Global welfare: dream or reality?

Jan Egeland, the former UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, has called for “a humanitarian system that is able to respond reliably, effectively and efficiently across the full range of emergencies … humanitarian aid must be the responsibility of all nations for the benefit of all nations.”

Is the world on the verge of establishing a basic form of global welfare for all those affected by war and disaster? Or is the idea of fair and efficient global welfare a non-starter in a world of competing political powers, massive vested interests and imminent environmental crisis when group survival, not altruism, may become the norm?

How are we doing on reforming the politics and practice of humanitarian action? Nobody really knows for sure but an important indication is provided by evaluative material produced by the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance. ALNAP is a membership organisation made up of UN, Red Cross/Crescent, government and NGOs, academic institutions and consultants and for the past five years ALNAP has reviewed a sample of agency evaluations in order to gauge the progress of humanitarian action.

Our latest Review of Humanitarian Action (RHA) takes a step back and reviews progress since 2001. The RHA findings suggest that global welfare is still some way off.

Despite its extraordinary global reach, the formal humanitarian system is, essentially, the combined effort of about 20 western states which pay for and provide the agencies for most of the world’s humanitarian action. This is not a broadly-based international endeavour with buy-in from a majority of states. It is a western niche. Two of the five permanent members of the Security Council – Russia and China – are suspicious of the western system and prefer to do their own thing, or nothing, in war and disaster. The major Islamic states and charitable institutions prefer to work bilaterally and partially, mainly in particular Muslim settings. Local and informal systems – remittance flows and local civil society institutions – can be extremely important but are often overlooked by the western system.

Although it gets a lot of profile and works with the authority of the UN, the formal western-driven system can be a very blunt, selective and insensitive instrument. It has deep preferences for focusing on strategic wars and can be hugely skewed by populist passions – hence the massive inequality of response between suffering in the tsunami and war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The system has no objective humanitarian measure of need and priority. Thus, the politics of the system remain deeply problematic.

So, too does agency practice. While there are many separate initiatives to try and make it perform better on the ground, there are still deep problems of good practice. Some sectors, like food aid, are over-subscribed while others, like shelter, water, camp management and protection, remain under-resourced or insufficiently understood. Complex cross-cutting areas like livelihoods and recovery remain confused.

Nor are the system and its many agencies a good learner. Today, there are more evaluations of humanitarian work than ever before but they are seldom well used. Either they are done ritually for donor accountability purposes or they are not user-friendly. Most do not employ an inspirational learning process as they go, nor are they designed to have their findings taken up by the key target groups who could bring about real change.

So, there are still real challenges. But there are also massive opportunities. The formal and informal systems are bigger and more self-aware than ever before. The ideal of eventual global welfare is an important long-term aim and could be voiced more explicitly by a range of social movements.
Shattered dreams of Sudanese refugees in Cairo

by Hala W Mahmoud

At least 28 Sudanese were killed in December 2005 as Egyptian riot police violently dispersed a sit-in near the Cairo offices of UNHCR. A year later, those responsible for human rights violations have not been held to account and some refugees who went missing remain unaccounted for.

The 30,000 Sudanese in Cairo registered with UNHCR are but a fraction of the vast Sudanese population living in the Egyptian capital. In June 2004 UNHCR took the view that the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement allowed southern Sudanese to return to safety. The agency therefore decided to grant all Sudanese asylum seekers temporary protection rather than subject them to individual refugee status determination (RSD), as had been the practice for the previous nine years.

The basic question of who is ultimately responsible for the welfare of Sudanese and other refugees in Egypt was, and is, unclear. Sudanese have long demanded an end to arbitrary detention and protested against Egyptian racism. Primary legal responsibility for such issues rests with the Egyptian government, not with UNHCR. The Egyptian government has no official mechanism through which to engage with the concerns of refugees. Therefore the protestors had no choice except to address all of their concerns to UNHCR.

Faced with unbearable living conditions and left without other options, in September 2005 Sudanese refugees started a peaceful sit-in to protest UNHCR’s decision and indicate their desire for resettlement, not repatriation. UNHCR noted that most of the demonstrators’ demands were beyond UNHCR’s control. After initial tolerance, the Egyptian authorities violently dispersed the protest, killing an unspecified number and arresting around 650 Sudanese who were taken to a number of military camps and prisons. The protest and its aftermath were deeply traumatising as families were separated and children orphaned. UNHCR lobbied to prevent their deportation and the last of the protestors were released in February 2006.

A year on, little has changed. The tragedy attracted the interest and sympathy of the media and human rights organisations but the refugees received little financial assistance as families were separated and children orphaned. UNHCR lobbied to prevent their deportation and the last of the protestors were released in February 2006.

Much could be done to make the refugees’ prolonged stay in Egypt more bearable. Egypt and UNHCR should heed those refugees who call for establishment of organised refugee camps where services could be provided and the Sudanese protected from exploitation and racism. The international community could provide backing for those educated and enthusiastic Sudanese refugees who seek to initiate community-based programmes.

For more background, see www.jsdwatch.org/index_files/Page4070.htm