



O C C A S I O N A L P A P E R S E R I E S

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**HUMAN SECURITY AND
PREVENTION OF TERRORISM**

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Human Security and Prevention of Terrorism

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I. Military Security or Human Security?

After the tragedy in the United States on 11 of September 2001 many measures have been taken mainly by increasing military spending for the military and police in order to fight terrorism worldwide by force, tightened controls etc. However, many commentators also asked whether this is the proper and sufficient response, because it addresses terrorism only in its manifestations, but does not deal with its root causes. As the conflict in Palestine shows, no force can be strong enough to stop suicide bombers ready to kill themselves for their political objectives. Although force including military means will always be necessary to deal with crime in general and terrorism in particular, as long as the root causes of terrorism, the underlying problems which let people become so fanatic that they are ready to do everything, are not addressed each killed terrorist will be replaced by others who are willing to do the same. The examples of Palestine or Chechnya come to mind.

In its Res. 1258 (2001) of 26 September 2001 on “Democracies facing terrorism”, the Assembly suggests to states “to renew and generously resource their commitment to pursue economic, social and political policies designed to secure democracy, justice, human rights and well-being for all people throughout the world”. The cost of fighting terrorism worldwide by use of force and by increasing security arrangements of all kind is enormous. It might well be higher than the cost of dealing with the underlying problems, which are breeding terrorism. However, the Council of Europe Guidelines when stating the “obligation of states to protect everyone against terrorism” as the first principle do not go into any further detail. Only in the preamble it is said that “the fight against terrorism applies long-term measures with a view to preventing the causes of terrorism by promoting, in particular, cohesion in our societies and a multicultural and inter-religious dialogue”. This paragraph could also have appeared in the main body of the 17 principles.

The world can hardly be separated into the good and the evil, both exists everywhere and innocent people are likely the ones to suffer most. One of the main purposes of terrorism is to draw attention to certain political issues or to fight a particular political or socio-economic system. By over-reacting to acts of terrorism, the terrorists achieve exactly what they want, i.e. the provocation of an as strong as possible reaction may exactly be part of their plan. For example, to provoke the United States to get militarily involved in a number of foreign countries starting from Afghanistan may exactly be the objective of terrorists in order to get the US involved into a new “Vietnam” or “Somalia” etc.

The tightened security measures and new security legislations, which restrict personal liberties, may also be a desired by-product of terrorism against open societies, which the terrorists consider as a provocation of their own concepts of society.

There is a danger to confuse revenge with justice and to legitimise certain actions with allegations, which have never been proven according to standards of Western democracies. Even crimes against humanity like genocide need to be brought to justice, even if there is an undeclared war. That is why the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and other criminal tribunals have been set up because justice needs to be seen to be done.

II. Need to Address the Root Causes of Terrorism

It has mainly been the United Nations and the European Union, which have been open to discuss the underlying root causes, but compared with the enormous increase in military spending by the United States in particular, there is no comparable increase of funding made available to address the problems behind terrorist activities. Most of these problems are of a political nature and therefore need to be addressed by negotiations and mediation, i. e. by political means, which however also need significant resources in order to back up the elaboration of political solutions. Other problems are related to pure living conditions, to social distress, and marginalization combined with a lack of perspective, to violations of religious feelings and lack of respect of other cultures, religions and civilisations. Accordingly, there are many root courses and there are no simple recipes, but we can learn something from history.

When the United States and its allies were planning the post-world war order after 1945 they started well in advance in thinking about economic and social cooperation, which would also improve the living

standards of those nations with which they were still in war. They were planning international political and economic institutions in order to achieve economic growth and social progress for all nations, because one of the root causes of the Second World War was considered the international economic crisis in the 20s and early 30s which made it possible for a person like Hitler to come to power and for a people like the Germans to follow him as their leader. After the Second World War the Marshall Plan was a big economic effort of the United States to rebuild the destroyed economies in Europe and to transform former enemies into partners.

The enormous disparities of our world and the unresolved global problems are part of the root causes for acts of terrorisms which accordingly require a global effort of all nations, together with the international institutions in place, to start a struggle by peaceful means against the underlying causes of insecurity, fundamentalism and terrorism. In a globalised world, military security is an illusion and a very costly one indeed. What we have to aim at is human security, putting the person and its wellbeing into the centre of our concern, because people who are enjoying decent living conditions and live in democracies are less likely to generate terrorists or sympathise with them.

This is not just a power struggle, where the empire of the evil is attacking the first world power to win control of our planet, like in Independence Day or Star Wars. A major reason why political terrorism could develop so far seems to be very much related to the lack of human security for an increasing number of people in the world, who feel economically excluded, ethnically discriminated, and not respected in their social, cultural and religious beliefs.

As we can see from several United Nations reports, including the UNDP human development reports, there is an increasing number of people in our world who feel marginalized, who do not have basic needs covered, who live in poverty, who are discriminated against for reasons of their race, colour, sex, language, religion and political opinion, who lack the right to self-determination, who feel exploited and dominated by others, who do not enjoy the most basic civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights, who do not feel respected nor protected, i. e. who do not feel secure in their personal lives.

Accordingly, we observe a changing nature of the threats to peace and security: 95 % of violent conflicts occur within the boundaries of states and 90 % of victims are civilians.

III. The Human Security Approach

In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), first used the concept of “Human Security” with reference to basic economic and social rights, like the right to food, to health and social security etc. stating that: “the world can never be in peace unless people have security in their daily lives”. On 4 October 2002, UNSG Kofi Annan authored an article on “World inclusivity” in the International Herald Tribune, speaking about a “new insecurity” since September 11th and concluding “Peace, tolerance, mutual respect, human rights, the rule of law and the global economy are all among the casualties of the terrorists’ acts”. He also states: “We cannot continue to exclude the poor, the disenfranchised or those who are denied basic rights to liberty and self-determination. Or that if we do, we cannot at the same time hope to secure lasting peace and prosperity”.

In the mid-90s the so-called “Human Security Network” of first 8 and today 13 states was formed, a new group of “like-minded states”, which are committed to draw political conclusions from the changing nature of threats to peace and security and to act together in international fora, in particular in the United Nations.

The “*Human Security Approach*” can be characterized by the awareness that the exclusive emphasis on the classical military approach to security has become increasingly obsolete or inefficient: “new vulnerabilities” have emerged. States using traditional concepts of security are increasingly unable to protect their citizens against the new threats, partly because of their nature, including their international dimension.

These threats are characterized by “internal conflicts” (5 Mio. dead so far), creating refugees (13 Mio.) and displacement (20-30 Mio.), by terrorism against civilians, by organized crime, by drug problems, trade in human organs, but also poverty, natural disasters, unemployment, i. e. lack of basic economic and social rights. The targets or victims mainly are civilians, often children. Mines and small weapons killed 1000s of people and more than 800 Mio. have to live on less the 1 \$/a day, which means that they lack safety or security in their daily life.

Accordingly, the Human Security Agenda covers issues like landmines, small arms (where a successful international conference has been held recently, children in armed conflict and other forms of exploitation

of children, international humanitarian law, including the International Criminal Court, conflict prevention, transnational organised crime, development including health, poverty, food security and human rights education.

A similar approach can be found in the Millennium report of the Secretary General of the United Nations in 2000, which he structured into “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” responding also to the new challenges of globalization. The emphasis is put on conflict prevention, conflict management and sustainability of our life style. The Millennium Declaration is containing concrete objectives till 2015.

Two major countries have already made Human Security the main principle of their foreign policies: Canada, under the title “Freedom from Fear”, “safety for people in a changing world”, and Japan, under the tripartite objective “freedom from want”, “peace and co-existence” and “dignity of the individual”.

In addition, a Human Security Commission has been set up with the support of Japan and the Secretary General of the United Nations, but outside the UN organization and independent of any government. Headed by Mrs. Sadako Ogata, former High Commissioner for Refugees and Mr. Amartya Sen, noble price winner in economics, this commission is to produce a report by the end of 2002 or early 2003. OSCE has also declared at its summit in Istanbul in 2000... to “promote human security and improve life of individuals and concentrate on trafficking of women and children, children in armed conflicts and control of small weapons.

UNESCO has included human security into its actual five-year plan and organised pertinent meetings worldwide.

An important element of this new policy is the recognition of the importance of international cooperation. The weaknesses of global governance in addressing “global concerns” need to be dealt with. The countries of the Human Security Network support international cooperation in the United Nations as well as its efforts in the field of peace-keeping, humanitarian action, post-conflict peace building, fighting international crime, drugs, trade and terrorism.

The Human Security Approach places the human person and human dignity in the centre of all considerations. This approach is similar to the human rights approach, which in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948 started from the basic assumption of the human dignity of each individual.

IV. The Need for Human Rights, Good Governance and an Intercultural Dialogue

Human security can best be achieved through the full realisation of all human rights, as a holistic concept, civil and political as well as economic social and cultural rights. Where human rights are guaranteed, there is also human security, “without human security there can be no human development” (Mary Robinson, UNHCHR, at World Conference on Racial Discrimination in Durban 2001).

The distinction made in the famous Message to Congress of President Roosevelt of 6 January 1941, endorsed by the Atlantic Charter of August 1941 and the Declaration on the United Nations of 1 January 1942, which already spelled out the basic principles of the post-war order, i. e. freedom from fear and freedom from want, together with freedom of speech and expression and freedom to worship are still relevant today and accordingly have also been taken up in the Millennium Report of the UN Secretary General of 2000. Freedom from fear today can be understood as civil and political rights and freedom from want equals economic, social and cultural rights. Certainly the first today is a Western priority and the second is considered a developing country priority, but only because it is largely achieved in the West. In this context, attention is drawn to Art. 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, dealing with the right to life, to liberty and the “security of the human person”, which today has to be understood in a wider sense.

Human rights can best be protected by international regimes, and human security can best be achieved by international cooperation. The negative effects of globalization need to be addressed by positive instruments of global governance, in particular by more representative international bodies, which have an as large as possible legitimacy and work on the basis of human rights.

In the work of the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, but also the International Committee of the Red Cross, human rights are increasingly seen in the context of conflict prevention and post-conflict resolution. Where human rights are respected, conflicts are less likely to evolve and there can be no sustainable solution in post-conflict reconstruction without human rights.

Human Security is also linked to human rights education as people need to know about their rights, which are also the rights of everybody else, of every human being including terrorists from abroad: they also have a human right to fair trial (see the case of the Oklahoma bomber). It is a criterion of civilization to treat even the worst enemy in a civilized, i. e. human rights way – with respect for human dignity, but also with determination using all legal means, to bring those responsible for a crime to justice. In

addressing the root causes of violence and threats to security, it is often overlooked that among the root causes there is a neglect of violations of basic human rights. Accordingly, the guarantee and enforcement of basic human rights is the best approach to human security.

Already in the year 2000, the European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (ETC) on behalf of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has organised a seminar on Human Security and Human Rights Education. Austria as this year's chair of the Human Security Network, is promoting the importance of human rights education as one of its major priorities in the human security network.

There can be no human security for everybody without human development for all. This is also the message of the UNDP Development Report 2002, which has a particular focus on democracy. Mark Melloch Brown, UNDP Administrator is quoted with: "Terrorism feeds on failed states and poor governance as much as failures of national security". The report offers strong evidence that a trade-off between national stability and personal freedom as suggested by authoritarian regimes does not promote development.

This is also confirmed by the decision of the European Union and later on also the United States in the context of the EU summit meeting in Barcelona and the UN Conference on Financing for Development in Monterrey in March 2002, where for the first time since long a commitment was made to increase the means for development cooperation over the next 5 years (the European Union towards 0.39 % of the GDP).

In a similar way, there is also a need for a well-functioning the state, which is not the enemy, but has to serve the people, who are in need of the state when it comes to redistribution and to social services alongside with security. However, this requires good governance and a strong civil society. Accordingly, human security requires both, governance-building and strengthening of civil society.

Finally, the overall objective has to be a "political culture of human rights", in which everyone knows his or her rights and respects the rights of others without discrimination and in which also the state is led in all its activities by the respect for human rights. In this way human rights become an instrument of empowerment of the people and of social transformation.

Human security is also strengthened by the "dialogue of civilizations", which takes place in the United Nations based on resolutions of the General Assembly since 1998. This cultural dialogue is based on the

respect of the other and the tolerance of difference or “otherness”. The right to be different has been highlighted by UNESCO and others. Nobody, no religion, no culture can claim to have the truth, which automatically would lead to exclusion rather than inclusion of otherness. Not uniformity, but diversity is what gives colour to the society. The Parliamentary Assembly and the Secretary General of the Council of Europe have at various instances emphasized the importance of multicultural and inter-religious dialogue as preventive measures in the fields of education and religion. Art. 5 of the Vienna Declaration on Human Rights, adopted by the UN World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 also reflects the approach that all human rights need to be respected and enforced by all states, while taking into account historical and cultural differences.

V. Conclusion

Soming up, I would like to do this with a few quotes:

Hernando de Soto, president of the Institute for Liberty and Democracy in the New York Times of 17 October 2001: “Don’t let Terrorists seduce the enterprising poor” and “it is not enough to appeal to stomachs. One must appeal to aspirations”. Consequently, prevention of terrorism means to provide at least the perspective for a better future to economically marginalized and politically excluded majorities of this world. A perspective which should be based on common human rights, which reflect universal human values. Because, as Thomas L. Friedman observes in the New York Times of 11 September 2002, one year after 9/11: “Only human values can repair civilization” and (Only) “imposing norms and rules on ourselves gives us the credibility to demand them from others” ... and “Building higher walls may feel comforting, but in today’s interconnected world, they are an illusion”.

This corresponds to what the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan had to say in his article in International Herald Tribune of 4 October 2002 entitled with “The walls have to come down”: Either we help the outsiders in a globalized world out of a sense of moral obligation and enlightened self-interest, or we will find ourselves compelled to do so tomorrow, when their problems become our problems in a world without walls.

If we are aware of all that where are the determined efforts of international cooperation and assistance, where is the grand strategy, the masterplan for a safer world based on Human Rights and Human

Security? International cooperation against terrorism has improved, international cooperation to deal with prevention of terrorism by addressing the root causes still needs to be given adequate attention.