

## 2. Statement on Global Human Security



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Including article by Ruud Lubbers, Jos van Gennip and Naema Tahir:  
'Respecteer menselijke diversiteit'

**worldconnectors**

In 2007 the Worldconnectors wrote four statements related to the themes Migration and Development, Global Human Security, Millennium Development Goals and Policy Coherence for Development. All four statements are prepared by Working Groups before presentation and discussion at the Round Table of Worldconnectors.

The statement on Global Human Security discussed by all Worldconnectors at the Round Table on 30 May 2007 at the Peace Palace in The Hague – is an inspiration and starting point for further dialogue, public debate and media activities of the Worldconnectors.

The Working Group on Global Human Security consists of the following Worldconnectors: Jos van Gennip, Monika Sie Dhian Ho, Jan Berteling, René Grotenhuis/Rick van der Woud/Fulco van Deventer, Joris Voorhoeve, Willemijn Aerdt, Naema Tahir and supporters: Dušica Vukolić and Alide Roerink (NCDO), Gordana Stanković (SID NI), Karen Witsenburg (DPRN), Frans Bieckmann (Wereld in Woorden).

The following special guests at the Round Table in May, have contributed to the statement as well: Christiaan Laheij, Koen Davidse (Deputy Director-General of International Cooperation), Laila al-Zwaini (Sharia expert), Paul van Tongeren (European Centre for Conflict Prevention), Sam Muller (Netherlands Institute for the Internationalization of Law).

Reactions and comments on the statement can be shared on the website [www.worldconnectors.nl](http://www.worldconnectors.nl) and readers are invited to exchange inspiring examples and initiatives that illustrate and support Global Human Security via email: [roundtable@worldconnectors.nl](mailto:roundtable@worldconnectors.nl).

#### Other statements:

1. Statement on Migration and Development
3. Statement on Millennium Development Goals: Schokland Agreement for the second half of the MDGs (2007 - 2015)
4. Statement on Policy Coherence for Development: Aid, Trade, Investment and other issues

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## Statement on Global Human Security

### I. REFLECTIONS

We, the Worldconnectors, underline the interdependence between development and global human security. Poverty, injustice, ignorance and environmental harm to our planet, constitute a threat to human security and its foundations. We believe the security of one is linked to the security of the other. Fragile human security threatens peace, stability and the dignity of all people and the planet.

Human security entails the protection of individuals and communities from violence and threats, from fear and want. Human security complements state security, in that the latter proves to be not always sufficient in ensuring the safety and well-being of individuals. Global human security requires universal human development and the safeguarding of universal human rights in an increasingly interdependent world.

Ours is a world in which dramatic changes have occurred on a global scale. The post Cold War era highlighted the emergence of internal or transnational conflicts and their increasing complexity and it exposed new vulnerabilities of peoples and communities. Wars are also conducted by non-state armed groups, such as global networks and warlords, which can be state sponsored or not, against one another or against states and civilians. Ethnic and religious sentiments are exploited at a local as well as global level, which sometimes results in ethnic cleansing. The aftermath of '9/11' paved an easy way for the so-called War on Terror. It is a troubling time in which the idea of a clash of civilizations threatens to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. We are witnesses to the use of religion to legitimise political, nationalist and military aims. There are tendencies to polarise, feed fear and misunderstanding, fuel disconnecting sentiments, tensions and insecurity. We live in a world where we have to recognise that it is failing in its aim to prevent nuclear proliferation and illegal trade in arms.

It is with grave concern that we notice that partly due to these dramatic changes, human security and the development of all people has received little attention.

We, the Worldconnectors, therefore call for a global human security approach to foreign policy in order to address these new challenges to peace, security, development, human rights and dignity.

Our appeal is based and inspired on the principles of the Earth Charter, launched in June 2000, to which we are bound. The Earth Charter underlines the protection of Earth's diversity. It calls for the eradication of poverty, for the promotion of a culture of tolerance, nonviolence, and peace. We believe in the acceleration of the struggle for justice and peace. Our plea is furthermore based on the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Millennium Declaration that encompasses a wider agenda of global human security.

### II. GLOBAL HUMAN SECURITY APPROACH: CONSIDERATIONS AND COMMITMENTS

- a. The Worldconnectors sincerely believe in the Connection of Civilisations. It is only through global interdependence and universal responsibility that today's challenges can be fully addressed. Towards our aim of connecting peoples, communities and countries, intellectually as well as materially, with one another, we seek a common language of dignity, respect, solidarity and tolerance of life in all its diversity. We abhor the language of a clash. It facilitates the superficial categorisation of individuals into a mere singular (religious) identity. It instils fear of cultural differences in order to exploit that very fear in confrontations. We call for the recognition of multiple identities and pluralism, which allows for the free exploration of cultural self-determination for all, creating a space for all in which inclusive dialogue and understanding thrive.
- b. The predominance of the focus on the War of Terror has negative consequences for Dutch foreign and development policy and for Dutch NGOs in the field. This focus has serious shortcomings, such as the focus on 'homeland',

- Western, security and geopolitical interests, the linking of terrorism to ‘failed states’, the dominance of the military perspective and the emphasis on the fight against (Islamic) terrorism. This has resulted in strong anti-Western sentiments, and the preclusion of negotiations or cooperation with conflicting parties. Furthermore, blatant violations of international and humanitarian law occur, which seriously damage global institutions and their credibility. We propose to start a critical dialogue and to unambiguously reject all policies that strengthen polarisation in the world, and that weaken independent thinking and actions by The Netherlands, as opposed to being forced to analyze the world from a clash of civilization or War on Terror perspective.
- c. We call particular attention to the fact that the new global culture of images and populist speech, through advanced communication technologies, strengthens polarisation by broadcasting and communicating stereotypes of peoples, cultures, customs and religions, while at the same time minimising the time invested in relaying complex realities. We urge the media as well as the public administration and the public to develop more sensitivity to the new challenges arising from the mass media.
- d. We attach great importance to detecting the root causes of conflicts. Such causes often lay in real or perceived injustice. They are to be found within the boundaries of a state, influenced by illegal interventions of other states, and/or can be related to regional, transnational, even global relations. In some cases they reflect the competition over livelihoods, energy and natural resources, drugs trade, (small) arms trade and environmental pressure. Transparency in the genuine and often concealed interests and hidden policies of countries and powerful corporations all over the world is called for. Only by comparing such interests with human security interests, will true and holistic sustainable human development strategies be able to succeed.
- e. We express concern that particularly women account for a vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict. We therefore call for a central role of a gender perspective. Having said that, women are not mere victims of violence, conflict and insecurity. We strongly discourage that perception. Women are important agents of change and play a central role in the solution of conflicts and the reconstruction of societies after conflict. We stress the importance of continuous promotion of the active and equal participation and empowerment of women towards this end, again inspired by the Earth Charter which explicitly underlines the leadership, beneficiary and decision-making qualities of women.
- f. In addition to women, other vulnerable groups disproportionately affected by insecurity are children, refugees, internally displaced persons, people on the move, the elderly, the ill, and otherwise marginalised persons. There is a need to recognise the consequent impact their insecurity has on durable peace and reconciliation. Furthermore, we reaffirm the need to fully implement international humanitarian and human rights law that protect the rights of all, in particular the aforementioned vulnerables, in and surrounding the advent of conflict.
- g. A genuine and comprehensive human security approach should be developed that applies both to human and national security and to the international arrangements that are necessary to make this a safer and more inclusive world. And new allies should be found to put this alternative into practice in the field. We think that the Netherlands should focus much more on developing this alternative within the European realm, be it in the official institutions, or with ‘like-minded’ countries and organisations. It is a hopeful sign that the new Dutch Coalition Agreement starts with the international agenda of the government. However, no detailed and coherent vision has been outlined in the Coalition Agreement on how to connect the sector of development cooperation with foreign policy and defence policy.
- h. The Netherlands – as host of some important institutions in the field of global justice – is not emphasising enough the strengthening and implementation of international law, multilateral institutions, humanitarian law and human right institutions. ‘The Hague Legal Capital of the World’ should result in a much more principal stance against the undermining of global governance and the UN in recent years. This position of the Netherlands should be used and strengthened in the framework of international mediation. The aims and goals of the International Criminal Court are not developed well enough. The strengthening of the rule of law, especially immediately after a conflict has ended, is an important condition for the reconstruction of war torn countries.
- i. The idea has gained ground that when states are no longer willing and/or capable to protect the security of their citizens, the responsibility to protect the security of citizen’s shifts to the international community. The Dutch government and NGOs should contribute actively to the political debate regarding the conditions under which the principle of the Responsibility to Protect can morally, politically, legally and militarily justify the deployment of military means. We, as the Netherlands and as part of Europe, should contribute to the strengthening and support of multilateral (regional) institutions that can effectively intervene in case of humanitarian emergencies. European instruments for effective action should be created, with enough material, logistical and financial support as well as high level political leverage.
- j. We ask academics, policy makers in both government agencies and NGOs, and politicians to evaluate and reflect on past experiences and the consequences of current trends. There is a strong need for further elaboration on the complex relationships between conflict, economic development and socio-political trends in both national and international fields. We have the ‘Responsibility to reflect’. There is a need for a better knowledge infrastructure to support Dutch foreign, development and defence policy, not only from the view of traditional (state) security, but also from the perspective of human security and development. There should be a ‘policy theory’, a thorough exploration of the underpinnings of current policies.
- k. Before important foreign policy decisions are taken – such as removing a country from the aid list or sending peacekeeping troops – a ‘reflective phase’ should be considered. This would – besides the military assessments that are usually conducted – also have to consist of a civil assessment: the consultations of civil society representatives in the country concerned. The Worldconnectors, at a more practical level, strongly appeal for a public hearing in the advent of such important policy decisions. During such a hearing, scientists, NGOs and their partners, alumni, consultants, foreign intellectuals and business people can inform the Dutch Parliament about the situation in the specific country concerned.
- l. Finally, the Worldconnectors address all actors in the field of international affairs to build flexible multi-stakeholder coalitions. To reach the goal of global human security, it is important to create multiple alliances and networks – consisting of ‘like minded’ governments, international institutions, civil society organisations, companies, intellectuals, and individual civilians in the Netherlands and abroad. In recent history, important steps have been taken, such as the Landmine Treaty and the International Criminal Court which would not have come about without the involvement of a wide range of actors and pressure through the media. One can also think of multi-stakeholder initiatives to encourage multinational companies to disinvest in repressive governments – e.g. Sudan. The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development is an example of how like-minded countries, NGOs and international organisations can make a difference. Pushing it forwards can create a breakthrough. We call for the development of such alliances and networks to, among others, strengthen

initiatives to save the Non Proliferation Treaty; to put pressure on states to conclude a treaty by 2008 to prohibit cluster munitions that cause unacceptable harm, building on the recent Oslo Declaration; and to toughen the controls on arms trade (international Arms Trade Treaty Initiative).

### III. POLICY PROPOSALS

Building on these commitments, the World-connectors ask several specific players in the field of foreign affairs to alter their policies. The prevailing integrated 3D approach – Development, Diplomacy and Defence – which currently determines Dutch foreign policy, should be balanced much more towards Human Security and Development. Although for some years now the government is trying to integrate the three policy fields, it is not making explicit political choices. We need a more balanced ‘3D’-approach, with less focus on military interventions and more on diplomacy and development.

We ask the Dutch Government, in particular the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Development Cooperation to:

- 1 Put much more emphasis on preventive diplomacy. While military intervention may be necessary in certain circumstances, in many other cases peace diplomacy can be much more effective. It needs carefully elaborated strategies, in collaboration with other neutral, like-minded countries and non-governmental and international organisations. Thorough knowledge of the specific political context is essential. Dialogue with diverse currents in society in countries in conflict is necessary, especially in Islamic countries: instead of polarising against the Islam as such. Two simultaneous tracks of diplomacy should be chosen. Not only the official, ministerial level of diplomacy. The level of civil society needs to be emphasized more: local community based organisations and informal leaders – especially women in conflict countries – can play an important role in solving or preventing conflicts.

- 2 Find another way of selecting countries to engage with. This choice should be based on a human security approach. Until now the choice has been based on good governance criteria (for Development Cooperation) or security concerns (Iraq, Afghanistan). But the distinction between ‘well governed’ and ‘poorly governed’ states is mostly a myth. In the majority of developing countries we are dealing with ‘grey tones’, with ‘difficult partners’ to talk and deal with. And, on the other hand, not only Afghanistan and Iraq deserve attention. Peacekeeping efforts in Africa are urgent as well. Contributing to conflict prevention and solution in Africa (e.g. Sudan, Chad, Somalia, the Great Lakes Region, or other (emerging) conflict countries) should become a central concern in terms of international diplomacy, co-financing peacekeeping missions or contributing troops.

We welcome the special attention the current minister of Development Cooperation – as well as his predecessor – wants to give to these problems, and we plea that conflicts in Africa receive more attention from the entire Dutch cabinet.

- 3 Involve the local civil society more (civic organisations, women’s networks, churches, communities, clans, and business people) in the political processes. Only then a sustainable peace and reconciliation can be achieved. In countries in conflict the legitimacy of the state has decreased enormously, because it did not act or took part itself in atrocities; reconstruction means not only reconstruction of the institutions, but also of their legitimacy. A good instrument in this reconstruction process might be those institutions that have not lost legitimacy because they continued to protect people during the conflict, such as clans or churches. They can play a role in connecting civilians to the state.
- 4 Coordinate diplomatic efforts more at a European level. More emphasis should be laid on a common European foreign policy, through the Council or, in case of blocking of decision-making in the Council, with important like-minded

countries. Only then a real difference can be made in the global political arena. One special focal point could be the further elaboration of the Human Security Doctrine for Europe, which was presented in September 2004, by an international study group led by Mary Kaldor. It provides a good starting basis for developing a ‘Human Security Response Force’, composed of 15,000 men and women, including an appropriate civil component.

- 5 Strengthen the special ties between Europe and Africa. The Netherlands and Europe should continue to help – financially, diplomatically, logistically, materially – the African Union in the development of its own security and peacekeeping forces. A long-term commitment is necessary, because there is still a long way to go. What, is ultimately better than assisting Africans solving African problems?
- 6 Leave much more room for local wishes and solutions. In building up new political and social structures we should not try to copy Western models, but find a balance with traditional structures. Therefore thorough, almost anthropological analysis of tribal and other relationships is needed, before intervention decisions are taken. We should take into account the challenge of modernization: in countries like Afghanistan, Sudan or Congo war, civil war and other forms of violent conflict have destroyed parts of traditional societies. A huge gap has been created. Quick modernisation and integration into a globalised world – by flying in planes full of consultants – is not the right answer. New concepts – departing from the practice in the field – are needed to find the priorities that the people would consider to choose themselves: first health care, or economic development, or rule of law?
- 7 Improved coordination between the military and development workers (officials and NGOs, ICRC). Each party has its own role, its strengths and weaknesses. Information exchange is nonetheless crucial and joint assessment of local situations – if possible – is very valuable.

- 8 Make available the necessary resources to finance multilateral peace building operations, security sector reform (SSR), demining operations and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) operations, while respecting the official development aid (ODA) criteria. A comprehensive approach to human security requires new financial arrangements, for example; besides the 0.8% target for ODA, the earlier established target of 0.3% for non-ODA international activities should be reinstated.
- 9 Show a long-term commitment. The restoration of security often requires quick intervention, aimed at swift results. Soon after the ending of a conflict, reconstruction must be started to show the people that peace pays. However, if the objective is to improve basic structures of security, a much more enduring attitude is needed. Careful and long-lasting assistance to help countries improve their legal order, particularly the police; the first institutional provider of security, should be less corrupt and brutal and more focused on human rights.
- 10 Be cautious with military interventions, but in case you intervene: be timely; have a clear objective and intervene in the internal division of power; do not isolate ‘the enemy’ and do not exclude dialogue.

In combination with every statement the Worldconnectors reach out for dialogue and debate with Dutch society by writing articles among others. For the theme Global Human Security Worldconnectors Ruud Lubbers, Jos van Gennip and Naema Tahir wrote the following article. It was published in *de Volkskrant* on 1 November 2007.

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# Respecteer menselijke diversiteit

Wereldwijd regeert de angst. Daarom vragen **Ruud Lubbers e.a.** meer aandacht voor wat de mensheid bindt, dan voor wat haar splt. Te beginnen in Nederland.

**O**nlangs is de Nobelprijs voor de Vrede toegekend aan Al Gore en het VN-klimaatpanel IPCC. Deze keuze was gebaseerd op de wereldwijde bewustwording over de rol van de mens in schadelijke klimaatverandering. Gore en het IPCC hebben er mede voor gezorgd dat wij nu ook inziden dat mensen een actieve rol kunnen en moeten spelen om de planeet schoner te maken.

Op dezelfde manier wijzen wij op de rol en positie van mensen in het nastreven van mondiale vrede. Wij pleiten voor een nieuw paradigma, dat van de 'menselijke veiligheid'. Dat betekent niet alleen dat de veiligheid van alle mensen prioriteit moet worden, maar ook de verantwoordelijkheid van ieder mens om te streven naar binding tussen mensen, culturen, volken, zelfs economieën en ideeën.

Menselijke veiligheid is een wezenlijk onderdeel van een menswaardig bestaan, een bestaan dat is gevrijwaard van angst en armoede. Het concept nodigt ons uit de wereld te bezien als een verzamelaarsplaats van burgers van allerlei pluimage, die allemaal recht op protectie en welzijn hebben. Het doet ons besef groeien dat in onze globaliserende wereld de veiligheid van de een verbonden is met de veiligheid van de ander. Anders gezegd: de realisering dat de onveiligheid van wie dan ook op onze planeet leidt tot de onveiligheid van wie dan ook elders, noopt tot het centraal stellen van de veiligheid van elk mens in het buitenlandbeleid.

Wat gaat verder dan de traditionele invulling van het veiligheidsbeleid: het bevorderen van de nationale veiligheid van de staat. We zijn ervan overtuigd dat het nemen van menselijke veiligheid als centraal uitgangspunt van het buitenlandbeleid (internationale diplomatie, defensie, ontwikkelingsamenwerking, en zelfs internationale handel, internationaal personenverkeer en internationaal milieu- en cultuurbeleid) een betere weg is naar het bewerkstelligen van een duurzame vrede.

Sinds het einde van de Koude Oorlog strijden niet-gebonden groepen (soms regeringen, rebelbewegingen of clans, soms huurlingen of criminele netwerken) om macht, prestige en grondstoffen. Steeds vaker wordt daarbij terreur tegen de eigen of vreemde bevolking gebruikt. Vooral na 11 september 2001 regeert de angst, met name voor terroristen, maar ook voor concurrentie, voor alles wat anders is. En angst stimuleert geweld.

Al dan niet terecht verantwoordelijkheid en boosheid over intolerantie ten aanzien van geloofsovertuiging, over 'terroristische' of 'imperialistische' aanvallen of over buitenlanders die baanjes zouden inpikken of de straten onveilig zouden maken, leiden tot tegenreacties, tot het sluiten der geesten, tot verkrampt en een heilloze confrontatiepolitiek.

Zo wordt alles alleen nog in die termen bezien: wij tegen zij. De polarisatie in Nederland tussen mensen van Nederlandse oorsprong en islamitische medelanders is een equivalent van de botsing die we op wereldniveau aanschouwen. Het lijkt alsof er een wereldwijde confrontatie is tussen 'de islam' en 'het Westen'. Het is deze gevaarlijke simplificatie waartegen wij ons moeten verzetten als wij ons beschaafd willen noemen.

Tegenover de oorlog tegen terreur en zijn van platitudes door-drongen jargon stellen wij de



Afghaanse mannen staan geboeid bij de landmijnen die bij hun arrestatie in beslag zijn genomen. Foto AP

plicht te verbinden. Dat begint met wederzijds respect voor diversiteit. En met het besef dat wij samen moeten leven, samen werken. Fatsoenlijk omgaan met elkaar benadrukt gemeenschappelijkheid en verdraagzaamheid.

Vaak worden conflicten op bizarre wijze versimpeld: alle moslims zijn fundamentalistisch, alle westerlingen willen ons uitbuiten, fragile staten steunen terroristen. De massamedia staan voor de uitdaging opener, gevoeliger en respectvoller met hun klanten om te gaan. Ook de kijkers kunnen dat respect vragen. Een lofwaardig initiatief is de nieuwe zender *Het Gesprek*, waar intellectuele dialoog wordt gestimuleerd als tegengeld tegen de vluchtigheid van andere actualiteitenprogramma's.

Ook regeringen moeten genuanceerder en opener communiceren. Omdat de bevolkingen van oorlogvoerende landen in het ongewisse worden gelaten over de diepere oorzaken van gewapende interventies, worden conflicten bestendig. Grotere transparantie over de ware redenen van oorlogen is dus noodzakelijk.

Op praktisch niveau kan de binding tussen culturen worden bewerkstelligd via 'religieuze gemeenschappen' en ontwikkelingsmachten, van Nederland met bijvoorbeeld Bangladesh of Tunesië. Dat doorbreekt het paradigma van 'de islam' tegen 'het Westen' en scheidt ruimte voor toename in plaats van polarisatie.

Tot slot zou Nederland een actief internationaal cultureel beleid moeten voeren waarbij de binding der beschavingen leidend beginsel is. Centraal daarin staat het besef dat wij in deze wereld van el-

kaar afhankelijk zijn en dat culturele kruisbestuiving niet alleen onontkoombaar is, maar ook nog eens verrijkend kan werken.

Een bijzonder aspect van het

## Nederland moet als thema de binding der beschavingen kiezen

concept van menselijke veiligheid is dat veel meer actoren actief (kunnen) zijn dan in het traditionele veiligheidsbeleid, waarin regering-domineren, hulporganisaties, solidariteitscomités, vakbonden, kerken, bekende persoonlijkheden, individuen en groepen leveren overal ter wereld hun bijdrage.

Niet alleen spelen zij soms een

rol in de landen waar gewelddadige conflicten zijn, zij kunnen ook coalities vormen die bepaalde doelen nastreven. Een goed voorbeeld is de campagne tegen landmijnen, die op gang gebracht is door een relatief kleine groep landen en organisaties. Een vergelijkbare campagne krijgt nu gestalte rond een verbod op clustermunitie. En je kunt je indenken dat er een sterke wereldwijde campagne tegen de miljarden verslindende wapenhandel opgezet wordt, om te beginnen die in kleine wapens.

Zelfs op het terrein van nucleaire proliferatie is dergelijke burgerlijke participatie denkbaar. De geleidelijke vermindering en het uitbannen van kernwapens moet worden herbevestigd. Daarvoor moeten we werken aan een internationale 'mobilisation of shame', door het hele debat van nucleaire

proliferatie uit de machtspolitiek van nationale staten halen. Internationale ngo's, maar ook bekende persoonlijkheden kunnen hieraan bijdragen.

Ten slotte zou Europa zich als potentiële wereldmacht militair zichtbaar moeten maken met één Europese vredesmacht, misschien wel in één Europees uniform. Nederland moet daarom actief streven naar een Europees beleid van menselijke veiligheid en bijdragen aan het verder uitwerken van gedetailleerde Europese humanitaire interventiestrategieën, waarvan ontwikkelingsamenwerking een integraal onderdeel wordt.

Jos van Gennip, Naema Tahir en Ruud Lubbers nemen deel aan de 'Round Table of Worldconnectors for People and the Planet'. Zie ook [www.worldconnectors.nl](http://www.worldconnectors.nl).

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