

# ***HUMAN SECURITY: FOUR DEBATES***

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**“The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives.”**

**– *Human Development Report 1994*, UNDP p.1**



# CRITICISMS OF HUMAN SECURITY

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- **Ill-defined concept**
  - Competing definitions, varying scope
- **Constrains freedom of national action**
  - Diverts attention from hard-core national security issues
  - Global concerns vs continental vs bilateral
- **Threatens sovereignty and state responsibility**
  - Supports outside intervention and "neocolonialism"
  - Rationale for unwanted and unwarranted intervention
  - Subject to misuse
- **Diverts resources from military**
- **Diverts resources from traditional international aid**
  - Different projects and procedures (human vs state centered)
- **Overstretches capacity of contributors and UN**
  - Impossible mandate
- **Not new**

# “ILL-DEFINED GUIDE”

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“The use of force to help one side in a conflict inevitably hurts others, including some who are not involved... **The reality is that human security remains a rather vague and ill-defined guide to action, lacking an adequate international consensus on either its meaning or its application.**”

The New NATO and Evolution of PK: Implications for Canada, The Senate, April 2000, p. 56 (emphasis added)

# THE FOUR DEBATES

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- **Scope:** (Proponents)
  - Broad vs narrow
- **Competition:** (Opponents)
  - Human security vs national security
  - Human security vs development
- **Origin:** (Academics)
  - Recent or traditional?
- **Application:**
  - Interventionist or non-interventionalist (N/S)
  - Achievements: Nothing or everything? (Cynics)

# 1. DEBATE OVER SCOPE

# UNDP DEFINITION

**"... safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life."**

**— UN Human Development Report 1994**

## **Categories of security:**

- Economic - Assured basic income; job security**
- Food - Basic food needs met**
- Health - Freedom from diseases & debilitating sickness**
- Environmental - Healthy physical environment**
- Community - Support from family and broader groups**
- Political - Respect for basic human rights**
- Personal/physical - Freedom from physical violence**

# DFAIT DEFINITION

**“Human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety, and lives.”**

**Source: DFAIT Canada**



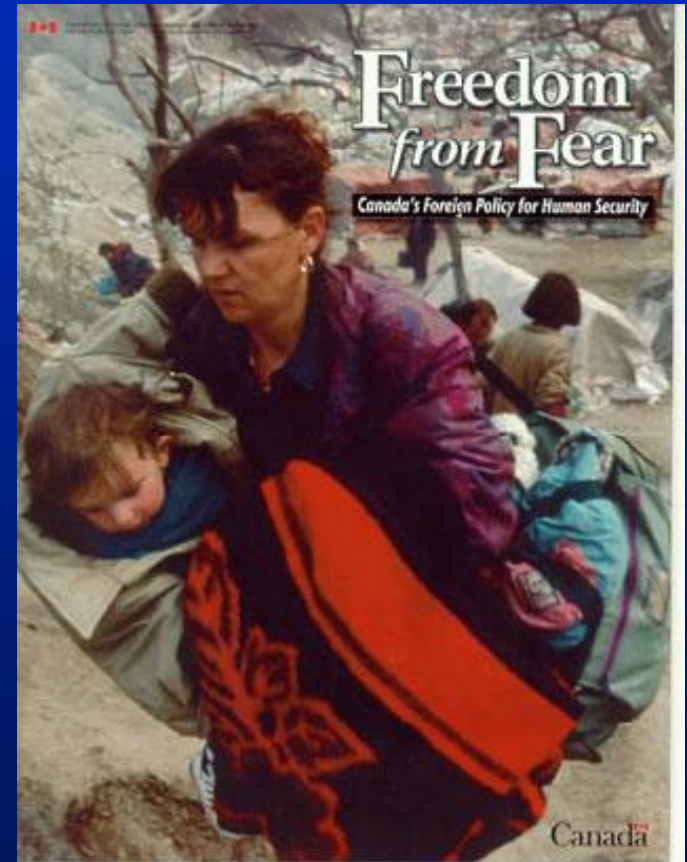
CP Archives



# CANADIAN FOCUS

## DIMENSIONS

- Economic
- Food
- Health
- Environmental
- Community
- Political
- Personal / physical  
(freedom from physical violence)



# “THE HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA”



Internet Site –  
[www.humansecurity.gc.ca](http://www.humansecurity.gc.ca)

# COMMISSION ON HUMAN SECURITY



Co-chairs:  
Sadako Ogata  
Amartya Sen

"to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment."

# SOLUTION BY SYNTHESIS

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Each approach recognizes the following principles:

- **Interdependence:**
  - All components of security are interlinked
  - Security of all peoples are interrelated
- **Universality:** applicable to all human beings
- **Action oriented:** imperative of protection and of prevention
- **Some other countries and groups prefer the broader concept.**
- **They are complimentary approaches!**

## **2. COMPETITIVE / CONFLICTING CONCEPTS:**

**Human security vs  
human development**

**Human security vs national  
security**

# HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

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- "a process of expanding people's choices, opportunities and strengthening their human capabilities", human fulfilment
- **Economic** - Assured income; job security; eliminate poverty
- **Food** - Basic food needs met
- **Health** - Freedom from diseases & debilitating sickness
- **Environmental** - Healthy physical environment
- **Community** - Support from family and broader groups
- **Political** - Respect for basic human rights
- **Personal** - Freedom from physical violence
- **Education**

# SOLUTION BY SYNTHESIS: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

- “Freedom from Fear” and “Freedom from Want”
- HS: Removing risks to human development (downside risks)
- Human Security is the ability to pursue the fruits of human development in a *safe* environment
- **Complementary and mutually reinforcing**
  - Human security is necessary for progressive human development
  - Human development is necessary for lasting human security
- Increased cooperation between security and development communities as themes converge



The Ottawa AP Mines Ban allows previously unusable mined fields to be cultivated

# NATIONAL SECURITY

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**Human security = Protection of the human being**

**National security = Protection of the nation and state**



# STATE-CENTRED SECURITY



The gain of the state is sought. State A's loss is State B's gain.  
With a non-democracy, the citizenry are secondary considerations.

# NATIONAL VS GLOBAL INTEREST

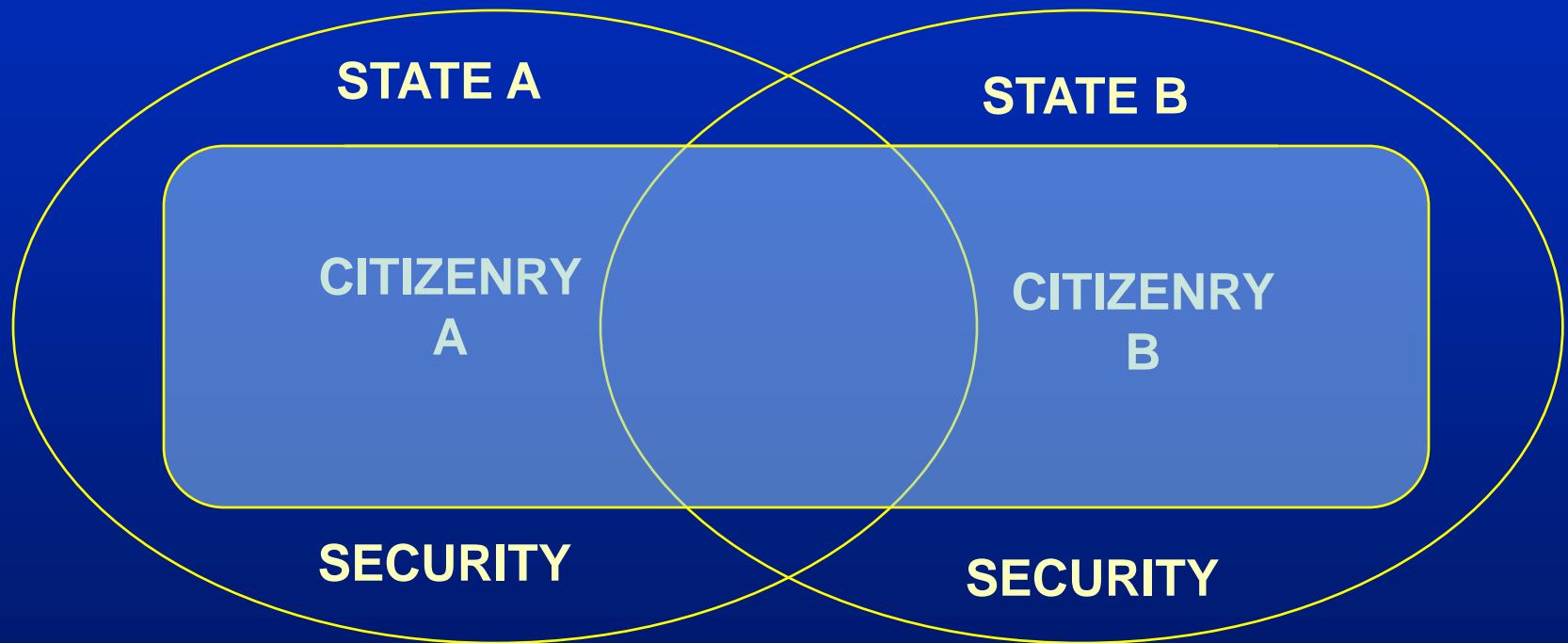
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- **“It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of material interest. It is not not only unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading as regards your own actions.”**

— US President Woodrow Wilson, 1913

- **“The very idea of America is to serve humanity”**
  - President Woodrow Wilson, address to US Naval Academy

# PEOPLE-CENTERED SECURITY: RECOGNIZING INTERDEPENDENCE



Commonalities among peoples recognized. Exchange of perspectives, persons, goods, services, ideas. Security overlaps. State A acts to make citizens of State B more secure and vice versa.

***“COMMON SECURITY FOR A COMMON HUMANITY”***

# CONTRASTING NATIONAL & HUMAN SECURITY

TRADITIONAL (NATIONAL) SECURITY	HUMAN SECURITY
<b>Goal: Protection of the home state and its citizens</b>	<b>Goal: Protection of human beings everywhere</b>
<p>Favoured by the <i>real politique</i> school, who stress that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- States are the primary actors (e.g., friend or foe)</li><li>- Concerned with maintenance and centrality of state power</li><li>- "Sovereignty has primacy"; rests with the state but might makes right</li><li>- Importance placed on military forces and alliances</li><li>- Balance of power sought</li><li>- Individual life can be sacrificed for the sake of the nation</li></ul>	<p>Favoured by <i>liberal internationalists</i>, who stress that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Individuals are the primary actors &amp; the basis of democratic governance</li><li>- Governments created to serve the people not vice versa</li><li>- Seek empowerment of the individual, civil society</li><li>- Governments not monoliths but to be viewed in relation to people both inside and outside of nation</li><li>- "Sovereignty is responsibility"</li><li>- Value sanctity of human life</li><li>- Seeks system of universal rules &amp; laws and their enforcement</li></ul>

## NATIONAL SECURITY

### PRIORITIES & INITIATIVES

- Protection of the state, including its borders, independence, traditions, values, ideologies
- Strong reliance on weaponry
- Formation of alliances with other states
- Identify and confront enemies
- Seek to "win wars", "defeat" enemies, isolate "rogue states"
- "An increase in my enemy's security is a threat to mine"

## HUMAN SECURITY

### PRIORITIES & INITIATIVES

- Saving human lives and alleviation of human suffering
- Protection of people
  - Peacekeeping
  - Humanitarian intervention
  - Refugees assistance
  - Minority rights
- Prevention, deal with causes of violence
- Control weapons causing most human damage e.g., AP Mines, small arms
- Global standards for treatment of people, e.g., human rights & int. humanitarian law
- Punish deserving individuals only
  - e.g., International Criminal Court
- Integration of consistent laws, nationally & globally
- Security is interdependent

# CONVERGENCE OF HUMAN & NATIONAL SECURITY

## ENLIGHTENED NATIONAL SECURITY

- "Enlightened self-interest"
- Interdependence of peoples & nations
- Peace is in the national interest in an small world
- "Preventing war is best; everyone loses after a war"
- Respect and promote democracy at home and abroad
- States exist to serve the interests and concerns of people; recognizes humanitarian imperative/intervention
- State seek high moral/ethical standards
- Soldiers and citizens educated in human rights and human security
- Citizen soldiers respect international laws and universal/local values

## ORGANIZED HUMAN SECURITY

- States are essential actors in the promotion of human security
- Military forces can be key to defence of human security
- International organizations for peace to be strengthened
- International peace is indivisible  
"When one person suffers we all share in the suffering"
- Collective action is indispensable  
"All for one and one for all"
- Responsible national citizenship means organizing for the welfare of others, global governance
- "Above all, humanity"

Organized human security and enlightened national security are

ONE AND THE SAME.

# CONVERGENCE

- **“Enlightened national security” recognizes that the security of all people is in the national interest**
  - Interdependence (threats, refugees, economies, awareness)
  - Promote rule of law
  - Global responsibilities
- **Goals for national forces**
  - Preventive action
  - Protection of the innocent
  - Support peace
  - Laws of armed conflict
  - Support democracy
  - Enforcement of international law and justice



# Basis of National Security

**"The sovereignty of the community, the region, the nation, the state ... make sense only if it derived form the one genuine sovereignty – that is, from the sovereignty of the individual."**

**— Vaclav Havel**



# **3. Debate over the Origins**

# CLAIMS

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- **UNDP: “the new concept of human security”**
- **Axworthy: new human security approach/agenda**
- **Departure and contrast with “traditional security”**

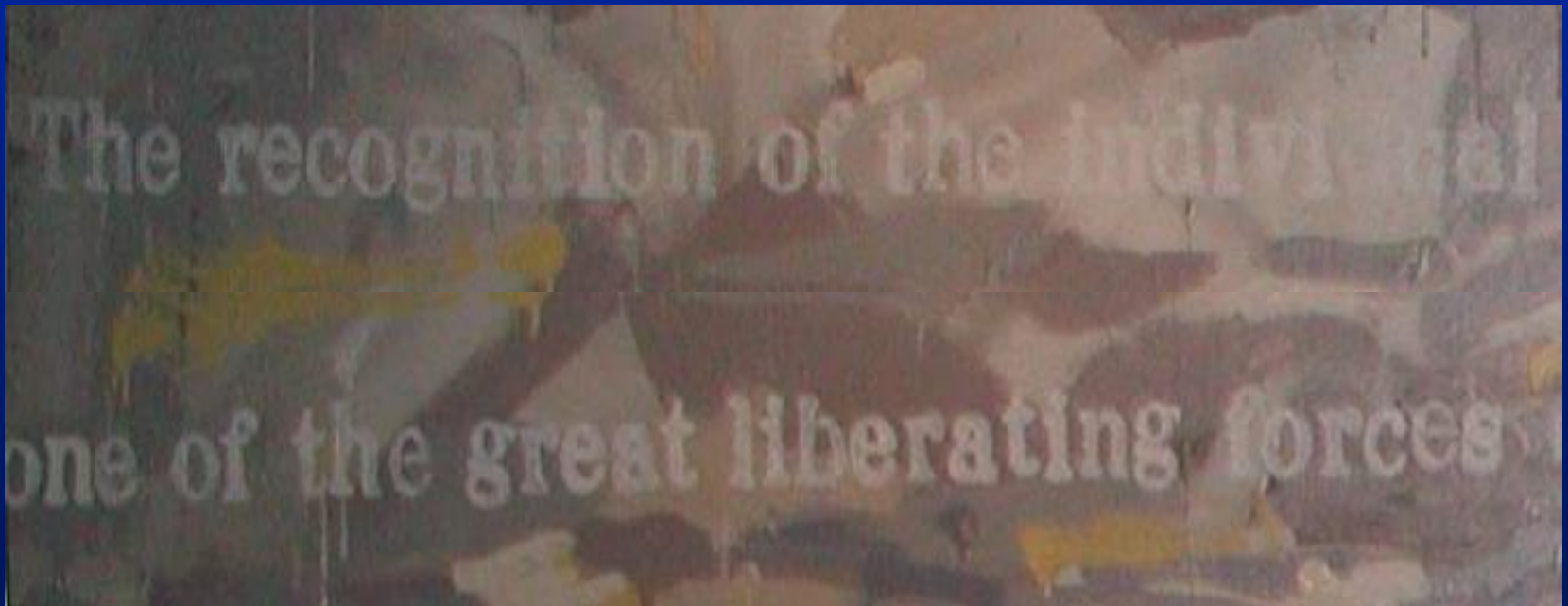
**VS**

- **Long standing notions of human rights and development**
- **Old wine in new bottles**

# PEARSONIAN TRADITION

"The recognition of the individual [human being] as the fundamental criterion of all things temporal has been one of the greatest liberating forces in history."

- Lester B. Pearson

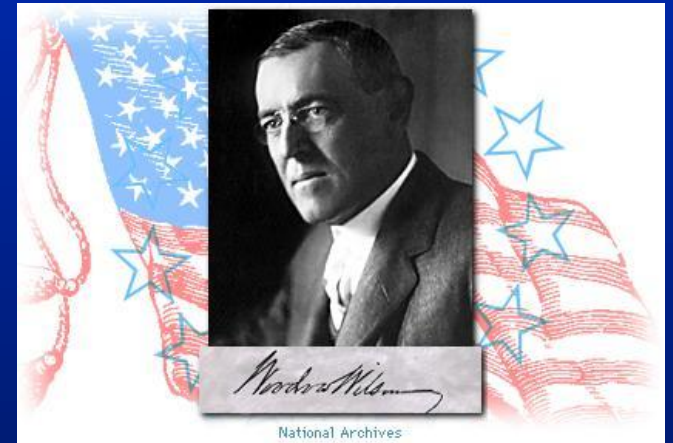


# WILSONIAN TRADITION

**“[W]e wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind — fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and to be at ease against organized wrong.”**

***“We are bidden by these people to make a peace which will make them secure.”***

***“What we seek is the rule of law, based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the generalized opinion on mankind.”***



- **Foreign policy must be "more concerned about human rights than about property rights."**

# ORIGIN IN HUMAN RIGHTS

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- **“Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person”**
  - Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 3)
  - Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms
- **fundamental freedoms without discrimination**
  - UDHR
- **“... to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person”**
  - UN Charter

**HUMAN SECURITY IS A HUMAN RIGHT!**

# CANADIAN CHARTER AND TRADITION

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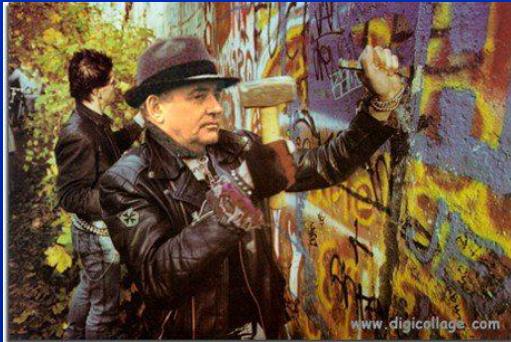
- **“Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person”**
  - **Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms**
- **Historical**
  - **Rule of law; POGG**

# SOLUTION BY SYNTHESIS

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- Origin in tradition but evolution in Implementation
- Rights of the individual to be upheld (supported/enforced) globally
- Importance of humanitarian concerns
- Individuals increasingly as both object and subject of IHL
- Individual accountability
  - International criminal law/court (ICC)
  - Sanctions
- Non-state actors

# WHY NOW?



- **End of Cold War**
  - Disappearance of East/West military and ideological confrontation
  - Security Council, previously preoccupied with alliances, now “unfrozen”

- **Humanitarian catastrophes of 1990s**

- Increased internal conflict in 1990s ... threats to innocent civilians
- about 1 million people lose their lives to conflict each year
- Humanitarian imperative enhanced by media (TV) images

- **Increased global awareness and interdependence**





## **4. Debate over Application (HS Promotion and Enforcement)**

# INTERVENTIONIST?

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- **ICISS solution: responsibility to protect ...**
  - lies first with the state concerned
  - If state fails, then responsibility falls to international community
  - Just war theory
- **East Timor, Kosovo, Congo, Iraq?**

# Application: Is HS Practical?

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- **Vision**
- **Consistency of policy**
- **Achievements**

# ACHIEVEMENTS:

## CANADA'S HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA

- **Protection of civilians**
  - Awareness (precision targeting), SC resolution on protection, war-affected children, landmines, Africa, ICC
- **Peace Support Operations**
  - Rapid deployment (SHIRBRIG), Brahimi report, PPC
  - Transitional Administrations - Peacebuilding (long haul)
- **Governance and accountability**
  - ICISS criteria, ICTY/R, ICC, SSR (Bosnia et al.), sanctions (diamonds)
- **Public safety**
  - Terrorism conventions, landmines, INTERPOL
- **Conflict Prevention**
  - SG's Prevention Report, early warning, UNPREDEP, small arms, development agencies

# NEW PARTNERSHIPS

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- **Human Security Network (Governmental)**
  - Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Slovenia, South Africa, Switzerland, Thailand
  - <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org>
- **Partnerships with Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)**
  - Landmines cooperation
  - Rise of Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) and use of a Civil-Military Operation Centre (CMOC)
- **Precedents in the Security Council**
  - ICRC President addressed formal sessions of SC (first time in Feb 2000);
  - UNHCHR (Mary Robinson) appeared before SC (18 Sept 1999)

# STRENGTHENING GLOBAL ORGANIZATION

- Disarmament
  - Peacekeeping
  - Conflict Prevention & Resolution
  - Political Affairs
  - Peacebuilding
  - Humanitarian Affairs
  - Human Rights
  - Transnational Crime
  - Economic and Social
  - Human Development
  - Diplomacy
- 
- The United Nations logo is centered on the slide. It features a white map of the world on a blue background, surrounded by a white laurel wreath. The map is overlaid with a white grid of latitude and longitude lines.

"Ensuring human security is, in the broadest sense, the United Nations' cardinal mission." - Kofi Annan

# CONCLUDING REMARKS

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- **Scope: flexible and compatible**
- **Tension with national security: compatible with enlightened self-interest; Global problems require global solutions**
- **Origin: New term; old well-established foundation (human rights)**
  - Personality promoted but grounded in liberal democratic tradition
  - Both developing and developed world
- **Application: requires judicial selection for enforcement operations**
  - Resistance to change, power shifts
- **Human security is here to stay**
  - Respect for human security is the means as well as the ends

# HUMAN SECURITY



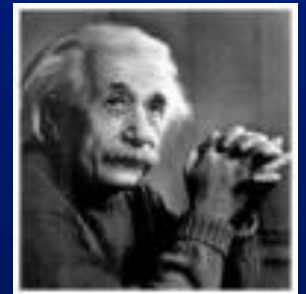
UN/DPI Photo# 203225C

... HERE TO STAY



**Not until the creation and maintenance of decent conditions of life for all people are recognized and accepted as a common obligation of all people and all countries – not until then shall we, with a certain degree of justification, be able to speak of humankind as civilized.**

**– Albert Einstein, 1945**



# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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It should be noted that the ideas expressed in this presentation are the views of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of DFAIT or the Canadian government.

## PICTURE CREDITS

- UNICEF, Photo HQ99-0013 ("Freedom from Fear" Cover)
- CP Picture Archive (Human Security Agenda, Chilean police with seized cocaine and others)
- UN DPI (Peacekeeper with Timorese children)
- Other pictures as acknowledged