, vulnerable groups such as children, the elderly, the disabled, the chronically ill, people in isolated or remote areas, should be given particular attention. If states are unable to provide assistance, the international community should participate in the provision of such assistance.

The concept of human security and its underlying values of solidarity, tolerance, openness, dialogue, transparency, accountability, justice and equity should be widely disseminated in societies. To that effect, human security should be incorporated at all levels of education. The media, particularly radio and television, should be mobilized to organize awareness-raising campaigns, and to encourage people to explore ways and means by which they can enhance their own security and that of members of their communities.

The media have another function to fulfil towards achieving human security, that of providing forums where ideas, policies and

programmes are debated. Citizens are not likely to accept or implement decisions that are imposed from above. Therefore, they should be given opportunities to hear, propose and debate alternative approaches to achieving the common good. Citizen involvement in public life can be efficient and productive only if it is based on freedom of speech and expression; otherwise, public opinion will only serve as a sterile echo chamber for decision-makers.

Civil society should be mobilized to participate in the promotion of human security. Special efforts should be made to mobilize women's associations, academics, professional organizations and the private sector to take advantage of their resources, skills and proximity to ensure ownership of the concept of human security by local stakeholders, and a wide dissemination of the culture of human security.

Civil society can only carry out this task if freedom of association is fully recognized. Both freedom of speech and freedom of association have to be considered as integral parts of human rights, and any restrictions that may be contemplated to limit their potential abuse should be entrusted to appropriate independent judicial organs.

Members of civil society should be encouraged to create intra-national and intra-regional networks with a view to sharing experiences and lessons learned.

Many aspects of human security are deeply rooted in the Arab culture and Islam. Therefore, there should be no difficulty in adopting or implementing them in the region. In this respect, arguments should be rejected that human security or some of its components are foreign constructs that are imposed upon us, especially if they are used as an excuse for not implementing human security in the region.

States should not place themselves in a position where they would be viewed as opponents of human security or as obstacles to its achievement. If public opinion perceives that the state is more concerned about its security than about people's security, this would not only create instability but would pose a direct and immediate threat to human security.

The most appropriate level at which human security can effectively be achieved is the local or community level. However, sufficient resources are not always available at that level. Therefore, the state has a role to play in mobilizing resources and allocating them among those who need them. In this respect, Arab states should be encouraged to offer and receive moral, human and material assistance from other Arab states and the international community.

UNESCO can make a contribution to the achievement of human security in the Arab region. Its major asset is its expertise in the fields of education, culture and science. In this respect, UNESCO can work in conjunction with the National Commissions for UNESCO to identify specific tools to promote human security. One such tool could be the development of curricula for inculcating the knowledge and practice of human rights and attendant values such as tolerance, civic duties and obligations, and rejection of extremism and xenophobia.

Any reforms that Arabs may deem necessary must spring from a conviction that the search for human security is an ethical enterprise – and not just a political palliative. They further need to stem from the free will of Arab societies and be initiated and overseen by them. If reforms are adopted as a result of external pressure, or if they are defined by outside actors, or if their follow up is entrusted to third parties, then they are not likely to be sustainable. On the other hand, outside calls for reforms should not be used as an excuse for rejecting such reforms. After all, we are dealing with human security and as such, it is the concern of all humanity.

ANNEXES

Welcoming speech*

Farouk Kasrawi
Co-Chair of Board of Directors
Regional Human Security at
the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with great pleasure that I welcome you to this conference on Human Security in the Arab States which is being held under the high patronage of H.E. Dr Hani Mulki, Minister of Foreign Affairs. I would like to welcome our distinguished guests, starting with H.E. Mr Sharif Mashaal; Palestinian Minister of State, H.E. Mr Pierre Sané, Assistant Director-General of UNESCO, H.E. Mr Ambassador Muwafaq Nassar, Assistant Secretary-General for Pan-Arab Security at the League of Arab States, the representatives of national UNESCO committees, and all the distinguished experts who accepted our invitation and travelled long distances to present their papers here, as well as the participants from Jordan and other countries.

I would like to address my special thanks to all those who have honoured us by their presence at this opening ceremony.

Our conference is being held during a period characterized as one of globalization. Although it has had some positive results, globalization has also created a number of problems that have weakened the progress achieved in the last few years. The growing gap between North and South, the extreme poverty that persists in some parts of the world, the great inequalities that exist between and within countries – all these represent a challenge to all of us as human beings, to our capacity to find innovative solutions based on a spirit of cooperation and equality. Conventional wars have become less frequent, but intra-state armed conflicts have killed millions of people in the last decade of the previous century, and forced even

*Translated from Arabic.

more people to flee their homes. This is why the need is greater than ever to disseminate and implement the concept of human security as well as that of human rights. In particular, it is of the utmost importance that international penal law be reactivated and applied against those who are guilty of violating human rights.

The Regional Human Security Center that was set up at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy some five years ago, with the generous support of the Canadian Government, seeks to disseminate the culture of human security with its multiple components among people and official institutions in the Arab world. It organizes national and regional seminars and workshops to discuss – sometimes for the first time – various topics relating to human security. These activities have benefited from the support and cooperation of regional and international organizations. Among the topics germane to our conference that have received particular attention, I can mention human rights, especially the rights of women and the rights of the child; updating the Arab Charter of Human Rights; the value of tolerance and its contribution to human security; rights and open political systems. Other events have dealt with the definition and dimensions of human security. We hope that the Centre will become a depository of electronic information and advanced studies on issues relating to human security.

In conclusion, I would like to express my deep gratitude to H.E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs represented here by H.E. Mr Abdullah Madadha, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for supporting this event; Mr Pierre Sané of UNESCO for the support and participation in organizing this conference; as well as to the distinguished experts who kindly accepted our invitation to attend. Special thanks and consideration go to the staff of the Regional Centre and the Institute of Diplomacy for their unceasing efforts to prepare for this conference and ensure its success.

Once again welcome to our distinguished guests, and best wishes for a successful conference.

Opening address*

Abdullah Madadha

Secretary-General, Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to join Ambassador Kasrawi in welcoming you personally and on behalf of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs who regretfully, due to his busy schedule, could not be with us today. His Excellency the Minister extends his wishes to you all and hopes that you will have constructive discussions within the framework of this seminar and have some extra time to enjoy our beautiful country as well.

Thanks go to UNESCO and the Regional Human Security Center for arranging this conference which, I am sure, with the high calibre of its participants and the topics scheduled to be discussed, will be part of a brainstorming process dealing with important issues relating to the broad understanding of human security in our region. Jordan is proud to be among the like-minded countries making up the Human Security Network and we are sure that the majority of the international community support the principles accepted by its members. Still, we would love to see more states joining us in our efforts to promote human security in its wider scope, to include the economic, environmental and health security that forms the pillars of sustainable development for every individual. We in Jordan believe that by fulfilling individual human security needs we create a healthy environment for promoting peace within the local community and among the international community at large.

We are proud of Jordan's efforts in the field of human security and human rights. A good number of institutions, governmental and non-governmental, have been established to deal with all issues relating to human rights and human security. Besides the Regional Human

*Translated from Arabic.

Security Center, institutions such as the National Center for Human Rights and the National Council for Family Affairs, play an important role in promoting and insuring the implementation of human rights and human security. Inserting human rights education in our curriculum is a further elaboration of Jordan's devotion to raising a generation with deeply rooted principles of human rights protection.

Jordan has also taken part in a number of conferences held for the cause of human security maintenance, such as the 6th ministerial meeting of the Human Security Network 2003–2004 held in Bamako (Mali) in May 2004. Jordan itself holds many conferences and workshops that promote the protection of human rights and human security, perhaps the best-known of which is the conference that was held in 2004 under the patronage of Her Majesty Queen Rania, which focused on maintaining sustainable development.

Appreciating the role of UNESCO throughout the world, Jordan has maintained good relations of cooperation with this important organ of the United Nations throughout the years. I am pleased to see UNESCO sponsoring this conference and hope that, in the future, dealing with the issue of human security would go beyond expert and ministerial meetings to reach the mind of each and every individual. I believe that understanding all aspects of human security is an educational process that UNESCO, in cooperation with educational institutions around the world, will come to play a substantial role in spreading.

I am also pleased to see experts coming from some of our Arab States to enrich our discussions. This goes to show how important the Arab States as a whole consider human security issues to be, indeed a necessity and a base for human development and peace.

I wish you a successful discussion of the issues at hand and I am sure that the fruitful outcome of your deliberations will be carefully studied in the upcoming ministerial meeting of the Human Security Network and, more importantly, will be a step forward towards achieving our common goal: increasing public awareness of human security and human rights.

Opening address

Pierre Sané

Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences,
UNESCO

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is an honour and a privilege to welcome you all on behalf of UNESCO at this international conference on Human Security in the Arab States, under the patronage of the Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. This conference is organized with the Regional Human Security Center at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy, a key partner in the advancement of the human security agenda in the Arab States.

Human security remains an important undertaking in UNESCO's mission.

Contributing to this are programmes such as education for peace, human rights and sustainable development, stopping HIV/AIDS, research and action on water and disaster-related issues, the promotion of a culture of peace, the struggle against racism and intolerance, the promotion of cultural diversity and freedom of expression.

This enumeration of UNESCO's activities is an indication of how wide is the scope of the issues embraced today by the notion of human security. This is in itself a challenge, for we must struggle at all times to ensure the coherence, relevance and articulation of all the actions undertaken within the framework of the promotion of human security, if we want to keep its meaning clear to all stakeholders.

As we here all know very well, the progressive enlargement of the scope of human security is the reason why any paper or meeting on human security must necessarily start with a discussion on the very definition of human security!

I do not mean in any way to suggest that we should avoid having such a discussion today. On the contrary, it is essential for the promotion of human security to build upon a variety of theoretical and practical sources, for we can all contribute to the enrichment of this concept on the basis of our experience.

However, as we discuss the concept of human security per se, we should also keep in mind that we must also strive to have a common understanding of the underlying principles.

This brings me to the subject of this meeting. What are we to understand by ‘ethical, normative and educational frameworks to promote human security’?

When we say that human security is people-centred, we are in general referring to the specific needs, sometimes very urgent needs, of individuals and communities confronted with extreme poverty, conflict, environmental degradation and the like.

At the same time we are speaking of fundamental rights and human dignity, as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We are invoking the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind as recalled in the UNESCO Constitution. And we are referring to the universal values of the various spiritual and religious traditions. All of which generate duties and obligations aimed at preserving the social fabric. These are only some of the elements that go into the building of a common ethical framework in which human security can thrive.

Further, as we cannot dissociate the ethical dimension from the normative dimension, we must strive to better articulate the promotion of human rights.

We also know that without education and skills human security will be illusory. This is one of the key dimensions very rightly emphasized in the report of the Commission on Human Security, and which clearly brought the strengthening of education for all into the human security agenda. To this we should also add the need for a quality education, encompassing the major issues to which I have referred, such as education for peace, human rights, intercultural dialogue and sustainable development, fields in which much remains to be done in terms of the redefinition of the purposes of

education, of curricula design, textbooks, and in particular of teacher training.

The three frameworks for the promotion and realization of human security – ethical, normative and educational – are being articulated at the global level, but it is of foremost importance to give them substance at the regional level, in order to better identify the human resources that must be mobilized.

UNESCO's international consultations in Africa, Latin America and East Asia show that much can be gained from regional approaches to human security.

If we are to ensure sustainability for human security we must have solid foundations on which to act in the long term, going beyond the responses to natural or man-made disasters.

As we attempt to define ethical, normative and educational frameworks for the promotion of human security in the Arab States, we have quite a few challenges to cope with.

In a world so interconnected and where the borders between internal and external are so fluid, common human security is best pitched at a regional level for the analysis of the threats to the framing of action.

Another key challenge ahead is to strengthen the gender dimension of human security. Concerning the Arab region, we welcome the work done here in Jordan in 2003 at the Regional Workshop on Gender and Democratization in the Arab Region, organized by the Regional Human Security Center. The results have now been widely disseminated. Similarly, we should also take into consideration many of the findings of the UNDP Arab Human Development Reports, object of much discussion within the Arab region.

A third key challenge is to ensure that all relevant social actors are involved and mobilized for the promotion of human security as their participation is essential to the success of any policy, initiative or project.

While meeting these challenges, we must also strive, on the one hand, to contribute to enhancing the coherence of the international agenda on human security and, on the other hand, to strengthen

coalition-building in action aimed at fostering and sustaining human security.

As regards coherence of the international agenda on human security, together we have to take full stock of the common approaches to human security that are reflected in the major initiatives of the last two years, in the report of the Commission on Human Security *Human Security Now*, the report of the United Nations Secretary-General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, in the activities of the Human Security Network, to which Jordan belongs, and in the key initiatives for human security launched by countries such as Canada, Japan and Norway. At the same time, we must also take on board academic in-depth research on human security, which covers a wide array of interlocking issues.

Furthermore, as regards strengthening the coalition-building aimed at fostering and sustaining human security, one of the recent key developments that we must build upon is the adoption of regional and subregional approaches to promoting human security, to which I have already referred. UNESCO is fully committed to this approach and we welcome the recent initiatives taken by the United Nations University and the Human Security Unit at the UN to focus on the regional perspectives.

At UNESCO, we believe it is essential that we join hands to elaborate the perspectives, with a view to engaging key stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of long-term pro-human security strategies.

Opening address

Atef Odibat

Secretary-General for Administrative and Financial Affairs
Jordanian Ministry of Education

Your Excellency Mr Abdullah Madadha, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, representing H.E. the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Your Excellency Mr Pierre Sané, Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences at UNESCO,

Your Excellency Ambassador Farouk Kasrawi, Director of the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy and Chairman of the Board of the Regional Human Security Center,

Your Excellency Ambassador Muwafaq Nassar, Assistant Secretary-General for Pan-Arab Security at the League of Arab States,

Your Excellency Mr Sharif Mashaal, Minister of State in the Palestinian government,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am pleased to greet you and welcome you to Jordan, the land of hospitality and generosity, and wish you full success in your activities during this conference. I would also like to transmit the warm greetings of H.E. Prof. Dr Khaled Touqan, Minister of Education, and his wishes of success for this important conference.

All political, social and educational institutions in the Arab States are faced with a number of challenges. They need to protect the security of their territories and meet the basic needs of their citizens. In other words, states seek to achieve national security while seeing to it that citizens are free from fear and free from want. Given the important role that education plays in achieving human security in all its dimensions, the Jordanian Ministry of Education – on direct instructions from His Majesty King Abdullah – has undertaken the upgrading of our educational policy in

general, and pedagogical methods in particular, to allow students to acquire skills that allow them to have a secure future, build their personalities, and absorb the principles, values and orientations for the respect of human dignity and rights. Programmes have been designed to build a common universal culture, and make citizens aware of the importance of leading a peaceful life in a peaceful environment.

In this framework, UNESCO has charged the Jordanian Ministry of Education with the task of preparing a compilation of international concepts relating to various dimensions of human security such as human rights, the culture of peace, and common universal values. This compilation draws on Islamic and Arab values so as to make it a reference to be used in preparing activities and programmes relating to human security.

This document should become a source and a reference for students to acquire information, orientations and skills they need to interact with every walk of life in its various dimensions – social, cultural, economic and political. This will benefit the students, their communities, and their relationships with other societies. The aims of this project are:

- To develop a database of concepts and definitions that allow students to become familiar with human rights, the culture of peace, and common universal values.
- To improve students' and teachers' knowledge in the field of human rights and the culture of peace to be able to deal with all types of local and international conflicts.
- To convince students of the need for solidarity among all societies to achieve social and political justice and guarantee human security.
- To consolidate cooperation between students to ensure a shared and total respect for the law and fundamental freedoms without distinction.
- To create a spirit of justice, freedom and intercultural understanding in all people.
- To inculcate in students democratic principles such as tolerance and rejection of violence.

Before concluding, I particularly want to express thanks and gratitude to UNESCO, represented here by H.E. Mr Pierre Sané, Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences, and Ms Moufida Goucha, Chief of Section, Philosophy and Human Rights Programme at UNESCO for the continuing support to Arab and other states in all fields relating to education, science and culture, and Ms Goucha's participation in the preparation of this conference. Many thanks are also due to H.E. Ambassador Farouk Kasrawi, Director of the Institute of Diplomacy and Chairman of the Board of the Regional Human Security Center for his continuing support of human security through the Center. I would finally like to thank all the participants who made the effort and took the time to be with us and share their experience and expertise.

In conclusion, allow me to reiterate my sincere greetings and welcome to you, and wish you full success in your work during this conference, and to wish Jordan progress and prosperity under the leadership of His Majesty King Abdullah II.

Debate

Pierre Sané

Some comments have been made on recommendations specific to education. We need to look at these recommendations again and see how we can integrate them into the text of the proceedings of the conference. Similarly, I think that we missed some recommendations regarding the element of freedom from fear. Many recommendations that have been made – access to education, access to health, participation, etc. – have to do with freedom from want, so freedom from fear, let us say the issues of conflict, press freedom, individual liberties, freedom of expression, need to be strengthened in the text. So what I propose, as we do not want this document to be just an additional paper. After we have redrafted the set of recommendations from the conference, we will circulate it to all the participants and then we can give time for comments before we finalize the text and send it to all involved in the region: social actors, governments, institutions, etc.

Now this is just a start. We will probably need to engage in other activities aimed at continuing the debate on human security in the region – be it through national workshops, other regional conferences, research, surveys – and ideally we should aim to organize another conference, perhaps under the auspices of the Arab League and UNESCO, where we bring together representatives of governments and experts and members of civil society to take this text a step further. We can start to develop a programme between now and perhaps the end of 2006 where we will have additional activities aimed at deepening the debate, the reflection around the concept, the challenges, the threats, the action plan and the frameworks: ethical, educational and normative.

As you may know, we are planning an international conference in 2007. We started with an international conference in 2000 that brought together the directors of peace centres around the world to initiate a discussion on the developing concept of human security, to try to identify the key issues, the key problems and the work that

was still required. And then, from that international conference, we started processes similar to this one in the different regions, with concept papers, discussions, pilot projects and a high-level conference. By the end of 2006 we will have completed the cycle, we will have covered all the regions, and we plan an international conference for 2007 to see if we can move forward at the international level because human security can only make sense if we have at the same time global security, regional security and local security.

It is impossible to have local human security if at the global level the conditions are not created, including respect for international law and international humanitarian law. That is why we are going back to the international level. We will however return to the regional level because once we have agreement on the various frameworks we need to set up research policy networks on the specific issues and priorities that have been identified in each region. It will not be possible to address human security in a comprehensive way, so we will have to take what people in the different regions identify as the most pressing threat and then develop around that problematic a network that brings together research institutions and policy-makers in order to research the issue, identify policy options and develop an action plan.

This conference should be seen as work in progress, which will change as the discussion and research on human security evolves and is enriched by the various contributions. Maybe we need to work, and hopefully with our colleagues from New York – the Human Security Unit of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – towards another conference this time perhaps with the Arab League, where the work done here and in the next month can feed into further reflection and strive to achieve consensus on the text in order to ensure that action will follow.

We cannot redraft a text We can take the text with the major adjustment concerning the boundaries and the aspects of human security. I can understand the malaise because when we say we should mainstream human security and we still have not defined what human security is, it could be difficult.

Speaker from the floor

Thank you Mr Chairman, for this wise proposal. I was hoping that we can adopt the declaration but it seems that the route you are proposing is the best way to handle the issue. We will be more than eager to receive the proposal for the final text and give you our comments on it. My humble request is that whenever we adopt the text it should be called the 'Amman Declaration' because we have to pay tribute to this city that hosted the conference.

Ms Rawan Fadayel-Bahou

I would like to highlight Mr Sané's point that our work is only just starting with UNESCO and there will be future functions and activities in cooperation with different actors in the region. I would like to thank Dr Chourou for his comprehensive paper attempting to measure human security in the Arab States and for his draft of the final remarks. Also to thank UNESCO headquarters for their sponsorship and for their efforts with everyone involved in this conference: the staff of the Regional Human Security Center, Ms Lina Abu Nuwar-Gazi, and all the other colleagues at the Center and the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy; the translators for their excellent work, the chairperson, the participants, distinguished guests, the hotel and audiovisual people. I would like to thank you all for bearing with us and for your rich discussions and remarks, which we will be taking into consideration.

Pierre Sané

In turn, allow me to thank H.E. Dr Hani Mulqi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs under whose patronage this conference was held, represented by H.E. Mr Abdullah Madadha, Secretary-General, and Ambassador Ziad Majali, Director of the Human Rights and Human Security Department at the Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as H.E. Ambassador Muwafaq Nassar, Assistant Secretary-General at the League of Arab States.

I would also like to extend my thanks and appreciation to the Regional Human Security Center at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy, and its co-chair, and Ambassador Farouk Kasrawi, for

co-organizing the event and in particular Ms Rawan Fadayel-Bahou, the Centre's Acting Director and Ms Lina Abu Nuwar-Gazi, the coordinator of this conference.

I would like also to extend my appreciation to the Jordanian National Commission for UNESCO, represented by Dr Atef Odibat, and the representatives of the governments of Egypt, Oman, the Palestinian Territories, Qatar, the Sudan and Yemen – I hope I haven't forgotten anybody – and Chile. Last but not least, thanks go to all the expert speakers who have enriched the deliberations of the conference, to the participants from national, international and regional organizations who have taken the time to attend, and thank you very much to Prof. Chourou for the paper he prepared that has allowed us to have a very rich discussion over the past two days. Finally I want to thank the interpreters, without whom there would be no dialogue, let alone dialogue of civilizations; and my colleagues in UNESCO in Paris and Amman for their contribution and the efforts they have put into administering this conference. I hope you have found it useful, as the beginning of the exploration of something quite complex, but I think the journey is worth it because what is at stake is the security, the well-being, of our fellow citizens.

H.E. Mr Ziad Majali, Ambassador (translated from Arabic)

On behalf of the Minister of Foreign Affairs I would like to thank UNESCO for the organization of this excellent initiative to hold this meeting on human security. I would like to thank the Regional Human Security Center for these efforts and the young staff who have made it a success, and I would like to thank again all the expert speakers who have so enriched all the discussions. And Mr Pierre Sané, thank you also for the clarifications you have made that this is only a first step before the global conference in the year 2007. This will allow us all to prepare fuller papers for that international conference as there are regional activities taking place.



**International Conference on
HUMAN SECURITY
IN THE ARAB STATES**

jointly organized by
the United Nations Educational, Scientific
and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
and
the Regional Human Security Center
at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

under the Patronage of His Excellency
Dr Hani Mulqi, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Amman, Jordan, Radisson SAS Hotel
14 and 15 March 2005

AGENDA

14 March 2005

08.30–09.00 **Registration and arrival of participants**

09.00–09.45 **Opening**

Welcoming speech:

- **H.E. Ambassador Farouk Kasrawi**, Co-chair of Board of Directors, Regional Human Security Center at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy

Opening addresses:

- **H.E. Mr Abdullah Madadha**, Secretary-General, Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on behalf of H.E. Dr Hani Mulqi, Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs

- **H.E. Mr Pierre Sané**, Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO

- **H.E. Dr Atef Odibat**, Secretary-General for Administrative and Financial Affairs, Jordanian Ministry of Education, Former Director of the Regional Human Security Center

09.45–0.30 **Reception**

Session I **Reviewing the study on ‘Ethical, normative and educational frameworks for the promotion of human security in the Arab States’**

Moderator: **H.E. Mr Pierre Sané**, Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences, UNESCO

- 10.30–11.00** **Presentation of the study
by Dr Bechir Chourou**
- 11.00–12.15** **Open discussion**
- 12.15–12.30** **Coffee break**
- 12.30–13.30** **Open discussion**
- 13.30–15.00** **Luncheon**
- Session II** **Human security in the Arab States: the
regional** **context and perspectives of regional
cooperation**
Moderator: **Dr Ghada Ali Moussa**, Political
Science Researcher and **H.E. Mr Pierre Sané**
- 15.00–16.30** **Presentation of papers by invited experts**
- The ethical criteria for eligible and responsible
civil society involvement in response to the
needs and challenges of human security in the
region
by **Mr Ziad Abdul Samad** (Lebanon)
- Spreading human security in the Arab World
by **Dr Keith Krause** (Canada)
- Tolerance as a way to achieve human security
in the Arab States
by **Ms Rawan Fadayel-Bahou** (Jordan)
- The role of national law in the promotion
of human security in the Arab States
by **Dr Badria Al-Awadhi** (Kuwait)
- 16.30–16.45** **Coffee break**
- 16.45–18.15** **Open discussion**

15 March 2005

- Session III** **Case studies of human security in the Arab States**
Moderator: **Ms Rawan Fadayel-Bahou**,
Acting Director, Regional Human Security
Center and **Dr Keith Krause**, Program Director,
Small Arms Survey
- 09.30–10.45** **Presentation of papers by invited experts**
- Poverty as a main challenge for human
security: a case study of Yemeni society
by **Dr Abdul Hakim Al-Shargabi** (Yemen)
- Human security in the Palestinian Territories
and ways to improve it: a case study
by **Dr Munther Dajani** (Palestinian
Territories)
- Human security in the Sudan: a case study
by **Mr Osman Hassan** (Sudan)
- 10.45–11.00** **Coffee break**
- 11.00–12.30** **Open discussion**
- 12.30–14.00** **Luncheon**

Session IV

Agenda for human security in theory and practice: possible strategies to improve human security in the Arab States

Moderator: **H.E. Dr Atef Odibat**,
Secretary-General for Administrative and
Financial Affairs, Jordanian Ministry
of Education, Former Director
of the Regional Human Security Center

14.00–15.30

Presentation of papers by invited experts

Rethinking strategies of human security
in the Arab States

by **Dr Ghada Ali Moussa** (Egypt)

Humanitarian protection and state protection
in the Arab World

by **Ms Azza Kamel Maghur** (Libya)

Human security in the Arab States: concept,
obstacles and recommendations

by **Dr Hussein Shaaban** (Iraq)

Findings of the Human Security Report
published by the Liu Institute for Global Issues

by **Ms Zoe Nielsen** (Australia)

15.30–16.15

Open discussion

- 16.15–16.45** **Presentation of UNESCO’s Human Security Programme by Ms Moufida Goucha**, Chief of Section, Philosophy and Human Security Programmes, assisted by **Mr Max Schott**, Consultant
- 16.45–17.00** **Coffee break**
- 17.00–18.15** **Closing discussion and proposed final recommendations for the promotion of human security in the Arab States by Dr Bechir Chourou**
- 18.15–18.30** **Closing**
H.E. Mr Pierre Sané and
H.E. Ambassador Ziad Majali

Short biographies of speakers

*at the International Conference
on Human Security in the Arab States
(Amman, Jordan, 14–15 March 2005)*

Ziad Abdel Samad (Lebanon) has been Executive Director of the Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND), based in Beirut, since 1999. ANND brings together thirty NGOs and nine national networks from twelve Arab countries active in social development, human rights, gender and the environment. The network, established in 1997, focuses on developing the capacity of Arab CSOs and promoting democracy, human rights, participation and good governance in civil society and among governments. It has been an active participant at a number of UN conferences, World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations and the World Social Forum.

Mr Abdel Samad is a member of the Lebanese Negotiating Committee for accession to the WTO. He sits on the International Council of the World Social Forum and the Coordination Committee of Social Watch, an international network of citizen coalitions that monitors the implementation of the commitments made at the 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen. He is also a member of the UNDP CSO Advisory Committee to the Administrator, President of the National Steering Committee of the UNDP Local Initiative Facility for Urban Environment (LIFE) programme in Lebanon, and General Manager of the Center for Developmental Studies (MADA), a Lebanese social and economic study and research facility.

Abdul Hakim Al-Shargabi (Yemen), who holds a Ph.D. in sociology, is professor of sociology at Sana'a University Faculty of Arts. Since April 2003, he has been the social expert for the Poverty Reduction Strategy Follow Up and Monitoring Unit (PRSFMU). Between 2000 and mid-2002, he served as national expert and co-coordinator for the UNDP Poverty Reduction Strategy and Action Plan in Yemen, consultant to the Women's National

Committee and member of the Technical Committee of the Yemen Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (Ministry of Planning and Development/World Bank). From 1997 to 1999 he was chairman of the International Development Center.

Dr Al-Shargabi is the author of numerous papers and articles on citizenship, civic education, social work and CSOs, gender, poverty, development and immigration. He also contributed to the second UNDP Human Development Report (2001).

Badria Al-Awadhi (Kuwait), a lawyer specializing in law and environmental issues, gained a Ph.D. in international law from London University in 1975. At international level, she is a member of a number of international organizations such as the International Federation of Women Lawyers, International Law Association, International Commission of Jurists, and International Council of Environmental Law established at Kuwait University in 2001. She has also served as general coordinator for the Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine Environment (ROPME) for over ten years. A founding member of the NGO Kuwait Environment Protection Society, she served as its Secretary-General for over ten years. She is a Global 500 laureate. Since 1975, she has published several books and articles on issues such as the environment, human rights, women's and children's rights, as well as environmental awareness books designed for children.

Dr Al-Awadhi has also served outside her specific area of expertise, in cross-sectoral areas, including for example as arbitrator in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) Commercial Arbitration Center (1995) and as legal arbitrator in the Euro Arab Arbitration System (1997).

Bechir Chourou (Tunisia), who holds a Ph.D. in political science from Northwestern University (United States) in 1976, is currently teaching international relations at the University of Tunis. In addition to human security, his research interests include Euro-Mediterranean relations (Barcelona Process), the process of democratization in the Arab world and Africa, as well as specific

aspects of human security, particularly food security, water scarcity (and other components of environmental security) and income-generating activities. He has participated in numerous international seminars, conferences and workshops dealing with these issues, and has published articles and book chapters on these topics. His most recent publications include contributions to Dufourcq and Gorgomano-Loup (eds), *Gestion des ressources naturelles et questions de sécurité en Méditerranée* (NATO Defense College, 2004, pp. 69–96); Jacobs (ed.), *Euro-Mediterranean Co-operation: Enlarging and Widening the Perspective* (Center for European Integration Studies, 2004, pp. 36–46); Jünemann (ed.), *Euro-Mediterranean Relations after September 11* (Frank Cass, 2003, pp. 194–213); Brauch et al., (eds), *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean – Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflict* (Springer-Verlag, 2003, chaps. 16 and 47); Panebianco (ed.), *A New Euro-Mediterranean Cultural Identity* (Frank Cass, 2003, chap. 1); Powell and the Arab world: a North African view, *Foreign Service Journal*, Vol. 80, No. 3, 2003, pp. 25–28; Gillespie and Young (eds.), *The European Union and Democracy Promotion: The Case of North Africa* (Frank Cass, 2002, pp. 17–39).

Munther S. Dajani (Palestinian Territories), who holds the Chair of Political Science and Diplomatic Studies at Al Quds University, Jerusalem, is Director of the university’s Sartawi Center for the Advancement of Peace and Democracy.

Rawan Fadayel-Bahou (Jordan) is Acting Director of the Regional Human Security Center. She holds a Master’s degree in political science from the University of Jordan and has nine years of work experience in programmes and projects on human security, human rights, development and research in international organizations, NGOs and other institutions.

Since joining RHSC in 2001, Ms Fadayel-Bahou has implemented and managed most of the Center’s activities, projects, functions and documents, whose main objectives are promoting the human security concept and methodology in the Arab region by

networking and cooperation with local, regional and international institutions relating to human security and human rights, in addition to the important role of disseminating information by website and publications.

A participant in a number of local and regional meetings, conferences and training workshops relating to human rights, democratization, gender, youth and good governance, and trainer with Jordan Institute of Diplomacy training programmes, she has also edited and prefaced the proceedings of the regional workshop on Gender and Democratization in the Arab Region (11-13 March 2002), in addition to translating texts from English to Arabic and vice versa.

Osman Hassan (Sudan) is Executive Director of Human Security Initiative Organization (MAMAN). A former head of planning and projects administration at Alsalama Organization (Sudanese government body), he has also served with the NGO Munazamat Aldawa Al-Islamia, as head of public relations, manager of its offices in Bosnia and Croatia and head of planning administration at the Albania Office. He was also administrator of another NGO, the Altisam Organization.

Mr Osman Hassan is a member of a number of regional and international organizations such as Sudan Public Relations Union, Sudan Nation Focal Point for Small Arms, International Action Network for Small Arms (IANSA), Middle East and North Africa Action Network on Small Arms (MENANSA), National Action Network in Darfur, Human Rights Network (Sudan).

Farouk Kasrawi (Jordan) is co-chair of the Board of Directors at the Regional Human Security Center. Ambassador Kasrawi obtained a B.A. in literature from the American University of Beirut in 1962, an M.A. in economics from London University in 1976 and an M.A. in philosophy from George Washington University in 1980. He served as Director of the Institute of Diplomacy from 2003 until his appointment as Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He has also been advisor at the Royal Court.

Keith Krause (Canada) is professor of international politics at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, and, since 1999, Director of the Small Arms Survey project, and has jointly edited its annual yearbook since 2001.

Dr Krause obtained his D.Phil. in international relations in 1987 from Balliol College, Oxford, where he was a Rhodes scholar. Between 1987 and 1994 he was assistant and then associate professor at York University (Toronto), where he was also Deputy Director, and (1993–94) Acting Director of the York Center for International and Strategic Studies.

His research has concentrated on international security and arms control, and on multilateralism and global governance. His published work includes *Arms and the State* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), and articles in *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Review of International Studies*, *Global Governance*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, *Mershon Review of International Studies*, *Cooperation and Conflict and International Journal*, as well as chapters in a dozen edited volumes. He is also editor or co-editor of *Culture and Security: Multilateralism, Arms Control and Security Building* (Frank Cass, 1999); *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (with Michael C. Williams, University of Minnesota Press, 1997); and *State, Society and the United Nations System: Changing Perspectives on Multilateralism* (with W. Andy Knight, UN University Press, 1995).

His current research is concentrated in two areas: the emergence of transnational state and non-state action to combat small arms and light weapons proliferation, and state-formation and insecurity in the post-colonial world. He is also co-authoring a book with Michael C. Williams for Polity Press on the evolution of security studies and approaches to security.

Abdullah Madadha (Jordan) is Secretary-General at the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ziad Majali (Jordan) is Director of the Human Rights and Human Security Department at the Jordanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ghada Ali Moussa (Egypt), who holds a Ph.D. in political development and women's studies, is a political science researcher and currently senior programme specialist at the Arab Council for Childhood and Development, Cairo. She has served as researcher and trainer at the National Center for Middle East Studies and assistant researcher at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science of Cairo University.

As coordinator and participant in a number of workshops and conferences, Dr Ali Moussa has presented papers on a variety of topics such as child labour, conflict resolution, social security and rehabilitation programmes for mine victims. She has drafted a number of project proposals, mainly on child labour and child rights issues. In 2000, she presented a paper on Challenges to Human Security at the conference 'What Agenda for Human Security in the Twenty-first Century', UNESCO, Paris. She has carried out research on various topics, including social development, women's issues and economics.

Hani Mulqi (Jordan) is the Jordanian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Atef Odibat (Jordan) is Secretary-General for Administrative and Financial Affairs at the Jordanian Ministry of Education and a former director of the Regional Human Security Center.

Pierre Sané (UNESCO) has been Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences at UNESCO since 2001. A qualified chartered accountant, he holds an MBA from the École Supérieure de Commerce et d'Administration des Entreprises in Bordeaux and an M.Sc. in public administration and public policy from the London School of Economics. From 1986 to 1989, he studied for a doctorate in political science at Carleton University, Ottawa (Canada). After five years' experience in the private sector (accounting and management), he joined the International Development Research Centre (IDRC, Ottawa) in 1978, and served as Regional Controller. He transferred to Dakar (Senegal) in 1988 as

IDRC Regional Director for West and Central Africa. From 1992 to 2001, he served as Secretary-General of Amnesty International. During his mandate, he reorganized the International Secretariat by improving its efficiency and transparency. He has led Amnesty delegations at numerous sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, at diverse intergovernmental organizations, and several international conferences, such as the UN World Conferences on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993) and on Women (Beijing, 1995), the International Conference on the International Criminal Court (Rome, 1998), as well as to the annual Davos World Economic Forum meetings.

He has led missions in over fifty countries to plead human rights causes with governments, the media, local NGOs, and to the academic as well as business sectors. He has also coordinated the preparation and launching of global campaigns for public and media awareness of respect for human rights, in particular those of women and children, as well as the protection of refugees and the fight against the death penalty and torture. He has published widely in his various fields of research.

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