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HUMAN SECURITY CONCEPTS FOR NGO'S IN POST INTERVENTION SOCIETIES - A CASE STUDY IN IRAQ

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Abstract

The outline of responsibility to protect phenomenon and to widen interpretation of providing Security and peace in the World have challenged international law basic respect to states sovereignty. UN guaranteed non-intervention principles on countries domestic policies by Chapter 7 though 1991 Resolution 668 and Kosovo intervention of NATO in 1999 has altered the formula and inflamed the great involvement of the global civil society. Hence, 1994 UNDP has announced the importance of human security in global policy making which human security became an aim of interventions to provide. This paper basing on field study during 3 November - 12 November 2012 in Baghdad and Erbil will try to search how human security understood by the NGO's. 2003 intervention fired an insecurity situation in the country that has been determined by NGO's. How NGO's are interpreting humanitarian policies and interventions in the aspect of human security? Those questions would highlight NGO formation and involvement in decision-making and monitoring in post-intervention countries like Iraq.

Keywords: Human Security, Iraq, Ngo's, Humanitarian Intervention.

Introduction

Security studies in global politics are now comprising a huge variety of theoretical debate by the increasing importance of the human rights. Humanitarianism and humanitarian values in world politics have settled in the agenda after World War II (WWII). The process is led by the states and inter-governmental organisations (IGO's) structured under UN system, and few but important Non-governmental Organisations (NGO'S) have drawn the humanitarian agenda. Furthermore, 1990's have widened this agenda and changed the debates in actor issue. IGO's and NGO's starts not to implement the state sovereignty rules against states that are acting in failure on human rights problems and applied humanitarian action in these countries.

This conceptual shift distinguished as the new humanitarianism simultaneously would affect the security concepts. Humanitarian universalism is thoroughly emerged in the Western world and used to restructure the "so-called failed states or Third World", the challenges have come in these senses especially in 1990's for all world politics. As most of the scholars have underscored, 1999 Kosovo NATO bombing turn out to be a substantial exception to the equal state sovereignty system that has been recognised by the UN system (Hehir, 2008: 14).

Nation states have lost its monopoly over the use of arm power. The financing of the war moved on to private sectors and non-governmental structures. We must also note that guerrilla based conflicts like the response to USA army in Somalia, dissolving arms of Iraq military after Iraq intervention 2003 give rise to resisters evolving to terrorist groups or guerrilla structures.

Mary Kaldor defines the New War concept by observing the change in the structure of the conflicts and violence in the new millennium. The changing context of war also transformed the context of the security.

"These are wars that take place in the context of disintegration of states (typically authoritarian states under the impact of globalization.) They are fought by networks of states and non-state actors, often without uniforms, sometimes with distinctive signs, like crosses, or Ray-Ban sunglasses as in the case Croatian militia in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are wars where battles are rare and where most violence

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is directed against civilians as consequence of counter insurgency tactics or ethnic cleansing.” (Kaldor, 2011: 3).

Kaldor studies the structural change in the conflict zones with the organizational level in the age of globalisation. She built a relationship between new wars and globalisation like Ernest Gellner’s thought on nationalism and industrialisation. The change in the idea of governance the increasing variety of organisational networks, international regimes, also affected the non-governmental actors. *“The Ngo’s are most active at local and transnational levels partly because these are the sites of the problems which they are concerned and partly because access to national politics is blocked by nationally organized political parties.”* (Kaldor, 2007, p. 76).

The changing structure of the conflicts that can be called as New Wars can encounter or involve with the state interventions especially with accelerating factor of humanitarian crises and lack of human security. In this respects, NGO’s can be as important vehicles for monitoring, pressuring post-intervention governments in humanitarian aid, peace, ecology and also implementing global campaigns (Kaldor, 2007) (Chandler, 2001; Duffield, 2010).

1. Human Security and Interventions

Nation-states still preserve their roles in the international system. However, they are integrating themselves into more economically and politically liberal structures in a more institutional aspect. In spite of its sovereignty of the Westphalian State system, which is strictly preserved during Cold War, the sovereignty of the countries can be easily intervened by the common values or interests. Security perceptions have been changed. These changes have affected the idea of war. War can be distinguished from its effects to civilians and also military operations used for political aims. We can read the refugee crises of Palestine as a major case for over millions of unbeknownst.

Thomas refers to human security as *“The achievement of human dignity which incorporates personal autonomy, control over one’s life and unhindered participation in the life of community. Emancipation from oppressive power structures, be they global national or local in origin and scope is necessary for human security”*. As a crucial political, economic analyser she points out the neoliberal reasons for increased human insecurity. Inordinate power of developed countries in International Organisations like in IMF, WB, or G8’s influence in the global political economy are all showing the asymmetrical reaction in global governance. Therefore this also reflects in the relation of humanitarianism or need for intervention to the states were defined by ruling parties in global politics. In the UN the widening concept of protecting peace and security principle also is the part that indicates the human security requirements (Thomas, 2000: 9).

1994 Haiti intervention has been an example for maturing new security and peace concepts. With Security Council 940 Resolution international armed forces had been formed for overthrowing military government. Wheeler added a different perspective by analysing Security Council Resolution 688 and how it is passed from UN regime, for constructing safe-havens in Iraq. The plight of the Kurds in 1991 identified as massive humanitarian crises nonetheless Iraq claimed the resolution is the violation of Article 2 (7) and intervention to its internal affairs. Yemen, Zimbabwe, and Cuba supported this claim. Besides countries like China and India make strong references to Article 2(7) and abstained from the resolution 688. They claimed that there should be clear evidence that Iraq’s use of force would create a direct threat to international peace and security. Otherwise, this would be the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states (Wheeler, 2000, pp.:143-144). For the Iraqi no fly zones, the new features of the humanitarian intervention that is accepted by the Western countries; *‘coercive action, the absence of indigenous consent and a declared humanitarian objective.’* (Holbrook, 2002 :137).

Post-Cold War period brought a limitation to world politics with normative implications. Defending human rights regimes against state sovereignty was ruled under ‘responsibility to protect’ idea. For the scholars, the limitation of sovereignty has been debatable. First, some group of theories idealises individual rights and necessitates the legal and coercive interventions. Other theories like realist or some English school theorists have concerns about sovereign equality among States.

In any cases human security concept has developed into two directions: one way have relations with the responsibility to protect which Canadian Government have published in Human Security

Report. It takes the major reference point of state security is totally against individual especially in the matters of political violence. Second is the UNDP's report, it made a much more extensive description and focused on development, different sectors of security like food, economic or societal security. According to Kaldor: these two approaches have to combine and we must put the emphasis much more on the security of individuals, interrelated features of security (Kaldor, 2011 : 182-183).

Likewise several scholars in the field have critically studied the human security. Especially Chandler looks to this concept in terms of IR theories and in response to how alternative theories confront with the classical state interest of the real politics.

Very few commentators have attempted to understand the rise of 'human security' frameworks outside the constructivist framework and, as will be drawn out, this framework forms the basis of critical shift against human security after the end of 1990's The fundamental break involved in the constructivist approach was that of inverting the relationship between states and the international or global sphere. Where previously states were the key objects of study - as the core actors and instrumentally-orientated rational subjects constituting the international sphere - within the constructivist framework, state policy frameworks were the products of international or global discourse. The subject of study switched from privileging the formation of state interest at the domestic level to privileging their communicative interaction, the declaration of norms and values, which were held to shape state identities and policy making. Taking on board the starting logic of realism - that states pursue their narrow strategic self-interest - constructivists assumed that it was the external pressures of global interaction and campaigning NGO's which explained the shifting nature of the discourses of foreign policy (Chandler, 2011, :116).

This theoretical explanation of the change in the global actors directly affects the humanitarian intervention policies Weiss declares the crucial truth about international law: "As a practical matter, the deinstitutionalization of sovereign central authorities means at minimum, a vastly diminished role for international law." (Weiss, 2012: 73).

From the concept of just war to humanitarian intervention, all the historical evaluation process also presents these values that legitimise the use of force have closely interlinked with the security approaches of the actors. The limitation of use of force is directly related to the increasing influence of the society and the individuals' contribution to the World politics. Subsequently, definitions of the concepts like human security in this level create a debate on how this security would be provisioned. Will of security can be regulated by the arm forces which will emancipate the people from the authoritarian governing or would be possible to assemble the local NGO's civil initiatives for opting out of conflicts?

Consequently, this study has started on the theoretical debate by a favourite question if states still involve to other states sovereignty by determining failures in governing, human right policies in other sense achieving for human security how can the coercive force of states be monitored, by the hands of states, IGO's or NGO's? Mounting from this question, I conduct a field study in the capital of Iraq and at the capital of KRG with local NGO's and authorities who are in charge of supporting and authorising NGO's in Iraq.

I have consulted the important agents of NGO's in Baghdad and Erbil during 1-10 November 2012. The methodology of my field research is an elite interview. 13 interviews were held in Baghdad, and four interviews were in Erbil. Two parliament members in Iraq one in human right commission and one in NGO commission are interviewed. Also, Vice-coordinator of NGO Office of the Government and Director for Development and Humanitarian Assistance Office of United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) has welcomed my questions. So two task of questions are formed; one for NGO's and other for institutional authorities, and both question tasks are formed by two levels. The first level of question is to understand the NGO's mission practice and funding procedures and also processes their link with government and previous coalition forces. For institutional elites, the aim of the institution and their relations with NGO's and IGO's in Iraq are asked. On the Second level of the both question tasks consist of general questions which have formed in seven perspectives. All questions are constructed in two options, so interviewed elites are asked to answer the general question to consider situation after 1991 intervention and after 2003 intervention: a) Civil society evaluation b) how civil society monitor human - civil rights c) freedom of law d) how security situation were interpreted by civil society e) minority right- what is

minority f) cultural and urban life in both cities e) NGO's and their relations with government and previous coalition forces. In this sense, I tried to evaluate how civil society means before 2003 intervention, and after it. Does Iraqi Freedom operation have provided a space for NGO's and civil society initiatives and how it is evolved in 10 years?

2. Outcomes from field research

As it lies like in every methodological structure of in-depth interviews, discourses in elite interviews reflect subjective opinions and demonstrate insight views. So I rather want use this relative disadvantage as a positive outcome because of an outsider researcher considering security circumstances in Iraq, I thought that NGO's would be limited to their activism. Though all the participants have shared their personal views but also demonstrate their institutional perspective, which highlights Iraq's contemporary political history and expectations. While NGO's getting stronger for enforcing the government especially on public policies, they gained a meaningful place in the 2005 Iraq Constitution and also in the 2010 NGO law approved in the parliament. The 2005 Iraq Constitution states that:

Article 45: First: The State shall seek to strengthen the role of civil society institutions, and to support, develop and preserve their independence in a way that is consistent with peaceful means to achieve their legitimate goals, and this shall be regulated by law.

Second: The State shall seek the advancement of the Iraqi clans and tribes, shall attend to their affairs in a manner that is consistent with religion and the law, and shall uphold their noble human values in a way that contributes to the development of society. The State shall prohibit the tribal traditions that are in contradiction with human rights (Constitution, 2005).

2005 Iraq Constitution has authorised Council of Ministry for registration and monitoring NGO's which Perwin Mohammed states: there are 6600 registered NGO's in Iraq, and lots of them are acting as women organisations. This kind of organisational structure was not evident during the Saddam regime, and with 2010 12-2010 Law for NGO's has established this registration instrument. (Emin, 2012) In our opinion this kind of registration mechanisms directly controlled by the governments can limit NGO's to monitor states policy formation in the human security perspective.

The feminist activist Hanaa Adwar -the co- founder of Iraqi Al-Amal Association- states that despite the second part of the Article 45, it creates an opening to sectarian values which generally pushes sectarian duality and violence in the country, 2005 Constitution and NGO Law forced by local NGO initiatives and civil society blocs which affected Iraq's construction after the intervention.

"I think now the NGO's have entered to a new stage on impacting on public policy. And this had been very clear when we met on the constitution. From the 2004-2005 and we also interfered in the elections. We did awareness campaign, and we did monitor the election process. We also made evaluations and also pushing on the electoral law. So this is a very effective role of the NGO's in Iraq Now NGO's have really important part now in Iraq. In 2010 - NGO law, there is a very important example now. After the last election, when parliament has joined her first session. There was really a fear in the country everybody feared what had happened. And we interfered immediately we raised the issue of a lawsuit to the federal court. We made the creations of a civil initiative constitution, more than 800 institutions and more 2000 personals joining the campaign of very specific demand. And when we raised the issue to the federal court, Al Amal and other institutions raised the lawsuit to the federal court, and that was the hall initiative of the NGO's in Iraq." (Adwar, 2012).

Certainly, there is a drastic difference in Erbil and Baghdad interviews because KRG has gained extraordinary peace situation to program civil society act in the field. Likewise, after 1990 all majority of civil society action for Iraq's future were constructed in Erbil, and they resettled in Baghdad after 2003.

As Ala Ali, Iraqi Al Amal's Erbil office coordinator mentions KRG's economic growth have created an operational milieu for NGO's.

"In 1992-93, people started to know about the civil society organizations and civil society organizations started to be created and formed. Almost all of them were working for relief and humanitarian aid, because this was the need of the community at that time. It was financially supported by the UN agencies and the international organizations. We really had a lack of human resources, on the local level but people really started to develop very fast. It was not very well organized on a legal framework aspect at that time, because as I told you, it was a really new issue even for the government. Then things changed after 2000. Even before 2000, in 1997-98 when the economic

situation in Kurdistan started to improve and we started to work on a legal framework. We started to develop from humanitarian aid focus to other humanitarian development issues. In 2003, after US invasion in Iraq, we can say that the political and security situation did not negatively affect Kurdistan, on the contrary it was a relief for Kurdistan to develop more economically and socio-economically. Local NGOs started to become more professional, started to train and exchange knowledge and experience between Kurdistan Regional Government and Baghdad. In 2005-06-07, security situation was terribly bad in Baghdad. And south, many activities mainly like 80-90 % were conducted in Amman or Beirut for civil society organizations. In 2008, policies changed for international NGOs. They started to move back the activities to the Kurdistan Regional Government, because it was safe and economic development started to grow very fast. Many international companies and NGOs, they started to have a base in Erbil especially. So in 2009, really almost all the activities and now you can say 90% of the activities are conducted here in Erbil for all Iraq." (Ali, 2012).

Depending on this statement, I can notify some general observations from NGO's and also from the institutional officers. US intervention was unavoidable because of Saddam Regime have created a fear regime on the people and destroyed all the opposition in the country that can raise a voice or create an armed resistance that provided silent consent for intervention. However all the participants of NGO presenters and parliament officials question USA intentions for Operation Iraqi Freedom. Humanitarian aims were disputed by the civil society action generally because of the unplanned existence - long duration of stay and their nontransparent implementations like Abuh Garip. 1991 perceived as an important turning point for KRG though, for Baghdad NGO's, Saddam had increased its oppression much more worsened the situation in other provinces, especially in South. Two of the participants have made exceptions for the unavoidable circumstances of the 2003 Iraqi Freedom Operation. Iraqi Social and Education Team members Ahmad Jaber Abbas and Dafy Hasan have emphasised their doubts about US help to Saddam after 1990 for oppressing Shia resistance in the south. As UN declared "no fly zone" region from 36 parallel and widened it 32 parallel, nonetheless the USA remained silent for the Shia-led region in Iraq. (Dafy Hasan, 2012) Correspondingly Wheeler has stressed it by mentioning states interest in No fly zones can create unilateral implementations that ignore Security Councils responsibilities for the humanitarian aims (Wheeler, 2000).

Hanaa Adwar underlines 1991 intervention and Saddam's success to oppress Shia rising stimulates today's sectarian conflict in the country. Also, she states the importance that all the local NGO's declared that they would stay neutral for Coalition forces because as huge money passed for humanitarian aims Iraqi government faced huge corruption custody and also NGO's becomes part of these accusations (Adwar, 2012).

International Non-governmental organisations and local NGO's formed after 2003, and the USA has funded international NGO's especially in Green zones, which have widened the gap between locals and international organisations. Especially NGO's funded by the USA originated groups or foundations shift their agenda to USA's security concerns in Iraq which Mohammed Hassan Al-salami, founder of the National Association for the Defence of Human Rights have declared (Salami, 2012).

3. Human Security vulnerabilities of Iraq

"Sovereignty, as enshrined in positive international law, is regularly identified as the clearest barrier to the realization of the normative vision of proactive interventionism constituted on the primacy of human security." (Hehir 2008, 14).

As Aidan Hehir identified the legitimate background of the interventions, our research has tried to validate how post intervention countries construct human security by the help of civil society movement. Human Right Commissioner in Iraqi Parliament Dr Bushra Obeydi, added that still NGO's are building the gaps between laws and constitution central rights that construct human rights. Unfortunately the freedom speech still a broad human insecurity area in Iraq. After the intervention, versus to human security, national security approach and state interests noticed much more.

"Government acts against freedom. There is still the draft about freedom of information about networking and blogging. These drafts put all the NGO activist and bloggers to the terrorist law.

Especially the bloggers and activists who use social networks. All opposition will be regarded as supporters of terrorism." (Obeydi, 2012).

In this research, all participant remarked women killings beyond the daily attacks because thousands of women were killed after 2003 which sectarian violence have shadowed the politics in preventing it. Moreover, sectarian influences in the government make the hicap issue more debatable than honour killings. Honour killings especially targeted rural women in both central governments and in KRG. NGO's like Women League who is one of the oldest NGO movements in Iraq since 1950s (Meali, 2012) and Women Empowerment Association in KRG are working for advocacy, governing parliament pressure on this issue. (Sehrazad, 2012) Iraqi Al Amal and Widow Centre in Baghdad have specific programs to enforce local governors to build shelter houses and increase recruitment policies for women (Aytaç, 2014).

Conclusion

Regarding Iraqi central government 2006-2008, the civil war between the sectarian part of the society has affected civil society movements turn into underground movements because radical Islamist saw NGO pressure against the threat to religious governing in their community. Main security vulnerabilities can be listed:

- Gender issues: Repression on women, domestic violence and tribal violence against women, inadequate representation in political life
- As Civil War has shown sectarian conflicts bombings in daily life
- Infrastructure problems in primary cities especially in Iraq
- Corruption in the federal governors and central governments

In conclusion, NGOs are endeavouring to find a niche in the civil society movement in Iraq and continue to struggle against restrictions in law and sectarian divisions. Local NGOs that I have researched are secular and cannot be said to be entirely representative. They are forced to confront serious obstacles from the political establishment. However, there is some modest progress to report. Since 2010, laws concerning NGOs have given them an opportunity to become involved in the policy-making process.

As we state in the human security vulnerabilities in Iraq, sectarianism is the most crucial problem in the country that is excessively turned into a violent conflict in 2013. After the civil war Iraq gives its victims to radical Islamist clash in last year and after the general elections at 13 April, Maliki government Shia supported leader formed the State of Law coalition. Sunni tribes are the key items of the Iraqi society and the largest rival group for the Coalition forces. They are facing the political desperation since USA late regulations in proportional representations to Sunni's (After the civil war). With the vulnerability in Syria ISIS, is excluded in the war zones of the country though took a significant support from Sunni tribes in Iraq. Since the security vulnerabilities and deaths in the cities, NGO's are still under high pressures for continuing their activities. A quote from human right activist Falah Al -Alwsi 's explanations for sectarian violence will be meaningful. "*Saddam oppressed Shia and Kurds under central Sunni regime from that point there is no sectarian fight like today, though he is afraid of Iran's influence and increased its central power. Hence political parties haven't raised the political awareness after 2003 and used these sectarian vulnerabilities to win this support. So old sectarian conflicts blasted today.*" (Al-Alwsi, 2012).

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