HUMAN SECURITY: FOUR DEBATES

Dr. Walter Dorn,
Royal Military College of Canada
Pearson Peacekeeping Centre
6 June 2003
“The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives.”

CRITICISMS OF HUMAN SECURITY

• 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
“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

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

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

Co-chairs:
Sadako Ogata
Amartya Sen
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

"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 re-enforcing
  - 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

Human security = Protection of the human being

National security = Protection of the nation and state
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

• “It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of material interest. It is 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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL (NATIONAL) SECURITY</th>
<th>HUMAN SECURITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goal:</strong> Protection of the home state and its citizens</td>
<td><strong>Goal:</strong> Protection of human beings everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Favoured by the <em>real politque</em> school, who stress that:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Favoured by <em>liberal internationalists</em>, who stress that:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- States are the primary actors (e.g., friend or foe)</td>
<td>- Individuals are the primary actors &amp; the basis of democratic governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Concerned with maintenance and centrality of state power</td>
<td>- Governments created to serve the people not vice versa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- &quot;Sovereignty has primacy&quot;; rests with the state but might makes right</td>
<td>- Seek empowerment of the individual, civil society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Importance placed on military forces and alliances</td>
<td>- Governments not monoliths but to be viewed in relation to people both inside and outside of nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Balance of power sought</td>
<td>- &quot;Sovereignty is responsibility&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Individual life can be sacrificed for the sake of the nation</td>
<td>- Value sanctity of human life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Seeks system of universal rules &amp; laws and their enforcement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© W. Dorn, 2001
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONAL SECURITY</th>
<th>HUMAN SECURITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRIORITIES &amp; INITIATIVES</strong></td>
<td><strong>PRIORITIES &amp; INITIATIVES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Protection of the state, including its borders,</td>
<td>- Saving human lives and alleviation of human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independence, traditions, values, ideologies</td>
<td>suffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Strong reliance on weaponry</td>
<td>- Protection of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Formation of alliances with other states</td>
<td>- Peacekeeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Identify and confront enemies</td>
<td>- Humanitarian intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Seek to &quot;win wars&quot;, &quot;defeat&quot; enemies, isolate</td>
<td>- Refugees assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;rogue states&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- &quot;An increase in my enemy's security is a threat to</td>
<td>- Minority rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mine“</td>
<td>- Prevention, deal with causes of violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Control weapons causing most human damage e.g.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AP Mines, small arms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Global standards for treatment of people, e.g.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>human rights &amp; int. humanitarian law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Punish deserving individuals only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- e.g., International Criminal Court</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Integration of consistent laws, nationally &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>globally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Security is interdependent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Convergence of Human & National Security

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enlightened National Security</th>
<th>Organized Human Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Enlightened self-interest“</td>
<td>- States are essential actors in the promotion of human security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdependence of peoples &amp; nations</td>
<td>- Military forces can be key to defence of human security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace is in the national interest in an small world</td>
<td>- International organizations for peace to be strengthened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Preventing war is best; everyone looses after a war”</td>
<td>- International peace is indivisible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect and promote democracy at home and abroad</td>
<td>&quot;When one person suffers we all share in the suffering&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States exist to serve the interests and concerns of people; recognizes humanitarian imperative/intervention</td>
<td>- Collective action is indispensable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State seek high moral/ethical standards</td>
<td>&quot;All for one and one for all&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers and citizens educated in human rights and human security</td>
<td>- Responsible national citizenship means organizing for the welfare of others, global governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizen soldiers respect international laws and universal/local values</td>
<td>- “Above all, humanity”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

— Vaclav Havel
3. Debate over the Origins
CLAIMS

- 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
"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

• “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!
“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

- 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?

- 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?

- 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

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

- **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

... 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
The provision of a Human Security Fellowship from the Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) is gratefully acknowledged, as is support from the Royal Military College of Canada.

It should be noted that the ideas expressed in this presentation are the views or 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