The second Olympic Ring or the Three-Sea Alliance
Background paper for a draft Appeal to the European Council
by Raymond Van Ermen, member of the Permanent Forum of Civil Society

> "There are still too many EU Member States that live in the nostalgia of their past power. Some small countries are also full of their own imperium as far as their foreign policy is concerned".
> Louis Michel, European Commissioner. *Le Soir*, 2/8/06.

With recent events in the Middle East and the rising risks linked to energy and water, it is easy to perceive that for these three sets of issues, we are heading for great perils. This Note develops a chapter from the book entitled Plan B – Changing European Governance *(1), which proposes that Europe should create what may be called a "second Olympic ring" with other parties. This contribution is therefore set within the framework of the debate on the "EU's absorption capacity" initiated by the European Council and the so-called neighbourhood policy. Given the lessons to be drawn from the conflict between Israel, Lebanon and Palestine, it is suggested to set up a new multilateral framework for development. The purpose is to show that the time has come to propose a "global, integrated solution" to three sets of urgent issues: (i) finding new answers to questions about the constitutional crisis and the EU enlargement, (ii) anticipating burning challenges in terms of water and energy resources, (iii) setting peace interventions in the Middle East within a new, global framework, acting as a lever for economic development and security for all.*

The European Union should be the co-founder of an Alliance inspired by precedents such as the European Coal and Steel Community ECSC and the Helsinki process, in cooperation with countries which border the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. This Alliance would be a "second Olympic ring", in which the European Union would be intertwined with countries and areas under Russian, Turkish, Sunnite, Shiite or European influence. The Alliance would have its headquarters in Istanbul, with a High Commission, a Senate and a Council of Ministers. A specific Court of Justice would be established in Strasbourg. The Alliance would have mediators in the field of armed conflict, water management, human rigts and associations' rights. It would also have a force for military intervention and pledge assistance to its members. The borders of the Alliance and hence of the second Olympic ring would result in the Middle East being included into the Alliance, in whole or in part. The Alliance would be established as from 2010 and act as a "fast track" enabling the introduction of tools for a new dynamic focused on four baskets over the next four years:
- *First Basket: cooperation policies in the field of energy and water.*
- *Second Basket: creation of an Integrated Economic Region (IER) "encouraging the neighbouring countries to gradually integrate into the Single Market. A stepping stone towards the creation of the IER would hence be the establishment of a free trade area with all IER countries"(2).*
- *Third Basket: human rights.*
- *Fourth Basket: youth.*

It may thus be possible, through a systemic change and a qualitative shift, to get out of the rut in which the enlargement of the European Union seems to be stuck. We shall also meet priorities in the field of security, the expectations of the business world and the calls for peace and the rights of people in civil society that have been ignored so far. A new path for dialogue

between civilizations will be opened, together with new mechanisms to foster peace, economic prosperity and well-being for all.

Section 1. Three sets of issues and a systemic change.

We are used to dealing with a long list of thorny issues which the EU would tackle individually. In fact, several of these can be grouped under three sets of issues that cover respectively: (i) our neighbourhood relations and the enlargement, the UE's absorption capacity, (ii) strategic resources – water, energy, raw materials – as well as security and environmental issues, (iii) our relations with the Middle East. For each set of issues, it is clear that if nothing changes, we are heading for disaster, as the TINA scenario has shown (see *Plan B*): implosion of the Union as a result of its enlargement policy, double Big Bang linked to energy resources getting scarce while we enter a new glaciation era due to ice thawing, and the Middle East plunging ever deeper into horror. With the events taking place in the Middle East, the growing feeling of a conflict between civilizations and the rising risks linked to energy and water, it is easy to perceive that for these three sets of issues, we are heading for great perils.

We believe the time has come for a "qualitative shift" – this is the primary reason for setting up the Three-Sea Alliance. If the three sets of issues are dealt with as a meaningful whole, we can create a systemic change enabling us to find a "global" solution to these issues. Naturally, this entails major changes, as the new Olympic ring constituted by the Three-Sea Alliance would lead to upheavals. Within the framework of the second Olympic ring, the powers that are obliged to converge are the areas under Russian, Turkish, Sunnite, Shiite or European influence. The borders of the Alliance and hence of the second Olympic ring would result in the Middle East being included into the Alliance, in whole or in part. This would also open up fantastic economic opportunities and mark a new chapter in the relations between civilizations.

Having a reinforced FINUL in South Lebanon with several EU countries involved is encouraging for us, as it is a first step in the direction that we propose. The qualitative shift to be made will consist in a shift from a "peace-making and peace-keeping" mandate to a "global" approach linking peace and development. Moreover, today's belligerent parties can either be tomorrow's partners within the Alliance by complying with rules for non-belligerence among members, or, if one of the belligerents enters the Alliance, its borders will become those of the Alliance, which will put a stop right away to any aggression against it.

It is high time that the European Union undertook a major qualitative shift in its neighbourhood policy. In *Plan B*, the authors of the book have already indicated how necessary this qualitative shift is in order to get out of the rut in which the enlargement of the European Union is stuck. It is actually possible to respect commitments towards new candidate members and keep the doors of the EU open while accelerating the cooperation process and soothing citizens' anxieties.

How should this be achieved? By implementing the "Olympic rings" strategy! Which means having a neighbourhood policy that no longer implies a Union growing in ever wider concentric circles like an empire! On the contrary, the EU neighbourhood policy should propose to its neighbours to set up cooperation circles about major challenges – circles which, like Olympic rings, are off centre though intertwined, representing a political community that pursues its own specific objectives, with its own institutions, and that is committed to helping fundamental rights progress.

The first Olympic ring is the European Union itself. This ring represents all the European Union Member States. A **second Olympic ring** should now be established: **the Three-Sea Alliance**, in order to accelerate cooperation with our neighbours under a new type of multilateral framework. The Three-Sea Alliance will thus become a pilot region of the world in terms of implementation of fundamental rights and the concept of human security, such as defined by the United Nations ad hoc Commission: *"Human security means protecting vital freedoms – those elementary freedoms which should characterize every human life. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems and policies in the social, economic, military and cultural fields and in environmental management that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood"(3).*

The Three-Sea Alliance is a mechanism that, except for the neighbourhood policy which it would act as a substitute for, does not "replace" the processes engineered in terms of enlargement and free trade area. However, the Alliance would be set up as from 2010, date of entry into force of the Euro-Mediterranean free trade area that would be part and parcel of it. As from 2010, the Alliance will act as a "fast track" enabling the introduction of tools for a new dynamic focused on four baskets over the next four years:
  - First basket: cooperation, peace and development policies in the fields of energy and water.
  - Second basket: setting-up of an Integrated Economic Region (IER), as requested by the European Roundtable of Industrialists. (2)
  - Third basket: human rights.
  - Fourth basket: youth.

Section 2. Considerations about the European Union

Why a new approach?

The advantage of the Alliance as a new "method" inspired by precedents such as the ECSC and the Helsinki process can only be measured if it is admitted that the flaws of current policies can be discussed… There is actually a host of reasons for which large sectors of civil society will not support their leaders, or will even fight against them, if they do not innovate:

1. The European Union's absorption capacity is already exceeded (at least if we do not want to pave the way for the extreme right-wing) and the Union's capacity in ten years' time cannot be seriously measured, since the matter has such strong psychological aspects. The enlargement process is both too fast in relation to the psychology of peoples (4) and too slow as regards urgent peace issues.

2. The process has actually started to go off the rails with the conditions under which Cyprus has entered the European Union. The situation will soon get worse if indications about the mafia's influence in Bulgaria and Romania were to be confirmed.

3. There is a two-fold risk today: going back on the commitments made is a threat to peace (particularly in the Balkans), but riding roughshod over citizens can only reinforce the rejection of a Union marked by dictatorial tendencies (as is shown by the proposals that a Constitutional Treaty refused by citizens should not be submitted to

referendum after being revised), which also paves the way for the rise of the extreme right-wing.

4. Both the neighbourhood policy and the external trade policy with the Mediterranean Basin are conducted like the policies of an *empire* that lays down the law upon its vassals. They are based on a bilateral negotiation method, not a multilateral one.

5. Apart from the "pleasure that some members of the elite may have in thinking themselves at the head of a new empire", this return to a bilateral approach can be accounted for by the failure of the multilateral approach represented by the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, particularly because of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but also because of the lack of serious action taken in the field of human rights.

6. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership is a failure from the point of view of citizens, and the business world must not expect any support to its "big single market" as long as greater progress is not achieved in terms of human rights.

7. With Turkey joining the European Union, the EU will no longer be a "Christian Club", but it may become a "Colonial Club" (5) since it will welcome all the former colonizers of the Arab world. The Arab world must not have the feeling that it is excluded.

8. Relations with Russia are a key issue. Russia has grown more hostile towards the EU and is worried by the prospect of Turkey joining the Union. (6)

9. To get out of the crisis in the Near East, a new "catharsis" is required – this is the purpose of the four baskets of the Alliance.

Laying emphasis on a Three-Sea Alliance rather than on the Euro-Mediterranean policy and building a policy around the four baskets would mean taking major changes into account:

- Noting the failure of the Euro-Mediterranean policy, poisoned in particular by the conflict between Israel and its neighbours. (7)

- Taking into account the extension of the "sphere of competence" of the Union to the Black Sea, with the entry of Bulgaria and Romania into the Union.

- Taking into account that Turkey's field of action is the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea.

- Noting that the agreements concluded between gas companies, the Russian Gazprom and the Algerian Sonatrac, urgently call for a new approach inspired by the ECSC.

- Opening a new chapter in our relations with Russia, a Eurasian country which is a "power" that would find "realistic geostrategic prospects" within the Three-Sea Alliance, "enabling Russia to reclaim an international role and find the necessary resources to begin its modernization". (6)

- Noting that the business world, through the ERT, has taken the plunge and that they too propose decoupling the European Union from the Big Internal Market. (2)

- Refusing that peoples, young people's expectations, human rights – particularly women's rights – and the rights to free association be left behind, as is still the case today with the Euro-Mediterranean policy.

	Peace	Market	Development	Institutions
The 1950s	Coal and Steel	Agriculture Improve trade and investment	FEDER	ECSC (1951) Rome Treaties. The European Community
The 1980s 9 November 1989.	Helsinki Basket OSCE Unified Germany. End of Cold War	Single currency	Infrastructure, technology, research, education, environment, regional development, immigration, justice & police	Single European Act (1987) for a Single Market 1992 The European Council, Parliament, Court of Justice powers are increased European Central Bank
The 1990s	The failure in Yugoslavia	Single Market (1992)	Integration Copenhagen criteria (democracy & enlargement) Sustainable Development	Maastricht Treaty (1991). The European Union Stability and Growth Pact (1996)
The 2000s	Euro-corps	Euro (2002)	Charter of Fundamental Rights Eradication of Poverty Free & Fair Trade	European Constitution (2009)
The 2010s	Three-Sea Alliance for Human Security	Alliance Free Trade Area & Integrated Economic Region	Human Security Agenda	Alliance Council, Senate High Commission and Court of Justice

A "Europe of Results"? The Alliance, an "incubator" for "success"

If political leaders and the business world want to pursue their own agenda without widening the gap with citizens or turning the Union into a dictatorship by a European oligarchy (something which peoples in the age of Internet and the knowledge-based society will not accept in any case), "successes" will have to be convincing in the fields covered by the four baskets proposed above.

For participating countries, the Alliance will therefore be a multilateral framework which can:

1. be a close cooperation framework with their neighbours on the basis of specific "charters" for energy (8), water, free and sustainable trade, human rights and youth exchanges;

2. provide much more obvious results with regard to the four baskets;

3. enable candidate countries to gradually prepare themselves (as the ERT proposes) and achieve "success stories".

All the countries that border the Three Seas would naturally be called upon to become members of the Alliance as long as they subscribed to jointly adopted charters and related mechanisms. An essential, binding prerequisite would be to sign and ratify the charters.

Strengthening the Union

The Alliance proposed would be an Institution with its own headquarters, "Commission", "Council", "Senate" and "Committee for Economic, Cultural and Social Partnerships" based in Istanbul (a major symbolic, geostrategic location that is meant to become a new centre of gravity) as well as with its own "Court of Justice", including a Chamber for Summary Proceedings alongside the European Court of Human Rights.

Any conflicts that might arise between competent jurisdictions (Luxembourg for the European Union and Strasbourg for the Alliance) would be subject to arbitration by a joint Chamber.

The budget for the EU neighbourhood policy would be transferred to the Alliance. Programmes such as Horizon 2020 for depolluting the Mediterranean Sea would also be transferred to the Alliance.

This alliance would also act as a lever for strengthening the European Union, since it would connect the Union as such (and not its Member States) with its neighbours. The European Union sitting on behalf of the EU Member States would establish special consultation mechanisms with all Member States (since the fields covered would lead to joint policies about the single market, energy or external trade, for example) and enhanced cooperation (with a minimum of 8 States) with the EU Member States that border the Three Seas: Spain, France, Italy, Greece, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta and those countries which are expected to become EU members, namely Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Croatia.

Section 3. Considerations about the Second Olympic Ring

Expanding the Community model beyond Europe's borders

The Alliance would have its own durability and evolution. All its Member States and the Union would join under the same conditions. All participating States would have joint objectives for peace and co-development and have access to new economic, commercial and financial opportunities.

The Alliance would bring together the European Union and (i) States which are not meant to join the Union, such as Russia or Iran, (ii) States which are meant to become EU members, such as Croatia or Turkey, and (iii) States outside the Union which may wish to get involved in EU mechanisms – such as the single market – without being a direct part of the Union (a situation we already know with the associative links with Norway, Iceland and Switzerland in particular).

For countries applying to join the EU, this Alliance – set up as from 2010 whereas any further enlargement beyond Bulgaria and Romania will not take place before 2015/2020 – with its institutions and results, would also be an opportunity to explore an "alternative" to being an EU member. The huge advantage of the Alliance would be to enable the Community model to expand without having to deal with the issue of "borders" and avoid things going tragically wrong as a result of saying "no" to EU membership.

Don't leave us on our own, facing one another

"Please don't leave us facing one another": this plea from a wise man among Israeli diplomats (9) is considered as the voice of "wisdom" when it comes from the strong and as a "cry" for help when it comes from the weak. The strong may be Israelis facing Palestinians, Turks facing Kurds, Russians facing their neighbours, EU representatives facing countries under the neighbourhood policy. "Please don't leave us facing one another" is also a cry from the weak in these conflict areas or open-air prisons, from women facing Islamists or from associations facing strong States.

The Three-Sea Alliance must become a source of "progress for mankind", which is possible if it becomes a "mediation area", inspired by enforced procedures such as control of elections by the OSCE and equipped with "mediators", together with the right for mediators to resort to summary proceedings in an Alliance court. Those Alliance teams of mediators, the Alliance's Court of justice and the Chamber for Summary Proceedings would have jurisdiction in the following areas:
- management of armed conflict (with military missions),
- control of elections,
- control of public enquiries,
- respect of human rights,
- management of rare resources such as water.

Together with co-development, the concern about not "leaving people facing one another" should be one of the two major focuses of each basket. New "tools" are needed, such as the function of mediator and a Chamber for summary proceedings. Is this sheer utopia? NGOs

and lawyers did manage to hammer out the notion of "universal competence" which is now gaining ground everywhere. We should bring together similarly innovative NGOs and lawyers to discuss this.

The role of mediators will also be vital in order to acknowledge, implement and help progress the rights of people and associations. From this point of view, we should draw lessons from the failure of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Civil society must not be the "forgotten party", or the least of worries. It must be ensured that people suffering from non-compliance with human rights should no longer be "left on their own", facing a strong State. The same goes for associations which, in certain countries, are constantly put under threat by the authorities.

Joining the Alliance would not be "automatic" for all the States that border the Three Seas, but each State or Authority (such as the Palestinian Authority) that subscribes to the rules of the Alliance and becomes a member must receive protection from the Alliance – including in a military form.

Section 4. The four baskets

First basket: energy and water – A partnership for peace and development

The seeds for today's and tomorrow's armed conflicts lie in the field of natural resources, primarily energy and water. In the conflict between Israel and Palestine, where the issue of water control also features prominently, as well as in the case of Iran in the energy field, the very proposal of setting up the Alliance might open up new vistas.

Regarding water, it should be noted that over the past 50 years, 37 violent conflicts have been recorded throughout the world about water issues, 30 of which concerned Israel and one of its neighbours (10). And yet an initiative such as that of Friends of the Earth, in which FoE members from Israel, Jordan and Palestine are working side by side, shows that paths to a water-based peace are already being explored.

As far as energy is concerned, we must anticipate and prepare ourselves to a double Bing Bang: a new glaciation era resulting from a cessation of the Gulf Stream due to ice thawing, which is due in turn to global warming, coupled with the shift to "peak oil". To face this situation and its major consequences, the Union must prepare itself right now to a possible shift of its centre of gravity (as has been the case several times in its history) as well as to a new type of economy. We are not mentioning this for the sake of spelling out a disaster scenario, but to encourage the accelerated shift to an energetically efficient economy, the implementation of which will represent great potentialities in terms of technologies and employment. We must draw lessons from our collective blinkered approach and our slow response to environmental issues, as is shown with climate change which has been announced for decades without us managing to anticipate as we should have.

"The very likely tensions about fossil resources, generated by fastly growing inroads into oil and gas reserves, accentuate the insecurity of supplies. In this context, conflicts, natural disasters and technical incidents and accidents may have major repercussions on the security of energy supplies or the network delivery of energies. Conversely, tensions about these resources arouse fears about the security of supplies, which reinforces risks of conflicts

between consumer countries – eager to ensure their supplies at all costs – and producer countries. Here again, the least developed countries have absolutely no economic, political or military means to bring their weight to bear in these conflicts" (11).

We should draw inspiration from the founding fathers of the ECSC and take up a similar approach with the countries that border the Three Seas, in other words tackling energy and water issues as potential sources of conflict. The Horizon 2020 Programme for depolluting the Mediterranean Sea, distribution issues about oil and gas resources and the issues relating to energy efficiency and the use of renewable resources, will be dealt with under this basket.

We know that Russia has now got a second wind for its global ambitions in the great energy game. We know that the power dreams of Gazprom, an enthusiastic follower of the Market approach outside the country with a very "tsarist" attitude within, and its already executed threats of turning off the gas tap, give nightmares to Europeans who now fear an alliance between Gazprom and Sonatrac. The Russians view things in terms of a power struggle. For Europeans, who "have little weight compared to Gazprom's power" (12), it is essential to have other assets. Hence the interest of the project of a Three-Sea Alliance and its four Baskets, which would enable Europe and the other countries which are dependent on Russia to propose a new cooperation framework with the Russian empire. This would open new prospects for Russia, particularly as regards the establishment of a free trade area. All the more so since the United States is standing in the way of Russia's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Negotiations on energy and water charters would be preceded by a conference bringing together private and public investors in the energy and water sectors, so that they could clearly specify the terms and conditions for massive investments in these two sectors in support of development and peace.

Second basket: the Integrated Economic Region

A distinction should clearly be established in people's minds and in actual fact between the "great single market" and the "European Union", which must not necessarily cover the same area. This is why the second basket proposes to establish an area for free trade and sustainable development that would include all the Alliance's member countries, with the option of taking part in a "single market" for those interested.

From this point of view, the stand taken by the ERT marks an interesting development (2). "*ERT proposes that the EU's neighbourhood policy – in itself not seeking further enlargement – should aim at moving towards an "Integrated Economic Region" (IER) with a step-by-step approach to implementation, allowing individual countries to move at their own speed (...) encouraging the neighbouring countries to gradually integrate into the Single Market, offering them the opportunity to eventually join it as participants if and when they are fit to do so.(...) A stepping stone towards the creation of the IER would hence be the establishment of a free trade area with all IER Countries*".

The Euro-Mediterranean free trade area to be established by 2010 would thus become a step towards a single market which could be the subject of new institutional provisions outside the European Union.

The ERT has also very well understood that public support will be an essential key. We only diverge with the ERT on the fact that it sets its strategy within the framework of the EU neighbourhood policy, such as it is currently defined.

Third basket: human rights

The proposal is inspired by the Helsinki process and the mechanisms of the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

However, this would not be a simple copy/paste exercise. In "Plan B", the authors of the book already stressed that charters and declarations on human rights looked set to evolve. The founding charter of the third basket should be the fruit of real dialogue between civilizations (without calling into question the principles underpinning United Nations declarations) on the basis of the proposals of the United Nations Commission for Human Security. This work will require an openness to others. On the one hand, *"it is up to us to turn the westernization of the world and its disenchanting and uprooting machine into a more humane world"* (13), and on the other hand, we must continue to set up mechanisms enabling women to enjoy their full fundamental rights in all the Alliance countries. The construction of a common project, source of dignity, pride and peace, rooted in our common history and addressing today's challenges, should thus be started in order to "reenchant" tomorrow's world.

As a basis for the charter relating to the third basket, the Human Rights Basket, there are a great deal of reference documents available to try and define our common ground. As far as countries from the south of the Mediterranean Basin are concerned, it will be up to their civil society to identify their own reference documents. On the European side, reference documents include the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the texts drawn up by the Council of Europe, of which many countries are members, Russia in particular. One of these is the Council of Europe's European Social Charter signed by 45 States and ratified by 35, with 13 States accepting the collective complaints procedure, which is a tool to be studied with a view to the Alliance Charter. In the case of the European Social Charter, a protocol that entered into force in 1998 provides that ETUC, UNICE, IOE, non-governmental organizations enjoying participatory status with the Council of Europe, employers' organizations and trade unions in the 13 countries concerned and, for the States that have agreed to this, national NGOs, may lodge complaints about violations of the Charter.

The Aarhus UNECE Convention on access to information and participation would be applicable on the whole territory of the Alliance.

Fourth basket: youth

The charter and content of proposals would result from discussions among young people. Programmes such as the ERASMUS programme or the European civil service could be extended.

Conclusions.

The Three-Sea Alliance would act as a substitute for the EU neighbourhood policy, offer a way out of the crisis in the conflict between Israel and its neighbours, and propose a new form of relationship with Russia – to which it would not be offered to join the Union but to create a second specific "ring" with the Union and other partners. The Alliance would also create a bigger single market and a large free, sustainable trade area as well as setting up an "incubator for success stories" to reassure public opinion in the EU Member States faced with the Union's enlargement plans. We would thus meet the priorities of EU political leaders, the aspirations of candidate countries and their peoples, the expectations of the business world and the EU citizens' demands for greater internal democracy. This would open a new path to dialogue between civilizations and new peace-keeping mechanisms.

This attempt to rise out of chaos through a multilateral approach at regional level will come up against fierce resistance from those who, on all sides, are making a profit out of chaos or yearn for the rise of the extreme-right wing.

For us Europeans, the choice is stark: either we immediately embark upon the great task of establishing a second Olympic ring, or we merely prepare to descend into a chaos reminiscent of the darkest hours of the 20th century.

(1) *Plan B, Changer la Gouvernance européenne*. Boual, Grosjean, Rabier, Spoel, Van Ermen. Editions Labor, 2006.
(2) *ERT's vision of a bigger single market. The position of the European Round Table of Industrialists on the EU's Neighbourhood policy*.
(3) Annex to the United Nations Commission on Human Security Report. An overview.
(4) According to the Eurobarometer of 6 July, opposition to further enlargement is increasing: 45% supports (-4) and 42% (+3) rejects future enlargement. In Germany, France, Austria and Finland, at least 6 out of 10 respondents do not want to see the EU expand further.
(5) J.L. Bourlanges, *Le Monde*, 15.12.04.
(6) *L'Union européenne et ses périphéries*. Jean-François Drevet. Futuribles, no.321. August 2006.
(7) *2007 : année zéro pour la Méditerranée ?* Sébastien Abis. Futuribles, no.321. August 2006.
(8) An Energy Chart was signed 12 years ago by Russia, which now refuses to ratify it.
(9) *Le Monde*, 15 August 2006.
(10) WBCSD. *Business in the World of Water*, p.33.
(11) *Les Cahiers de GLOBAL CHANGE*, May 2006.
(12) *Le Monde*, 5 July 2006.
(13) *Orient-Occident, la Fracture Imaginaire*. Georges Corm, former Lebanese finance minister. Ed. La Découverte, 2002.

Annex. UN Human Security Report

The report's call for human security is a response to the challenges in today's world. Policies and institutions must respond to these insecurities in stronger and more integrated ways. The state continues to have the primary responsibility for security. But as security challenges become more complex and various new actors attempt to play a role, we need a shift in paradigm. The focus must broaden from the state to the security of people - to human security.

Human security means protecting vital freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood. Human security connects different types of freedoms - freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf. To do this, it offers two general strategies: protection and empowerment. Protection shields people from dangers. It requires concerted effort to develop norms, processes and institutions that systematically address insecurities. Empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision-making. Protection and empowerment are mutually reinforcing, and both are required in most situations.

Human security complements state security, furthers human development and enhances human rights. It complements state security by being people-centered and addressing insecurities that have not been considered as state security threats. By looking at "downside risks", it broadens the human development focus beyond "growth with equity". Respecting human rights are at the core of protecting human security.

Promoting democratic principles is a step toward attaining human security and development. It enables people to participate in governance and make their voices heard. This requires building strong institutions, establishing the rule of law and empowering people.

Ways to advance the security of people

Human security seeks to strengthen and bring together efforts to address issues such as conflict and deprivation. Attempts are being made, for example, to realize the United Nations' Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Achieving human security requires building on and going beyond the MDGs, by undertaking efforts to address the full range of critical and pervasive threats facing people.

Protecting people in violent conflict: Civilians are the main casualties in conflicts. Both norms and mechanisms to protect civilians should be strengthened. This requires comprehensive and integrated strategies, linking political, military, humanitarian and development aspects. The Commission proposes placing human security formally on the agenda of security organizations at all levels. There are critical gaps in how human rights are upheld, in respect for citizenship and humanitarian law. These gaps need to be closed as well as attention given to ending the impunity of perpetrators of human rights violations.

Community-based strategies to promote coexistence and trust among people will support these efforts. Equally urgent is meeting the life-saving needs of people through humanitarian assistance. Special attention should be given to protecting women, children, the elderly and other vulnerable groups. Disarming people and fighting crime through preventing the proliferation of weapons and illegal trade in resources and people has to be a priority.

Protecting and empowering people on the move: For the majority of people, migration is an opportunity to improve their livelihood. For others, migrating is the only option to protect themselves, such as those forced to flee because of conflicts or serious human rights violations. Others may also be forced to leave their homes to escape chronic deprivations or sudden downturns. Today, there is no agreed international framework to provide protection or to regulate migration, except for refugees. The feasibility of an international migration framework should be explored, through establishing the basis of high-level and broad-based discussions and dialogues on the need to strike a careful balance between the security and development needs of countries, and the human security of people on the move. Equally important is to ensure the protection of refugees and internally displaced persons, and identify ways to end their plight.

Protecting and empowering people in post-conflict situations: Cease-fire agreements and peace settlements may mark the end of conflict, but not necessarily the advent of peace and human security. The responsibility to protect people in conflict should be complemented by a responsibility to rebuild. A new framework and a funding strategy are necessary to rebuild conflict-torn states - one that focuses on the protection and empowerment of people. Such a human security framework emphasizes the linkages among the many issues affecting people, such as ensuring people's safety through strengthening civilian police and demobilizing combatants; meeting immediate needs of displaced people; launching reconstruction and development; promoting reconciliation and coexistence; and advancing effective governance. To be successful, it requires setting up unified leadership for all actors close to the delivery point of human security. To implement such a framework, a new fundraising strategy should be designed for post-conflict situations, at field level, to ensure coherence in the planning, budgeting and implementation of human security related activities.

Economic insecurity - the power to choose among opportunities: Extreme poverty remains pervasive. The proper functioning of markets as well as development of non market institutions are key to poverty eradication. Efficient and equitable trade arrangements, economic growth reaching the extreme poor and a fair distribution of benefits are essential. Together with addressing chronic poverty, human security focuses on sudden economic downturns, natural disasters and the social impacts of crises. To make people secure when crisis hits or to enable them to move out of poverty, we need social arrangements to meet their basic needs and ensure an economic and social minimum. Three-quarters of the world's people are not protected by social security or do not have secure work. Efforts to ensure sustainable livelihoods and work based security for all need to be strengthened. Access to land, credit, education, and housing, especially for poor women, is critical. An equitable distribution of resources is key to livelihood security and can enhance people's own capacity and ingenuity. Social protection measures and safety nets can advance a social and economic minimum. States, supported by the international system, need to establish early warning and prevention measures for natural disasters and economic or financial crises.

Health for human security: Despite the progress in healthcare, 22 million people died of preventable diseases in 2001. HIV/AIDS will soon become the greatest health catastrophe. In

their urgency, depth and impact, global infectious diseases, poverty-related threats and health deprivations arising from violence are particularly significant. All health actors should promote health services as public goods. It is essential to mobilize social action and invest in supportive social arrangements, including the access to information, to remove the root causes of ill-health, to provide early warning systems and to mitigate health impacts once a crisis occurs. Providing access to life-saving drugs is critical for those in developing countries. An equitable intellectual property rights regime needs to be developed to balance incentives for research and development with ensuring people's access to affordable life-saving drugs. The international community must also form a global network of partnerships for health, promoting, for example, a global surveillance and control system for infectious diseases.

Knowledge, skills and values - for human security: Basic education and public information that provide knowledge, life skills and respect for diversity are particularly important for human security. The Commission urges the international community to actively help the achievement of universal primary education, with a particular emphasis on girls' education. Schools should not create physical insecurities, but protect students from violence including sexual violence. Education should foster respect for diversity and promote the multiplicity of our identities by employing a balanced curriculum and method of instruction. Public media are important as they can provide information on life skills and political issues, and give people voice in public debate. Not only should education and the media provide information and skills that will improve work opportunities and family health, but they should also enable people to actively exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibility.

Based on the foregoing, the Commission has arrived at policy conclusions in the following areas:

1. Protecting people in violent conflict
2. Protecting people from the proliferation of arms
3. Supporting the security of people on the move
4. Establishing human security transition funds for post-conflict situations
5. Encouraging fair trade and markets to benefit the extreme poor
6. Working to provide minimum living standards everywhere
7. According higher priority to ensuring universal access to basic health care
8. Developing an efficient and equitable global system for patent rights
9. Empowering all people with universal basic education
10. Clarifying the need for a global human identity while respecting the freedom of individuals to have diverse identities and affiliations.