

Human Security

- Placing Development at the Heart of the EU's External Relations

Briefing Document

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The battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace [...] No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs.

(U.S. Secretary of State, Edward R. Stettinius Jr, reporting to his government the results of the San Francisco meeting that set up the United Nations, 1945.)

1 Europe's external relations in change

The European Union is currently redefining its role in the world. The prospect of 'European unification' with eastern enlargement is the principal driving force of this change. The fallout from September 11 and the changing global security picture – including relations with the USA – are other driving forces in the EU's attempts to build a coherent external policy. On the institutional side, provisions of the Draft Constitution refer to changes in how the EU formulates its external policies, including the appointment of a European Foreign Minister, and the integration of all dimensions of external action. With regard to the content, the traditional EU concern with economics-dominated issues has begun to open up and embrace more and more policy areas, such as that of new threats to security, which are considered under the High Representative of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP).

Such coherence, however, is not without its problems. The objectives of security, defence, commercial interests (including the arms trade) and foreign policy sit uneasily with development co-operation. The former are predominantly concerned with strategic (self-)interests. The latter, at least in principle, is dedicated to poverty reduction, and thus driven by ethics and values. However, the interconnectedness of people in a globalised world makes the concern with other people's fate not only an issue for ethics, but also an issue of informed self-interest. The traditional frontline between values and interests becomes increasingly blurred. In essence, this debate is about what directing principle - or 'leitmotif' - the EU wants to put in place for its relations with other parts of the world. It is about how the Union sees itself, its values and its self-interest. This paper explores the concept of a 'human security' perspective for European external policy.

2 Why a human security perspective?

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 and the declared 'war on terrorism' could lead to a shift back to 'fear', a policy of deterrence and could neglect people's 'needs'. Terrorist attacks show that threats to security are not restricted to states, nor can the state protect its citizens from fear by conventional military action. A concept is needed that acknowledges the fears and needs of all persons. The security of people clearly requires the action of the state, but the state is a means to an end, not an end in itself. It should protect its citizens and promote their civil and political rights on a par with their economic, social, and cultural rights. The starting point of 'Human Security' is the security of the individual. It embraces the state's ability to act, but it places the individual's or community's situation at the core.

Within this debate over external relations, Human Security can offer a useful conceptual tool kit with which to judge the changing relationship between development concerns and wider external action in the EU. The concept of Human Security has its roots in history, as is illustrated by the quotation of 1945. Both aspects of the concept – freedom from fear and freedom from want – were enshrined in the UN Charter and are its fundamental values. Human security is thus embedded in international law and is far from being a 'new fashion' in development discourse. During the Cold War, this tradition of a comprehensive concept of human security was thrown off course by the confrontation of the ideological blocs. The confrontation between 'First' and 'Second World', between East and West, made it impossible to treat equally civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights. Both blocs emphasised excessively one of the aspects in the ideological confrontation and more or less neglected the other. Since the late 1980s, the East-West confrontation has vanished – and the perspective has been opened up again. However, people have not become automatically more secure, more respected, more involved, wealthier or healthier since the end of the Cold War. Per capita incomes have actually fallen in 54 countries since 1990 (cf. UNDP 2003: 2); many of these were in transitional Eastern Europe, but many of them were already among the poorest of Sub-Saharan Africa.

An increasing flow of goods, services, finance and people – in brief: globalisation – has drawn attention back to the interconnectedness of people's security, and is another driving force for the EU to reformulate its policy. The Vienna World Conference of 1993 reaffirmed that all human rights – political, social and economic – are interdependent. The Human Development Report of 1994 highlighted a number of problems in human security. At the Millennium Summit in 2000, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for movements towards the twin goals of 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. The establishment of the Millennium Development Goals in 2000 illustrated that there was a long way to go in the eradication of poverty, i.e. the achievement of 'freedom from want'. As a response, an international Commission on Human Security (CHS) was established, supported by Japan. The Commission, working under the joint presidency of Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate in Economics, presented its report in New York in 2003. The following outline will largely draw on the 'Human Security Now' report, published by the CHS.

In academic discussions, three currents in the debate on human security can be defined. One focuses on the natural rights and the rule of law aspects in human security, emphasising the liberal values of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' (Hampson/Hay 2002: 4). A second approach focuses on the humanitarian perspective, namely, war crimes, and harm to non-combatants is at the heart of its concern. Both approaches share the basic human rights perspective. The third and most controversial approach takes a broader view on human security (cf. UNDP 1994). It suggests that the concept 'should be widely constructed to include economic, environmental, social, and other forms of harm' (Hampson/Hay 2002: 5). The argument against this 'overload' is that trying to focus on everything presents a contradiction in terms. This paper takes human rights as the core of human security. Human rights, as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) are both universal and indivisible (cf. preamble of UDHR). This paper will therefore not restrict itself to the very narrow focus on civil and political human rights, i.e., the so-called 'first generation' of human rights (articles 1-21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UDHR). It will broaden the scope of discussion to include considerations of social, economic, and cultural rights (the 'second' and 'third generation' of human rights, also embedded in the UDHR, cf. articles 22 to 27).

Whereas a human rights approach formulates particular freedoms, human security identifies the importance of freedom from basic insecurities. The interpretation of the crucial components of human security will necessarily vary and is culturally dependent. Taking the political realm as a (narrow) example, it is obvious that, even within Europe, different forms of democratic system exist. How can democratic rule best be organised? How is peace achieved or guaranteed? How is participation practised? The threats to human security are diverse and the instruments to deal with these challenges are numerous – human security can thus only be a dynamic concept.

3 Dimensions of human security

The concept of human security values individuals and societies before states. Human security is about the security of life within and across borders. It is a matter of perspective and challenges the idea that the state level is the main subject of international relations. Human security is often defined by what it is NOT. It is NOT security enforced by arms; it is NOT about borders; it is NOT an alternative concept to state security; it is NOT anti-globalisation. And human security is NOT a synonym for the Human Development Index. The two concepts are interdependent. Human development, however, is measured on the national level, whereas human security takes an individual or community perspective. Without acknowledgment of human rights, personal initiative is stifled, human security becomes compromised, and economic development will be hindered. And without economic development, it is not possible to maximise every individual's potential and safeguard his or her human security.

The Canadian Government provides a brief definition of this holistic approach: Human Security is concerned with the 'safety of people from both violent and non-violent threats' (Regehr 1999). In the words of the Commission on Human Security, established under the initiative of Japan, human security means 'creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity' (CHS 2003: 1). The concept draws on the early traditions and founding principles of the United Nations – and is further elaborated by adding another dimension: empowerment of people to act on their own behalf – and on the behalf of others who need support. The first 'key' to human security is to protect people, their basic rights and freedoms. The second 'key' to human security is people's ability to act on their own behalf – and on the behalf of others. (cf. CHS 2003: 11). Human security thus means:

freedom from fear
freedom from want and
freedom to act on one's own behalf

The approach is holistic, and thus multifaceted. Human security concentrates on people rather than the state: individuals, groups, communities are the centre of interest. As the range of actors becomes greater, the threats they may face become more complex. The approach aims to empower people and societies rather than states. Human security only prevails if the state is willing and able to protect its citizens from external and internal threats. Without human security, state security cannot be maintained – and vice versa. States are not only externally threatened, but need to be rooted in their societies; otherwise they are unable to perform their tasks legitimately and might fall apart or become oppressive.

3.1 Human rights as the core of human security

THE [United Nation's] GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance [...]

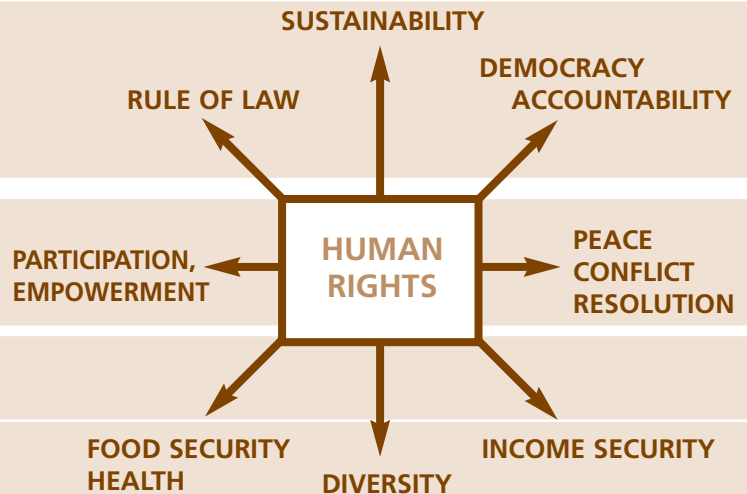
Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Human security is essentially based on human rights, as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Around this universal and vital core, a set of crucially important components is assembled. These components, as will be seen below with the examples of the rights to income, health and development, are closely linked to each other, just as human rights are. In its understanding, human security stretches across all geographical areas – human rights are universal (cf. UDHR, up cit.). Human security is thus subject to potential threats in both developed and developing countries; interdependence of people's fates is one aspect of globalisation.

Supporting collective units could potentially pose a threat to people and thus endangers human security. The state's monopoly of power – at times delegated to intergovernmental agencies¹ – can help to achieve or safeguard human security by fighting crime, by protecting the vulnerable, by providing the necessary infrastructure to society and by offering support in critical life circumstances (health insurance, pensions, and social benefits). On the other hand, the state – or, for that matter, intergovernmental organisations with delegated power – could deprive people of individual rights, most important of all the right of the individual to physical safety. It could abuse the distribution of goods as a political tool, oppress the diversity of society, and prevent its citizens (or specific groups among them) from participating in decision making.

This ambivalence can also be attributed to the community and households. Both can be a source of personal reassurance and support. Both, however, could also become a threat to human security. This is particularly the case for women. Here again, the dangers to human security might go as far as threatening the physical safety of the individual, as is the case with violence against women. Female genital mutilation is a particular case in point, but not the only danger by far. Another threat to human security might be discrimination against specific minority groups that are defined as 'outsiders' by society (racism, xenophobia, the prosecution of certain religious beliefs, witch-hunting etc.).

Figure 1: Facets in the realisation of human rights
Conflict Resolution



Human rights are at the core of participatory, democratic governance, responsive to people's needs and accountable to them (see figure 1). In any society, pre-conditions for the well-being of the individual include: human dignity, the free expression of one's beliefs, and the acknowledgement of diversity of beliefs and convictions. These values are also crucial for the functioning of democratic rule and the prevalence of peaceful conflict resolution in a society. Participatory government means that the equality of people is accepted, irrespective of race, religion or gender. Clear and binding rules must exist to which the individual can refer and which every person can claim from society or the state. In brief, the rule of law has to be guaranteed. The rule of law both protects the individual and society as a whole from autocratic rule that harms human security. Acknowledging and safeguarding diversity, individual ways of expression, beliefs, and styles opens up a variety of possible concepts and ideas from which to draw strategies to the benefit to the greatest number of people possible.

3.2 Right to income

Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 23 (3)

The right to income is an individual right – the neglect of which might be harmful to society as a whole. It therefore affects human security directly and indirectly. People who live on less than two dollars a day cannot enjoy human security. Due to poverty, a life in dignity and self-determination is for many people beyond imagination. Without income, they are marginalised with regard to their health situation (see below), education, and participation.

¹ These powers can also be delegated to intergovernmental organisations (IGO), which are therefore based on indirect legitimacy. The EU is no IGO, but an organisation 'sui generis', as its decision making is, rather uniquely, both based on intergovernmental assent and provides for an own parliamentary system that provides supranational legitimacy.

Relative income and variance

To the question of income, the perspective of human security adds two important aspects that potentially endanger people's security: 'relativity' of and 'gross variance' in income. Great income inequalities within societies – but also on the global scale – will affect the perception of one's own economic situation. Both experience and statistical evidence indicate that a country rich in natural resources, with a high percentage of young men and few income opportunities for the educated, is at risk of internal conflicts. A number of Sub-Saharan African countries fall into this category, and perhaps even North African and Middle Eastern countries. Income opportunities are also relative: a steep economic downturn even in a high or middle income country, as recently witnessed in Argentina, will severely affect people's lives, and has a high possibility of causing social and political unrest. This, it is to be kept in mind, is only one aspect of human security. The security of people very regularly is threatened without political unrest: people in absolute poverty more often than not are 'marginalised', that is: they do not have the means to act on their own behalf and defend their interests.

Threats to the opportunity to earn one's living can come from the destruction of wealth or income opportunities through high inflation, arbitrary and inconsistent changes in economic policy or the limitation on income opportunities due to corruption. It can also be influenced by external factors, such as excessive trade barriers of potential trade partners. Trade opportunities are highly important for the income of people in developing countries.

The human security perspective also includes 'systemic' threats, such as the fall of world market prices and deterioration in the terms of trade. Poor people, whose human security has been undermined by lack of work or access to markets, might engage in activities which present a threat to others. Deprived of legal income opportunities, they are likely to turn to illicit sources, such as the cultivation or trafficking of drugs. This effect can be observed in Colombia (with the production of coca, as coffee cultivation does pay less of a living) or in Afghanistan and Burma, where poppy/opium provides more reliable income to populations than legal crops. Damaged human security is contagious; due to interdependence, it poses a threat to other peoples' human security. Globalisation means that these threats no longer spread 'just' locally or regionally – people's security becomes globally interconnected.

3.2 Right to health

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for [...] health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and the right to security in the event of [...] sickness, disability. [...] Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. [...]

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25

Individual health and human security are closely interrelated. Health is a vital aspect of a person's well-

being; it is crucial to the realisation of many other fundamental human rights and freedoms. Health is both essential and instrumental to human security; and it is both individually and collectively instrumental. A health crisis, that is a large number of people in poor health, also threatens the entire society. The report on 'Human Security Now' names three major threats to human health: Poverty-related diseases (e.g. malnutrition or diseases related to lack of clean water), violence (e.g. warfare) and infectious diseases (e.g. HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis) (CHS 2003: 97).

Health is distributed unequally. The exposure to health risks differs among age groups, sexes, communities, classes, races and nations. More than 40% of the 56 million deaths each year are postponable, as the knowledge, technology and resources for treatment do exist (CHS 2003: 95). It is access to resources that is lacking. As the latest Human Development Report shows, in 19 countries more than one person in four is going hungry; access to drinking water is an enormous problem for many people. In brief, their human security is acutely endangered. As a result of these conditions, child mortality rate is high; a great number of children do not survive their fifth birthday (cf. HDR 2003: 3).

One of the greatest health catastrophes in human history is HIV/AIDS. 42 million people are living with HIV/AIDS and prevalence continues to rise. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 29 million and Southeast Asia for about 6 million infected people. The epidemic caused the death of 3.1 million people in 2002 – even though medical treatment for the disease has been developed in the last few years. But 95% of people with HIV/AIDS live in developing countries, and most of them do not have access to (expensive) medicine (cf. UNAIDS/WHO 2003). Other infections may have caused more victims, but HIV/AIDS affects young adults in their peak productive years. These are the people who are essential to a society's stability, its potential economic growth, and who bring up and educate the next generation. Development cannot be realised if up to one-third of the young adult population is doomed to die. Apart from the individual suffering, HIV/AIDS is thus particularly harmful to societies and thus threatens human security both directly and indirectly. Life expectancy has already sharply declined in countries such as Botswana and Uganda. Life expectancy in Sub-Saharan Africa is estimated at around 47 years. It could have been at 62 years without the disease (CHS 2003: 96).

Uganda in particular, however, has shown that enhanced efforts in the fight against HIV can have positive results: the rise of infection rates has come to a halt. Other countries, such as Senegal, have a relatively low infection rate altogether, thanks to successful campaigns in awareness and improvements in medical services to affected people (cf. UNAIDS/WHO 2003). Lifesaving medicines have been developed since the outbreak of the disease and are theoretically available. Antiretroviral drugs have greatly improved the prognosis for people living with HIV/AIDS in industrialised countries. Generic versions of the medicines may improve access of larger amounts of infected people in poorer countries and thus improve human security.

3.2 Right to development

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized.

UN Declaration on the Right to Development, Article 1

Protecting people and their rights is not synonymous with development but it is evident that both concepts mutually enforce each other. Empowerment of people to act on their own behalf and on the behalf of others is the second central idea of human security (cf. CHS 2003: 11). The UN declaration on the Right to Development (UNRD) was adopted in 1986, almost 38 years after the declaration of human rights. The idea, however, is not new: when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was drafted, the US-American delegate, Eleanor Roosevelt, stated that '[W]e are writing a bill of rights for the world, and [...] one of the most important rights is the opportunity for development' (cit. in Sengupta 2000: 1). Even though the 1986 declaration refers widely to states' rights and obligations, it recognises that 'the human person is the central subject of development and should be the active participant and beneficiary of the right to development' (UNRD 1986, preamble). This starting point should be kept in mind: what is the aim of development? People should be protected from dangers and empowered to cope with – and ultimately overcome – hazards.

The UN Declaration on the Right to Development asserts a right to equal access to development: Every individual is 'entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy' (ibid) development in its various aspects. This embraces more than growth: it stresses equity. Gross National Income may well be an indicator for the economic well-being of a country. However, it does not comprise the human security dimension. Growth may have a positive impact on society as a whole and on the individual situation. But it is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The right to development calls for additional political action to ensure the expansion of the freedom to act on one's own behalf – it embraces empowerment of the poor. They have to be protected from want and fear so as to fully realise their human rights and freedoms: in brief, to enjoy human security.

International negotiators are mainly states, with different capacities in participation. When nations negotiate, global public goods (such as a clean environment) risk being ignored. Global rules have developed in the last decades, e.g. in the areas of human rights, environment and trade rules. However, they have evolved separately from each other – and thus there are frictions between the different

sets of rules (cf. UNDP 2000). Here again, human security is a helpful shift in perspective – away from the state and closer to the individual's needs and fears.

Human security is the protection of people and communities. As a first step in this protection, human rights have to be upheld. It is also about the empowerment of people and groups to speak up and act in their own interest. It is admittedly difficult to identify precise paths to follow to identify economic rights and the right to development. In particular, how to translate the right to development into reality is disputed. Neither the declaration of Human Rights nor the UN Declaration on the Right to Development is legally binding. However, these declarations formulate a strong moral obligation to bring human security – the situation of the individuals – into one's perspective.

4 European traditions in external relations

The European polity's traditions offer a common point of reference for EU policy towards the South that puts human security at the core of EU's external relations. More often than not, Europe's institutional set-up is the centre of attention. However, this institutional question needs prior clarifications on the goals and the content of policymaking. Henry Kissinger famously is reported to have asked about Europe's telephone number in the 1970s.² But once Europe has someone to answer the phone, what will its message be? Ireland and its European partners share fundamental values that make them 'civilian powers' (see box 2). Europe claims to advocate these values in its external action. The perspective of human security should thus enable Europe to participate in addressing the root causes of problems.

The European Union has developed an approach to interstate relationships based on the recognition of mutual interdependence of nations and rooted in distinctive values and principles, thus transcending mere foreign policy. All EU Member States have signed a number of legally binding human rights treaties, in particular the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.³ All EU states are thus obliged to promote, secure and protect human rights and thereby the human security of their citizens. But additionally, the European Union claims to follow specific, fundamental values in its external relations. At the start of his presidency, Romano Prodi declared that the EU must 'aim to become a global civil power at the service of sustainable global development' (Prodi 2000, cited in Manners 2002: 236). These values oblige the EU to specifically promote human security.

The fundamental norms in the EU's relations with 'third' countries are laid down in the Maastricht treaty (1993). Their formulation reflects the general consensus among Member States, speaking of a 'European identity at the international level'.⁴ The nature of this identity is clarified

2 This anecdote is often recited: When asked about Europe in an interview, Kissinger is said to have replied: "Europe? What's its telephone number?" Beyond historical evidence, the quotation has a life of its own. However, Kissinger's frustrations with Europe in 1973, a year the Nixon administration labelled the "Year of Europe", are recounted in his memories. Cf. Henry Kissinger (1982): *Years of Upheaval*. Boston, pp. 700-707.

3 The Declaration has entered into force on 3 September 1953. A European Court for Human Rights has been established in Strasbourg/France that can be appealed to by citizens of the signatory states. The Declaration can be found under <http://www.unhcr.md/article/conv.htm>

4 The Treaty of Maastricht has remained unchanged in this section. The respective article is now Article 2 of the Treaty of Amsterdam (ToA).

Civilian power EU?

'Civilian power' was a term used by François Duchêne in the 1970s to describe the European Union (Duchêne 1972). Heavily criticised in the 1980s (cf. Manners 2002), the model was further discussed by Kirste/Maull (1996). The authors developed their model with regard to the 'civilisatory hexagon' of Dieter Senghaas (1994). They establish six interconnected cornerstones for foreign policy of a civilian power (see figure 2). The model embraces both interests and values in foreign policy. It is evident that *civilian powers* pursue a value-loaded foreign policy. Human rights and 'universal values' are deemed to be part of the 'national interests' and political (as opposed to military) moves are the preferred instruments of foreign policy (Kirste/Maull 1996: 302). Implicitly, *civilian power* is seen as 'contagious' (Tewes 1997: 352), as the *promotion* of own norms is part of its role model.

Figure 2: Cornerstones of foreign policy of a 'civilian power'



Source: Kirste/Maull 1996, illustration following Senghaas' 'civilisatory hexagon'

Schimmelpfennig (2001) distinguishes (i) values promoted within the Union, and (ii) those advocated on the international level. Internally, social pluralism, rule of law, democratic political participation and representation, private ownership and a market economy are consensus among EU Member States (for the debate of European norms cf. also Manners 2002). The facets in the realisation of human rights (see figure 1) are thus not fundamentally questioned within the EU – their achievements are central goals of all European nations. External behaviour is related to the internal values: these internal values are the basis of foreign policy behaviour. The cornerstones of civil society – situated at the state level – therefore root in internal strive for the realisation of human rights at the individual level. Citizens support foreign policy if its core beliefs are favoured by their own society (Kirste/Maull 1996: 292). European Union, drawing back on its own experiences and principles, accepts and promotes liberal ideas of human rights and a liberal social and political order (Schimmelpfennig 2001: 59). Therefore, the EU can be regarded as a good example for 'civilian power'.

in a later article of the Maastricht Treaty on the common foreign policy, which shall embrace 'all areas of foreign and security policy' in order to 'develop and strengthen democracy and the rule of law as well as the respect for fundamental and human rights'.⁶

The EU is to have a European Foreign Minister in the not-too-distant future, sitting in the European Commission.⁷ While likely to foster coherence, the effect on the scope of the EU's external relations should be carefully watched. In his formulations for a European security strategy – 'A secure Europe in a better world' (Solana 2003) – High Representative Javier Solana reminds us that most wars in the world take place within rather than between states. Inter-state diplomacy and the drawback on military deterrence therefore are of very limited use. In his assessment of the 'new environment' for European policy, Solana refers to rampant poverty in the South, often one of the root causes of conflict, particularly so in Sub-Saharan Africa. He also refers to global warming threatening the livelihood of people.

Solana's analysis noticeably stands in the tradition of European external relations. However, the relationship between foreign and development policy is still unsettled. One of the proposals in the draft of a European security strategy is 'unity of command' in European external relations. 'Diplomatic efforts, development, trade and environmental policies should follow the same agenda' (Solana 2003: 13). Article 1-27 of the EU's draft Constitution states that the European Foreign Minister 'shall ensure that the Union's action in external relations is consistent with the common foreign and security policy' (EU Convention 2003). Development policy is meant to advocate the interests of people in developing countries, while foreign policy shall represent the EU's population. Both approaches have to be reconciled and brought together in a credible European policy. Subordination of development under foreign policy does not address today's or future challenges to most people's lives. The human security perspective could offer a path for a coherent European policy, drawing in European values and developmental concerns.

The European Union has a story to tell about improving human security within its own borders. The EU is fundamentally based on the rule of law. It aims to make warfare among the partners impossible by establishing binding rules. Economic integration, based on commonly agreed rules, served as the starting point. After the experience of World War II, the institutionalisation of peaceful co-operation – an 'ever closer union' between the peoples of Europe – was meant to guarantee Europeans a life free from fear (of another war and of political oppression) and a life free from want, after the war's devastations (both individual as well as economic). European policy should carefully take into account its

⁵ Kirste and Maull apparently use the term *institution* in a narrow, if not reduced, meaning as synonym to *organisational structure*. The setting of rules and international law is located in a separate 'cornerstone'.

⁶ ToA, Article 11, paragraph 1.

⁷ see the Draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, http://europa.eu.int/futurum/constitution/index_en.htm

roots and reflect human conditions in other parts of the world.

'Coherence' between Community action and overall European Union activity is the focus of interest.⁸ Considering the EU's role as a civilian power (see box), it should strongly favour participatory decision-making and multilateral co-operation. Trade Commissioner Lamy gave good arguments for multilateralism himself: it was 'a good fit for the EU, because [it was] non-discriminatory, effective, efficient, fair and protective of the weak'.⁹ It therefore allows for the promotion of human security. Since the collapse of the Cancún talks, the EU Council and European Parliament have strongly supported multilateral negotiations. The Commission stressed that the EU should continue to do so, but 'movement in a negotiation is not an aim in itself [...] we do need therefore, commensurate movements from other participants, which was and still appears, unfortunately, by and large insufficient or absent altogether [...] [hence] the need to refine and sharpen our negotiating approach in a number of areas' (EU Commission 2003: 5). This casts a shadow of doubt on the future of multilateralism. Any long-term reliance on exclusively bilateral relations risks undermining the EU's legitimacy.

5 The human security perspective on European policy

As the aim of European external relations is to promote security, the root causes of conflicts have to be addressed, as Javier Solana has rightly pointed out in his security strategy paper (Solana, 2003). Addressing the root causes means taking the needs and fears of people into account. The starting point of human security places individuals in the centre and thus best reflects the fundamental role of Europe as a 'normative power' (Manners 2002) in the world.

Development co-operation is 'a vital and distinct element of the Union's external relations', asserted seven national ministers in May 2003, among them Tom Kitt of Ireland. They stressed that development policy 'is a clear expression of Europe's wish to advance its values and foster peace and prosperity in the wider world' (Joint position paper, May 2003). Europe should therefore put 'human security at the top of the agenda', as the Commission on Human Security demands (CHS 2003: 131). How would the consequent application of a human security perspective affect the EU's policy? What would have to change?

5.1 Focusing on human rights, democracy, participation and accountability

- So as to promote human security, sustainable development must be at the core of European external relations; empowerment of populations should be the central aim. Therefore, both in accordance with its values and its self-interest, European external relations must regard the human security situation in other societies, rather than considering the size of a country, its strategic location or the size of its market as a motivation for action.

5.2 European trade policy

- Trade represents a significant opportunity for families and nations to earn their own income with dignity, ensuring their own security at each level. As the stronger partner in trade, the EU has a particular responsibility to take into account the human security impact of its policies. Trade policy should consider the (limited) capabilities of Europe's partners. And with a human security perspective, EU agricultural policy will have to take into account the right to income in developing countries.

5.3 EU commitment to multilateralism

- The rights to sustainable development and to participation give strong arguments in favour of multilateralism: multilateral fora offer the opportunity for small societies to form groupings which push the agenda to follow the needs of their populations. As a civilian power, it should be the EU's 'natural' instinct in international discussions to favour multilateralism.

5.4 The fight against HIV/AIDS

- Promoting human security encompasses promotion of the right to health. This means an obligation to support the global fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. People have a right to health – and drugs against HIV/AIDS must therefore not remain out of reach for the poor in the Southern hemisphere. Weak health service systems must be supported to enable the proper delivery of such treatments. With regard to human security, the perception of intellectual property rights in the field of health products enters the debate (i.e. the TRIPS agreement of the WTO).

5.5 Financing for development

- When development is regarded as being derived from human rights, all states have the moral duty to deliver that right. Human rights are universal and indivisible – they are not restricted to national citizens. Development assistance therefore becomes a moral duty of richer societies, rather than an act of grace. And because of our interdependence with the global South, reducing poverty is also in our own informed self-interest.

⁸ This particular concern first appeared under the name 'consistency' in the Single European Act in 1986, Art. 30 (5), referring to actions of the EC and their effects on foreign relations.

⁹ Pascal Lamy in a speech in London on 28 October 2003. http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/commissioners/lamy/speeches_articles/spla195_en.htm

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