

COMMON SECURITY FORUM

HUMAN SECURITY: AN EXTENDED AND ANNOTATED INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

'Human security in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment –these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national security.'

-UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan 2000

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‘VI

**For, after the gospels,
After the human and divine comedies,
After the one thousand and one nights,
After crime and punishment,
War and peace, pride and prejudice,
The sound and the fury,
Between good and evil,
After the tempest, the trial,
Being and nothingness,
And the wasteland,
After things have fallen apart,
After the hundred years of solitude,
After the remembrance of things past,
In the kingdom of this world,
We can still astonish the gods in humanity
And be the stuff of future legends,
If we but dare to be real,
And have the courage to see
That this is the time to dream
The best dream of them all’**

‘An Anti-spell for the 21st Century: Mental Fight’ –BEN OKRI

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Introduction and Project Overview

What is human security? More specifically, what is human security as a concept in the global policy debates? One early definition given in 1992 in connection with the establishment of the Common Security Forum set it forth as “inclusive of but extending beyond the human dimensions of military conflict –incorporating health and population dimensions of political, ethnic, economic and environmental security as well.”¹

Since the establishment of the Common Security Forum (CSF) which was set up in 1992 to facilitate international dialogue among scholars and decision-makers about the nature of security in a rapidly changing world, “human security” is a phrase that has been increasingly used in writing and thinking about global policy.² In this report I am interested in finding out what people mean when they use the term *human security*. Do they, by and large, mean the same thing, or do different writers use the phrase differently?

This bibliography on human security aims to be representative of, rather than wholly inclusive of every context in which the term “human security” is used. Its purpose is twofold:

- 1) to provide a fairly comprehensive, useful and up-to-date reference on the topic, for use by scholars and policymakers alike, and
- 1) to present a range of definitions and thoughts on the term, as it has been used by those who write about it, because there is as of yet, no definitive or agreed upon definition. “Human security” is still being defined. I also wish to present some critical assessment of this material for it is not profitable to embark on the fine analysis of a definition unless we have decided on the purpose for which the definition is wanted.³ I hope that this bibliography will move us further along the path to both the purpose and definition of human security. By gathering, listing and examining prior analyses we have a map for proceeding further.

¹ Lincoln Chen, Appendix 3.2, *Report on Plans for a Common Security Forum 1993-1997*, 1992

² The Common Security Forum is a network of scholars and policy makers who are interested in exploring Post Cold War global security issues via collaborative international research and dialogue; the founding institutions of which include the Centre for History and Economics, King’s College, Cambridge and the Harvard Centre for Population and Development Studies. For further details of their research projects and interests consult their web pages (www.kings.cam.ac.uk/histecon/ and www.hsph.harvard.edu/hcpds/). The Forum spans individuals and institutions throughout Europe (Norway, Sweden and Russia), Asia (India and Japan) and South Africa (Johannesburg).

³ John Hicks in Rothschild (Summer 1995), ‘The Quest for World Order’ in *Daedalus*, Vol. 124 (3) p 57.

In this introduction I justify my inclusion (and also exclusion), of certain materials and outline the research tools I have used in compiling this bibliography. I have tried to organise the information into four parts so that the reader will find it easy to navigate. The table of contents shows the structural layout, which consists of an overview followed by Part I, on the origins of the phrase human security, Part II, on usage of the term by governments and organisations, and finally, Part III, which examines the value of the human security lens. The resources are organised in reverse chronological order within each section, with the most recent works listed at the front, and arranged alphabetically by author, with one exception. In the first section of Part I, the materials on the earlier definitions of human security are to be found in a conventional chronological order. Note that where items are listed but not reviewed this is either because the work proved difficult to get hold of, or because it may be contextually useful, but not of core importance to the topic, or because the same points have been made in material reviewed elsewhere.

In Part I I do not attempt to engage with the whole larger debate of what security is, *per se*. There is no shortage of literature on the changing security agenda that is associated with the end of the Cold War. This debate is contextually significant here only insofar as illustrating how the term human security came to the fore. I assume readers already have some familiarity with this body of work.⁴

In brief, the salient point is that the end of the US/USSR Superpower rivalry and the move from a bi-polar to multi-polar system brought about challenges as well as opportunities for global security. In the early 90s challenges included a rise in intra as opposed to inter-state (international) conflicts that corresponded in part with a resurgence of nationalist or ethnic sentiment hitherto suppressed by the Cold War structure. This contrasted with opportunities that the lifting of the Iron Curtain brought about, such as a rekindled interest in human rights and democracy in the satellite states and, both there and elsewhere, an increased belief in adhering to international norms. There was talk of a New World Order that was about greater multilateral cooperation amongst governments and strengthening the effectiveness of international law and institutions such as the UN, NATO,

⁴ See for example: Robert Kaplan *The Coming Anarchy*, Samuel Huntingdon *The Clash of Civilisations*, and Francis Fukuyama *The End of History*, for different interpretations of the impact of the end of the Cold War and the ramifications for global order.

World Bank and IMF to address matters pertaining to international political and economic security.

Intra-state conflicts and attendant trans-border population displacement and large-scale humanitarian crises came to be seen in the context of security issues of import to the international community. These were initially acted upon in 1991 under the aegis of the UN/US led Desert Storm incursion into the Persian Gulf to defend the citizens of Kuwait who were unlawfully being annexed by Iraq. Other 'humanitarian interventions', in Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo and East Timor were to become increasingly controversial leitmotifs of the 1990s. Other new threats affecting the international system in an unprecedented fashion that have also come to be discussed in the context of human security include: the long term impacts of climate and environmental change, the health, social and economic consequences of HIV and AIDS to countries in Africa and Asia, greater refugee movements in parts of Africa, Central and Eastern Europe, and the impacts of a series of economic downturns throughout Asia in the mid to late 1990s. And as if that agenda were not wide ranging enough, the long-term effects of landmines, and the use of child soldiers, as well as drug and human trafficking, are also been viewed through a 'human security' lens.

In this bibliography I start with some annotations of seminal works from the critical security agenda: these are useful insofar as they provide some background and context to how the notion of human security arose.

I include the work of the Palme Commission, which led to the formation of the Common Security Forum (CSF) network. And I summarise Common Security Forum (CSF) working papers here because common security is a concept that is closely twinned to human security.

The CSF has continued to play a significant role in defining human security with ongoing research conducted by its members, Cambridge and Harvard University (this work is summarised throughout). In fact the term human security is reported to have been coined by Lincoln Chen, formerly of the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies, and now at the Rockefeller Foundation.⁵

⁵ Personal communication, Kenneth Benedict, Program on Global Security and Sustainability, MacArthur Foundation, Chicago 2 June 2000, cited in Kanti Bajpai's *Human security: Concept and Measurement*. Occasional Paper for the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, See the Non-Governmental Institutes/Research Centres section of this bibliography for a review.

Moving on, in this section I also include the 1992 report of former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his introduction of human security in relation to peacemaking, peacekeeping and post conflict peacebuilding. The ongoing Middle East peace process efforts, the attempts at conflict management in Sierra Leone, and infrastructure rebuilding efforts in Kosovo and East Timor are only a few examples of the continuing importance of these ideas in the context of human security, and indeed the UN's role in this discussion.

Next, I include the Human Development Report Office (HDRO) publications of the early 1990s which are amongst the first not just to introduce but to expand upon the notion of human security; that is the security of individuals rather than nations and a security contingent on managing threats to economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. The report for 1994 is described in some depth here, for it is a pivotal attempt by the HDRO to define the thematic concerns of human security.

The rest of the material summarised in this section builds upon definitions initially espoused by this HDRO report. The HDRO discourse on human security seems to work from the premise that human security is an extension of the human development literature. Yet perhaps more controversially the term human security has been used as an extension of the traditional security agenda, in the context of justifying Western powers' military interventions from the Gulf War in 1991 through to Timor in 1999 as international human rights protection missions. It is not least, with these dual usages of the term, that we can begin to appreciate the complexity of the phrase 'human security.'

Fundamental questions are raised: Is human security just an extension of the development agenda or alternatively, the security agenda? Or, is it a sort of hybrid of the two? And if so, does the new terminology serve a purpose?

At this juncture in the bibliography, I include summaries of recent work by the scholars Buzan and Sen and the present UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who advocate looking at development and security in tandem, on the grounds that both are means which are ultimately seeking the same ends: human security. 'In its most simple expression, all those things that men and women everywhere in the world cherish most: enough food for the family; adequate shelter; good health; schooling for the children; protection from

violence whether inflicted by man or by nature; and a State which does not oppress its citizens but rules with their consent.’⁶

In Part II of the bibliography I present a selection of reports and papers pertaining to human security, from the national governments of both Western and non-Western powers. I am interested in ascertaining whether Foreign Ministries and International Development Offices use the term and if so, how and why?

This section continues with a summary of publications of major intergovernmental national organisations such as the UN, World Bank and NATO on the human security concept, from their perspectives.

Next, I include various conference proceedings on the subject, followed by samples of work from a range of non-governmental organizations and research centres, some attached to Universities, some not, that engage with human security topics.

In Part III, I summarise 2 recently published works because I think they are helpful in framing the current concerns about human security at large. The first is a piece in the summer 2000 edition of the *Foreign Policy* titled ‘Naming a New Era’, in which 12 thinkers, representing an array of fields, from politics and business, through to entertainment and industry, offer some thoughts on characterising the post Cold War world and entering a new millennium. The second is a recently published volume by Professor Fred Halliday, the theorist of International Relations at the London School of Economics, titled ‘The World at 2000’, a collection of edited lectures given at LSE in May of that year.

In my conclusion I respond to those critics who might charge that human security is just a Western term, myopic or elitist, or a geo-political guise justifying military interventionism undertaken in pursuit of the perennial self-interests of powerful states⁷. Alternatively, that it is a ‘catch all’ phrase lacking any discrimination. Or, that it is just another take on the human rights or the socio-economic development agendas, itself adding little value

⁶ Press Release DSG/SM/70 Deputy Secretary-General Louise Frechette Addresses Panel on Human Security Marking 20th Anniversary of Vienna International Centre, 12 October 1999.
<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19991012.dsgsm70.doc.html> 25/05/01

⁷ See *Military Humanism* by Noam Chomsky (1999) for an analysis of the argument that the Kosovo intervention was guided by power interests rather than humanitarian concerns.

to universal and age-old debates about justice and distribution of all the resources that contribute to 'the good life'. Despite a climate erring on the side of scepticism, I hope to show that the concept of human security in an increasingly globalised world, whilst undoubtedly inconsistent and idealistic, is worthy of greater attention by policy makers.

Research Methods

1. Much of the research for this project was conducted on the Internet. Overall, I found Google www.google.com to be the most useful search engine for finding material on human security; simply typing in this phrase retrieves many useful resources. I found the London School of Economics EASI (Electronic Access to Subject Information) homepage (accessible only on the campus), a particularly helpful starting point. This homepage provides access to a large range of databases. I consulted those grouped under the International Relations and Economics headings. These included: Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO), Digital Dissertations, International Organisations, PAIS and SOSIG.
2. I searched for publications, speeches and conference procedures on human security via the Foreign Ministries' sites of Britain, the US, Japan and Canada, also checking other countries sites for mention of human security. See www.le.ac.uk/csd/dsp/mfas.html for a list of and links to foreign ministries' sites worldwide.

I also made use of the major UN agencies Web Pages and their search engine facilities. I did the same with other relevant international organisations, governmental (such as NATO and the EEC) and non-governmental organisations as well as research centres. Many of these sites contained details of projects completed and ongoing, from which there were often downloadable documents on-line.
3. In terms of traditional library sources I used the British Library's OPAC 97 catalogue for finding books, articles and other papers. This is also available for browsing via the Internet from the British Library homepage www.bl.uk. I found the catalogue at the specialist British Library of Political and Economic Science at the LSE helpful too. I also made use of the United Nations Information Centre reference library in London.
4. I made attempts to contact people who were working in research and/or policy environments where human security might be an integrated concept. I was fortunate to receive replies and fruitful feedback from the Foreign Affairs ministries in Britain and Canada, some international organisations and academic centres throughout North America, the U.S, Europe and Asia.

It is here that I would like to take the opportunity to thank a few people for offering further contacts, suggesting papers or discussing human security and this project with me: Lucy Fox and Sally Morphet at the Foreign Commonwealth Office (FCO) in London, staff at the LSE library, Karen Davies at the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) in London, Deirdre Kent at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAIT) in Canada and Yusuke Dan at the SPIRIT Institute at Tokai University in Japan. Thanks also to Lincoln Chen at the Rockefeller Foundation, Kanti Bajpai at the Brookings Institution in Washington, and William Bain at the Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues, Barbara Arneil and Brian Job of the Institute of International Relations at the University of British Columbia. Finally I extend my thanks to the MacArthur and Rockefeller Foundations for the funding, and the Centre for History and Economics in Cambridge: Inga Huld-Markan for her support, Penny Janeway for the editing, and especially Emma Rothschild for giving me the opportunity to conduct the research.

PART I: THE ORIGINS OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE CHANGING SECURITY AGENDA

A. Early Definitions and Development of the Concept

The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (Palme Commission), *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982).

This report on common security is an influential antecedent to human security. It encourages a move away from traditional geo-political conceptions of global security towards a model that is less militaristic and more holistic, whereby:

- 1) nations seek to prevent conflict by cooperative means, rather than by military deterrence
- 2) the role of the UN is strengthened
- 3) security is thought of in economic, social and political as well as military terms.

The Commission's chairman, the late Swedish Premier Olof Palme said that, 'international security must rest on a commitment to joint survival rather than on a threat of mutual destruction.' This point, while made in the context and times of nuclear threats, continues to have resonance in the human security debate. This 'commitment to joint survival' is one of the underlying themes of human security and a foundational premise of the work on it.

Common Security Forum/MacArthur Foundation, *Report on Plans for a Common Security Forum 1993-1997*, (October 1992).

A collection of papers explaining the origins of the Common Security Forum (CSF), which was set up in 1992 by participating research centres in the UK, US, India, Japan, Mexico, Norway and Russia to explore and discuss the constituents of civil international security. The CSF is comprised of scholars and analysts from a wide range of disciplines; academics, government officials past and present as well as eminent representatives from international organisations. It is unaffiliated as a body with any existing institution or government but promotes dialogue amongst all. The Forum is intended to build on the work of former Commissions such as the Palme Commission and to parallel other initiatives in addressing human security matters: world peace, security and development issues. This CSF Report outlines the background and rationale for the Forum and sets forth their

strategy and structure, goals and objectives, research themes, organisation and management, workplan, timetable for outputs, budget and significance. The Research programme was to be organised through various centres, each working around a specific area:

1. Human Survival and Security: Health and Population led by Lincoln Chen et al, based at the Harvard University Center for Population and Development Studies.
2. Nationalism and Political Security, led by Emma Rothschild et al, based at the Centre for History and Economics at King's College, University of Cambridge.
3. Sustainable Peace, Regional Security and Arms Control, undertaken by researchers at FAFO International in Oslo and at the FAFO mission in Jerusalem, under the leadership of Terje Rod Larsen.
4. Economic Security, led by Kaushik Basu and Jean Dreze at the Delhi School of Economics.
5. Environmental Security and Social Transition, with a focus on Southern Africa (this study group was not conducted at a specified centre).

Papers outlining the research and action agenda, participating groups and workplans for each of these themes can be found in the appendices to this document –along with a background paper entitled ‘What is Security?’ This paper by Emma Rothschild, is reviewed later on in the Journal Articles section of this bibliography (in its revised version as published in 1995) –for its pertinence to human security.

Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the summit meeting of the Security Council on 31st January 1992, *An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*. Full text @ <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html> 12/28/00

The 1992 report of the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is important for its discussion of the end of the Cold War and its impact on the direction of international security. It is a significant precursor to the human security debate insofar as it introduces, defines and expands upon the concepts of ‘preventive diplomacy’; peacemaking, peacekeeping and post-conflict peacebuilding. In the last few years, all of these concepts have become increasingly intertwined with national and human security. Boutros-Ghali was one of the first international statesmen to advocate taking an ‘integrated approach to human security’ and thus encouraged all States; regional actors, NGO’s and particularly the UN system to adopt the aforementioned 4 principles as the means to securing a more peaceful world.

United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1993- People's Participation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

Overview @ <http://www.undp.org/hydro/93.htm> 12/28/00

This Human Development Report is the first to call for a new people-centered world order, one of the 5 pillars of which is the concept of 'human security' which lays emphasis on the security of individuals, rather than nations *per se*, stating 'the concept of security must change - from an exclusive stress on national security to a much greater stress on people's security, from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security.' The report discusses progress in the realm of demilitarisation, but at the same time calls for the creation of a permanent rapid deployment force under the mandate of the UN. There is also a plea to work on the longer-term conflict resolution solutions of 'faster economic development, greater social justice and more people's participation ...[for] the new concepts of human security demand people-centered development.'

UNDP, *Human Development Report 1994 – New Dimensions of Human security* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Overview @ <http://www.undp.org/hydro/94.htm> 12/28/00

The Human Development Report of 1994 is probably the first comprehensive attempt to define 'human security.' The HRDO describes it as having two main aspects:

- 1) Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression.
- 2) Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life –whether in jobs, in homes or in communities.

Threats to human security can be accordingly considered under the following 7 categories: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

Human security is identified as a universal need that emphasises the interdependence of all people, for many of the threats to human security cross borders and are common to people everywhere (e.g. unemployment, poverty, terrorism, ethnic disputes, pollution). Human security is ultimately concerned with preventive measures related to how people live in society, whether they have access to health care and to social, economic and educational opportunities, and whether they live in conflict or peace.

Thus, human security is ‘a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced... and is essentially about human life and dignity.’

The report makes the important point (taken up in slightly different forms by Buzan, Sen and Annan) that human security is not simply synonymous with human development, which is about widening people’s economic choices. Human security is moreover about people being able to exercise these choices safely and freely.

Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Japp De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1997).

This book sets out the two competing schools of thoughts in security studies: the ‘traditionalists’ who continue to focus restrictively on politico-military issues and the ‘wideners’ who seek to extend the agenda to incorporate economic, societal and environmental sectors (i.e. human security issues). Contributors include long renowned authors writing in the international development field: Barry Buzan is Professor of International Studies at the University of Westminster, London and both he and Ole Weaver are contributing members of the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) in Denmark. The authors cogently convince readers that any boundaries between the two schools of thought are artificial delineations – and that the case for the broader approach is much more pressing.

Amartya K. Sen, *Development as Freedom* (United Kingdom:Oxford University Press, 1999).

In the context of the world today (a contrast of ‘unprecedented opulence ...[and] remarkable deprivation’) Professor Amartya Sen, (well-renowned for his work in welfare economics and Winner of the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1998) explores and examines an approach which perceives ‘individual freedom as a social commitment’. In this vein Sen’s approach is closely aligned with the precepts of human security. He continues to build upon his previously set forth ideas; entitlements, enhancement of people’s capabilities and quality of life (all decidedly agent oriented views) – but focuses here on the empirical and philosophical interplay between various un-freedoms (be these economic, social or political). The book emphatically posits that freedom is not only the primary end of development but also the constitutive means of bringing it about.

Kofi A. Annan, Millennium Report of the Secretary-General of the UN - 'We the Peoples – The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century' (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 2000). Full text @ <http://www.un.org/millennium/sg/report/> 12/28/00

The report of UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan for the Millennium Assembly of the United Nations in September 2000 describes 'an action plan to make globalization work for people everywhere'. The publication devotes chapters to freedom from want (the development agenda) and freedom from fear (the security agenda). Arguably, the nexus of these two concepts could constitute human security. As the system shifts from the *international* order of 1945 to the increasingly *global* world of today, the Secretary-General speaks of 'the need for a more human-centered approach to security' and the challenges that lie ahead for world leaders to govern, provide for a sustainable future and renew the United Nations collectively.

B. Books

R.McRae and D. Hubert (eds.), *Human Security and The New Diplomacy: Protecting People, Promoting Peace* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

An account of the Canadian initiative to develop a foreign policy agenda centred around the concept of human security. The book is an attempt to take stock of the first phase of this work, and assess the new diplomacy. Each of the chapters are written by foreign policy professionals, mainly from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAIT). Lloyd Axworthy, the former foreign minister of Canada introduces the book which contains a comprehensive overview of Canada's human security policies. Chapter 1, 'Human Security in a Globalised World', authored by Rob McRae, Canada's Deputy Ambassador to NATO in Brussels, is an excellent summary of the human security paradigm which takes the individual as the nexus of its concern, the life *as lived*, as the true lens through which we should view the political, economic and social environment. McRae outlines the Canadian emphasis which is on freedom from fear i.e. internecine conflicts—be this through preventative diplomacy, the deployment of peace support operations, or peace-building efforts. There follows a number of case-studies ranging from work on Landmines and Human Security (i.e. the 1997 Ottawa Convention on the prohibition of anti-personnel mines, a landmark treaty ratified by 122 governments and a process led by Canada) to Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone, to Bosnia and Herzegovina, to the Kosovo Air Campaign, to the Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, the establishment of an International Criminal Court, and Angola Sanctions. There are also chapters on Canada's influence during their first presidency at the Security Council from February 1999, as well as Canada's instigation of the Human Security Network, launched in 1998: this was an attempt to institutionalise a 'coalition of the willing' to motivate international action on a broad range of human security initiatives. The Network started off as an agreement between Canada and Norway that came to be known as the Lysoen Declaration, an official bilateral agreement outlining 9 human security issues for further collaboration: this expanded to include other countries, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Jordan, South Africa and Chile, with whom consecutive meetings were held, in Bergen and Lucerne in May 1999, and 2000 respectively. For further information on the Network see Part II. 4

of the bibliography or consult the Web site <http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/protectingpeople/> where recent developments can be tracked.

E. Clay, and O. Stokke, *Food Aid and Human Security* (United Kingdom: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000).

Analyses the role of food aid policy within the wider framework of promoting human security. In the first chapter the *editors* reflect on the changing role of food aid in kind and finance for food, given the many changes that have taken place in the political and economic environment in the 1990s; the end of the Cold War but proliferation of localised conflicts and humanitarian crises, the new international trade regime established through the WTO, liberalisation of markets and economic crises experienced by many countries in the last decade. There is a growing gap between these new circumstances and international food aid arrangements based on an earlier reality; with tensions between the dwindling of food aid, expansion of the notion of promoting food security via enhancing people's capabilities, and the multiplicity of actors involved in providing food, hence a resultant rise in institutional complexity (the politics of food aid) - and the subsequent major challenge to policy coherence. Chapters 2-15 focus in detail on various aspects of the food aid industry, institutions and policies. Contributors include academics, consultants and experienced field workers. In Chapter 16 the *editors* summarise and conclude. In brief, institutional reform is long overdue of food aid institutions. There is a need to move away from the supply-side analysis of food security to see that the food security issue is actually about effective demand, access and people's ability to assert their entitlement to food (Dreze and Sen 1989). These food entitlements can only be effectively assured as part of a broader strategy for providing livelihoods, personal security, health and education – the components of a wider concept of human security, increasingly recognised as fundamental to the development process.

D. Graham, and N. Poku, *Migration, Globalisation, and Human Security* (United Kingdom: Routledge Research in Population and Migration, 2000).

Examines the inter-state and internal migration patterns of the 1990's and the socio-economic and political tensions that can surface with the displacement of civilian populations, as well as immigration and asylum seeking issues. The authors explore the relationship between the tenuous position held by migrants and a range of human security threats, which includes globalising forces, as well as presenting some of the difficulties that

exist in developing multilateral strategies to ease the resultant national and international tensions.

C. Thomas, *Global Governance, Development and Human Security: The Challenge of Poverty and Inequality* (London: Pluto Press, 2000).

This book is the first in a series titled 'Human Security in the Global Economy.' Edited by Caroline Thomas, Professor of Global Politics at the University of Southampton, the idea for the series evolved out of a panel discussion on the pursuit of human security, at the British International Studies Association (BISA) conference in December 1998, and an interest in the meeting point of International Relations and Development Studies to this end. Human security here, is centred on satisfying people's basic material needs, mapping poverty and inequality in the global economy as it has evolved in the 80s and 90s. However, it also incorporates non-material dimensions: human dignity, a sense of community and democracy.

The author offers a critique of the neo-liberal policies of global governance institutions like the IMF and World Bank and practices of TNC's that have exacerbated human insecurity for the world's marginalised - and says there are two ways forward: 'reformist' (a continuation of 'business as usual') or 'transformist' (an emphasis on new win-win norms).

The last chapter charts alternative development pathways and advocates a more inclusive, bottom-up, participatory politics for the 21st century - using a human security lens to argue for systemic transformation. (See below for another book by Caroline Thomas along these lines, published in 1999).

D. Bethel, "An Asian Philosophy of Peace and Human Security", in M. Tehranian, ed., *ASIAN PEACE Security and Governance in the Asia Pacific Region* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers London in association with The Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, 1999), 173-185.

Bethel outlines some of the scholarly writings of the Japanese philosopher Makiguchi - whose work focused on the interdependence and inter-relatedness among individuals, their society and nature (see Makiguchi, *A Geography of Human Life*, 1971 for more). Makiguchi was an ardent supporter of liberal education who advocated developing children's capacity to 'see' this interdependence so as to achieve the full potential of their humanness, human security by implication. This line of thinking is close to the pedagogy of peace education - potentially an offshoot of human security, not really dealt with elsewhere in this bibliography (but see Post-graduate

Dissertations section of this bibliography for a thesis which deals in part with children, peace education and human security).

Nef, J (1999), *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability: The Global Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, International Research Development Centre, Canada (2nd edition).

www.idrc.ca/books/focus/879/index.html 12/29/00

The central thesis (and very valid point) that Jorge Nef, Professor of Political Science and International Development at the University of Guelph, presents here is that the seemingly secure societies of the North are increasingly vulnerable to events in the less secure and underdeveloped regions of the globe in a manner that conventional international relations and development theory have failed to take full account of. Nef talks about the increasingly interdependent system on the pretext that weaknesses on the periphery can only render the entire configuration less stable – this he coins ‘mutual vulnerability.’

This ties in with a conception of human security that recognises that the international system is only as strong as its weakest link, and that attaining sustained and sustainable homeostasis in any society (including the global one) depends on a significant and continuous reduction of risk and insecurity at all levels.

Nef sees human security as largely centered on human dignity and synonymous with human rights – but also as resting on a number of interwoven dimensions. These he classifies as:

- 1) environmental, personal and physical security –the right of individuals and communities to preservation of their life and health and to dwell in a safe and sustainable environment;
- 2)economic security – access to employment and resources needed to maintain one’s existence, reduce scarcity, and improve the material quality of life in the community;
- 3)social security – freedom from discrimination based on gender, age, ethnicity or social status, with access to safety nets;
- 4)political security – the right to representation, autonomy (freedom), participation and dissent, this includes legal-judicial security;
- 5)cultural security- the psychological orientations of a society which enhance the ability to control uncertainty and fear.

Nef goes on to examine each of these 5 sub-areas of human security in turn - noting the interconnectedness and transnationality of each security threat.

In conclusion, he says that to date complex interdependence has largely been seen from a skewed Euro-American ethnocentric stance (with its emphasis on the World Bank, IMF, transnational corporations, G-7 and the like), and that the time has now come to readdress the intricacies and interdependence of Southern inequalities, from an underdeveloped rather than a developed point of view. Nef suggests that a bottom up rather than just a top down perspective might provide another framework of analysis for dealing with the myriad global human security predicaments that we all face together.

P. Stoett, *Human and Global Security: An Exploration of Terms* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

Stoett seeks to add to the Post-Cold-War international politics genre with this discussion of 4 principal threats to human and global security: state violence, environmental degradation, population displacement and globalisation. He argues for greater clarity on human security and warns of the dangers of using the term as a conceptual pigeonhole (for everything) and thereby devaluing it. His minimalist-maximalist approach to exploring these four threats in turn ('minimalist'- a specific and usually legal definition and 'maximalist' - a broader conception of problems) is not a particularly insightful framework - nor is the description of the minimalist approach he favors convincingly specific.

M. Tehranian, ed., *World's Apart: Human Security and Global Governance*, In association with the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research (London: I.B Tauris and Co Ltd, 1999).

First in a series to be published in conjunction with the four-year collaborative international project on Human Security and Global Governance (HUGG) hosted by the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research in Japan, this volume provides an introduction to the topics and to the overlap of human security and global governance analyses. The Chapter by Mahbub ul-Haq on Global Governance for Human security reiterates the concept of human security he espoused in the Barbara Ward lecture he delivered in 1994 (see Kirdar and Silk entry below for a summary). Ul-Haq also addresses the policy implications for the global framework of development cooperation between rich and poor countries, stressing that for attaining greater human security, changes are required in existing institutions of global governance, particularly the United Nations.

C. Thomas, and P. Wilkin, *Globalization, Human Security and the African Experience* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999).

An exploration of security from a human perspective drawing on case material from sub-Saharan Africa, specifically looking at what the global capitalist economy has done –or more to the point - not done for African human security (in this sense a continuation of the sociological debates on ‘the haves versus the have nots’). It questions the desirability of vesting decision making authority in TNC’s with their dubious labour practices, and IGO’s (intergovernmental organisations) such as the World Bank and IMF, with their structural adjustment programmes and points to some of the destabilising impacts this has had on human security. It shows that many of the positive aspects of globalisation such as the communications revolution and its resulting opportunities, elude many Africans who remain on the periphery. The main thesis here is that it is wrong for the North to pursue security at the expense of the South. People’s basic needs and dignity are central tenets of human security not by and large, being met across the African continent.

U. Kirdar and L. Silk eds., *From Impoverishment to Empowerment* (New York: NYU Press, 1995).

Chapter 2 Section 1: Mahbub ul Haq, *New Imperatives of Human security*

The 1994 Barbara Ward Lecture by Haq (then very much involved in the work of the HDRO (Human Development Report Office) and instigator of the HDI (Human Development Index) discusses human security as:

- Security of people, not just territory
- Security of individuals, not just nations
- Security through development, not through arms
- Security of all people everywhere –in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environments.

Ul Haq says that we must recognise that human security is universal, global and indivisible – and that it is more globalised in fact, than global trade, citing borderless poverty and disease as examples of cross national security issues. He introduces the notion of 5 pillars of a Human World Order – 5 steps for adhering to a new concept of human security:

- 1) Supporting sustainable human development (treating GNP growth as a means and not just an end) to enhance peoples equal access to opportunities;

- 2) Moving from arms to human security and using the emerging peace dividend to finance the social agenda of humankind;
- 3) Forging a new partnership between North and South based on justice not charity: on an equitable sharing of global market opportunities, not aid; on two-way compacts, not one-way transfers; and on mutual co-operation, not unilateral conditionality or confrontation;
- 4) Fashioning new forms of global governance, because current global institutions such as the Bretton Woods ones are weakening just as global interdependence is increasing. Ul Haq makes the case for setting up an Economic Security Council in the UN to deal with human security issues;

Moving towards a global civil society where people can act effectively at grassroots levels and leaders are increasingly held accountable for their actions.

T. Matsumae and L. Chen, eds., *Common Security in Asia – New Concepts in Human Security, Strategic Peace and Research Institute (SPIRIT) and Common Security Forum (CSF) (Tokyo:Tokai University Press, 1995).*

A collection of papers presented at a workshop in Tokyo December 1994. Papers were organised in three categories:

1. International perspectives on humanity and security: Basic similarities or differences between Western vs. Asian perspectives on security;
2. Common security approaches for peace promotion;
3. Human security in Asia: Limiting Factors and Social Factors.

In the paper 'Human Security: Concepts and Approaches' Professor Lincoln Chen (then at the Harvard University Center for Population and Development) provides useful tables on the changing context of common security, human security from a public health perspective, and protection, promotion and prevention strategies for ameliorating human security.

C. Journal Articles

W.W. Bain, “Against Crusading: The Ethic of Human Security and CFP,” *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 6 (3) (Spring 1999). NOT REVIEWED.

Paul Heinbecker, “Human Security: The Hard Edge,” *Canadian Military Journal*, Vol. 1 (1) (Spring 2000).

Heinbecker, the Assistant Deputy Minister for Global and Security Policy at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Canada, endorses the Canadian Foreign Ministry’s human security agenda and lends supports to the idea of adding the human security dimension to foreign policy.⁸ He discusses this with respect to NATO’s recent humanitarian incursion into Kosovo, asserting that in this context human security:

- elevates the concern for the safety and protection of people, individual persons and their communities, particularly the most vulnerable segments of a population;
- treats the safety of people as integral to achieving global peace and security;
- addresses threats from both military and non-military sources such as intrastate war, state failure, human rights violations, terrorism, organized crime, drug trafficking;
- uses new techniques and diplomatic tools in order to achieve common goals; and
- recognizes the emergence of non-state actors as significant players in the international system.

Hans Van Ginkel, and E. Newman, “In Quest of Human Security”, *Japan Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 14 (1) (Spring 2000).

(I did not review this work myself but the following summary was found at-
<http://www.jiia.or.jp> 7/1/01)

“‘Human security’ represents an important conceptual leap in security considerations, but it must be defined more clearly to be usefully addressed within an international framework. In an era when globalisation and other forces are rendering power diffuse and pressuring states, Human security is increasingly important in the political process. Development in a broad sense and conflict prevention will be key in creating this security.”

⁸ See Part II A for official Canadian government perspectives on Human security.

David Kilgour, “The UN and the Challenge of Human Security”, in *McGill International Review*, Vol. 1(1) (Winter 2000). NOT REVIEWED.
<http://www.david-kilgour.com/ssl/mcmun.htm> 12/29/00

Lloyd Axworthy, “NATO’s New Security Vocation,” *NATO Review*, Vol. 47(4) (Winter 1999), 8-11.

Lloyd Axworthy, the then Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs sees the Kosovo crisis as demonstrating the human security dynamic at work, insofar as it was the humanitarian imperative that triggered the allied intervention. He also discusses non-military force means of combating threats to international human security - such as NATO’s Partnership for Peace (which promotes democracy and human security throughout the Euro-Atlantic regions) and multilateral initiatives where NATO’s expertise can help, such as de-mining and combating the illegal flow of small arms.

Paul Heinbecker, “Human Security,” *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 7(1) (Fall 1999), 19-25.

Heinbecker offers some comments and analysis on NATO’s Kosovo intervention, with a view to justifying Canada’s involvement. He asserts that all avenues of diplomacy were pursued before military intervention was considered, and that the war against Serbia was ‘a war of values, a war for human security.’⁹ Canada did its utmost to convince the United Nations Security Council to agree to the incursion, before going ahead anyway. He counters those who ask why Kosovo and not Africa or elsewhere, on grounds that we need to recognise that NATO cannot act everywhere, but that this does not mean it should not intervene anywhere. He applauds the contribution of the G8 in getting Milosevic to back down and stopping the bombing, talks about the changing role of NATO, the frictions within the alliance and the hesitation for future action whilst simultaneously asserting that NATO ‘s humanitarian imperatives are a ‘casus belli’. Heinbecker’s final comment is that Canada, as a member of the UN Security Council, aims to make human security a central focus of the Council’s work.

Heather Owens and Barbara Arneil, “The Human Security Paradigm Shift: A New Lens on Canadian Foreign Policy? Report of the University of British Columbia Symposium on Human Security,” *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 7(1) (Fall 1999), 1-12.

⁹ These words echo those of Blair and Clinton (see speeches under National Governments).

Identifies and discusses human security as a new and contentious concept in defining and implementing Canadian foreign policy objectives in the late 1990s. Owens, a graduate student in International Relations and Arneil, an Assistant Professor in the Political Science department, both at UBC ask the question of whether human security has a Western agenda given that the main proponents of human security thus far are from the affluent Northern or other highly industrialised States, discuss the need for early action - and the use of force in connection with human security; namely the Kosovo intervention, which they call human security in its extreme form. They also discuss human security in the context of a new role for international organisations, in particular the UN Security Council and General Assembly and extending the human security project by building upon the body of already existing international humanitarian and human rights law.

Astri Suhrke, “Human Security and the Interests of States”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30 (3) (Summer 1999), 265-269.

Looks at human security, and more specifically human security in relation to the Lysoen process.¹⁰ This is done through an interest-based interpretative lens. Suhrke, of the Human Rights Program at the Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, and Visiting Scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C, USA asks which interests are being served here, suggesting that Canada is interested in creating a space for itself as a ‘middle power’ and that Norway too is concerned with promoting itself as an international power of sorts through the promotion of powerful ideas (such as human security?). She mentions, in illustration, the fact that both Canada and Norway were vying for position at the UN Security Council, of which Canada recently held the presidency and where Norway was trying for a seat.

Both these countries have long held an interest in peacekeeping activities and foreign aid - and in a sense campaigning for human security is an extension of this policy trajectory. In the case of Norway, Suhrke implies it is also possibly a bid to gain favor with the EU, of which it is not yet a member. But, why human security? Why not something else? She sets this in context by showing that human security is embedded in the structural move towards incorporating human rights into high politics in the post-Cold War era. Thus we have a combination of interest and institutional agendas

¹⁰The Canadian Foreign Ministry Web site (www.dfait.gov.ca) has details of the Lysoen Declaration which is an agreement reached in May 1998, between the Canadian and Norwegian governments to work together in partnership on issues of human security.

at play. The roots of human security are in international humanitarian law (aiding the victims of war) but Suhrke points out that thus far the Canadian-Norwegian initiative has largely evaded the tricky question of who and how this security is to be provided for, or how the complex socio-economic aspects are to be dealt with - as referred to in the UNDP of 1994.

The rest of the article focuses on the development interpretation of human security, of which the defining characteristic is 'vulnerability'. A human security regime is proposed, with three elements: developing norms, strengthening institutions (national and international) and operationalising and implementing strategies. Suhrke seems to suggest that vulnerability lends the human security concept more credence, but as she herself says human security calls for more conceptual clarity.

She concludes with a final caution against a minimalist approach outlined by Axworthy at Lysoen where he affirmed that 'human security means taking people as the point of reference in international relations' – a laudable statement but in itself neither a vision nor an instrument.

Ramesh Thakur, "The UN and Human Security," *Canadian Foreign Policy*, Vol. 7 (1) (Fall 1999), 51-60.

Thakur argues, like other writers, for greater coalitions between states, intergovernmental organisations and NGO's. He says that the UN is the proper forum for universal co-operation and the management of human security issues. Thakur talks about this with reference to the UN's inability to live up to peacekeeping expectations. He talks about the concept of security and its ever widening mandate. Human security is a much more inclusive and complex concept than the more conventional definition of national security, which renders policy and action inherently more onerous. Thakur, suggests, (like Buzan, Sen, Annan et al.) that rather than a wholesale replacement of one security concept by another, it may be better to accept a pluralistic coexistence of national and human security concerns. He ends with the affirmation that the UN is still the repository and symbol of hopes and dreams for a better world.

Susan Woodward, "Should We Think Before We Leap? – A Rejoinder", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 30 (X) (1999), 277-281.

A rejoinder to Astri Suhrke's article (see above), with some interesting points to make. Firstly, Woodward (Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Defence Studies, King's College, London) argues that we cannot divorce

talk of a human security regime from a more careful consideration of the international interventionist policy in Kosovo. Yet, neither Canada nor Norway were even the architects of this process. Woodward asserts that whatever one's views about causes and effects (i.e. whether the bombing campaign lessened or exacerbated the conflict) it cannot be denied that the military campaign did little to further human security in Kosovo. There is a suggestion that such interventionism, which contravenes the hitherto sacrosanct rule of non-intervention in another state's domestic affairs, can only fuel (in) security dilemmas worldwide; the perception being that geopolitical interests were the driving factor behind this manoeuvre. And that human security in the guise of humanitarianism or vice versa does not provide an answer to a Serb/Albanian impasse that has been brewing for decades.

Therefore, Woodward concurs with Suhrke's interesting position that human security, whilst portrayed as an advance made possible by the end of the Cold War, is really a *retreat* from the more ambitious human development goals of the 1960's and 1970's. It is quite simply an assertion of neo-realism. Woodward points out that the student unrest in Kosovo in 1981 that helped fuel the secessionist movement was about improving their socio-economic conditions. She speculates about what might have been done for security in the region, had the money spent on military and peacekeeping interventions in Bosnia been spent on enhancing socio-economic opportunities. This question returns us to the debate between security and development. Which comes first?

Oscar Arias, "Economics and Disarmament After the Cold War - Human Security: Our Common Responsibility," *DISARMAMENT A Periodic Review by the UN*, Vol. 19 (3) (1996), 7-17.

The former President of Costa Rica and Nobel Laureate Oscar Arias talks about human security as a common concern, and a common responsibility, in a world which is becoming a global village. Arias says that [human security] cannot be guaranteed in one region of the world, if it is ignored in others; one cannot ignore one's neighbours. He points to mass illegal immigration as but one example of the need for richer neighbours to take notice of their poorer neighbour's insecurities. From this perspective, he says, we can see that human security is actually inherently about self-interest! But at the same time it can be for the common good too. Arias goes on to explore in some depth the way in which demilitarisation can improve human security, using his own country Costa Rica as an example.

Whilst these ideas have substantial merit for the notion of greater collective security, they are, as Arias himself concludes, still very utopic. Nonetheless, Arias's examples of cross border flows remain a pressing and pragmatic illustration of potential international destabilising forces.

Keith Griffin, "Global Prospects for Development and Human Security," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 16 (3) (1995), 359-370.

Based on a keynote address delivered at the annual conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID) in Calgary, June 1994, by Keith Griffin (Professor of Economics at the University of California) on the theme of violence, human security and development. Scanning the multiple connections between violence, security and development from an economist's perspective, he begins by citing some of the objectives of development and joins this to human security by saying that, combined, these are preconditions for human development and more specifically for sustainable human development. He refers to the rise in sub-nationalism and religious fundamentalism and the example of Bosnia as a warning that we need global governance and co-operation among people for human security to exist. He discusses –indeed favors- the liberalisation of markets as a way of decreasing profound poverty and lessening societal inequalities (but does acknowledge some of the criticism against this process).

Emma Rothschild, "The Quest for World Order," *DAEDALUS Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 124 (3) (Summer 1995), 53-90.

A revised version of papers presented at the first meeting of the Common Security Forum in 1992 and at the 1993 Oslo meeting of the Commission on Global Governance that provides a useful condensed foray into the underlying issues of the quest for world order. The focus is the question of security today - what is security? What are its principles and definitions? These are examined here in a historically comparative context, contrasting the principles and definitions of the 1990s with those of the 17th, 18th, and early 19th century.

Professor Rothschild (Director of the Centre for History and Economics, King's College, Cambridge) looks at the notion of extended security in the 1990s as extended in 4 different dimensions; 1) from nations to individuals; 2) from nations to the international system or from the nation to the

biosphere; 3) extended horizontally from military to political, economic, social, environmental or human security and lastly 4) political responsibility is diffused in all directions, to NGO's, the market and regional governments for instance.

The extended concepts of security are part of a continuum of ideas about common security put forth by the Palme Commission in the early 1980s. However, Rothschild sees the new political preoccupations of the 90s as corresponding with new political interests. She examines the various purposes of the principles of security and posits that even idealistic or abstract principles do matter to international policy.

Comparing the liberal internationalism of the nineties to the liberalism of the Enlightenment thinker Kant, Condorcet and Adam Smith in the 18th century, she refers repeatedly to their conceptions of civic security as both an individual and a collective good, as precursors to the emphasis on human rights and internationalism seen in the 1990s. These extended principles correspond with extended policies and civil society strategies; namely the growth of NGOs and their evolving political self-consciousness and agendas.

The goodwill of the NGOs can be inimical to the politics of enlightenment and security insofar as they encourage dependency. Passive recipients of aid are only made more insecure. Rothschild thus argues for the rediscovery of ideas of the international state of the Enlightenment period, with their emphasis on oscillating between the public and the private. 'Security, both individual and collective, belongs to the domain of the political' contract between the two, and not to goodwill *per se*, - or what Rothschild terms 'accidental politics.' Representative, competent and accountable governments able to raise sufficient revenue and distribute the requisite public services are, if not a guarantee, still the most likely contender for delivering greater civil security within and amongst States.

UNDP, "Redefining Security: The Human Dimension," *Current History*, Vol. 94 (May 1995), 229-236. NOT REVIEWED.

D. Papers and Reports

World Development Report 2000/2001 Attacking Poverty (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). The full text is available @ <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/wdrpoverty/report/> 12/28/00

Seeks to expand the understanding of poverty (not only low income and consumption but also low achievement in education, health, nutrition, and other areas of human development, including powerlessness, voicelessness, vulnerability and fear) and its causes, and sets out actions to create a world free of poverty in all its dimensions. Based in part on the *Voices of the Poor* study conducted by the World Bank as background for the report, which received the views of some 60, 000 people living in poverty worldwide. Prepared by a team led by Ravi Kunbar (Professor of World Affairs, Cornell University and director of the report until May 2000) and Nora Lustig (senior advisor/chief of the Poverty Inequality Advisory Unit at the Inter-American Development Bank and deputy director until May 2000, and director thereafter), and in wide consultation with academics, grassroots leaders, NGOs, private sector representatives and policymakers, and a Web forum on the draft. The World Development report recommends action in 3 core areas:

- (1) *Promoting opportunity*: Expanding economic opportunity for poor people by stimulating overall growth and by building up their assets (such as land and education) and increasing the returns on those assets, through a combination of market and nonmarket actions.
- (2) *Facilitating Empowerment*: Making state institutions more accountable and responsive to poor people, strengthening the participation of poor people in political processes and local decisionmaking, and removing the social barriers that result from distinctions of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and social status.
- (3) *Enhancing Security*: Reducing poor people's vulnerability to ill health, economic shocks, crop failure, policy-induced dislocations, natural disasters, and violence, as well as helping them cope with adverse shocks when they occur. A big part of this is ensuring that effective safety nets are in place to mitigate the impact of personal and national calamities.

Annan, K, *Common Destiny, New Resolve Annual Report of the Work of the Organisation 2000*, (NY:United Nations Department of Public Information, 2000).

Extract reads:

‘The demands that we face also reflect a growing consensus that collective security can no longer be narrowly defined as the absence of armed conflict, be it between or within States. Gross abuses of human rights, the large-scale displacement of civilian populations, international terrorism, the AIDS pandemic, drug and arms trafficking and environmental disasters present a direct threat to human security, forcing us to adopt a much more coordinated approach to a range of issues. Such an approach, as I have made clear in my report to the Millennium Assembly, is one that compels us to think creatively. It requires us, above all, to understand that the various elements that contribute to human security must be addressed in a comprehensive way if we are to sustain durable peace in the future.’

Secretary-General’s Report to the United Nations Security Council 16 April 1998, *The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable peace and Sustainable Development in Africa.*

www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/sgreport/index.html 12/29/00

Annan states the importance of the concept of human security to the working purpose of the UN. ‘The prevention of conflict begins and ends with the promotion of human security and human development. Ensuring human security is, in the broadest sense, the cardinal mission of the United Nations. Genuine and lasting prevention is the means to achieve that mission.’

J. Kirton, Professor of Centre for International Studies University of Toronto, *Creating Peace and Human Security: The G8 and Okinawa Summit Contribution*, Paper, Soka University, Japan (May 26, 2000).

www.library.utoronto.ca/g7/scholar/kirton200002/ 12/29/00

Asks how much G7/G8 activities contribute to creating a world order based on values broadly shared by the international community, with the ultimate goals of peace, human security and human rights at its core? Kirton takes issue with the pessimistic attitude that G7/G8 does little in this regard. He charts the development of the G7/8 forum, and its achievements in promoting democratic governance and human rights (for instance: facilitating transition periods in Hong Kong, Haiti, the former Soviet Union and reconstruction in the Balkans) and notes that Japan and Canada have contributed significantly to this process. As an aside, he points to the central difference between these two countries perception of human security; Japan’s emphasis is on development, (given the Asian economic crisis of 1997-99 coupled with Japan’s post war tradition of non-military involvement abroad), whereas the Canadian conception is more geared

towards the traditional security concern of addressing the safety of people from violent attack.

W.Tow et al., eds., *Asia's Emerging Regional Order: Reconciling Traditional and Human Security* (US: United Nations University, 2000)
(For an abstract of this report see @ www.unu.edu/unpress/newtitles-abstracts.html 7/1/01).

Takes a look at the concept of human security and how it might relate to the Asia-Pacific region, which has experienced economic recessions over the last few years resulting in 'a fall in real income, rising poverty levels, destabilising migration flows, food shortages and malnutrition, declining public health and education and intensifying crime rates.'

Emphasises the links between the social, economic and political well being of individuals and regional and international security - problems which cannot be solved by deploying military force or reverting to other ploys of power politics. Advocates more co-operative communication, consensus and commitment and linking government and non-government interest groups in the quest for socio-economic security.

UNDP, *Globalisation with a Human Face -Human Development Report 1999* (NY, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Overview @ <http://www.undp.org/hdro/99.htm> 12/28/00

The 1999 report of the UNDP re-iterates the concept of human security espoused in the 1994 report but places a particular emphasis on the destabilizing impacts of uneven globalisation.

Regional Bureau for Europe and CIS of UNDP, *Human Development Report for Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS*, (NY: UN, 1999), 2-5.

This regional report is concerned with laying new foundations for human security in the transition countries in Eastern Europe and the CIS, where gains in freedom after the fall of the Iron Curtain, have been accompanied by the loss of many of the basic economic and social rights that people had come to expect over decades of communist rule. It is interesting to note that prior to the end of the Cold War, countries in this region scored relatively high on the HDRO's Human Development Index but low on the Human Freedom Index, and throughout the 1990s the converse has been true. Report asserts that both development without freedom and freedom without human development are threats to human security (see Amartya Sen's book

Development as Freedom for a more sophisticated exploration of these ideas).

D. Ghai, *Economic Globalisation, Institutional Change and Human Security* (DP 91), United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) (November 1997).

(Abstract @

www.unrisd.org/engindex/publ/news/18eng/dp91.htm 12/29/00).

Revised version of a paper originally delivered at a conference entitled “Social Movements in the Third World- Economy, Politics and Culture”, held at the University of Lund, Sweden, August 1993.

Provides a thorough overview of the concept and processes of globalisation and its implications for human security. Ghai (Director of UNRISD) outlines some of the negative economic consequences of accelerated globalisation as well as the social and cultural impacts before moving on to consider aspects reflected at the political and institutional levels. He argues that ‘enhanced economic insecurity is at the centre of the rising spiral of human insecurity’, contributing to social problems, ethnic conflict and political instability, and offers suggestions for ameliorating this situation according to whether countries are industrialised, in transition or developing economies. He endorses rapid growth policies but calls for these to be matched by human investment policies, to work in tandem with responsible and accountable institutions at local, regional, national and international levels. Ghai advocates that where States are weak, international agencies and NGO’s should step in to meet people’s essential needs. His last word is an emphatic statement that ‘the globalisation of the economy must be partnered with a globalisation of social policy.’

Report of the Commission on Global Governance, ‘Promoting Security’, *Our Global Neighborhood* (1995).

www.cgg.ch/chapt3.htm 12/29/00

This chapter in the Report of the Commission on Global Governance talks about broadening the nature of global security from its traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and the planet. ‘All people, no less than all states, have a right to a secure existence, and all states have an obligation to protect those rights.’ The international community’s obligation to take action in situations where this security is imperiled, namely, humanitarian intervention in intra-state conflicts is discussed at length. Also discussed is the right to intervene, as are

institutional reforms for anticipating and preventing crises (note that this report was published prior to interventions in the latter part of the 1990s and is therefore dated in this respect). Detailed attention is paid to matters such as non-proliferation, arms transfers, land mines and moves to inculcate a culture of non-violence, prerequisites for human security.

Paz Buttedahl, “Viewpoint: True Measures of Human Security,” *IRDC Reports, International Development Research Centre, Canada, Vol. 22(3) (October 1994), 1-5. Full text @ <http://www.idrc.ca/books/reports/V223/view.html> 12/29/00*

Buttedahl (Centre for National Security Studies in Kingston, Canada, on secondment from IDRC’s Social Sciences Division) sees human security as centering on human dignity; comprised of the following dimensions:

- Personal and physical security: the right of individuals and communities to preserve their own life and health and to dwell in a safe and sustainable environment;
- Economic security: access to employment and to the resources necessary to maintain one’s existence, with adequate measures taken to reduce maldistribution and artificial scarcity, and to permit improvements in the material quality of community life;
- Social security: providing protection from discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity or social status, combined with access to safety nets, knowledge and information as well as freedom to associate;
- Political security: guaranteeing the right to representation, autonomy (freedom), participation and dissent, combined with empowerment to make choices and a reasonable probability of being able to effect change. This political dimension includes legal-judicial security: individual and collective access to justice and protection from abuse;
- Ethnic and cultural security: a social climate in which minority populations feel secure in expressing their cultural identity.

These wide-ranging expositions of what human security is are very similar to those espoused in the Human Development Report of the same vintage.

PART II: USAGE

A. National Governments

United Kingdom

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)

Having looked at the archives on the Foreign Commonwealth Office's (FCO) Web site and talked to Researchers there (Lucy Fox and Sally Morphet) I conclude that the FCO does not appear to use the term human security directly. However, some of Prime Minister Tony Blair's speeches certainly circumnavigate human security themes, and Foreign Secretary Robin Cook's position on 'ethical foreign policy' also has some bearing on the topic.

Blair's famous speech to the Economic Club of Chicago in April 1999 entitled 'Doctrine of the International Community,' a copy of which can be found at www.fco.gov.uk in the section on speeches, is relevant, dealing with Kosovo and the Western air campaign. Blair touted the NATO intervention as 'a just war that was based on values.' The British Prime Minister set out the Alliance's 5 objectives to halting the Milosevic regime and its gross human rights abuses. He spoke of Kosovo in -in his own words- the context of global interdependence, an economic, political and security phenomenon requiring greater international cooperation and indeed internationalism (particularly on the part of the US) than ever before in world history. He also called for a reevaluation of global finance institutions as well as a reconsideration of the role, workings and process of the UN and UN Security Council. The speech went on to equate the principles of international community with international security and to speak of the need for a new framework where values and interests merge. 'If we can establish and spread the values of liberty, the rule of law, human rights and an open society then that is our national interests too.' Non-interference has always been one of the cornerstones of international order but Blair counters that this principle must be qualified when considering acts of genocide and refugee displacements which have spillover effects and can be thus considered threats to international peace and security. The PM qualified intervention in this part of Europe as opposed to anywhere else in the world

where there is conflict, stressing that geography and national interests do play a significant role in opting to intervene in the case at hand.

Department for International Development (DFID)

www.dfid.gov.uk 12/31/00

The DFID is interested in promoting development and reducing poverty, concentrating its efforts mainly on Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. Their publications rarely mention the term 'human security' *per se*, however the recent White Paper, *Eliminating World Poverty: Making Globalisation Work for the Poor*, and updates on Kosovo and East Timor are related downloadable resources. The site also contains a speech by PM Tony Blair, in which he mentions human security; addressing the downside of globalisation, poverty as a source of instability, the potential of development to reduce the risk of conflicts and the UK's commitment to international development. www.dfid.gov.uk/public/news/sp28july.html 12/31/00

The *Development Report 2000*, available online @ www.dfid.gov.uk/public/news/d_report1.html is similar to the World Bank's World Development Report for 2000/2001 (see Papers and Reports), in its far ranging analysis of the root causes of and perpetuation of poverty in lesser developed countries, and the multifaceted approaches which are required to rebuild human security such as better education, health and opportunities for poor people, sounder management of the environment, trade and investment and delivering better public services and aid.

Norway

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Reports to the Storting: 5. International Human Rights Efforts

<http://odin.dep.no/ud/engelsk/publ/p10001859/032001-040007/index-hov005-b-n-a.html> 01/06/01

In 1998 at Lysoen, Norway and Canada signed a declaration formalising Norway and Canada's commitment to the importance of international cooperation in issues related to human rights. The mission of the action oriented cooperation is to promote compliance with human rights, strengthen international humanitarian law, prevent conflicts, and promote democracy and good governance so as to improve human security. Areas of such cooperation include: human rights, anti-personnel mines, women and

children in situations of armed conflict, small arms, child soldiers and child labour. Symposia have been organised to forge cooperation between Norway and Canada, and have also included Asian and Asian-Pacific countries. There has also been contact between Canadian and Norwegian NGO's. As well, the Norwegian Government intends to publish a series of articles based on the bilateral agenda of the Lysoen declaration.

United States

Some of President Clinton's speeches, similar in tone to Prime Minister Blair's, contain extracts that are internationalist in tone and incorporate a human security perspective.

President Clinton's First Inaugural Speech, 20 January 1993.

Available in full @

<http://www.vcepolitics.com/usa/clinton/speeches/inaug93.shtml> 31/05//01

“To renew America, we must meet challenges abroad as well at home. There is no longer division between what is foreign and what is domestic—the world economy, the world environment, the world AIDS crisis, the world arms race—they affect us all.”

President Clinton's 4th State of the Union Address, 23 January 1996.

Available in full @

<http://www.vcepolitics.com/usa/clinton/speeches/sou96.shtml> 31/05/01

Similarly, there is a section on ‘Rejecting Isolationism’ that refers to the US's role in Bosnia: ‘We must not be isolationist or the world's policeman, but we can be its best peacemaker.’

President Clinton's 5th State of the Union Address, 4 February 1997.

Available in full @

<http://www.vcepolitics.com/usa/clinton/speeches/sou97.shtml> 31/05/01

Talks about the importance of helping build an undivided, democratic Europe, expanding NATO, NATO's Partnership for Peace with non-member allies and with Russia, as well as looking to the East; expanding trade in Asia, to advance the global causes of freedom and democracy.

President Clinton's State of the Union Address, 19 January 1999,

Available in full @

<http://www.vcepolitics.com/usa/clinton/speeches/sou99delivered.shtml>

31/05/01

Talks about addressing the financial crises in Asia... the US's role in pressing the Serbian government to stop its brutal repression in Kosovo and a continued commitment to deepen ties to the Americas and Caribbean, 'our common work to educate children, fight drugs, strengthen democracy, and increase trade.'

Clinton Announces the End of the War in Kosovo, 10 June

1999. Available in full @

<http://www.vcepolitics.com/usa/clinton/speeches/990610kosovo.shtml>

31/05/01

... 'The result will be security and dignity for the people of Kosovo, achieved by an alliance that stood together in purpose and resolve, assisted by the diplomatic efforts of Russia.'

Given that the US has been at the helm of humanitarian interventions in the 1990s it is surprising that there is relatively little material on human security on the US State Department homepage <http://www.state.gov>

"Human security in the Americas," Kenneth H. Mackay White House Special Envoy to the Americas and Head of the U.S. Delegation *Remarks to the 30th OAS General Assembly* (Windsor, Canada, June 4-6, 2000).

www.state.gov/www/policy_rem.../000605_mackay_oasga.htm 12/29/00

An excerpt of this speech reads:

'Human security describes an idea upon which the foundations of the U.S. are built - the inherent dignity and worth of the individual... and human security [certainly] requires hemispheric security...

Where do we begin in defining human security? In a word: democracy. Strong democratic institutions provide the only sure foundation for the complex architecture of human security. By fortifying the institutions of justice and democracy and improving good governance, we protect human rights, improve public safety, and make possible achievement of a better life for all of our citizens.'

"Sustainable Development and National Security," Timothy E. Wirth, Under Secretary for Global Affairs Address before the National Press Club, Washington, D.C. Published by the Bureau of Public Affairs: *US Department of State Dispatch* Vol. 5, No. 30, July 1994.

<http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/ERC/briefing/dispatch/1994/html/Dispatchv5no30.html> 12/29/00

Wirth, then Under Secretary for Global Affairs, talks about the import of sustainable development to national security, emphasising how crucial the management of ecosystems is to the very foundations of modern society, in science, agriculture, social and economic planning. He gives examples of societies where combinations of population growth, environmental degradation and unequal distribution of resources have exacerbated national insecurity, citing case studies in Rwanda, Mexico, Haiti, China and the American West. Wirth goes on to outline what the Clinton administration is doing to address these issues, with reference to for example, the 1994 Cairo Conference on Population and Development, the Biodiversity Treaty, 'green accounting' practices and reforming international institutions and forging greater common cause with NGO's to better promote the goal of sustainable development. The tone of this speech is largely abstract and rhetorical, but he employs a telling analogy at the end which remains a powerful image. Namely, that when our environment goes so follows the US and then the rest of the world behind it.

Canada

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)

www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/foreignp/humansecurity/menu-e.asp 12/29/00

Canada is one of the leading proponents of human security and this site outlines Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security: in a downloadable booklet entitled 'Freedom from Fear.'

Extract reads: "Human security places a focus on the security of people. This constitutes a major and necessary shift in international relations and world affairs, which have long placed predominant emphasis on the security of the state. By broadening the focus to include the security of people, human security encompasses a spectrum of approaches to the problem of violent conflict, from preventative initiatives and people-centered conflict resolution and peacebuilding activities to – in extreme cases, where other efforts have failed – intervention to protect populations at great risk."

This site has recently been updated and includes an extensive range of on-line resources. These are to be accessed via the menu page (site address as above) and found under the following categories:

- **Freedom from Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for human security** Introduces the language of human security and Canada's contribution through its foreign policy, which focuses on the interpretation of human security as protecting people from violence and defining an international agenda that follows from this aim with internationally agreed upon humanitarian standards and laws. Talks about Canada's initiatives during its Presidency of the UN Security Council in 2000 where human security concerns were brought to prominence, such as protecting civilians in armed conflict and reforming sanctions regimes to reduce humanitarian costs to people. Acknowledges the other twin objective to freedom from fear is freedom from want i.e. that human development can also be an important strategy for furthering human security. But chooses to focus on the former, believing this is where the concept of human security has the greatest value added.

Here Canada identifies 5 principal foreign policy priorities, in relation to human security. These are:

1) *Protection of Civilians*, concerned with building international will and strengthening norms and capacity to reduce the human costs of armed conflict (hosted an International Conference on War Affected Children in 2000, actively supported developing strategies for assisting internally displaced persons, involved in human rights field operations and the campaign against the use of anti-personnel landmines, and supported the humanitarian intervention of NATO in Kosovo).

2) *Peace Support Operations*, concerned with building UN capacities and addressing the demanding and increasingly complex requirements for deployment of skilled personnel, including Canadians, to these missions (improvements to Canadian deployment and training, acknowledging the increasing role that civilian police have to play and support for augmenting the UN's recourse to an international police force to ensure basic law and order).

3) *Conflict Prevention*, concerned with strengthening the capacity of the international community to prevent or resolve conflict, and building local indigenous capacity to manage conflict without violence (encouraging early warning systems, fact-finding missions, negotiation and mediation efforts for supporting formal and informal peace processes, improving sanctions

targeting, working on small arms proliferation and post-conflict peacebuilding, evinced in places such as Bosnia, East Timor and Haiti).

4) *Governance and Accountability*, concerned with fostering improved accountability of public and private sector institutions in terms of established norms of democracy and human rights (supports the establishment of an International Criminal Court to try those who violate international humanitarian law, encourage security sector reforms, work on combating corruption, increasing transparency and respecting freedom of opinion and expression, democratic governance and corporate social responsibility).

5) *Public Safety*, concerned with building international expertise, capacities and instruments to counter the growing threats posed by the rise of transnational organised crime (drugs and terrorism).

Their policy framework is defined by four categories of activities:

- 1) Domestic capacity-building
- 2) Diplomatic leadership and advocacy
- 3) Strengthening multilateral mechanisms
- 4) Country specific initiatives

Ends with a section on advancing human security as a “new diplomacy” requiring international cooperation and coordination between international organisations, like-minded coalitions (such as the Human Security Network which grew out of the Lysoen partnership between Canada and Norway, and which expanded to include the participation of 12 countries), NGO’s, the private sector, and advocates allocating further Canadian resources to promote human security, including the establishment within DFAIT of a Human Security Program to support the agenda.

(The rest of the Web site is organised into the following sections).

- Understanding Human security
- Human security Network: An International Partnership
- Human security at the G8
- Human security at the OAS
- Human security Fellowships
- Recent Press Releases and Speeches on human security
- Other Sites Related to human security

Canada-Japan Action Agenda for Peace and Security Cooperation, Tokyo, (September 17, 1999).

http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ni-ka/peace/action_agenda-e.asp 1/7/01

Human security and Peacebuilding - Dialogue on Human security and Peacebuilding. The agenda is based on the accord that:

- Safety and dignity of people is an international concern. Recognizing human security as a key component of their foreign policies, the Governments of Canada and Japan will explore the coordination of approaches and activities on human security.
- Promoting and building capacity for peace are important international priorities. The two governments will increase dialogue and cooperation on peacebuilding issues.

Both sides pledge to explore ways to support dialogue, research and conflict resolution capacity in Africa on African security problems.

Japan

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)

http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/index.html 12/29/00

Japan is one of the leading proponents of human security and the government site contains a section devoted to Japan's incorporation of human security into foreign policy. It includes the following resources:

- **Overview – Human security (Diplomatic Bluebook 2000)**

“Japan emphasises “Human Security” from the perspective of strengthening efforts to cope with threats to human lives, livelihoods and dignity as poverty, environmental degradation, illicit drugs, transnational organised crime, infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, the outflow of refugees and anti-personnel landmines, and has taken various initiatives in this context. To ensure “Human freedom and potential,” a range of issues needs to be addressed from the perspective of “Human Security” focussed on the individual, requiring cooperation among the various actors in the international community, including governments, international organisations and civil society.”

Japan's initiatives include conference participation (see Symposia below) and specific measures drawing on the Human Security Fund (see Speeches below).

- **SYMPOSIA**

- **International Symposium on Human Security (July 2000) “From the Kyushu-Okinawa Summit to UN Millennium Summit”**
- **Summary of International Symposium on Human Security (August 2000)**
- **International Symposium on Development (June 1999) “Development: With a Special Focus on Human security”- Outline**

State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Takemi gave the keynote address for this conference attended by international organisations, donor countries and developing countries alike - which addressed issues of health care, poverty eradication and African development, from the perspective of human security.

- **SPEECHES**

- **Statement by Mr. Yukio Takasu, Director-General, Multilateral Cooperation Department, at the Third Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia’s Tomorrow (June 19, 2000) “Toward Effective Cross-sectorial Partnership to Ensure Human Security in a Globalised World”**

In this speech Mr. Takasu talks about Japan’s role in facilitating the establishment of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security, set up in March 1999, to which Japan has contributed more than \$90 million. The fund’s purpose is to assist UN agencies who are implementing projects aimed at increasing human security. As examples, money has been given to a UNDP medical training project in Tajikistan, a FAO project supplying seeds to Timor and a UNFPA project related to reproductive health in the Philippines. Other examples include rebuilding schools in Kosovo (undertaken in conjunction with UNICEF and a Japanese NGO).

He also talks about how Japan does not necessarily believe human security transcends national sovereignty insofar as the actions of NATO were concerned; the alliance acted without express approval from the Security Council and Takasu maintains that that is an ill-conceived conception of human security.

- **Statement by Director-General Yukio Takasu at the International Conference on Human security in a Globalised World (May 8, 2000)**

- **Address by State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Keizo Takemi at a Lecture Meeting Hosted by the Asia Society (September 1, 1999)**
“Capacity Building for Human Dignity: The Essence of the International Order in the 21st Century”

Takemi introduces the concept of human security and Japan’s efforts to incorporate this idea into its diplomacy, in the context of creating a new international order for the 21st century. Emphasizes human freedom and potential and ‘capacity building’ as the key to ensuring that the new century is one in which human dignity is a basic principle. He mentions the Human Security Trust Fund as an illustrative example of Japan’s concrete endorsement and cross-sectorial partnership.

- **Keynote Address by the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Keizo TAKEMI at the International Symposium on Development (June 24, 1999)**
“New Forms of Development Towards the 21st Century which Focus on the Dignity of the Individual”

- **Policy Speech by Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi at the Lecture Programme hosted by the Institute for International Relations, Hanoi, Vietnam (December 16, 1998)**
“Toward the Creation of A Bright Future for Asia”

Announces the establishment of a Human Security Fund under the auspices of the United Nations.

- **Opening Remarks by Prime Minister Obuchi at an Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia’s Tomorrow (December 2, 1998)**

Emphasises the importance of “human security” in making the 21st century a “human-centred century.”

- **Press Secretary’s Conference on Human Security**
2000 June 20

Uchida, K, ‘Japan and Canada in the Changing World’, Speech by the Ambassador at the Japan Society, Toronto, Canada (June 28, 1999).

<http://www.embassyjapancanada.org/JapanCanadaRelations/Speeches/ambspch4.html> 1/7/01

Ambassador Uchida talks about Japan-Canada cooperation on human security citing specific instances such as the 1997 Landmines Treaty and peacekeeping operations.

B. Inter-governmental Organisations

European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI), Bonn, Germany

www.eadi.org 12/29/00

EADI is an independent non-profit organisation, promoting development research and training activities in economic, social, cultural, technological, institutional and environmental areas. They produce publications;

EADI Book Series No. 24 2000 *Food Aid and Human Security* (see Books) and host triennial conferences;

1996, Vienna: *Globalisation, Competitiveness and Human Security: Challenges for Development Policy and Institutional Change*.

The European Commission (EC)

EU – Canada Summit, *Statement on Human Security: Peace Building Conflict Prevention* (Lisbon, June 26, 2000).

www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/cana.../hum_sec_stat.ht

12/29/00

The EU and Canada pledge to work together on human security; across a broad spectrum of issues, for example: co-operation on peace building and conflict prevention (particularly in Africa), as well as issues such as small arms, natural resources competition and economic agendas in civil wars, corporate social responsibility and the role of UN special representatives in pro-active agenda setting.

The Hague Appeal for Peace

www.hagueappeal.org 12/29/00

Conference Reports:

32. Dialogues in Gender and Human Security

44. From National Security to Human Security: Parliamentarians in a Globalised World.

80. Mobilising for Disarmament and Human Security: Role of Health Professionals.

NB) The Website only features the titles, not the reports themselves.

Organization of American States (OAS)

C. Gavira, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States. Address at the Inaugural Session of the 30th Regular Session of the OAS General Assembly, (Windsor, Ontario, June 4, 2000). Full text go to Documents/Speeches Secretary-General (recent) @ www.oas.org 12/29/00

The Secretary-General talks about how the Government of Canada has been advocating a new concept of human security, where the individual will become the key reference point for analysis of security problems, noting that whilst this is an ambitious proposal, it is consistent with the OAS's hemispheric agenda.

Document presented by the Canadian Delegation, at the Organization of American States 30th Regular Session of the General Assembly, *Human Security in the Americas* (Windsor, Canada, June 4, 2000). www.summit-americas.org/Canada/Human%20Security-GA.htm 12/29/00

The Canadian delegation put forth that 'Human security has emerged as a foreign policy paradigm with the potential to serve as a powerful complement to more traditional security concepts in meeting the range of new threats to people, and, ultimately, to governments and multilateral organizations. Human security, they say 'is best seen as a shift in perspective, which takes people as the principal point of reference in international affairs'. The human security agenda seeks to address a range of threats to the safety and security of people. It is fundamentally about putting people first, enhancing collective abilities and the capacity to protect human rights, ensuring the peace and stability which is the prerequisite for sustainable human development.

UNESCO

SecuriPax Forum – Human Security
www.unesco.org/securipax/ 12/31/00

The Forum Website offers an outline of what human security is and features a useful bibliography in the publications section. There are small sections on each of the following: General Human Security, Canada and Human Security, Defence/Military Issues and Human Security, Human Security in Africa, Human Rights and Security, Water and Human Security, AIDS/HIV and Human Security, Gender and Human Security, Drugs and Human

Security, Human Security and Development, Human Security and Regional Issues, and Globalisation and Human Security, with a further section on the UN and Human Security to be completed.

The Forum itself requires a user ID and password for accessing the noticeboard, where the aim is to exchange ideas about and debate human security issues. Online registration is free. To date, this Forum facility is not really used.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)

“Human Security: A Refugee Perspective,” Keynote Speech by Mrs. Sadako Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, at the Ministerial Meeting on Human Security Issues of the “Lysoen Process” Group of Governments, Bergen, Norway (19 May 1999).

<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/990519.htm> 1/7/01

Sadako Ogata, then UN High Commissioner for Refugees, claims that "human security", although not a legal concept, nor precisely defined, does represent a set of very concrete elements - places, objects, values, feelings. Human security is what refugees lose when they abandon their homes - a job, a family, an identity. Human security is not an abstract idea, it is a real, tangible need. Secondly, we should not look at human security just from the point of view of theory and definition, but rather determine what practical steps and measures can enable us to maintain people in, or restore them to, a state of security. In other words, "human security" should be a conceptual tool that leads to action.’

United Nations – Secretary-General

Press Release SC/6781, Security Council Holds Debate on Impact of AIDS on Peace and Security in Africa (10 January 2000).

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2000/20000110.sc6781.doc.html>
12/29/00

This debate was particularly important in that it marked the first occasion that the Security Council has addressed a health issue as a threat to peace and security. Some 40 speakers addressed the subject of AIDS as a global issue. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan spoke of the socio-economic impacts of AIDS and the implications of these for political stability. US Vice-President Al Gore referred to AIDS as both a security and humanitarian crisis. President of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn talked about AIDS changing the very nature of development and that AIDS, was

not just a health or even development issue but one affecting the peace and security of people and their nations, throughout the continent of Africa and beyond.

Press Release SG/SM/7382, Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar May 8-10, 2000).

www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2.../2000508.sgsm7382.doc.htm 12/29/00

Extract reads:

‘Human security in its broadest sense, embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment – these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national security.’

Press Release 99/194 11, Secretary General Kofi Annan Speaks at the United Nations University, Japan’s World Role in the 21st Century (Tokyo, 11 November 1999).

http://www.unu.edu/hq/rector_office/annan-11-1999.html 12/29/00

Extract from Annan’s speech in which he speaks in praise of the Japanese government’s commitment to human security. Yukio Satoh, Japan's ambassador to the United Nations, has said, "defining the term [human security] is less important than drawing increased international attention to issues endangering the life and dignity of human beings." Moreover, security, like peace, must be fought for, protected and defended. Prime Minister Obuchi has shown an extraordinary commitment to this idea, and has established a Human Security Fund. If there were such a thing as a "Human Security Council", Japan would undoubtedly have a life-time seat.’

Opening Address by the UN Secretary-General to the General Assembly and Report on the work of the organisation (A/54/PVV.4), Official Records, UN General Assembly 54th Session, 4th Plenary Meeting, Monday 20 September 1999, 10am, New York. (Obtained from UNIC, Millbank, London).

Speech in which the UN Secretary-General presents his annual report on the work of the organisation at the 54th Session of the General Assembly . Annan principally addresses ‘the prospects for human security and

intervention in the next century...in light of the dramatic events of the past year [namely Kosovo and Timor].’ The SG focuses our attention on humanitarian crises and the UN’s response to these. He talks about the challenges of reconciling state sovereignty with globalisation and again with individual sovereignty (i.e. the human rights and fundamental freedoms espoused in the UN Charter).

He hints at the hard-hitting questions of when, why and how to intervene which stop short of satisfactory solutions. He brings up the debates surrounding inaction (Rwanda) versus action (Kosovo) thereby raising the central issue of legitimacy on both counts, and also the side issue of unity amongst members of the international community. Annan is not against the use of armed force in the common interest *per se*, however he does remind us we need to know what that common interest is, who will define it and who will defend it? Annan goes on to introduce 4 aspects of intervention which could hold important lessons for resolving future conflicts.

Firstly, we need to perceive of intervention more broadly and he advocates the policy of prevention which is intrinsically less costly in terms of resources and lives than armed force. Second, we need to change our conception of the national interest – for a global era requires global engagement – and the collective interest is the national interest. Third, in the event that forceful intervention is deemed necessary, we must ensure that the Security Council is able to collectively deliver the goods. And that its deterrent power is indeed as powerful as its offensive power. Fourth, it is vital that the commitment to peace be as strong as the commitment to war –and by this he means that the aftermath of war requires just as many resources and no less sacrifice on the parts of member states.

Annan ends by calling again upon the means and support to succeed in these missions and concludes that whilst the notion of humanitarian intervention remains rife with challenges, it is still testimony to a humanity that cares and that this is a hopeful sign at the end of the 20th century.

United Nations University (UNU)

Strategic Plan 2000: Advancing Knowledge for Human Security and Development.

Project: Human Security, Global Governance and Sustainable Development in a Post-Westphalian World: Challenges to Central and Southern African Security.

Project Summary and Objectives @ <http://www.unu.edu/p%26g/africa.html>
21/03/01

Directed by S.Neil Macfarlane (Oxford), Albrecht Schnabel (UNUPG) and Timothy Shaw (Dalhousie University), the project

World Bank

James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank Group, ‘The Impact on AIDS on Peace and Security in Africa – *War on AIDS: Free from Poverty, Free from AIDS*’. United Nations Security Council Meeting on HIV/AIDS in Africa, January 10, 2000.

For a full copy of the speech:

<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/extme/jdwsp011000.htm> 06/02/01

In this speech the head of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn, talks about how AIDS is both a development and a security crisis in Africa. The effects of poverty are compounded by AIDS; with profound changes in the population’s health, economic, social and cultural life. These present enormous human security challenges to communities, state structures and international institutions alike. Relevant extracts read as follows:

‘...Second, we will be judged on whether we globally understand the nature of *human security* and sustainable development. Security develops from within societies. If we want to prevent violent conflict, we need a comprehensive, equitable and inclusive approach to development. A culture of prevention needs to permeate our work. Security, empowerment and opportunity must be recognised as key to freedom from poverty – just as freedom from poverty is key to security. Communities that are riven apart by disease are weak communities. Weak communities are subject to strife. Beating back AIDS in Africa will support a culture of peace.’

‘When we think about security, we must think beyond battalions or borders. We must think about human security, about winning a different war, the fight against poverty. The World Bank is ready and anxious to work with

the Security Council now and in the future on a broad range of issues affecting human security.' *[...goes on to give examples of some preventative strategies].*

C. Conferences

The International Ethics of Security: Human Security in a World of States, Organised by Robert Jackson (Department of Political Science) and Brian Job (Institute of International Relations) University of British Columbia, held at the Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies, April 5th-7th 2001. Overview of workshop to be held @ www.pwias.ubc.ca/programs/descthem/abstract/jackson.htm 12/29/00

First International Meeting of Directors of Peace Research and Training Institutions: *What Agenda for Human Security in the 21st Century?*, UNESCO House, Paris, France, (November 27-28 2000). Objectives outlined @ <http://www.unesco.org/securipax/actualite.htm>

FORUM 2000, hosted by FIM: *Human Security: New Definitions, New Roles for Global Civil Society and Multilateral Institutions*, (October 1-3, Montreal, 2000).

Forum 2000 is an annual edition of a 3-day event hosted by the Montreal International Forum focusing on the interaction between international civil society and the multilateral system. Around 80 people from UN agencies, multilateral banks, NGO's and academia took part and conferred on the year's theme of human security. Five sub issues within human security were identified and discussed with reference to 5 case studies. These were:

- Peace and Security –International Treaty to Ban Land Mines, Author: TBC
- Environmental Security –Civil Society and the (Cartegna) Protocol on Biosafety, Author: Tewelde Egziabher
- Food Security – Popular Coalition to Eradicate Hunger and Poverty, Author: TBC
- Economic Security –The Jubilee 2000 Campaign, Author: Ann Pettifor
- Health and Human Security – Civil Society, the WHO and Leprosy, Author: Sharad Gokhale

Following this forum the FIM will publish its annual journal which will include the papers presented at this meeting and analyses.

Contact Information:

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International Symposium on Human Security, 'From the Kyushu-Okinawa Summit to UN Millennium Summit', Takanawa Prince Hotel (Tokyo, July 2000).

www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/sympo0007.html 12/29/00

Outline of list of participants; international organisations, donor countries, developing countries, NGO's and others – as well as the agenda for the symposium.

Chen, L (July 28, 2000), 'Human Security: Infectious Diseases', Paper delivered at the *International Symposium on Human security*.

Professor Chen makes 3 key points:

- 1) Good health is a central component of human security
- 2) Infectious diseases are linked to poverty and development and to conflict and political stability – these problems are not just medical and therefore require more than just medical solutions.
- 3) The challenges are conceptual as well as practical.

In the quest for achieving universal access to basic health care, Chen argues for a 'knowledge-based' and 'socially-driven' approach. That is, applying known medical treatments used in the North and augmenting partnership and organisational capacity to deliver these in the South – as well as Asia where pockets of HIV infection are of as real concern as the epidemics which are evident across Sub Saharan Africa.

Ogata, Sadako (July 28, 2000). Bridging the G8 Kyushu-Okinawa Summit and the UN Millennium Summit, 'Enabling People to Live in Security'. Keynote speech at the *International Symposium on Human Security*. NOT REVIEWED.

<http://www.unhcr.ch/refworld/unhcr/hcspeech/000728.htm> 1/7/01

Sen, A, (July 28, 2000), 'Why Human Security?', *International Symposium on Human security*. Text of Presentation.

Sen begins by quoting Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo who said that 'human security is the keyword to comprehensively seizing all of the menaces that threaten the survival, daily life and dignity of human beings and to strengthening the efforts to confront these threats.'

Sen goes on to examine and extend Obuchi's foci on the security of survival (health, peace and tolerance), daily life (the quality of living, information and ecology) and dignity of human beings (equity and solidarity). He argues

that we must confront these issues now, for reasons both negative and positive: the increase in setbacks and threats in some parts of the world contrast with the ever increasing opportunities for dealing with a range of adversities, via a concerted global commitment.

Sen, A (July 28, 2000), ‘Suggestions for U.N Millennium Summit: Summary of the Concluding Statement of Amartya Sen’, *International Symposium on Human Security*. Unpublished.

In the closing statement of the symposium, Sen talks about the need to address the manifold sources of human insecurity. He links the discussions at the symposium with the subject matter of the UN Secretary General’s Millennium report entitled ‘We The Peoples – the Role of the UN in the 21st Century’ - namely conflict prevention and remedying its consequences – via development, health and IT. Human security can complement if not, strengthen, both the notions of human development and human rights. With respect to human development, human security recalibrates the emphasis on benefits to individuals and human security can also help us to answer questions such as, what should count as human rights and how should they be promoted?

International Symposium on Human Security (Summary)

www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/sympo0007_s.html 12/29/00

The summary is a precis of the opening address by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. S. Ogata, the keynote speech by Professor Amartya Sen and the report by Mr. Kaoru Ishikawa of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan on the G8 Kyushu-Okinawa Summit. There are also summaries on the various sessions held, including:

- Human security in Conflict-Related Issues: Humanitarian and Construction Aid, Development (Health Care, Environment and IT),
- Human security in the Future
- Closing Session which called for the UN Millennium Summit to become a vehicle for discussing further and implementing action plans that respond to the need for human security.

A broadcast on Human Security-United Nations Millennium Summit Special Series: Towards the Bright Century [Inochi kagayaku seikini] (*International Symposium on Human Security, July 28, 2000*).

Broadcast on September 2, 2000, at 10pm, NHK Satellite Channel No. 1 (Japan).

Purdue University, Indianapolis, U.S.A. Michael Stohl -Conference Proceedings from the 3rd Meeting of the Failed States Research Group held April 6-11, 2000, Florence – ‘Globalization and the Failed State: The Continuing Tensions Between National Security and Human Security: A summing up’.

http://www.ippu.purdue.edu/info/gsp/FSIS_CONF3/papers/MStohl.html
12/29/00

JIIA 40th Anniversary Symposium: In Quest of Human Security, (December 11-12, 1999, Tokyo).

<http://www.jiia.or.jp/report/conference/anniversary/e-anniversary.html>
12/29/00

The Japan Institute of International Affairs and the United Nations University co-sponsored a symposium held at the UN University, on human security. Keynote addresses were given by Japanese PM Keizo Obuchi and former UNSG Boutros-Ghali. The conference consisted of 4 sessions: Measures for Conflict Prevention; Promotion of Sustainable Development; Enhancement of Human Dignity; and, A Strategy for Consolidating Human Security. Guest speakers included government dignitaries, IGO representatives and academics.

E. Rothschild, “What is Human Security”?, *Conference on Human Security, United Nations University, Tokyo, on 40th Anniversary of the Japan Institute for International Affairs (December 11-12, 1999).*

‘Human dignity is the pillar of security’. This paper discusses the idea of security from a historical perspective, tracing the development of political thought and the modern liberalist notions of individual security and individual dignity, from the 17th and 18th century on, to the recent emphasis on ‘common security’ and more present day concern with ‘human security’. ‘Human security, is economic, social, political and legal rather than military; it is to be achieved by cooperation rather than by conflict; it is the security of individuals rather than states; it is to be achieved through efforts which are international or global, and especially through the United Nations.’ It continues with illustrations of two important preconditions for human security; social development and democracy. Rothschild concludes that the politics of global participation (Eastern and Western or neither Eastern nor Western, a common politics of necessity) lies at the heart of human security.

Human Security: Policy Implications for the 21st Century

A Graduate Student Conference September 18-19, 1999 Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

<http://www.csf.colorado.edu/forums/isafp/99/msg00153.html> 1/21/01

Organised by a committee of students at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University. This site does not include papers from the conference.

‘Human Security and Society’

Presentation by Hon Gareth Evans QC MP to the Asia-Australia Institute Asia Leaders’ Forum on *Human Security in Development and Crisis*, Sydney, 19 April 1999.

<http://www.garethevans.dynamite.com.au/sp.../HUMSEC190499.ht>

1/21/01

Outlines reasons for employing a new, non-state centred concept of security, arguing that “human security” language does add something to our understanding of the implications of the changing security agenda. It is useful as a guiding principle, drawing our attention to the interconnectedness of problems and the need for policy solutions and institutional arrangements to extend beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries.

Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research Japan/ University of Hawaii at Manoa – Seminar & Conferences

<http://www.toda.org/conferences/conf.html> 1/21/01

http://www.toda.org/research_programs/prospectus.html

Note: Proceedings are not downloadable from the site.

Schedule for 2000

- “Human Security and Global Governance: A New Agenda for a New Millennium,” February 11-14, 2000.

Schedule for 1999

- HUGG West Asia Conference I: “Seminar on Human Security and Regional Governance in West Asia,” Istanbul, Turkey, March 5-7, 1999.

Schedule for 1998

- “Reforming the United Nations for Human Security I,” in collaboration with La Trobe University and Focus on the Global South, Melbourne, March 23-24, 1998.

Schedule for 1997

- “Human Security and Global Governance: Non-Nuclear Prerequisites for Nuclear Disarmament,” in collaboration with the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Taplow Court, Maidenhead, Berkshire, September 25-28, 1997.
- “Human Security and Global Governance: Power Shifts and Emerging Security Regimes,” in collaboration with the School of Politics, La Trobe University, Honolulu, June 6-8, 1997.
- HUGG Hawaii – “Human Security and Governance in Hawaii: Sovereignty, Diversity, Economy and Justice.” Held at the East-West Center, Honolulu; in collaboration with the Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii. April 5, 1997.

Schedule for 1996

- “Human Security and Global Governance: Problems and Prospects.” Honolulu, November 2, 1996.

Selected Papers delivered at the United Nations University Global Seminar Shonan Session, ‘Our Planet and Human Security.’ (1-4th October 1996).

www.unu.edu/unupress/planet.html

12/29/00

D. Non-Governmental Organisations/Research Centres

North America:

Hawaii

Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research

<http://www.toda.org> 1/21/01

http://www.toda.org/research_program/prospectus.html 1/21/01

In 1996 the Toda Institute, with research centers in Honolulu (directed by Professor Majid Tehranian) and in Japan, inaugurated an international collaborative research project on Human Security and Global Governance (HUGG); with the aim of fostering an inter-civilizational dialogue in the global governance of human security problems facing the world in the 21st century. The Web site contains details of conferences (see Conferences section of this bibliography for more details) and also the resulting book series (see Books section of this bibliography for a review of the first publication -*ASIAN PEACE Security and Governance in the Asia Pacific Region*).

United States

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C

Ann Florini and P.J Simmons, *The New Security Thinking: A Review of the North American Literature*. Project on World Security, For Rockefeller Brothers Fund. An abstract can be found at@

<http://www.ceip.org/files/Publications/newsecurity.asp?p=7&from=pubdate> 12/29/00

Highlights some of the major issues that have emerged in the critical security debate in recent years. Section VI looks specifically into the emergent 'human security' literature that calls for a wholesale redefinition of security, focusing on non-military and unintended threats to values and to human well-being. Does not necessarily dispute that there are often important connections between such issues as environment, health and economics but disagrees with the zealous characterisation of these as security concerns, stating that environmentally related health and well-being issues are fundamentally different from the notion of national security as 'protection [by military organisations] from organised violence.' Daniel

Deudney (author of an article in Millennium) is quoted as saying that this can only lead to a de-definition of, rather than redefinition of security. Florini and Simmons essentially offer a cautionary warning against bringing everything, from the environment to migration, under the banner of human security to the point that definitions for security will as Kenneth Keller (author of an article for World Policy Journal) says, become ‘overly broad and meaningless in an operational sense.’ Similarly, Astri Suhrke (see above in Journal Articles) argues that the security paradigm may be inappropriate for migration and environment issues, asserting that perceiving migrants as ‘threats’ rather than victims or assets can be quite worrying, and cautions that the paradigm’s applicability in relation to the empirical material must be assessed with great care.

Center for Defense Information, Washington D.C

Understanding Human Security, video 29 minutes (November 21, 1999).

www.cdi.org/adm/1311/ 12/29/00

The video explores the implications of the new doctrine of human security and its implications for international relations and the use of military force in an engaging manner. Experts interviewed include Dr. Jessica Matthews (President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), Robert Kaplan (author/journalist), Oscar Arias (Nobel Peace prizewinner, Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress), Micheal Renner (Senior Researcher Worldwatch Institute) and William Greider (author/journalist). Detailed transcripts from each of these interviews are available on-line. The show transcript can be found at:

<http://www.cdi.org/adm/1311/transcript.html> 12/29/00

Matthews talks about the importance of US leadership in assuring human security, and of her concerns about the US assuming an increasingly unilateral hegemonic position, continuing to serve its own narrowly defined interests. She cites the US opting out of the Landmine Convention and the creation of the International Criminal Court as 2 examples, and the correlation between World bank lending and US interests as another. The worry is that so many of today’s issues require more global cooperation and not less. Matthews refers to slowing population growth in places like Africa, fair trade rules and the need for investing in human resources as bases for human security, and she refers to both the positive and negative impacts of globalisation and stresses the information communications revolution as positive. She contrasts the potential of IC for strengthening the sense of

global community and greater access to information with people becoming ever more aware of growing disparities between the rich and the poor and the lack of normative regulations in e-commerce. These factors could in the future foment political instability. Despite the decrease of external threats after the end of the Cold War, there is still a real tension between national security requirements and the aggregate security necessary for satisfying individuals human rights.

Kaplan, conversely talks about the weakening of states from the top down as well as bottom up and refers to the way the military is assuming a greater role in foreign policy making, as witness NATO's increasing role in international affairs. The military, he says, is the only group in Washington with the technical know-how for humanitarian interventions and this will inevitably mean that the military has an increasing role in shaping policy itself, which will only lead to actions in the national self-interest. He perceives human security as largely an elitist/intellectual Western idea that has little bearing on the lives of many poor regions of the world where people struggle to get by. Kaplan refers to globalisation as a new, weak form of American imperialism, a sort of Western management style and argues that a stable world cannot sustain a simple exportation of democracy, citing historical evidence that middle class society and structures are needed before countries can make any kind of successful democratic transition. He warns of the dangers of espousing the widespread merits of free market capitalism, giving the world drug trade as a primary example of the success of the free market mechanism having destabilising effects; similarly the spread of technology can facilitate terrorist networking.

The concern of Arias (see also his listing in Journal Articles) is how we can hope to live a more peaceful existence in the 21st century when negative values of the 20th like greed and materialism persist, producing ever-increasing inequalities. He points to the disappointing message that the US, and other members of the Security Council send out by subsidising the arms exports industry. Arias endorses the notion of human security insofar as it says that states should battle illiteracy, provide adequate health care, and the like. Like Matthews he refers to the lack of vision and leadership for any new world order. He criticises the leadership of groups like NATO that represent Western industrialised elites only. Where, he asks, are the African, Asian and Latin American voices? He speaks of the need for a new ethic, at the family and institutional levels. He ends by asking the rhetorical question:

Yes, the US may be an economic and military superpower – but is it the moral superpower?

Renner addresses the major environmental threats to human security, saying it is a function of how well we do or do not guard the social fabric within societies, and specifically our natural resources. He talks about the interplay between environmental security, armed conflict and human security; for example the water issues in the Middle East (see GECHS in this section for more on human security and environmental issues).

Greider discusses ‘the myth’ that globalisation is spreading democratic values, with reference to Indonesia, an emerging market whose democratic record is shaky. He says that globalising commerce is in some ways the enemies of freedom, witness, for example, the clash between MNC’s and human rights.¹¹ This also begs the question of how to create democracy in a country where the governing powers are losing control to MNC’s.

Greider speaks of the competition between the two sides of human security, the military interventionists and the human rights organisations; advocating instead that we turn to international law and focus our attentions on penalties for disobeying these. He discusses the selectivity of human security measures in Kosovo: Why Kosovo and not Rwanda? He poses the question whether human security might actually be a rationale for continuing high military budgetary spending?

Global Policy Forum, NYC

J. Paul, Executive Director, “An Integrated Approach to Conflict, Peace and Security” (January 22, 1999). A Presentation from Session III of *Canada on the Security Council: Options and Opportunities*, a Seminar Held in Ottawa, Canada and organized by the UNA (Canada) in collaboration with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade <http://www.igc.org/globalpolicy/security/issues/paul99.htm> 9/5/00

Mr. Paul says that while the idea of human security might be considered revolutionary in practice, as a concept it is firmly embedded in the UN Charter and institutional culture (most notably in the Charter's recognition of the fact that much human conflict is rooted in social injustice). He stipulates that in recent years, the UN has enjoyed modest success in promoting human

¹¹ See Naomi Klein’s book *No Logo* (2000) for an insightful exploration into the underside of corporate governance; MNC’s and their human rights contraventions, as seen in factories throughout Asia.

security through monitoring elections and human rights violations, removing land mines, and providing general support for governance in post-conflict societies. The UNTAC experience in Cambodia, according to Mr. Paul, provides a sound example of a largely successful UN endeavor in the realm of human security. However, he notes that these successes have been overshadowed by problems arising from within the UN, from the broader environment of global politics and economics, and from the failures of member states to fulfil their obligations, whether of a financial, logistical or moral nature.

Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies

www.hsph.harvard.edu/hcpds 12/31/00

A member of the Common Security Forum, The School operates several research programs. 'Human security' is one of these and is aligned with the program on Complex Humanitarian Emergencies, led by Jennifer Leaning at the Center. The program addresses threats to human security from the perspective of war and conflict, mass population dislocation, and grave abuses of human rights, taking a public health perspective. The program seeks to understand and identify causes of crises, early warning indicators and options for mitigation, major problems in emergency relief and intervention, and evaluation capacities; adopting a multidisciplinary approach.

J. Leaning & S. Arie, "Human Security In Crisis and Transition: A Background Document of Definition and Application," Working Draft September 2000, Prepared for USAID/Tulane CERTI, *Harvard School of Public Health Human Security Program*, Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies and Program in Humanitarian Crises.

Proposes the following working definition:

'Human security is an underlying condition for sustainable human development. It results from the social, psychological, economic, and political aspects of human life that in times of acute crisis or chronic deprivation protect the survival of individuals, support individual and group capacities to attain minimally adequate standards of living, and promote constructive group attachment and continuity through time.

Its key measurable components can be summarised as: a sustainable sense of home; constructive social and family networks; and an acceptance of the past and a positive grasp of the future. It is suggested that these components

can be best measured by trends in their inverse indicators (social dislocation, shifts in horizontal inequality, and discount rate).'

From this vantage point, several general and specific recommendations are put forth to provide practical guidance in humanitarian response and immediate post-conflict stabilisation, with particular reference to Africa. It is further suggested that the human security perspective be used to monitor and evaluate departures from a desired state of individual and community well being – in a threat assessment mode. Proposes a 'scorecard' approach to evaluation and analysis. The approach would combine minimum survival indices (such as those advanced by the UNDP Human Poverty Index) with the additional measures of: social dislocation, shifts in horizontal inequality and high discount rates.

Report charts the history of the concept of human security: covering human security since 1975, the Human Development Report 1994, the contribution of Canada and Japan, the King/Murray approach (see below), and the UN Millennium Report. Outlines the new definition of human security and its application to policy in crisis and transition. Concludes with general policy recommendations for crisis and intervention, monitoring and evaluation. Stresses that people who have human security are not necessarily healthy, wealthy, joyful or long-lived. However, they are resilient in the face of shocks and have maximised their personal and social capacities for coping with a range of threats to life and livelihood. Human security is a precondition for, but cannot substitute human development.

Harvard University's Program on Human Security

www.cbrss.harvard.edu/hs/ 12/31/00

A new interdisciplinary research initiative supported by the U.S National Science Foundation, the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, and the Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences (CBRSS) at Harvard University, in collaboration with the Global Programme on Evidence for Health Policy at the World Health Organisation (WHO).

Projects thus far are:

1. Military Conflict as a Public Health Problem
2. Measuring Human Security

Rethinking Human Security (4 May 2000) available on line @ www.cbrss.harvard.edu/hs/ under Projects/Measuring Human Security.

Gary King: Global Programme on Evidence for Health Policy, WHO and Professor, Department of Government, Harvard University (CBRSS) and

Chris Murray: Global Programme on Evidence for Health Policy, WHO and Professor, School of Public Health, Harvard University are co-authors that propose ‘a simple, rigorous, and measurable definition of *the population years of* human security: that is the expected numbers of years of future life spent outside the state of “generalised poverty”.¹² They define ‘generalised poverty’ as occurring when an individual falls below the threshold of any key domain of human well-being. King and Murray suggest that the academic and policy communities develop forecasting methods and databases for the routine measurement of the level of human security in different communities.

They begin by charting the antecedent developments in development economics and national security that led to the emergence of the concept of human security and examine the problems with existing definitions of human security; namely that there has been a lack of consensus on what the term means. They hope to formalise the emerging consensus that the idea of human security is to improve the lives of people, rather than the national security of borders, through their measures.

Regarding indicators for measurements of human security other than population ones, they start from the Human Development Index domains (see UNDP Reports) and seek to establish a framework which takes into account the threshold value below which an individual would be in a state of generalised poverty. For example, one reasonable threshold for the generalised poverty level for democracy could be the right of an individual to vote in at least one free and fair election (not necessarily national) that affects some important aspect of that person’s life. King and Murray would use available detailed data collections for such measures, such as national accounts and also advocate continuing to map the world’s poor so as to allow for the annual calculation of this human security index.

They categorise efforts to enhance human security as being about 1) *risk assessment*, 2) *prevention*, 3) *protection*, and 4) *compensation*, particularly stressing the importance of *risk assessment* for its forward looking premise for forging policies. They also emphasise the need for closer interaction

¹² They refer to this as Years of Individual Human security (YIHS), (less than or equal to an individual’s life expectancy) or Individual Human security (HIS), (the proportion of the lifespan that the person could reasonably expect to spend outside the state of generalised poverty), and produce mathematical formulae for calculating predictions.

between different disciplines addressing human security such as political science and public health.

U.S. Institute for Peace, Washington D.C.

The Ascendance of Human Security and the Need for Social Stewardship, Reinventing Diplomacy: A Virtual Necessity, (February 25, 1999)
<http://www.usip.org/oc/vd/vdr/gsmithISA99.html> 12/29/00

Report on how the impacts of IT (information technology) could alter traditional diplomacy and foreign policy theory and practice, and play a part in ameliorating human security.¹³

Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C

U.S ‘Director’s Forum: HIV/AIDS and Human Security in Southern Africa,’ (September 20th 2000).

<http://wwics.si.edu/NEWS/aids.htm> 12/29/00

Programme hopes to facilitate a greater understanding of the huge HIV/AIDS challenges that threaten the social, political and economic structures of Southern Africa. The Forum intends to look at the nature and scope of the crisis, African initiatives to address the situation – and the role U.S. and international donors should play in helping combat these problems.

Canada

Centre for Global Studies, Victoria

Dr. R. Bedeski, *Defining Human Security*, (November 1999).

<http://www.globalcentres.org/docs/bedeski.html> 12/29/00. NOT REVIEWED.

Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee (CPCC)

<http://www.cpcc.ottawa.on.ca/humansecwg.html> 1/21/01

The Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee is a network of Canadian NGO’s, institutes, academics writing for the non-governmental

¹³ It is interesting to compare this stance with comments made by Microsoft CEO Bill Gates, in the British newspaper The Observer (Sunday the 6th November 2000) who himself says too much emphasis can be placed on the role of IT in enhancing people’s lives in underdeveloped regions; be this in America or the Third World. Basic health care, education and utilities infrastructure are a far more useful primary investment to the very disadvantaged , than a computer console, and as such these are the means to which Gates increasingly directs his charity work and funds towards.

peacebuilding community and facilitating policy dialogue with the Canadian government. A human security Working Group has been established with 3 objectives:

1. To define human security more precisely;
2. To examine practical ways to advance the concept as a component of Canadian foreign policy;
3. To seek dialogue with DFAIT and NGO's on human security matters.

**Global Environmental Change Human Security (GECHS),
Victoria**

<http://www.gechs.org> 12/29/00

The Global Environmental Change Human Security international collaborative research project is interested in the interdisciplinary study of the relationship between environmental change and security. The main co-ordinating International Project Office is in Victoria - with other offices located in Costa Rica, Australia, Norway and the US. GECHS affirm that human security is achieved when and where individuals and communities:

- Have the options necessary to end, mitigate, or adapt to threats to their human, environmental, and social rights;
- Actively participate in attaining these options; and
- Have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options.

The Website outlines their objectives, which are to promote research, extend dialogue and link policy-makers and researchers. The site features details of upcoming and past workshops, an on-line bibliography and a link to the International Network for Environment and Security.

The GECHS project is coordinated by **Steve Lonergan**, Professor of Geography at the University of Victoria in Canada.

His own research interests lie in water and security in the Middle East, environmental change and security, and mapping human insecurity. Details of his publications can be found @

<http://office.geog.uvic.ca/dept/faculty/lonergan/> 12/31/00

**Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia
(UBC)**

Overview of research programme 'Advancing Human Security' and other related topics @

www.iir.ubc.ca/researchthemes.htm

12/29/00

The Institute is in the process of initiating a research project on 'Human Security in a World of States', to be overseen by Lloyd Axworthy (see Liu Centre below) -following on from a workshop on human security and the Canada Policy held in 1999 and prior to hosting an international conference on it, next year in April 2001 (see Conferences). 'Advancing Human Security' is a research area of the Institute's focusing on humanitarian intervention; the role of the UN and military force in protecting at risk populations. There is a special focus on the cases of Rwanda, Yugoslavia and Kosovo, with reference to Canadian foreign policy.

Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Conrad Grebal College, Ontario

Project Ploughshares: *Redirecting Military Spending to Human Security – A Jubilee Campaign to Challenge Canadian Priorities in Security Spending*, Background paper (April 2000).

<http://www.ploughshares.ca/content/REDUCE%20MILITARY/JubileeBackgroundPaper.html> 12/29/00

Ploughshare says that the Canadian *1994 Defense White Paper* is not a sufficient guide to the roles and capabilities appropriate to the pursuit of human security and that a new and thorough review of Canadian defense policy is required. Such a review should focus on exploring how best to align the international roles of the Canadian armed forces with the imperatives of human security articulated and advanced by the Department of Foreign Affairs. They advocate that there should be further exploration into a defense capability designed less to participate in high intensity combat environments and oriented more toward peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention in low-intensity combat environments.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS)

<http://www.iciss-ciise.gc.ca/> 1/7/01

A Canadian initiative, launched by then Foreign Minister Axworthy to coincide with the United Nations General Assembly on September 7, 2000 during the Millennium Summit in New York, the year long Commission is to 'address the highly complex problem of state sovereignty and international responsibility.' Axworthy said that "Canada's human security agenda is all about putting people first...we are establishing this Commission to respond to the Secretary-General's challenge to ensure that the indifference and inaction of the international community, in the face of such situations as occurred in Rwanda and Srebernica, are no longer an

option.” The two co-chairs, heading a wide range of commissioners are: Gareth Evans, a former Foreign Minister of Australia and current President of the International Crisis Group and Mohamed Sahnoun, a Special Advisor to the UN Secretary-General on issues related to the Horn of Africa. To date, the site features press release material, no working papers are available yet.

**Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of
Notre Dame**

Kanti Bajpai, *Human Security: Concept and Measurement* (2000).

full-text of Occasional Paper No: 19 @

A distilled and succinct version entitled ‘The Idea of a Human Security Audit,’ is published in the Fall 2000 Issue No. 19 of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies’ REPORT).

<http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/pubs.html> 1/22/01

Kanti Bajpai (Associate Professor of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institute, Washington D. when he wrote this paper) asks first, what is human security? And second, can it guide research and policy? The author asserts that human security has corollaries with neo-realism (the physical safety of the state, its well being and freedom are mirrored with the individual’s) - and also that it is to a degree quantifiable. Recommends an annual audit of human security, similar to the way in which human development is charted on a yearly basis by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with its annual Human Development Report. Focuses on the origins of human security thinking based on the writings on the subject by the UNDP and the Canadian government and develops an analytical framework to compare and contrast these approaches to human security in some detail. The last sections focus on the nature of threats to human security and instruments for dealing with these. Bajpai cites the counterarguments for human security which centre around its perceived utility, acknowledges their partial merit but at the same time asserts that ‘human security is a response to the urge to know better what one should care about, what it is in one’s power to do, and what crises are looming.’ This is where the audit comes in - he advocates the implementation of a human security measure (both quantitative and qualitative) which might take the form of a Human Security Index (HSI). Even imperfect, such a map could enhance the imperfect neo-realist view of security.

**Liu Centre for the Study of Global Issues, The University of British
Columbia**

www.liucentre.ubc.ca/ 12/31/00

Lloyd Axworthy, the former Foreign Minister of Canada has just arrived at the Liu Centre to become the new Director. His appointment officially commences on the 1st of January 2001. He intends to conduct and oversee work on human security and human security related projects. Particular interests lie in disarmament, threats of violence to societies, humanitarian intervention in conflict situations and protection of children, as well as nuclear security in North America and Asia.

**Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPISA), Carleton
University, Ottawa**

<http://www.carleton.ca/npsia/npsia.html> 1/21/01

The NPSIA is to offer an MA Program in 'Human Security and Global Governance' in 2001-2002. The Web site contains brief details of what the course entails.

Europe:

United Kingdom

**Centre for the Study of Global Governance (CsGG), London School of
Economics and Political Science**

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/> 12/31/00

The CsGG's Global Civil Society Programme (led by Mary Kaldor and Mehnad Desai) focuses on the interlinkage between civil society and problems of global security and political economy. The main areas of enquiry are:

1. Global Civil Society and New Wars
2. The Interaction between Global Civil Society and Global Political Economy
3. The Impact of Global Civil Society on Democratisation
4. Elaboration of the Concept of Global Civil Society
5. Mapping and Measuring 'Globalisation from Below.'

These study themes are closely aligned with the precepts of certain research programmes on human security, particularly item 5 (see Papers and Reports

section of this bibliography, for Bajpai's and King and Murray's work on mapping and measuring human security).

Overseas Development Institute (ODI), London, UK

www.odi.org.uk 12/31/00

ODI is Britain's leading independent think tank on international development and humanitarian issues. The Website provides details of their research and policy programmes and a publications catalogue. While the term human security does not feature in their literature, their papers are concerned with development issues, and as such incorporate human security themes. The ODI was also involved in research for *Food Aid and Human Security* (see Books).

The Continent

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway

Cross-Reference of the United Nations Plans of Action on Human Security, WSP Database – Documents.

www.unrisd.org/wsp/db/docs/w2520.htm 12/29/00

The site contains an overview only of this database/documents.

Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), Oslo, Norway

www.nupi.no 12/31/00

NUPI has a research programme on 'Collective Security' which focuses on security theory, conflict prevention and peace operations. There is also a 'Section for Development Studies' centering on governance and development assistance. The NUPI also contributed to the research for *Food Aid and Human Security* (see Books).

Swedish Institute of International Affairs (UI), Stockholm, Sweden

www.ui.se 12/31/00

A public service institution, politically independent, providing information and research on international political issues and functioning as a forum for debate and a meeting place for academics and practitioners. Some of their conferences are related to human security issues; for example one in 1999

focused on ‘Post-Kosovo World Order’, another on ‘The International Community and Strategies for Peace and Stability in and around Chechnya.’

Africa:

“Redefining Security in Southern Africa”, Workshop Proceedings, Ed. by Meena Singh – Common Security Forum: Centre for History and Economics, (August 1995).

The ‘Redefining Security in Southern Africa’ conference was organised by the CSF and held in Johannesburg in August 1995 with the aim of stimulating debate on regional security issues. Participants included government ministers, defence and intelligence specialists, UNHCR representatives, scholars, lawyers for human rights and environmental group representatives. Several speakers addressed human security. For instance, the Minister of Water Affairs and Ministry, Kader Asmal, spoke of the need to incorporate human security principles into South Africa’s new constitution. Jody Kolapen, of Lawyers for Human Rights chaired a discussion on human rights and human security. She talked of the necessary enmeshing of civil and political with social and economic rights, and promoting the latter in South Africa as a collaborative means of attaining the former. Liv Torres of the FAFO Institute in Norway, a member of the CSF, spoke of their involvement in charting the impact of unions on political change in South Africa, and also poverty monitoring and living standards evaluations, all human security indicators. The human security discussion centered on the uneven distribution of resources and cleavages of race, gender and class, which further disenfranchise. Some broad institutional recommendations were offered to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), whose task it is to work on these issues. There was a broad band emphasis on human rights (in terms of access to resources and decent living conditions for low and medium income earners alike) as essential to the process of nation building in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Institute for Security Studies: Pretoria, South Africa

The ISS and Human Security:

<http://www.iss.co.za/gen-info/ISS%20and%20human%20security.html>

12/29/00

Asia:

National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA), Japan

<http://www.nira.go.jp/research/a147.html> 1/21/01

‘Human Security: Examining the Role of Civil Society’- a sub-study from the more extensive research project entitled Exploring Japan’s Proactive Peace and Security Strategies.

Talks about Japan’s interpretation of the concept of Human Security, the establishment of the “Human Security Fund” under the United Nations, the threats to human security - and government and civil society measures required to redress these.

The study focuses on NGO’s and NPO’s, representative actors of civil society, and analyses how these organisations respond to the challenges of globalisation. The aim is to propose concrete proposals for Japan to play more of a role in enhancing human security.

Center for Peace and Development Studies (CPDD), India

http://www.cpdindia.org/globalhumansecurity/index_m.htm 1/21/01

The Center’s Global Human Security Web site contains a selection of human security resources, most of which are related to the East Asia, South Asian and Asia-Pacific regions. There are links to data sources on human security in India, and a South Asian Human security Watch. There are also downloadable articles.

‘Human security in the Asia Pacific: Puzzle, Panacea, or Peril?’

Armitav Acharya, Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at York University in Canada says that the concept of human security has attracted much attention in the West, but not in Asia. In this paper he redresses the imbalance by discussing recent debates about the concept in the region, drawing material from a conference in South East Asia in July 2000.

In Asia the human security concept was first recognised in connection with the financial crises of the latter part of the 90s, when poverty undermined decades of development and caused widespread political instability. The crisis highlighted the need for good governance, sustainable development and the need for social security nets.

Acharya speaks of the need for empowering civil society and the impact democratisation can have on aiding economic recovery and enhancing

political stability. He also looks at the role regional multilateral institutions, such as ASEAN, the AMF and APEC might play in promoting human security.

In sum, in Asia state responses to the human security paradigm remain cautious. There is still a strong state centric focus, however a greater appreciation of human need, human cost and human rights can make a perceivable difference to the theory and practice of regional cooperation in Asia.

Strategic Peace and International Affairs Institute (SPIRIT), Tokai University, Japan

www.u-tokai.ac.jp/English/Res_Organ.htm 12/31/00

SPIRIT has actively participated in the Common Security Forum, organising international symposiums on common security in Asia in 1994 and 1997.

Y. Dan, “A Brief Review of Human Security,” *SPIRIT Bulletin, Human security 1999/2000*, Tokai University, Japan, (February 4, 2000).

Yusake Dan, Professor of History at Tokai University reviews Japan’s official views on and the Canadian approach to Human Security (HS). He looks at the following literature: (1) Intermediate Policy Paper of Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2) the ODA White Paper of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, (3) some articles in Japanese journals over the past year, and (4) the official policy statement of Canada’s Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

Japan posits that ‘human security in Asia’ needs to be more ‘policy friendly’ – this might be approached with a focus on issues such as the exploitation of children, safety of humanitarian aid workers, and conflict prevention through preventative diplomacy.

(Forthcoming March 2001) Y.Dan, “Human Security: National Sovereignty and Civil Society,” in Tokai University Bulletin for the School of Humanities and Culture, 2001. NOT REVIEWED.

United Nations University (UNU), Tokyo, Japan

Human security studies comes under the auspices of the Research Program on Peace and Governance.

‘Human Security, Global Governance and Sustainable Development in a Post-Westphalian World: Challenges to Central and Southern African Security.’ Project overview@

<http://www.unu.edu/p&g/africa.html> 12/29/00

UNU Strategic Plan 2000: Advancing Knowledge for Human Security and Development.

The Strategic Plan outlines four issue clusters that the UNU will focus on for the next four years: development as freedom (that stems from Amartya Sen’s thinking -see Books section of this bibliography for a review), human security, with its dual aspects of *freedom from* and *freedom to*, risk societies, and comprehensive development (further to World Bank President James Wolfensohn’s discussion document, the *Comprehensive Development Framework* (CDF) that examines structural issues such as good governance and a well-supervised financial system, and human issues such as education, and health and population concerns.

E. Post-Graduate Dissertations

Blanton, S.L. (1996), ‘The Impact of the International Arms Trade on Human Security (Democracy, Government Stability, Developing Countries)’, PhD - University of South Carolina, U.S.A. NOT REVIEWED.

Edson, S (1999), ‘Children’s Security and Human Insecurity: Mitigating the Impacts of Armed Conflict on Civilian Children – the Rhetoric and Reality of Human security in the Post-Cold War Era’, School of International, Development and European Studies, University of Leeds, UK.

Examines the failure of the international community to fully understand or soundly apply the concept of ‘human security’ and specifically looks at how children’s security is undermined in the post-Cold-War era, with its reality of intrastate disorder, and by the conflated rhetoric, which characterises New World Order values.¹⁴ The significance of this topic is that while civilian children’s security has to date not been considered ‘high politics’, their human security (or insecurity) has multifarious implications for national, regional and global security, given that they represent the next generation of

¹⁴ The phrase is associated with George Bush, who used it after the Gulf War of 1991 to denote a new era – freer from the threat of terror, stronger in the pursuit of justice and more secure in the quest for peace, an era in which the nations of the world, East and West, North and South, can prosper and live in harmony.

states citizens. The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (CRC) is an instrument coterminous with New World Order values. It held out some promise for a greater degree of children's civil, political, social and economic security in peace and wartime. Yet in terms of mitigating the social and economic effects of armed conflict on civilian children the success of this piece of legislature is questionable; either in terms of protecting children or promoting their resilience, at the individual and socio-economic levels of analysis. This work argues that to increase these children's human security in the mid to long term, humanitarian agencies should be more aware of ethnocentric biases in the metatext of the 1989 CRC and must pay closer attention to the specific social and economic needs and agency of children, in their particular locales. In redefining human security through children's security in this manner, a 'critical thinking space' is conceived which might rapproche some New World Order rhetoric and reality and thereby be a bridge towards greater human security.

PART III: END REMARKS

A. Comments on a Post-Post Cold War World

‘Naming a New Era’ in *Foreign Policy*, Summer 2000 No. 119, pp. 29-69. *Foreign Policy* asked some of the world’s prominent thinkers; from a range of background --science, social sciences, arts, business-- to write short essays, on the meaning of the post–Cold War era. Does the term adequately describe the world we live in today and tomorrow or should we rename our present era? The answers are interesting for an indication of the sheer breadth of the human security agenda we face.

- Economic and Civil Security:

Fouad Ajami (Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, John Hopkins University): In ‘The New Faith’ cautions against the purported benefits of globalisation and democracy. The zone of peace, he says, is still concentrated in the industrialised countries. Neither the trends towards greater democratisation nor the adoption of Internet e-communications has dented the existence of fundamentalist strongholds which still exist as a threat. These threats are also encapsulated in the vast and markedly increasing gaps in equality and access to resources between the world’s richest and poorest nations.

- Environmental Security:

E.O.Wilson, (Professor of Sociobiology, Harvard University and commentator on environmental issues): ‘The Age of the Environment.’ Contends that the destruction of the environment and our unsustainable consumption of non-renewable energy sources should make us think of our age as the Age of the Environment, pointing out that for everyone to attain the living standard of the US we would need 4 planet Earths. We should use our developments in science and technology to help us through the impending resource management crises. The twin goals of ameliorating the quality of life of the world’s people and restoring our natural environment can go hand in hand with - and indeed underlie global sustainability.

- Political Security:

Martin Van Creveld (Professor of History, Hebrew University) writes in ‘The New Middle Ages’: that our present age is characterised by a process of political splintering and decentralisation (a propensity towards

independence of the government) which is reminiscent of the Middle Ages in Europe.

- Financial Systems Security:

Fernando Henrique Cardoso (President of Brazil, and Sociologist): 'An Age of Citizenship'. Talks about the need for a more stable global financial environment to help emerging and low income countries to participate in the global marketplace on a more equal footing. Whilst market place values do not necessarily correlate with the ethical values, that hold that - all human beings are created equal, the principal challenge of the globalisation era is to make this an era of citizenship and equal opportunity.

- Regional Security:

Christopher Bertram, (Director of the Research Institute of International Politics and Security, Ebenhausen), 'The Interregnum.' Ours is an 'inter'-time, a bridge from the Cold War world to the next. He uses this term with reference to the uncertainties for the future of states such as Russia and China - and even the EU and US, contemplating their new roles and powers.

- Education:

Emma Rothschild (Director of the Centre for History and Economics, King's College, Cambridge): 'The Age of Insubordination.' She shows that 'the post-revolutionary world of the early 19th century has a certain amount in common with the post-Cold-War world of our times.' She ends with a discussion of universal education, a preoccupation then and now.

- Globalisation:

George Soros (Chairman, Soros Fund Management): 'The Age of the Open Society.' Soros agrees with Cardoso: 'global politics is out of sync with global economics'. The international institutions of global governance should open themselves to addressing the greater common interests. He advocates an 'open-society alliance' set up for this purpose, acting within the auspices of the UN or going it alone.

- Neo-Liberalist Security:

Francis Fukuyama (Author of *The End of History*), alerts readers to 'The Trouble With Names. There is, he says, a broad consensus that capitalist liberal democracy is the only viable model for countries aiming for modernity and that politics and social engineering are not the appropriate vehicles for addressing social justice and prosperity. He goes on to postulate

that we could name the new era ‘Pax Americana’ or ‘The Age of American Hegemony’ --but then counters this by saying that ‘hegemony’ bears connotations which are too strong, and the US is not really interested in reshaping countries into versions of the US. Perhaps, it might be the ‘Age of American Global Technological Hegemony’ --although this is such a mouthful, he prefers his own phraseology – the ‘End of History’.

- Business Security:

Martin Sorrell (CEO of the communications firm WPP Group PLC) talks about the new era from a business perspective: namely new competition, particularly from new technologies. The result is an increasing emphasis on ‘branding’ as the distinguishing feature of a product and company. Sorrell speaks of America’s present strength in e-commerce but wonders whether this political and economic hegemony might not be lost.

- IT Security:

Jessica Matthews (President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace): ‘The Information Revolution’, the consequence, not the cause of globalisation. She compares it to the Industrial Revolution in its ability to transform relationships and blur, redraw and or erase boundaries between time and space, here and there, they and we. She does not go so far as to predict that nations-states will disappear, but she does believe that the role and power of governments will wane in influence. The speed of technological change, as in the Industrial Revolution, will bring new strains and pressures and will be interrupted by interest-based backlashes and financial crashes. She questions whether these changes will be put to public and or commercial uses first and foremost and whether ‘the American Century’ will be lengthened or shortened by such movements.

- Pax Kapital and UnderGlobalisation:

Robert Wright (author), writing again on ‘Pax Kapital’, a decade after his editorial on, ‘ a world peace sponsored by capitalist democracies.’ He discusses the transitional instability that has been the legacy of the end of the Cold War, in the economic contexts of the internal war outbreaks of recent years. War persists in areas which remain underglobalised, while – ‘Pax Kapital’ exists where there is advanced high-tech capitalism and democracy. He cautions against the thesis that economic integration is the only way to integrate the world’s people, predicts that we will see more governance of the world economy through, e.g. the WTO and IMF, more international governance for the environment, and even perhaps a stronger

UN. He ends with comments on global terrorism and crime, including crime in cyberspace, as one of the more compelling incentives for greater supranational governance and cooperation via international policing. Perhaps, he says, this could bring peace among nations.

Halliday, F (2001), *The World At 2000*, Palgrave, UK.

This book by Professor Halliday of the London School of Economics is based on a set of public lectures given in the Spring of 2000, exploring broad contemporary themes in the field of international relations- from the perspective of ‘international reason’; looking at issues both analytically and morally. The volume provides an excellent overview of where the age-old international peace and security debates are now, at this juncture in history, on both conceptual and practical levels.

In the first chapter Halliday looks at ‘a world in transition’; noting 5 reasons for optimism about the new millennium such as the end of global strategic rivalry, countering this with pessimistic concerns, such as the potential for regional nuclear warfare. He discusses change and continuity and the concern that globalisation has the capacity to both lessen and heighten ethnocentric bigotry. The second chapter talks about the ‘shadow of the 20th century’, which will inevitably influence the 21st century. In Chapter 3, he presents some of the current arguments in world politics, such as, is international cooperation disguised as hegemonic optimism or vice versa?

The fourth chapter is concerned with the ‘recurrence of war’ in its various guises; the move from inter-state to intra-state conflicts; the evolution of weapons of mass destruction, and the ‘revolution in military affairs (RMA), the technological advances which have changed the role of peacekeeping and peacemaking in the 90s, including consideration of the intended National Missile Defence (NMD) in the US. He also cautions strongly against divorcing war from politics, asserting that greater economic well being and political freedom are prerequisites for a peaceful world. Chapter 5 evaluates ‘globalisation and its discontents’ asserting that the great answered challenge of our age is the reconciliation of modernity with inequality. The capitalist system is yet to live up to all its promises. Chapter 6 addresses the ‘fragility of democracy’ with particular reference to instability and problems in Russia, China and Indonesia. And in Chapter 7 he takes up the central question of the unilateralist position of the dominant power, the ‘unaccountable hegemon’- the United States. The future should not be fashioned without America, he says, nor solely on America’s terms.

In Chapter 8 he talks about ‘the delusions of difference’ and how globalisation can both homogenise cultural differences and also elevate us above and beyond them. In the 9th chapter he speaks of the relevance of global governance in a time like this, when internationalism is in flux, highlighting the world media as a case of ‘global civic society’ mirroring the inequalities of the world economy. His final chapter titled ‘A Radical Universalism’ again calls for balance. The bases of a just order are most closely aligned with the language of rights, he says. He dismisses cultural relativists, preferring the phraseology of the Iranian minister Dr Khamal Karazzi: the culture of exclusion vs. inclusion, or authoritarianism, inequality and militarism vs. democracy, diversity and collective security. And yet, the importance of culture and identity cannot be denied.

Our agency, the implementation of our inventions and advances such as IT (information technology) and biotechnology has great potentialities for peace and prosperity worldwide, but none of these developments on their own, answer the moral questions of how and why we should use these tools. Education, as a precursor to wealth; is a start.

B. The Utility of a Human Security Lens

We the peoples of the United Nations

Determined

To save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime brought untold sorrow to mankind and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

And for these ends

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and

To ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force should not be used, save in the common interest, and

To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims

This preamble to the UN Charter was written in the context of the immediate Post-War world of 1945, but its ideals have had resonance through the Post-Cold War era of the 1990s, which experienced a renewed emphasis on human rights, democracy, international norms and the importance of multilateral cooperation for international peace and security; notwithstanding, the social-economic and development concerns which are

the intrinsic means to achieving such ends. These matters remain important now too, in the Post-Post Cold War interregnum— and indeed are the foundation blocks of human security.

Yet the Charter's human rights rhetoric no more reflects the intra-state security or development realities today, for most citizens in failed or rogue states or lesser developed and transition countries, than it did when it was written more than 50 years ago, when it represented hope for inter-state relations in the future. And the UN remains as guided and hampered by member states' self-interests now as it did then.

The human security lens as explored in this bibliography is, if nothing else, indicative of a continued effort to chart philosophical but moreover practical inroads into ameliorating our common human security. In order to do this, we must consider what the talk of human security is really about? It is evident that there are clearly several interpretations of human security to assess and make sense of.

There is some broad consensus on the core elements of human security. It is generally accepted that the concept of security has been extended from a focus on the primacy of the state to encompass not only a wider variety of non-state actors but also a whole host of new socio-economic and environmental threats to citizens. Many of these (such as migration and climate change) have significant transnational impacts, in an increasingly globalised international political-economy. It follows then that human security is about protecting the common good. This requires concerted public action at society and state levels and sound global governance institutions on the international stage. IFI's, IGO's and NGO's should better embody the values of democracy and human rights they proclaim to stand for, be sufficiently resourced and be made accountable for their decision making and operational conduct.

As this report illustrates two states in particular (one Western and one Non-Western) have publicly proclaimed that human security is important and both play prominent roles in advancing the human security perspective. These are Canada and Japan respectively. Both countries have a sound human security status themselves, enjoying some of the highest standards of living in the world. Interestingly, neither the world's least developed states, nor the other end of the spectrum, the world's hegemon, the United States pay quite as much attention to the notion as a policy framework. Both

perhaps have other pressing concerns. Astri Suhrke in an article reviewed in this report suggested some of the factors lying behind Canada's interest in human security.

As a broad generalisation, the Canadians have devoted more energy to exploring human security in relation to the humanitarian interventions of the 90s (perhaps this has something to do with Canada's traditionally large peacekeeping presence). The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) set up by the Canadian Government in September 2000, following the UN Millennium Summit, is further testament to the interest they have in exploring human security as freedom from fear; examining difficult questions surrounding if and when it is right for the international community to intervene in a nation-state's domestic security, if Western human right values are universal, deducting what lessons might be drawn from the humanitarian interventions of the past decade, and asking if these ends justify the means?

The Japanese on the other hand, more reluctant than the Canadians to endorse interventionism per se, seek instead, to lay more emphasis on the socio-economic components of human security. That is freedom from want, how to address poverty and inequality? The importance for them perhaps highlighted after the Asian region experienced a series of economic crises in the latter part of the 1990s. The Japanese Human Trust Fund, set up in March 1999, and in conjunction with the UN, supports a range of development orientated initiatives: some of these have been outlined in this bibliography.

The contributions of Canada and Japan diverge in their policy emphasis and in a way this encapsulates the crux of the human security lens. It seems to teeter between being quintessentially about the former set of concerns and the latter ones; i.e. not quite sure whether it is primarily about enhancing security or development. This bibliography has tried to show that it can be about both or rather it is about the interplay between the two.

Human security appreciates more fully that security and development are different sides of the same coin. Threats to global human security are multifaceted and often interrelated; economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. The human security lens does not allow for parsimony or complacency - we must engage in the messy intersection between security

and development. As Jorge Nef pointed out, in his book on Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability included in this bibliography, we live in a world where there are pockets of human security amidst weaker pockets of human insecurity. In the West we are increasingly made aware that we cannot take it for granted that we will always be able to protect ourselves from the effects of, for example, global environmental change, international public health crises like AIDS, political or economic induced migration flows and 'human trafficking', or indeed downturns in the Asian stockmarkets. In a global village, global human insecurity IS in the national interest.

This report has included many writers who believe that human security and human development concerns converge. There is no shortage of ideas about how best to address some of these. One interesting proposal, worthy of further exploration is the suggestion by CEPS, a think tank in Brussels, of a South Eastern European programme of economic investment and development in the Balkans (somewhat akin to the Marshall Plan offered by the United States to rebuild Europe after World War II) to play a role in bringing about greater peace and economic security in the region.¹⁵

Another interesting example of approaching the nexus of security and development (put forward by writers such as Bajpai, Leaning, King and Murray and Lonergan, reviewed here) is the idea of mapping and measuring human security and producing an annual Human Security Index (somewhat similar to, but even more ambitious than, the Human Development Reports published on a yearly basis by the HDRO).

Opening up the thinking spaces surrounding human security and human development can only add value to the theory and practice of both International Relations and Development Studies and hopefully be a bridge. This will be devalued though if the term human security is applied indiscriminately or it becomes just another neo-realist or neo-liberalist power construct characterised by self-interest. Neither should it become simply an exercise in intellectual ethics.

Human security at the international level, should include continued emphasis on bilateral and multilateral initiatives such as the Lysoen Declaration and Ottawa Landmines Treaty, but moreover be about enhancing the political, economic and social arms of the UN: this includes the provision of a rapid deployment force and greater investment in international police.

¹⁵ *'Global Ethics: Illusion or Reality'*, Speech delivered by George Soros at a conference organised by the Austrian Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Vienna, June 13th, 1999.

As Kofi Annan says ‘the prevention of conflict begins and ends with the promotion of human security and human development [and]...Ensuring human security is, in the broadest sense, the cardinal mission of the United Nations. Genuine and lasting prevention is the means to achieve that mission.’¹⁶

We need to continue questioning that definition and purpose of human security. To this purpose there are plans for establishing an independent global Commission on Human Security in the middle of 2001, as a follow on to the UN Millennium Summit of 2000. This Commission will be co-chaired by Sadako Ogata (the former UN High Commissioner for Refugees) and Amartya Sen (Nobel Laureate in Economics and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge). The Secretariat is likely to be based in New York with research activities assigned to Tokyo and Boston. This intention is announced in a press release on the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs site www.mofa.gov.jp/policy/human_secu/speech0101.html - the aims of the Commission 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.

The Commission is to have a lifetime of 2 years, plans to have regular meetings and will produce a final report. The Commissioners were recently named in a press release:

www.mofa.gov.jp/policy/human_secu/commission/member.html

As Nobel Laureate Wislawa Szymborska said in her Nobel address in 1996 ‘any knowledge that doesn’t lead to new questions quickly dies out.’¹⁷

Continuing to probe how to augment human security is not least, an affirmation of faith in the capacity of States and citizens alike, to do better.

¹⁶ Secretary-General’s Report to the United Nations Security Council 16 April 1998, *The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable peace and Sustainable Development in Africa*.

¹⁷ Szymborska, W, *Poems New and Collected 1957-1997* (USA:Faber and Faber, 1998).

Appendix 1: List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
AMF	Asian Monetary Fund
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
CSF	Common Security Forum
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
EEC	European Economic Community
FCO	Foreign Commonwealth Office
G-7/G-8	Group Seven/Group Eight
GECHS	Global Environmental Change Human security
HDRO	Human Development Report Office
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IGO	International Governmental Organisation
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
IFI	International Financial Institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LSE	London School of Economics
MFAIT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontieres
MNC	Multinational Corporations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
OAS	Organization of American States
TNC	Transnational Corporation
UBC	University of British Columbia
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations Humanitarian Commission for Refugees
UNIC	United Nations Information Centre
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

UNSC
UNU
WHO
WTO

United Nations Security Council
United Nations University
World Health Organisation
World Trade Organisation