EVROPSKÝ POLITICKÝ A PRÁVNÍ DISKURZ

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THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACEKEEPING ACTIVITIES OF CANADA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

The article investigates the concept of human security in the context of peacekeeping activities of Canada in the United Nations. The author focuses on the features of embodiment of the concept of UN peacekeeping mission and the role of Canada in this process. Human security is relatively a new phenomenon in international relations, that is why it does not have a clear definition, although it is quite famous and important because after the end of the "cold war", new threats, including emerging ethno-national conflicts, increasing scale of international terrorism, there appear more and more poor countries which are not able to solve economic, political and social problems, in this connection life of some people depreciates on the background of large-scale disasters.

Canada is one of those states which use active peaceful policy, because the concept of human security is close both to its government and the society. Historical events, mentality and geopolitics have formed modern Canada as a country – peacemaker. The above mentioned prerequisites promoted Canadian government to implement today the concept of human security in its foreign policy.

Key words: Concept of human security, Canada, foreign policy, peacemaking, UN.

At the end of the 80th – on the turn of the 90th the UN management and the international community came to the conclusion that due to growing conflicts of the international scale, old methods to resolve those conflicts do not work, that is why the main goal of countries in the context of activity of the United Nations Organization is searching for a new approach, which might not just regulate existing conflicts, but will not admit appearance of new ones. This is how a post-conflict peace-building appeared, which was identified by ex-secretary general Mr. Butros Gali as a wide set of means aimed at strengthening peace and augmenting a feeling of confidence and wellbeing among people.

Security issue became one of the main problems which confronted the UN while carrying out peacekeeping missions, because this issue is a rather abstract one and can be defined differently and include a wide specter of threats. Prior the beginning of 1990th a security was understood as a national or state security. The task of national security was to upkeep territory integrity of a country and to protect its citizens from external threats and citizens were considered to be the main object of protection. While nationals are not properly protected by the state, which is not working to develop the civil society and social values, they live in danger. As the result of this, focus on national security is often done at the expense of personal safety, as the state can be the primary source of human security through corrupted police and justice systems, due to destructed criminal groups, absence of human rights and limitations of the rule of law. That is why personal safety must include certain qualitative and quantitative references. The quantitative aspect is connected with material aspect, and the qualitative one – with personal autonomy, personal life control and participation in the life of the society; harmony of these aspects will determine the level human security in the state [1].

In contrast to the national security concept, a concept of personal security became to be used as a result of search of new methods to resolve humanitarian problems. So, in the report on the development of the individual of 1994, this notion was outlined conceptually, it was then when there was introduced a concept of security of individual, which became a part of international and regional peace initiative. However until now a concept of individual security remained to be actually an unknown phenomenon in peacekeeping activity, but the nature of modern warfare rendered theses issues on the agenda of the

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[1] Борисов, Д.А. (2011). Безопасность человека в современной теории и практике международных отношений. *Бюллетень Томского государственного университета, 343,* 82.

international community, and initiatives in individual security sphere are important parts of missions in peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building.

The international community also raised issues about interconnection between individual's security and state security. The state security is not an end in itself, but a way to create safe conditions for people's life. In this case the state security and security of an individual complement each other. Building of an effective democratic state, which values its people and protects minorities, occupies central place in embodiment of security of an individual concept. At the same time increase of human security also strengthens the state security.

For a long time Canada has been a leader in lobbying and improvement of personal security aspect. As a main defender of the above approach, former Prime-minister of Canada Mr. Lloyd Excuorcy not just had drawn attention to security of individuals, but also strengthened leader positions of the state in this issue, having included this concept into foreign policy of the country. To his mind at the present time human security is getting less and less guaranteed, especially due to increasing number of internal conflicts. In early statements of Mr. Lloyd Excuorcy he expressed his opinion that it is necessary to achieve security protection of individuals and the society not by violent methods, which will make possible to prove advantages of Canada in using "soft power"[1].

Foreign policy of Canada has some peculiarities which considerably differ the country from other states and promote production of some doctrines, mostly of humanitarian character: first of all, absence of militaristic attitudes; secondly, it has reputation of supporter political methods to resolve disputes and conflicts; thirdly, Canada is building its politics on the principle of liberalism. External factors also contributed to development security of an individual, because in the 90th there was transformation of world order, which demanded serious changes, as well as changes in Canadian diplomacy. Working out of foreign policy line of the government was done in conditions of fundamental reconstruction of international relations – transfer from one polar to multi-polar world. That is why appearance of new global threats in the current world is the most important factor, which influenced upon working out a new foreign policy doctrine[2].

That fact that Canada started to use methods which tend to "soft power", have created wider political diapason in conflicts resolving. This idea attracted the most of international actors and public society, which enabled to create ideas and exchange them. Advantages of "soft power" lied in flexibility of decisions taking, because hard approaches were limited by hard methods. Any activities, controlled by the state, which coordinated everything, produced pragmatic and templet ideas, which often turned to be not effective.[3]

In the 1990th Canada suffered from budget deficit and needed "not expensive" but strong foreign policy conception, which could help the country to preserve its reputation on the world arena. There was necessity in such ideas, which were not less attractive as concepts of "middle country", images of "honest broker", "inventive mediator", "generous donor", which had been invented by the government in " golden decade " of Canadian diplomacy (1945-1957). This way, the doctrine of security of an individual served as intellectual "umbrella" for the foreign policy of Canada, it has been actually created from many "anthropocentric" concepts and foreign policy trends, such as help in the field of social-economic development, human rights protection.[4]

The key provisions of Canadian variant of personal security concept absorbed many new ideas concerning development of a personality and the society in modern international relations. Keeping to broadened interpretation of "international security" concept, proponents of the concept included into the number of global threats, besides wars and conflicts, new, not traditional challenges: destabilization of

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[1] Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding: Lessons from the Past, Building for the Future. *The Report of the UNA-Canada 50th Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping. International Panel Series 2006-2007.* <http://unac,org/wp-content/ uploads/2013/07/UN-Report.pdf> (2015, January, 5).

[2] Гунина, А.А. Концептуальные основы политики Канады в сфере обеспечения международной безопасности. *Студенческий научный форум.* <http://www.scienceforum.ru/ 2014/pdf/5722.pdf> (2015, January, 5).

[3] Grosby, A.D. (2007). *Myths of Canada Human Security Pursuits: Tales of Tool Boxes, Toy Chests, and Tickle Trunks.* New York: Oxford University Press, 278-279.

[4] Евтихевич, Н.С., Исраелян, Н.В. Концепция «безопасности личности и общества»: канадский подход. *Официальный сайт ИМЭМО РАН.* <http://www.imemo.ru/ files/File/magazines/puty_miru/2013/13008_02.pdf> (2015, January, 5).

economy, the depletion of environmental resources, infectious diseases, mass violations of human rights, increase of violence, sales of drugs, terrorism, epidemics and ecology problems, which demanded new strategies in security sphere. Its starting point was a refutation of the hypothesis according to

which security of an individual depends on security of the country. So, in understanding of international security, security of an individual has the priority. Therefore shift of emphasis to "individual human security" in a general interpretation of "security" concept, which includes now eliminating not just military, but also non-military threats, became a special feather of the foreign policy of Canada and its peacekeeping activity.

In such interpretation peace and wellbeing of a human, his secure becomes a general problem, it involves erasing of national borders and blurring former concept of national sovereignty. This is the reason for shifting the main emphasis from the state security to human security, both in individual and collective meaning; just the human security became the center of world policy. At the basis of peacekeeping transformation there were changed ideas concerning security as necessary state of the society. Thus, when Conservatives were in power, Canada participated in different development programs and peacekeeping missions in Central America, did some research of development problems and put on the agenda integration of such concepts as development and security into one, united concept of human security, embodiment of which demanded application of non-traditional approaches. Experience of work really showed that it was hard to achieve any development, progress without prior establishment of certain level of security.[1]

Connection of peacekeeping activity and human security is formed in the context of peacemaking initiatives and programs, increasing human security. The importance of human security approach in the context of peacekeeping activity of UN is in the following: it is drawn attention to anthropogenic factor in the course of conflicts. The conflicts themselves become more complicated and are characterized by usage of small arms and landmines, growth of the rate of internally displaced persons and refugees, increase of the number of human rights violation, the use of underage soldiers and violence, as a military strategy. The number of civilians amounts to 80-85 % of the total number of victims. So, there exist some regions, where peacekeeping and post-conflict peace-building – all that is connected with "human security". The following refers to the above stated:

- stonecrop of landmines;
- disarmament, demobilization and re-integration of former fighting parties;
- disarmament, demobilization and re-integration of underage soldiers;
- promotion of the rule of law (liquidation of lawlessness);
- support of security sector reforms;
- reformation of police and legislation system;
- work aimed at effective management.

The first big initiative for embodiment of human security concept was a company in prohibition of landmines, later it was called Ottawa process. In the first years after the end of "cold war" the problem of landmines use drew attention of the public and officials. Mines became a priority of international НУО, who to 1992 untied their efforts acting through international companies in abolishment of landmines.[2]

The program of 2005 in transition from war to peace was another one important document, which determined further necessity of support and financing of research in the field of human security, this concept was nicely accepted by the Canadian society and Excuorcy's followers. However after terrorist acts of September 11 in New York and the same year in Washington attitude of people was somewhat changed, then the problem of terrorism, not abstract concepts of human security in general, which seemed to people to be not so actual and close as the fear of international terrorism. That is why the government became to use both concepts in its foreign policy, and human security due to its commercial attraction remained to be actual.

Canadian diplomats made a suggestion and managed to create International UN commission dealing with intervention and state sovereignty (1999-2000), and non-governmental organizations of the country played important role in creation of international coalition in human security. Canada introduced some initiatives concerning children protection, those who live in conditions of military conflicts (from the year

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[1] Peacekeeping to Peace-building: Lessons from the Past, Building for the Future. *The Report on the UNA-Canada 50th Anniversary of UN Peacekeeping. International Panel series 2006-2007.* <http://unac.org/wp-content/ uploads/2013/07/UN-Report.pdf>.

[2] Tomlin, B., Hillmer, N., Hampson, F. (2008). *Canada's International Policies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 221.

of 1996) and struggle with illegal sale of small arms (from the year of 1996). Besides that it made a great contribution into creation of International criminal court, becoming one of developers of Rome Statute.[1]

Collective actions aimed at security under the leadership of United Nations Organization were taken not with aim to strengthen the state security, but first of all for the sake of human, peoples' security. Events which had been referred before to the category of humanitarian catastrophes, now started to be regarded in the context of peace and security. It was done to justify international coercive measures, one of the first example of which was implementation of the program of coercive humanitarian measures in Somali (1992-1993), when the UN Security Council determined that " the scale of human tragedy threatens international peace and security".[2] The same concerned a conflict in Kosovo and Afghanistan. Canadian government, implementing idea of "soft power" finished with starting to use concept of human security as a means which might be an effective one in peacekeeping operations. However, as experience showed, to protect people on the territories where there is war, and especially to propagate high ideas of humanity over there, is a very difficult task. Taking into account difficulties of this situation, Canada lined out exact criteria of work in implementation of human security concept on the problematic territories where conflicts unfold. However, results of participation of Canada in Afghan operation which lasted almost 10 years (from Autumn 2001 to the end of July 2011), when the bulk of Canadian troops were withdrawn from Afghanistan) is not ambiguous for Canada itself, that is why it is inappropriate to state that human security concept has been successfully implemented. The situation in Kosovo might also have double interpretation because during the operation there were used military methods. However, there exists an opinion that support of military power in Kosovo did not mean refusal from human security, moreover, a decision to apply military variant of peacekeeping operation was taken just to guarantee security of the population.[3]

So, it is necessary to stress one characteristic feature of seeing by Canada further development of human security. Due to the fact that the state stands for human rights protection, it does not exclude sovereignty violation of or humanitarian interventions in the country where human rights are neglected, it also admits application of power enforcement to peace of participants of internal military conflicts, at the same time believing those actions to be justified. A concept "international security policy" is open for a wide specter of definitions and interpretations. Canada defines security policy as "a bridge" between foreign and defense policy, as well as object-glass or a filter through which foreign policy informs defense policy. So, defense policy should be regarded as such which is derived from foreign policy. In other words, it must serve to interests and tasks, determined in foreign policy formation and to add other elements of wider security policy.

At the same time the government of Canada considers the development of democracy to be connected with the world economy because globalization can negatively influence upon the world market, and this means that this can lead to deterioration, first of all this concerns countries which had become poorer. They are not able to resist threats due to their weak economy and deformed political system. So, instability of the world market will provoke poverty, deterioration of the environmental state, irrational usage of political, economic and social recourses. In their turn these problems will produce the other ones – displacement of the population, violation of human rights, international conflicts, criminality, use of children as soldiers, arms sale.[4] The concept of human security refers to solving also economic problems, which are the reason of other above mentioned political and social troubles.

The government of Canada is widely using its own legislation as a basis for peacekeeping operations. Thus, Canadian Charter of rights and freedoms states that all are equal before the law and have equal rights to be protected and supported by the justice without any discrimination connected with race, nationality or ethnicity, color of skin, religion, age, psychiatric or physical inferiority.[5]

[1] Евтихевич, Н.С., Исраелян, Н.В. Концепция «безопасности личности и общества»: канадский подход. *Официальный сайт ИМЭМО РАН.* <http://www.imemo.ru/ files/File/magazines/puty_miru/2013/13008_02.pdf> (2015, January, 5).

[2] Human security. *Council of Europe.* <http://eycb.coe.int/compass/ru/pdf/5 10.pdf> (2015, January, 5).

[3] Kilgour D. Human Security and Canadian Foreign Policy. *David Kilgour, Member of Parliament.* <http://www.david-kilgour.com/secstate/globaliz.htm> (2015, January, 5).

[4] Crosby, A. D. (2007). *Myths of Canada's Human Security Pursuits: Tales of Tool Boxes, Toy Chests, and Tickle Trunks.* New York: Oxford University Press, 269 – 270.

[5] Constitution Act (1982). Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. *Justice Laws Website*. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca /eng/const/page-15.html> (2015, January, 5).

So, in the foreign policy of Canada there appeared a new principle – human security. It is identified as "striving to build global society, where security of the individual is in the center of international priorities and it is a moving force for international actions, while global, regional and bilateral institutions work to improve these standards. Taking into account these factors and history of Canada as a peacemaker, one can understand that "organized operations in security" are rather topical for it.[1] That is why Canada wishes to promote human security concept with the help of different means, based on talks and cooperation, to create coalition with other governments-associates and the civil society. Image of Canada as an open tolerant and powerful democratic society is a great advantage for the country because this will enable to master these new instruments in achievement of political goals in foreign policy.

Therefore analysis of new approaches to international security gives understanding that there has matured necessity in new methods for elimination of local, regional and global threats to peace, paying no more attention at the traditional approaches. Though a new human security concept is not sufficiently studied, it stresses that the subject of protection there should be an individual or the people, but not institutes, territory or the state sovereignty. But at the same time new approaches should not displace the traditional ones, they must be a foundation for building other types of security or to become addition to them.[2]

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[1] Matthew, B. (2003). *Keeper of the peace: Canada and security transition operations.* Taylor & Francis, 274.

[2] Matthew, B. (2003). *Keeper of the peace: Canada and security transition operations.* Taylor & Francis, 274.