

The Legal consecration of freedom of opinion and expression in the midst of international difficulties

Khene Mohamed Ridha

Faculty of law, Department of Public Law University of Biskra, Algeria

Email : mridha.khene@univ-biskra.dz

Received: 12/01/2025 ; Accepted: 11/05/2025 ; Published: 21/07/2025

Abstract:

In this study, we will attempt to examine the right to freedom of opinion and expression by exploring its conceptual and legal foundations at both the global and regional levels, as well as addressing the difficulties faced in its application in international practice in light of the current international environment. Additionally, we will review the international mechanisms established by governmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure the effective enjoyment of this right.

Keywords : freedom , speech, opinion , protection, regional, global, non governmental.

Introduction

States are primarily responsible for upholding the right to freedom of opinion and expression because they make commitments to act and refrain from acting in ways that advance and defend human rights. Regarding states and regional and international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, human rights occupy a central place in the international community. The establishment of human rights' worldwide applicability has been facilitated by its globalization.

To guarantee the coexistence and harmony of regional and worldwide systems for the protection of human rights, international protection statements for the right to freedom of thought and expression have changed recently in response to issues that have been and continue to be highlighted. The effectiveness of regional human rights systems and whether they constitute a threat to the global human rights system are questions that are raised by individuals who see the latter as a threat to the former, notwithstanding the idea of shared commitment between the two systems.

The right to freedom of opinion and expression is repeatedly listed in international instruments when one closely examines the wide range of international texts pertaining to human rights. In terms of who is entitled to these rights, the accords are similar, even though they cover different groups (women, children, people with disabilities, etc.) and have distinct temporal and spatial frameworks (universal, regional). Given the closeness of the protected rights, or in certain situations, their total overlap, the objective nature of human rights duties guarantees that individual rights are safeguarded by many international agreements.

It is noteworthy that international global agreements, especially the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, avoided detailing rights, attempting to create an abstract list of rights in order to garner the largest number of ratifications on one hand, and to allow regional bodies to

achieve effective results at the local application level on the other hand, provided that it does not conflict with the global foundations of the international human rights system.

In this study, we will attempt to examine the right to freedom of opinion and expression by exploring its conceptual and legal foundations at both the global and regional levels, as well as addressing the difficulties faced in its application in international practice in light of the current international environment. Additionally, we will review the international mechanisms established by governmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure the effective enjoyment of this right. Accordingly, the problematic of our study is formulated as follows: What is the reality of the effective enjoyment of the right to freedom of opinion and expression in light of the multiplicity of governmental and non-governmental mechanisms at both the regional and global levels?

1/ The conceptual and practical foundations of the right to freedom of opinion and expression

There has been a "abundance" of international guarantee instruments in recent years. For the freedom of expression and opinion. However, the internationalization of human rights was unique since pragmatist political considerations are closely associated with gradualism. With regard to human rights that are acquired for the sake of humanity, aside from systems that are merely tools that reveal rights and not create them, this has led to a proliferation of human rights systems, which has created some ambiguity and confusion regarding the actual implementation of human rights. This is especially true given that the overlap of national, regional, and global systems raises several issues regarding the nature of their relationship, in which the attractions of integration and opposition, positive and negative conflict, overlap.

1/1/ The affiliation of freedom of opinion and expression to civil and political rights.

Civil and political rights refer to a set of rights that are formed through the struggle against forces of oppression and tyranny. The struggle to obtain these rights has been one of the characteristics that distinguished international relations for long periods. The liberal revolutions that erupted in countries where democratic systems are currently established were the earliest in codifying these rights in written documents in a modern format.¹

Moreover, the international community, within the framework of the United Nations, has continued to show significant interest in civil and political rights and has been able to reach major agreements in this field, which is why they are referred to as first-generation rights. While civil rights are a means to enjoy personal freedom, political rights are an essential necessity for organizing an individual's participation in the public affairs of their community as a part of it.²

Civil and political rights are described as "negative rights," meaning that they are only exercised if the state refrains from interfering with them. The state's withdrawal is sufficient for individuals to enjoy them. This category is a true expression of Western liberal traditions, which view them as "inexpensive" rights that require nothing more than a negative attitude from the authorities towards restricting or interfering with them. This category of rights has been affected by the requirements of globalization in a different way compared to the second generation of rights, given that it shares with globalization its attempt to limit the effectiveness of the state and diminish its role.

Without a doubt, the new world order that globalization advocates is founded on the demand for respect for civil and political rights, which are regarded as a fundamental component of the Western political and ideological intellectual orientation. This attitude is based on the dominance of the concepts of new globalization as mechanisms for influencing civil and political rights by limiting the effectiveness of the state as much as possible and trying to spread the concepts of liberal democracy by any means possible, whether it is by utilizing the media revolution that comes with technological development as a mechanism for the globalization of civil and political rights or by activating the role of non-governmental organizations to serve Western agendas.

1/2/ The Conceptual Issues of Freedom of Opinion and Expression

Freedom of opinion and expression is a fundamental introduction to shaping a person's social and political identity. It is the essential gateway to forming a personal conviction towards one ideology or another. The space of freedom in adopting opinions is a virgin territory and is considered one of the absolutes of a person's character, free from intervention by authorities and individuals. Without freedom of opinion, there would be no political or social human being. Freedom of opinion builds a distinctive human self and is closely linked to freedom of expression, as they are two sides of the same coin, requiring the freedom to research, investigate, receive, and disseminate information by any possible means.³

In recent years, the main focus of attention in the realization of the right to freedom of opinion and expression has been on the implementation of the International Programme for the Development of Communication and the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order through cooperation between the United Nations, UNESCO and other relevant United Nations agencies, particularly the International Telecommunication Union, in order to achieve understanding and cooperation among States in order to enshrine the right to freedom of opinion and expression through various media.⁴

The United Nations adopted its first work on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, with General Assembly Resolution No. 59 issued in 1946, which affirmed that the freedom of information is a basic human right. In 1947, the General Assembly issued its Resolution (110-D 10) Condemning propaganda targeting peace and breaching it, and reaffirmed again in the same year by Resolution (127- D 20) The necessity of combating fake news aimed at harming international relations, by raising it on the right to freedom of opinion and expression in accordance with Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, This right was reaffirmed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 under Article 19. There is hardly any international, global, or regional text that does not mention this right, given its importance.⁵

The most important guarantee that a person must enjoy when exercising his right to express his opinions, beliefs and thoughts is that there are no restrictions that prevent him from exercising this right. Therefore, there must be legislative protection to rely on, and no person must be exposed to threats or intimidation, regardless of the nature of that threat, as a result of exercising his right to express his opinion. This requires exercising this right in a democratic atmosphere, far removed from the police state that tracks people and imposes punishment on

them simply because they express their opinions in a way that contradicts its orientations, even if it has national legislation that stipulates freedom of opinion and expression.⁶

In fact, the term freedom of opinion and expression refers to many concepts such as freedom of the press, freedom of the media, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of communication, freedom of thought and religion, the free flow of information, and freedom of education. The right to freedom of opinion and expression is distinguished by its multiple means, as it leaves almost no room without including it in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which states: "by any other means." Based on this comprehensive vision of the means of the right to freedom of opinion and expression in a technologically advanced world where everyone lives within sight and hearing of each other, the right to freedom of expression and opinion has acquired a global dimension.⁷

1/3/ Problems of implementing the right to freedom of opinion and expression in the current international environment

The 1980s witnessed a clear globalization trend that affected many sectors, such as print media, television programs, and data banks, not to mention information technology and computer software, which took on a new dimension with the emergence of the Internet. This globalization does not only affect the media in the precise and exclusive sense, but it also introduced changes to some journalistic, television, and information groups. Globalization also found a strategic ally in some advertisers and marketers, especially since they are willing to prefer media with global dimensions, in order to exploit them for their advertising and publicity campaigns to serve purely economic interests that have nothing to do with the right to freedom of opinion and expression.⁸

The free flow of information has been and remains the cornerstone of the American market economy and the dominance of multinational corporations, especially since this "free" flow of information is transmitted through multinational corporations, on a global scale. The controllers of these corporations shape messages, "fabricate" information, and select the knowledge that should reach the masses. Media managers in America are responsible for laying the foundations for the circulation of "information and ideas," overseeing their processing, refining, and tight control.⁹

The astonishing explosion of what has come to be known as the "Infomedia Revolution" on the global level, has resulted in amazing progress in the production, reproduction and development of many technologies, methods and means of media, information, communication and interaction, from computers, software, digital systems and satellite channels, which has contributed in an unprecedented way to accelerating and renewing the methods of production and circulation of knowledge, information, news and scenes, and even ideas, values, lifestyles, models of behaviour, visions, feelings and perceptions. Therefore, whoever controls the conditions of dealing with this revolution will be more qualified to lead in the shadow of globalization.¹⁰

In this context, the media manifestations of globalization, which reshape the right to freedom of opinion and expression, may contribute to the explosion of minority issues, the intensification of social and political disputes, and the amplification of sectarian tendencies in various countries through satellite networks and the internet. The right to freedom of

expression and globalized opinion is closely linked to the revival of extremist tendencies, violence, and international affiliations, which threatens the internal disintegration of strong states, especially in countries suffering from a crisis of national integration.¹¹

Thus, the right to freedom of opinion and expression has been globalized to serve strategic interests and visions. Therefore, it is exercised selectively, subject to double standards. For example, many defend the Danish cartoons or the French Charlie Hebdo cartoons that depict the Prophet of Islam in a satirical manner, claiming that they fall within the framework of freedom of expression. However, the same values of freedom of expression cannot protect those who mock the character of a Jew in a cartoon. Why is the former not considered incitement to religious hatred and Islamophobia, while the latter is considered extremism and anti-Semitism?¹²

2/The right to freedom of opinion and expression between governmental and non-governmental efforts

The international system for the protection of human rights is characterized by a great degree of complexity and diversity, both at the level of the rights protected and at the level of oversight mechanisms. This space does not allow for a comprehensive study of the various international, global, and regional instruments. Therefore, only some mechanisms and texts will be cited, based on the assumption that regional and global mechanisms are in a cooperative and complementary relationship, given their common subject and goal: the human being. This has established a textual overlap at the level of rights in international instruments, resulting in an integration of oversight mechanisms, particularly those related to reports and complaints.

2/1/ Integration between global and regional mechanisms in protecting the right to freedom of opinion and expression

Regionalism has not had a good reputation for a long time in the field of human rights. Considered by the separatist movement aimed at questioning the universality of human rights. The obstacles encountered in drafting the two International Covenants on Human Rights prompted the United Nations to rehabilitate the regional approach in an attempt to dispel suspicion of regionalism in the field of human rights, especially after the adoption of the two International Covenants on Human Rights in 1966.¹³

The debate over the extent to which universality and regionalism conflict has receded, giving way to an integrative approach. Furthermore, the regional human rights movement has been promoted, calling for the establishment of regional systems in regions that lack them, such as Asia. This has been reflected in a series of international documents, including: General Assembly Resolution 32/127 of 16 December 1977 on measures to be taken at the regional level to ensure the promotion and protection of rights; Resolution 125/47 of the Economic and Social Council of 18 December 1992 on regional arrangements for the promotion and protection of human rights; Article 37 of Part I of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of 1993; and General Assembly Resolution 57/210 of 18 December 2002.¹⁴

Indeed, regional human rights systems have emerged as an intermediate international level on the regional scale. The convergence of international and political systems. This regional internationalism gives human rights a "regional" character by integrating them into

global, subsidiary legal and institutional texts. However, the cultural harmony it possesses can easily achieve tangible results. Therefore, this regional internationalism constitutes a more comprehensive solidarity complex. It is part of the torn fabric that binds together the members of the international community.¹⁵

The transition from the global to the regional level in the field of human rights was evidence of the integration of global and regional mechanisms. It is noteworthy that regional human rights instruments did not differ "fundamentally" in their origins from their global counterparts in the content of the rights contained therein. The difference was most evident in the level of guarantees, which were more effective at the regional level, particularly in the European system.

Especially since global international commitments in the field of human rights can sometimes be marred by "ambiguity and vagueness" due to fundamental ideological differences between heterogeneous political and social systems, a narrow regional framework provides a greater degree of homogeneity than the United Nations can provide.¹⁶

Regional interest in human rights is not evidence of the failure of globalization. On the contrary, it demonstrates the status of these universal rights on all continents, dispelling the prevailing notion that human rights are specific to a particular civilization. Regional systems are the best evidence that the path to globalization is to utilize the cultural particularities between countries that are similar in civilization, politics, and law, in order to develop appropriate formulas for protecting human rights based on the differences between nations.¹⁷

2/2/ Integration between governmental and non-governmental mechanisms to protect the right to opinion and freedom of expression

This institutional universality was embodied in many international mechanisms that made human rights violations that used to pass silently subject to condemnation, resistance and denunciation. A distinction can be made between two types of institutions that contributed to: the global human rights movement is being advanced through distinct but complementary mechanisms. While the United Nations, its subsidiary bodies, and specialized agencies play a leading role in the field of human rights, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also emerge as a key player in the universalization of human rights.

Before delving into the manifestations of institutional globalization, it is worth noting that the United Nations and non-governmental organizations are considered an embodiment of the tensions of international relations and a living reflection of the balance of power on the global level, which will inevitably impact their global aspirations.

The UN's activities in the field of human rights are multifaceted and include standard-setting activities that focus on shaping concepts and contents of human rights through dialogue, valuing commonalities, and formulating them into binding international instruments. The UN also works to protect human rights and ensure their respect through various activities aimed at developing different mechanisms through the multiple roles of the organization's main bodies in promoting and protecting human rights.¹⁸

Non-governmental organizations are becoming more and more talked about because of the phenomenon's quantitative and qualitative growth as well as the popularity of the concept of global civil society, which stands for the elite that freely and voluntarily defends human rights. Governments and non-governmental organizations serve as a conduit between the state and the popular sectors that seek human rights. They also act as a worldwide mediator between international organizations and local demands for human rights respect. Both regional and worldwide.¹⁹

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are voluntary, non-profit groups organized by individuals on a local, regional, or international basis. They perform a variety of functions, including humanitarian assistance, informing governments of citizen demands, monitoring policies, and encouraging political participation at the community level. They also provide analysis and laboratories, serve as an early access mechanism, and contribute to the preparation, monitoring, and implementation of international human rights agreements.²⁰

In recognition of the growing role of non-governmental organizations in advancing the global human rights movement, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action of 1993 emphasized in paragraph 13 the need to give non-governmental organizations the space to practice their activities and provide them with the necessary means to carry out their role at the international and domestic levels. The program also addresses non-governmental organizations as an actor. Essential in Human Rights Report and Addressing Violations.

The organization was established in 1961 following a global campaign led by British journalist Peter Benson, under the slogan "Application for General Amnesty" in his article entitled "The Forgotten Prisoners" published in the British newspaper The Observer, called on people to rally around prisoners of conscience. Volunteers sympathized with him and increased the expansion of this call in European countries. In 1962, the organization began to form on the international level and its international campaigns began. For release On political prisoners, the organization also established the "Prisoners of Conscience Fund" to provide financial assistance to political prisoners and their families.²¹

One of the most important goals of Amnesty International is International:

- Freeing prisoners of conscience: These are people who have been arrested anywhere because of their beliefs, origin, gender, or color, and who have not used or advocated the use of violence.
 - Conduct fair trials for political prisoners as soon as possible.
 - Abolition of the death penalty and Torture and cruel treatment of prisoners.
- Put an end to disappearances, Forced and extrajudicial executions.²²

Human Rights Watch began its activities in 1978 and was then called the Helsinki Accords Monitoring Committee. Its mission was to monitor the compliance of Soviet bloc countries with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords. In the 1980s, the Americas Monitoring Committee was established to demonstrate that human rights violations committed by the allies of the United States of America In Central America, the violations were no less serious or less serious than those committed in other parts of the world. The organization then expanded to cover other parts of the world, until all the "monitoring" committees were united in 1988 under the name "Human Rights Watch."²³

Headquartered in New York, USA, AMaha monitors human rights conditions around the world. And dispatch Truth-finding committees Oh And publish reports on the results of its research and investigations with the aim of proof Violations human rights And condemn it And work to develop respect for the different levels. Imposed International human rights I created This organization has a division for the Middle East and North Africa.Africa1989 and received reports and complaints about violation Human rights in Arab countries.²⁴

Human Rights Watch is a pioneer in exposing human rights violations through the reliable information it publishes. AIn its time, which made it a primary source of information related to human rights, and the organization monitors the actions committed by governments that violate human rights, regardless of their political orientations, geographical and political blocs, and their customary and religious doctrines, and the Human Rights Watch organization defends freedom Thought and expression Rfair trial and equality And Discrimination. The organization also document sassassinationsdis appearance forced...arbitrary imprisonment and all violations of universal human rights. The organization contributes to unifying global public opinion in the service of human rights.²⁵

Human Rights Watch's conviction that international human rights standards apply equally to all human beings has had a significant impact on the effectiveness of its scientific work. The organization succeeded in leading an international coalition to adopt a treaty prohibiting the recruitment of children into armed forces. The organization won the 1997 Nobel Peace Prize for its significant efforts to prohibit the use of landmines. In addition, six of the seven crimes attributed to Yugoslav President Seljuk Šalov were also charged. AndDan Milosevic was arrested by Human Rights Watch in Kosovo.

Conclusion:

The answer to the problem raised is not an easy matter due to the breadth, complexity and complexity of the subject on the one hand, and the overlap of political considerations with their philosophical and legal counterparts on the other hand, in addition to the huge amount of information scattered in various references in Arabic and foreign languages, which raised problems related to the priority of information, with the researcher keen to put the most important, as the horizons of research are still open in this subject.

-The difficulty of establishing a comprehensive and exclusive definition For the right to freedom of opinion and expression The necessity of protecting it has led international documents to stipulate rights without the burden of defining them, in order to avoid ideological disputes and in the hope of garnering the largest number of ratifications. This is what some have called "conceptual flexibility" or "constructive ambiguity," which allows states to project their own vision onto the right intended to be protected. This serves the idea of protecting the commitment to the treaty, especially since states have different motivations for joining agreements.

-The Western concept is based on For the right to freedom of opinion and expression On the differentiation between rights by giving priority to civil and political rights over other rights, which he sees as mere wishes and desires that do not rise to the level of rights. This is an attack on the universality of human rights, which is based on the idea of interdependence

between rights as a cohesive structure that supports each other. Accordingly, globalization is based on the consecration of the idea of "some rights."

-Within the framework of this duality, powerful organizations have emerged whose sole concern is to fight every voice that says what these organizations, which are mostly Jewish, do not want or desire. The most famous of these organizations is the Anti-Defamation League, as it specializes in defending the visions adopted by Israel. They have specific programs and mechanisms to silence opponents, all in the name of freedom of opinion and expression, which is in fact a freedom that is exclusively available to them. Whoever dares to question the Holocaust has the necessary laws put in place to throw him in prison, even if his goal is scientific, academic, or artistic. The most famous example is what happened to the American actor and director Mal Gibson.

-In addition to differentiating between rights, Western countries discriminate between those who benefit from them, as Western countries fiercely defend the rights of their citizens. On freedom of opinion and expression It disregards the rights of others, as evidenced by the "colonial clause" in the European Convention on Human Rights, which allowed states to exempt the application of the Convention from colonial territories. This undermines the principle of universality based on the principle of "all rights for all people."

-Regionalism is not a match for globalism in the field of The right to freedom of opinion and expression They are in a complementary rather than conflicting relationship, provided that regionalism is within the global framework of human rights. It should not be exaggerated to believe that globalism is a collection of regionalisms. Regional efforts are commendable if they add value with regard to protected rights or oversight mechanisms.

-The effectiveness of regional systems varies depending on the degree of international cooperation and cultural, political and legal homogeneity between countries, as well as their desire to advance the global human rights movement. European regionalization of human rights is considered an effective way to achieve tangible results in terms of its integration with the mechanisms of the European system at the normative and regulatory levels and its ambition for universality. Especially with regard to the revolutionary specificity of its judicial oversight system.

References

1. Hafez Ahmed Saada, The Impact of Globalization Policies on the Promotion and Respect of Human Rights, 1st ed., Madbouly Library, Cairo, 2nd ed. 2011, p. 60.
2. Ali Youssef Al-Shukri, Human Rights in the Shadow of Globalization, 2nd ed., Etrak for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 2007p. 149, Abdul Basit Abdul Rahim Abbas, Generations of Human Rights: Between Intellectual Approach and Practical Support, Al-Nahrain University Journal, Al-Nahrain University, Issue 4, Volume 16, 2014, p. 310.
3. Al-Shafi'i Muhammad Bashir, Human Rights Law: Its Sources and National and International Applications, 5th ed., Maaref Establishment, Alexandria., pp. 202-203.

4. Abdul Karim Alwan, *The Mediator in Public International Law, General Principles*, 1st ed., Culture Library for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 1998, p. 60.
5. Rashid Hussein Al-Shammari, "**Legal legislation and freedom of expression: Legal approach**" *Journal of the Media Researcher*, University of Baghdad, Issue 28, 2015, p. 82.
6. Saad Ali Al-Bashir, "**Freedom of opinion and expression, guarantees and responsibilities**" *Journal of the Media Researcher*, University of Baghdad, Issue 8, 2010, p. 93.
7. Insights by Ali Al-Bayati, "**Violations of the Right to Freedom of Expression: A Special Study on Blogging**" *Journal of the College of Law*, University of Nahrain, Volume 17, Issue 02, 2015, p. 37.
8. Al-Sadiq Rabah, "**Media and globalization**", collective author: **Globalization and its repercussions on the Arab world**, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 1st ed., 2003, p. 138.
9. Saadi Muhammad Al-Khatib, *Human Rights and Their Constitutional Guarantees in Twenty-Two Arab Countries, A Comparative Study*, 1st ed., Al-Halabi Legal Publications, Beirut, 2007, p. 51.
10. Mustafa Mohsen, "**The End of Education Thesis in the New Global Discourse: Elements and Critical Notes for Thinking and Questioning**" Collective author: *Globalization and the New International Order* 2nd ed., Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2010, p. 156.
11. Hamdi Abdel Rahman Hassan, *Globalization and its Political Implications for the Arab Regional System: An Arab Perspective*, Collective Author: *Globalization and its Implications for the Arab World*, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 1st ed., 2003, p. 89.
12. Bahi El Din Hassan, "**Tension between Muslims and the West is a mutual failure on both sides.**", Collective author, *Religions and Freedom of Expression: The Problem of Freedom in Different Societies*, Cairo Center for Human Rights Studies, 1st ed., Cairo, 1st ed., p. 24.
13. Muhammad Saeed Al-Majzoub, *Public Liberties and Human Rights*, 1st ed., Gross Press, Lebanon, 1986, p. 102.
14. Sandrine Turgis, *Interactions between international norms and relatives across people*, 1 year edition; Editions Apédone, France, 2010, p 32.
15. Mohammed Mowaqt, *Human Rights: Are They Universal?*, translated by Fatima Zahra Arziol, in the collective work: *The International Community and Human Personal Rights*, King Saud Foundation for Islamic Studies and Human Sciences, Casablanca, 2000, p. 114.
16. Abdul Aziz Al-Ashawi, *Human Rights in International Law*, 1st ed., Dar Al-Khaldouniya, Algeria, 2009, p. 359.
17. Radwan Ziyada, *The Journey of Human Rights in the Arab World*, 1st ed., Arab Cultural Center, Beirut, Lebanon, 2000, p. 56.

18. Hassan Nafaa, The United Nations in Half a Century: A Study of the Development of International Organization since 1945, 1st ed., Alam Al-Ma'rifa, Kuwait, 1995, p 209.
19. Ibrahim Al-Taouti, "**Human Rights NGOs: Challenges and Future**", Collective author: The Insight into Human Rights: A Concise Global Encyclopedia, C 02, Opcit, p. 107.
20. Hamam Khader Mutlaq and Rasha Dhafer Mohi El-Din, "**The role of non-governmental organizations in protecting human rights in the Arab region**", Journal of International Studies Center for International and Strategic Studies, University of Baghdad, Issue sixty, 2015, p 209.
21. Good morning, sleepy Shanafa, "**Global governmental organizations and their impact on changing global policy**", Political Issues Magazine, university The two rivers number 43 - 44, p 61.
22. I think Khaled Abdul Rahman, **Human rights guarantees under the emergency law**, 1st ed., Dar Al-Hamed for Publishing and Distribution, Oman, 2008, p 215.
23. Suad Jabr Saeed, **Human rights violations and the psychology of political blackmail**, 1st edition, Modern Books World for Publishing and Distribution, Oman, 2008, p 196.
24. Shafi'i Muhammad Bashir, Opcit, p 314.
25. Arabism of Jabbar Al-Khazraji, **International Human Rights Law**, 1st ed., Dar Al Thaqafa for Publishing and Distribution, Amman, 2010, p 498.