

BEING RECOGNIZED AS CITIZENS

**A HUMAN SECURITY DILEMMA IN
SUB SAHARAN AFRICA, SOUTH, CENTRAL AND SOUTHEAST ASIA,
THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**

**LESSONS LEARNED
AND
POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

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I. INTRODUCTION

Governments throughout the world are manipulating citizenship to eliminate perceived threats to sovereignty. In Kosovo the Serbs sought to crush the Albanians. In the Congo the Banyarwandans were denied their rights. The Rohingyas in Myanmar and the Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan were similarly discriminated against.

Throughout the four accompanying studies, from which this work is derived, the authors describe a world where citizenship is denied to long-standing resident populations. At times there are laws and official actions - "willful" steps. In other cases habits, customs or local interpretations produce "effective" denial. The results are similar: groups are excluded from the economic, social or political life of the state.

In South Asia, the government of Myanmar, in an attempt to solidify its power base and thwart potential threats posed by a minority group, enacted restrictive nationality legislation targeting the Rohingya Muslims, denying them citizenship and eventually rendering over 1 million people stateless in their own country. In Africa, over 1.5 million Congolese of Rwandan descent, some living in the Democratic Republic of Congo for generations, have been stripped of their citizenship, due to legislation restricting citizenship to those who have confirmed ancestral ties to the territory of Zaire. The Roma population in Central and Eastern Europe¹ are denied many civil and political rights. In Central Asia, after the break-up of the Soviet Union, approximately 9.5 million ethnic Russians suddenly found themselves marginalized by new national identities that favored the titular ethnicity of the state. Further, in Central Asia and the Caucasus, at least 1.3 people remain either effectively or legally stateless.

The failure of the world community to address the issue of citizenship denial in a coherent, practical and informed way enables state actors to continue manipulating citizenship policies and practices. The results: increased poverty, exclusion and persecution, migration, and a greater likelihood of conflict.

The overall objective of this study is to examine the denial of citizenship as a human security dilemma, and to formulate policy prescriptions for consideration by the Commission on Human Security.² Rather than focus on a legal and state-centered perspective, this research project adopts a people-centered approach.

The initial stage examines the practical implications of citizenship denial in four geographic regions: sub-Saharan Africa (authored by Gloria Renee Ntegeye), Central and Eastern Europe (Johannes Chudoba), South and Southeast Asia (John Heffernan), and Central Asia and the Caucasus (Andrea Armstrong). A full study would also include other regions and people where there are ongoing, pervasive threats to human security as a result of citizenship denial, such as North Africa, the Middle East and South America and Western Europe.

By focusing on specific examples of human security threats posed by the willful denial of citizenship and effective realization of those rights, each of the four independent research

¹ Estimates from Roma rights groups are three times as high.

² Annex 2

papers highlight concerns which impact a particular region. A coherent analysis of the insights gained in the four research papers inform the policy prescriptions proposed in this paper which, in turn, will assist in developing an action plan to address critical and pervasive threats to human security.

Our recommendations are designed to both empower people to increase their personal leverage on citizenship issues and to expand the protection which allows individuals their rights. We believe that the assertive use of this mutually reinforcing framework could well counter the exploitation of citizenship denial in an era of increased global movement.

PRESENT RULES OF THE GAME

In spite of the well-defined body of international human rights law and universally accepted standards and principles detailing the protection of citizenship, states continue to manipulate practices.³

The fundamental rights relating to citizenship are enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Article 15 of the UDHR states:

- (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Since the adoption of the UDHR, these rights have been further elaborated in a number of treaties and other instruments such as the 1961 Convention of the Reduction of Statelessness. The 1961 Convention prohibits, with very few exceptions, any loss of nationality that results in statelessness. Although only a few states have ratified the 1961 Convention, its principles have become part of international customary law, which is binding on all states even if they have not signed the Convention itself.⁴ And in the 1988 report submitted by the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, the Sub-Commission's Special Rapporteur states:

“In view of Human Rights Law, denationalization should be abolished. It constitutes a breach of international obligations...There is also a growing tendency to require acquisition of another nationality as a precondition for the validity of denationalization. The recognition of the right to nationality as a basic human right in effect, limits the power and freedom of a State arbitrarily to deprive its citizens of nationality.”⁵

Moreover, the universally accepted, if not fully ratified, Convention on the Rights of the Child, places an obligation on states to prevent the statelessness of children. Reiterating the right to nationality in Resolution 1997/31 the UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights called on governments:

“to revise their citizenship laws, with the technical assistance of the UN Centre for Human Rights and with the advice of UNCHR so that these laws are brought into accord with international human rights law and the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness.”

Internationally sanctioned laws, doctrine and principles created to address the state denial of citizenship, statelessness and expulsion have been **remarkably ineffectual** in preventing states from violating these widely accepted standards. Though the principles, conventions, laws and standards may in theory provide citizens sufficient protection against state manipulation of policy, **without a state commitment to good governance, democracy and human rights the probability of these instruments succeeding in providing citizens and non-citizens protection from state abuse is unlikely.**

³ Annex 3

⁴ Amnesty International. September 2000. “Bhutan: Nationality, expulsion, statelessness and the right to return.”

⁵ UN Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1988/35, para.107

III. LESSONS LEARNED USING A PROTECTION AND EMPOWERMENT FRAMEWORK

The denial of citizenship cannot be isolated as the causal determinant threatening human security. Although it is often correlated with conflict, migration and poverty, other factors, such as scarce resources, opportunism and clan and regional rivalries may also play a role. The following lessons learned underscore the pervasive impact of citizenship denial and the need to address these potentially paralyzing threats in a practical, comprehensive and cohesive fashion.

Lesson #1: Lack of reliable data complicates attempts to assess the impact of the denial of citizenship.

- A sizeable proportion of the affected population, by definition, is not “registered.”
- Most of the available data comes from parties with an interest either in inflating the actual figures (e.g., advocacy groups) or in underestimating them (e.g., governments).
- Lack of data is problematic for research to determine the full impact of the denial of citizenship.
- Lack of data can exacerbate tensions caused by a perceived (i.e. at times distorted) inequality in income and access to services as well as political representation.⁶

In general, data collection thus far focused on the legal denial of citizenship, which is more easily documented, than the effective denial of citizenship, which is harder to both define and investigate. It is difficult to assess, for example, if all 700,000 ethnic Uzbeks who are Kyrgyz citizens are effectively disenfranchised or if the treatment of ethnic Uzbeks differs across the country. Moreover, even the available estimates for the legal denial of citizenship are contested and imprecise. For example, estimates of the stateless Bihari individuals in Bangladesh ranges from 200,000 to 400,000. Similarly, official sources estimate the total European Roma population to be approximately 2.5 million. Estimates from Roma rights groups are three times as high.

Lesson #2: A state commitment to good governance, rule of law and a sound democratic structure is necessary for sound citizenship practices.

- The principles of a modern democratic state don't guarantee effective citizenship, but without them the probability of effective citizenship is reduced.
- Even if the polity is willing to bestow legal citizenship upon those who have established an effective link, without an institutionalized commitment to the principles of fairness and justice, citizenship is rendered ineffective.

In dictatorships, all residents are effectively marginalized from participating in the political and economic life of their country. In Myanmar citizens and non-citizens alike are denied access to many of the fundamental political and civil rights expected in modern democratic states. In the current context of war, occupation and massive violations of human rights in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the distinction between citizen and non-citizen is less relevant. This is true in Central Asia as well, where the Turkmenistan government refuses to honor its obligations to all residents regardless of their citizenship status.

⁶ See e.g. ESI, (2002b).

Lesson #3: Legal citizenship is sometimes not sufficient.

- In some cases full access to the rights and benefits of citizenship offered by the state require belonging to both the national (civic) and ethnic (customary) communities.
- In some states, there is a contradiction between ethnicity, which are group-based identities, and citizenship, which in the modern liberal democratic tradition is an individual-based identity
- Control over state institutions and resources may be concentrated in the hands of the political elite, thus poor and/or excluded persons even though they may legally be citizens are unable to gain access to systems to address their grievances
- Corruption compounds the vulnerability of non-citizens, since they are refused protection of the state. Even where the correct laws are in place to protect the population, it is subverted by incentives at the local level.

“Ineffective” citizenship has, for instance, affected millions of “citizens” in sub-Saharan Africa where post-colonial constitutions outline the rights and responsibilities of citizens as well as corresponding obligations of the states, but where, in practice, citizenship requires belonging not only as an individual but also as a member of a group. Thus, for example, Zambia interprets full, effective citizenship as belonging to a group recognized as being indigenous. In other words, people, who may hold citizenship but are not linked to a state recognized group, are not afforded the effective rights of citizenship.

In Central Asia and the Caucuses a number of state constitutions reflect international law on citizenship, yet states in the region continue the use of the Soviet-era *propiska* to regulate internal movement. A *propiska*, or permanent residence registration, entitles one to access to public education, certain goods at state prices, healthcare, rent-controlled housing and employment. The impact of being denied *propiska* is often more severe than being denied citizenship.

In Chechnya a history of Russian refusal to honor citizenship rights to an entire ethnic group has had a devastating impact on the human security of all Chechens, with the bitter struggle to conquer this part of the Caucasus, to Stalin’s deportation of the entire population, to an almost uninterrupted strife for over a decade now. In Kyrgyzstan, more than 700,000 ethnic Uzbeks with Kyrgyz citizenship are increasingly marginalized from economic and political participation, effectively denied the rights of citizenship.

Corrupt border officials at the Kyrgyz/Uzbek border demand payment from Ferghana Valley residents, who by law are allowed to cross the border without a visa for a limited period of time. These additional fees suppress necessary cross-border trade, which residents rely on for food and employment. In Georgia local officials refuse to lease land to internally displaced ‘citizens,’ which they are entitled to by law, without payment of ‘extra fees.’

Lesson #4: Regime instability fosters restrictive, discriminatory citizenship policies.

- Regime instability often leads to the “politicization of difference,” as state leaders attempt to exclude populations and consolidate power.

- State manipulation of citizenship practices to exclude threats to national identity/ideology by ethnic minorities often occurs soon after establishment of newly formed states.

With the break-up of the Soviet Union, the formerly independent Baltic states were eager to restore the cultural, social and political integrity they claim to have enjoyed before World War II and their subsequent incorporation into the Soviet Union. Thus, new governments designed exclusionary citizenship laws to limit the influence of ethnic Russians and foster the re-creation of Estonian and Latvian national identity.⁷ Lithuania, which felt less threatened by their ethnic minority Russian population, in part because of the ethnic Lithuanian demographic dominance, adopted far more inclusive policies.

In 1948, the newly independent state of Sri Lanka deliberately disenfranchised and marginalized the Indian Estate Tamil minority population through restrictive citizenship legislation. Eventually more than 900,000 Estate Tamil Indians were rendered stateless and today over fifty years later, thousands remain without proper documentation in Sri Lanka.

In Côte d'Ivoire, President Bédié, who was unpopular due to a corrupt and inefficient administration, manipulated social tensions surrounding the perceived threat of foreigner domination in the north, from where his main political rival, Alassane Ouattara, drew the majority of his support. Bédié succeeded in disqualifying Ouattara and the largely northern-based Rally of Republicans party (RDR) from the presidential elections of 1995, on the basis of claims that Ouattara is Burkinabe (a citizen of Burkina Faso), not Ivorian.

Lesson #5: Citizenship is best addressed as conflict preventive measure, not as a method of conflict resolution.

- Citizenship is rarely explicitly addressed in peace processes
- Preventive action to resolve citizenship debates can work, provided the preconditions are right and concerted efforts are undertaken before the conflict escalates.

In 1998 an Ethiopian and Eritrean border dispute resulted in the outbreak of a violent conflict. In response to the hostilities, Ethiopia expelled some 70,000 Eritreans and Ethiopians of Eritrean origin from its territory. To date, 150,000 to 300,000 people have been stripped of their Ethiopian citizenship. While the denial of citizenship for thousands of Ethiopians was a major result of the conflict, there is no provision within the peace agreement for citizenship restoration giving rise to potential future conflict.

The situation of Tatarstan, where the republic, after negotiating a treaty with the Russian Federation, passed a law providing for dual citizenship, underscores the fact that pre conflict resolution is possible, even in cases where there is a striking disparity in power. While the republic's energetic drive for autonomy, in general, and an early version of Tatarstan's citizenship law, in particular, caused severe tensions, awareness of a common interest in a peaceful solution prevailed on both sides.

⁷ Not fearing threats to a national identity posed by minorities living in Lithuania, it adopted more inclusive citizenship policies.

In the Baltics conflict was averted in Estonia and Latvia when both governmental and non-governmental actors intervened and citizenship issues were addressed.

Lesson #6: The local level is where citizenship implementation is often most important.

- There is a gap between state law and implementation at the local level
- Local populations often support these exclusionary policies

The Czech Republic has amended previous legislation, which prevented the Roma population from acquiring Czech citizenship. While the modified legislation has improved the situation for the Roma, it does not sufficiently protect the Roma against discrimination on the local level. District administrators, who play a crucial role in processing citizenship applications, continue to misinform applicants and discourage them from pursuing the citizenship process.

While Uganda, Mozambique and Tanzania, are reforming laws that structure access to customary law, in many other countries on the continent the state is not required to protect "non-indigenous" groups who may suffer from not being under the protectorate of customary law. For instance in the DRC, those people identified as non-indigenous, do not have the right to farm the land regardless of their residential link to the community.

The Krasnodar region of Russia is a particularly compelling example of local officials denying Meskhetian Turks citizenship, which is not only guaranteed by national law, but is also available in other regions of Russia. Some Meskhetian Turks have acquired citizenship in the Stravopol region of Russia, because local officials in Krasnodar refuse to accept their applications to the proper authorities.

Lesson#7: Poverty, education and lack of freedom of movement are key issues preventing access to citizenship.

- Poverty (defined broadly) and lack of citizenship become reinforcing threats to human security
- The denial of education, land and the ownership of property exacerbates poverty

In 1988 Bhutan conducted a national census. Ethnic Nepalese speaking Bhutanese citizens were asked to produce documentation of their residency in Bhutan. Many ethnic Nepalese, a large percentage of whom were illiterate, failed to produce the necessary evidence due to either poor access or non-existent documentation. By 1992 an estimated 100,000 Lhotshampas (ethnic Nepalese from Bhutan), deprived of citizenship, were forced to leave Bhutan.

For the Roma, who lack citizenship in Europe, unemployment ranges between 60 to 100 percent. The lack of proper identification makes access to credit nearly impossible which in turn limits their access to ownership of property. Non-citizens are at the mercy of landlords who are able to extract illegal prices from their illegal tenants.

The Meskhetian Turks in southeastern, denied both citizenship and *propiska* in violation of Russian law, are prohibited from owning property and employment. The authorities have

cancelled their land leases, effectively removing the only food source for the Meskhetian Turks in the area. Denied all civil, political and social rights, without representation they have no recourse and very little hope in obtaining citizenship.

Lesson #8: States often lack attention, resources and capacity to administer citizenship processes, particularly impacting children.

- Though most countries have taken measures to increase citizenship acquisition, results have not been impressive because of insufficient resources
- In most countries babies are registered with the relevant authorities soon after they are born, enabling them to receive a birth certificate. In many countries in this study, particularly states in Africa and South Asia, many children go unregistered. Children born to parents who have been denied citizenship have a difficult if not impossible claim to a nationality.
- Poor administrative capacity also has an impact on other leading indicators of citizenship such as marriage, death, divorce

In many African countries, where citizenship is based on descent, citizenship denial is exacerbated by ineffective methods of birth registration, which hampers the ability of residents to prove their citizenship. Approximately 71% of all births in sub-Saharan Africa are not registered, resulting in 17 million stateless children each year.⁸

In South Asia, 63% of births are unregistered, approximately 22.5 children a year, which accounts for 40% of the worlds undocumented births.⁹ South Asian governments also lack the capacity to issue citizenship documents to newly eligible adults, perpetuating their statelessness and vulnerability. Thousands of Estate Tamils are now eligible for Sri Lankan citizenship, but remain without documents because the government has not issued their citizenship certificates.

Over 215,000 ethnic Kazakhs have migrated to Kazakhstan at the government's invitation, but only 115,000 have actually received citizenship because the government lacks the capacity to implement its own policies. Similarly, Georgia has repeatedly argued that it lacks the capacity and resources to naturalize Meskhetian Turks (who were deported from Georgia by Josef Stalin), while simultaneously providing assistance for approximately 300,000 internally displaced persons.

Lesson #9: Closed borders and the exclusion of cross-border ethnic groups can contribute to regional conflict.

Problems also emerge when excluded groups, regardless of ethnic or cultural links, are not fully accepted by the receiving country.

Post-colonial newly independent states close borders and more clearly define who is and who is not a citizen, which also affects refugee movements and the protection of displaced people.

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⁸ UNICEF. March 2002. *Birth Registration: Right from the Start.*

⁹ Ibid.

Pakistan opposed the repatriation of the stateless Biharis for fear that Pakistan's fragile ethnic-balance would be upset thereby preventing the majority of the Bihari from relocating to Pakistan causing increased tension between the two states which affected relations with India as well. Similarly, when the Rohingya of Myanmar fled as a result of citizenship denial and state initiated abuses, such as forced labor, the majority sought refuge in Bangladesh, but significant numbers also fled to Thailand, Pakistan and other countries in the region who were reluctant to accept "rejected" people.

Russian legislation passed in 2002 extends citizenship to former USSR citizens who are stateless, directly affecting those people who live in areas currently in secessionist struggles such as Abkhazia in Georgia. 70 percent of the Abkhazian population now holds Russian passports. The impact of the Russian legislation has hardened the resolve of the Georgians who have expressed a desire to "take back" their land and encourage those holding Russian citizenship to move to Russia. Russia is also pressuring Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan to refuse asylum to and involuntarily repatriate Chechens who have fled the conflict in Chechnya, in a bid to portray the conflict as "normalizing."

The treatment of ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan and the strengthening of borders has increased tensions in the Ferghana Valley (divided among three Central Asian states). Uzbekistan refrained from intervening on behalf of ethnic Uzbeks in Kyrgyzstan during the 1990 Osh riots, but may not be refrain if violence should erupt again. In addition, the border strengthening is accompanied by increased border guard corruption, which is preventing the delivery of foodstuffs, the conduct of economic activity and increasing inter-ethnic resentment.

Lesson #10: Third party involvement, if correctly applied, can be helpful.

- The flight of thousands of citizens across borders invites external questions about sovereignty.
- Third party involvement has made a constructive difference in multiple cases

Series of bilateral ministerial meetings between Bhutan and Nepal did not resolve the ten-year stalemate over the fate of the 100,000 stateless Lhotshampas in Nepal. When external parties, such as then High Commissioner Ogata and U.S. and E.U. high-level officials became involved in the negotiation process and increased public awareness, gradual movement began to take place.

Violent conflict was averted in the Estonia and Latvia when the international community, represented by governmental and non-governmental actors, took the lead in criticizing the discriminatory policies. Subsequent legal modifications quieted tensions between ethnic Russians and ethnic Estonians and Latvians, as well as governmental tensions between Estonia, Latvia and the Russian Federation.

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

We believe that the Commission on Human Security can contribute to alleviating the negative effects of citizenship denial. The following policy recommendations are designed to assist the Commission on Human Security decide what concrete steps it can take in developing a plan of action to address critical and pervasive threats to human security.

Recommendation #1: Undertake field studies to collect information, data and statistics from the field to fully assess the impact of citizenship denial on conflict, migration and poverty.

Although we have identified a number of practices that have led to citizenship problems as well as various ways to address the issue, additional information is needed to understand the size and the scope of the problem. It is unclear to what extent the denial of citizenship, as an isolated factor, determines conflict, migration and poverty.

- The Commission should adopt an expanded definition of willful denial of citizenship that includes both ineffective citizenship and legal denial of citizenship.
- The Commission on Human Security should take the lead in commissioning a *first hand, in-depth field study* that assesses the degree to which the denial of citizenship or the denial of its effective rights affects poverty, conflict and migration. This may be done in partnership with the UN, international or national NGOs.
- A study should be conducted in states that have shown a reasonable commitment to fundamental principles of good governance.
- Romania, where significant numbers of Roma remain stateless or without effective citizenship; Bangladesh, where between 200,000 to 400,000 Bihari remain stateless; and the Ferghana Valley, where disenfranchisement, poverty and migration impact ethnic minorities differently; would provide fertile ground for field-based studies.

Recommendation #2: Target birth registration through a pilot project that results in a universal birth registration process as well as the registration of marriage, divorce and death.

The rights of children need to be especially protected in accordance with governments' commitment to children's rights as indicated by the almost universal ratification of the of the 1992 Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Convention should be enforced and governments, particularly ones that ratified the Convention need to be held accountable if children are not granted citizenship. In addition:

- The Commission should support a universal birth registration process.
- A pilot project that facilitates birth registration and guarantees citizenship on the basis of residency to large numbers of undocumented births could provide momentum for projects in other regions.
- The pilot project might also include the registration of marriage, divorce and death, which ultimately may be a key factor in the process of birth registration.
- UNICEF working with NGO partners and in collaboration with UNHCR, UNHCHR, UNDP and other relevant UN agencies should collaborate on designing this project.

- A demonstrated political will among the government officials to improve citizenship practices will enhance the prospects of project success.
- The pilot project should focus on sub-Saharan Africa, given the prevalence of child statelessness. Zambia or Tanzania, both of which register 39% or less of child births, would benefit from such a pilot project.

Recommendation #3: Sponsor regional sub-group meetings with the desired goal of producing agreements to address incidents of unclear citizenship. Encourage the pursuit of region wide citizenship rights and conventions.

Greater freedom of movement among states where there is often already an ethnic connection creates the possibility of greater economic, social and cultural possibilities. Regional integration will facilitate cross border migration for the purpose of legitimate trade that in turn will benefit more people. In addition, a regional approach will create peer pressure that could be effective in resolving some of the repressive citizenship practices and consequences not confined to one state.

- The Commission should examine regional approaches to citizenship and apply best practices from the various regions to a particular region where citizenship issues affect large populations across borders.
- Despite evidence of immigrant populations being excluded from the state, the European Community is an example of a regional body where the distinction of who belongs and who doesn't among states has eroded. The Commission should examine a regional approach to citizenship in South Asia, including the governments of Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India Sri Lanka, especially given the trend of closing borders and incompatible citizenship requirements.

Recommendation #4: Target an issue to address the impact of citizenship denial, such as access to land, education or the ownership of property.

In some cases, the denial of citizenship may best be addressed by directly targeting the practical impact faced by individuals, rather than through focusing on the legal dimension of citizenship. This is particularly true where civic and ethnic citizenship entail two different sets of rights and responsibilities.

- The Commission should examine a particular issue, for example, the right to access and own land in states where governments deny individuals citizenship or its effective rights.
- As a matter of policy, land held in common should be available on the basis of residence in the community, rather than on ethnic belonging, in order to protect the livelihoods of peasant farmers.
- This issue is particularly important in sub-Saharan Africa because: agriculture is the predominant economic activity; access to land often requires belonging to both the state and a particular ethnic community; and the scarcity of arid land and the degradation of land due to overuse and pressures put on it by flows of refugees and internally displaced persons.
- Governments in Uganda, Mozambique and Tanzania, who are currently reforming their land policies, could provide insight into other sub-Saharan cases such as Zambia, South Africa, Zimbabwe.

Recommendation #5: Promote attention to the issue through appointment of a special envoy to champion citizenship rights globally.

Third party involvement raises the level of public awareness and applies pressure on states to resolve their differences over citizenship issues, as seen in the leadership of Francis Deng (Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Internally Displaced Persons) and Olara Otunnu (Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict). It also enhances the chances of finding a solution amenable to states involved and to those who have been deprived of citizenship, if the individual is perceived as neutral.

- Support the appointment of a special envoy or Ambassador at-large at the UN. Someone of international stature, who is willing build alliances among states practicing sound citizenship, entice less compliant states to change, and speak against threats to human security.
- Their office should have sufficient resources to enable the “special envoy” and staff to conduct multiple fact-finding trips and negotiations with governments.

Recommendation #6: Underscore the need for good governance, rule of law, respect for human rights and citizenship by highlighting corruption by local officials.

Local officials have an incentive to misinterpret or refuse to apply national law, when they lose significant income if the law were correctly administered. By targeting corruption, the Commission assists both the national government in increasing capacity to implement its own policies and procedures as well as the local population, who will have greater access to their rights under national law.

- The Commission should fund local and international anti-corruption efforts in south-eastern Russia, where local officials refuse to issue permanent residency permits to 13,000 Meskhetian Turks, in part, because they want to continue extorting money from them for supposed ‘residency violations.’
- This could involve efforts at publicizing corrupt acts by local officials both locally and nationally, increased monitoring of local officials, or training and seminars on national law involving members of the Meskhetian Turk community.

Recommendation #7: Create a pilot program highlighting good governance and rule of law by focusing on border operations and corruption at critical borders.

Through focusing on borders, the program could improve the material livelihood of all residents in the region, perhaps counter-acting some of the current ethnic scapegoating inspired by scarce resources in the region.

- The Commission should support the creation of a pilot program on border operations, which targets the corruption of border officials in places like the Ferghana Valley.
- Fund local NGOs that focus on holding local officials legally accountable
- Fund training efforts targeting corrupt officials on the Kyrgyz/Uzbek border.

ANNEX I

International treaties related to citizenship and statelessness

No.	Treaty	Date	Organization
1	Convention on Certain Questions relating to the Conflict of Nationality Law	1930	League of Nations
2	Protocol relating to Military Obligations in Certain Cases of Double Nationality	1930	League of Nations
3	Protocol relating to a Certain case of Statelessness	1930	League of Nations
4	Convention relating to the status of Stateless persons	1954	United Nations
5	Convention on the Nationality of Married Women	1957	United Nations
6	Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness	1961	
7	Convention on Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality and Military obligations in cases of multiple nationality	1963	Council of Europe
8	International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial discrimination	1965	United Nations
9	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	1966	United Nations
10	European Convention on the Adoption of Children	1967	Council of Europe
11	Convention on the Reduction of the Number of Cases of Statelessness	1973	CIEC
12	Protocol Amending the Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality and Military Obligations in cases of Multiple Nationality	1977	Council of Europe
13	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	1979	United Nations
14	Convention on the Rights of the Child	1989	United Nations
15	Second Protocol Amending the Convention on the Reduction of Cases of Multiple Nationality and Military Obligations in Cases of Multiple Nationality	1993	Council of Europe
16	European Convention on Nationality	1997	Council of Europe

ANNEX II

Commission on Human Security objectives are:

1. to promote public understanding, engagement and support of human security and its underlying imperatives;
2. to develop the concept of human security as an operational tool for policy formulation and implementation; and
3. to propose a concrete program of action to address critical and pervasive threats to human security.

What is human security?

The Commission on Human Security in its working definition describes human security as:

The objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long-term human fulfillment.¹⁰

The Commission elaborates on its working definition on human security:

- (i) maintains the joint focus of poverty and violence rather than selecting one or the other;
- (ii) maintains the “people-centered” nature of the 1994 UNDP definition; (what is the definition)
- (iii) maintains multidimensionality’
- (iv) narrows prior definitions by focusing on “critical and pervasive threats to the vital core of people’s lives”,
- (v) proposes that the normative objective of human security be specified and translated into operational policies and projects by principled procedures (which are suggested but not discussed extensively).¹¹

¹⁰ Alkire, Sabina, February 2002, “Conceptual Framework for Human Security”

¹¹ Ibid.