

A Conceptualization of the Human Security Doctrine in the Post-Communist States in the Balkans

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South and Eastern European post communist countries have for the last few years changed rapidly their national security concepts by including the so-called wide (complex) security theory elements. These non-military aspects of modern approach to the security are developed by the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Furthermore, some security experts and researchers state that nowadays a broad approach to security is transforming into a human security theory. The aim of the article is to show the impact of the evolution of the modern security theories towards the development of a human security doctrine in the selected Balkan post-communist states. Moreover, the article attempts to answer the main question: what kind of human security concept (Japanese or Canadian approach) in these post-communist countries will be adopted? Finally, a couple of proposals for the future conceptualization of the security policy in these countries are mentioned.

Key words: Post-communist countries, Human Security Doctrine

1. Introduction

The feature of the post-Cold War security environment is a significant change in the national security way of thinking. In the early 90s the security researchers and analysts started to focus on the non-military aspects of the security of the states (social, ecological, cultural, health and so on). The leader of this conception was a famous English International Relations theorist Barry Buzan who had established the so-called Copenhagen School of Security, devoted to soft security studies.

Although the Copenhagen School of Security highlights the importance of non-military threats to the security of the state, it still treats traditional nation-state actors as the most important object of security. The vital breakthrough was the beginning of treating humans as core security subjects. At the same time, this new approach was called human security theory. Nowadays, human security conception is well-known and is still being developed by Western European countries (mainly the EU members), the United States, Canada, Japan and the Third World. From this point of view, we could ask what the position of former communist countries in the South and Eastern Europe on this matter is. Taking into consideration the fact

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that it is possible to select the Canadian (so called *freedom from fear*) and Japanese (*freedom from want*) school of human security, it is possible to state the mentioned region is an object of interest – let us say: the crossroads between these two approaches. The future will show which concept will be adopted.

As far as human security in post-communist countries is concerned, the case of Slovenia is exceptional due to the participation of that country in the Human Security Network initiative as the only former communist country. It is necessary to note that due to that position the Slovenian case has been widely studied by Japanese human security researchers.

2. Development of the Security Conception: Human Security as a New Branch in Modern Security Studies

Firstly, when the concept of *human security* is discussed it is necessary to remember the previous attempts, from the Cold War era, to change the security concept. Peter J. Katzenstein, an American security scientist, briefly noticed that: “The end of the Cold War has put new national security issues beside the long-standing fear of a nuclear war between the two superpowers and their preparations for large-scale conventional wars; ethnic conflicts leading to civil wars that expose civilian populations to large-scale state violence; an increasing relevance of economic competitiveness and, relatedly, of the «spin-on» of civilian high technology for possible military use; increasing numbers of migrants and refugees testing the political capacities of states; threats of environmental degradation affecting national well-being; and perceived increases in the relevance of issues of cultural identity in international politics, including human rights and religion”¹. Moreover, the Cold War restricted significantly the development of the security branch of science and in that period the authors mainly focused on the arms race between the two most important opponents – the United States and the Soviet Union. Just a few of them were courageous enough to explore new approaches to security studies – soft security studies, which were popular mainly in Europe.

The first sign of change in the thinking about security was a remarkable article published in the early 80s by Richard Ullman, entitled *Redefining Security*, in which the author “(...) made a general case for broadening the concept of security”². Moreover, it was stated that threats to security were increasing, particu-

larly non-military threats. These threats, argues Ullman, threaten the political freedom of governments and any single man, and could make him poorer as well³. Despite the fact that it was a very interesting idea, it seems that the time was too early for this kind of thesis and so Ullman’s article was not treated seriously by American and Russian scientists.

The next step towards a vital breakthrough in thinking about security was a publication by Jessica Matthews in a prestigious American magazine *Foreign Affairs*⁴. The author “(...) highlighted the need for states to give proper concern to the newly apparent threats posed by environmental problems such as ozone depletion and global warming”⁵. In this moment, it is necessary to emphasize that the way of understanding security concept had changed definitely in the consequence of the collapse of the Cold War bipolar system. Traditional, narrow, concentrated only on military aspects, security definitions were followed by modern, broad approaches, proposed by famous theorists in International Relations such as above-mentioned Barry Buzan, Stephen Walt, Edward Kolodziej, and others⁶. The previous, narrow security concept tended to focus only on military capabilities and the use and control of force by states⁷. The new approach to security treated it broadly, including such aspects as political, social, environmental, cultural, information, but also military factors. The most famous promoter of this attitude was Barry Buzan, the founder of the Copenhagen School of Security. “Barry Buzan trail-blazed this approach in the early 1990s, but it fully crystallised later in the decade, when he teamed up with Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde in producing the groundbreaking work *Security. A New Framework for Analysis*”⁸. This new direction was for the first time called the Copenhagen School of Security in 1994 by Bill McSweeney, one of the scientists who together with Buzan participated in Security Research Group in Copenhagen, Denmark. Thus, this complex security theory includes all works of the researchers who had joined the mentioned Group, which published very well-known books that are today fundamental for broad security studies⁹. The most important lesson learned by the Group was that nowadays the targets of threats are both traditional, nation-states and other participants of International Relations. Secondly, the modern threats to security are both external and internal. These statements were proved by Copenhagen School researchers through the analysis of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia in 1990s. Moreover, broad security conception is followed by the modern human security theory a part of which the community of security researchers

treated as a consequence of Barry Buzan's approach to the security matters¹⁰.

The term *human security* became popular after being used in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) *Report* in 1994¹¹, however it is believed that the idea for this sort of security appeared previously. The authors of the *Report* highlight the fact that "the concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as a global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-states than to people. (...) Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards"¹². Consequently, it was divided into two trends within the modern approach to security in the *Report*: "(...) First, safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease, repression [it means - *freedom from want*]. And second, it means protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns in daily life (...) [*freedom from fear*]"¹³. Bearing in mind these two aspects of human security, economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political dimensions of security were highlighted¹⁴. Furthermore, four essential characteristics for human security were noted: *universalism* of that conception, the components of it are *interdependent*, it is easier to ensure it through *early prevention* and the human security concept is *human-centred*¹⁵. The last value, human-centred aspect, gave a reason why some of the scientists used to call human security theory *human-centric security*¹⁶.

As far as human security is concerned, the theory was developed in further documents by the United Nations Development Program. For instance, the 1999 UNDP *Human Development Report* mainly affected globalization, but also human security by "giving it [means United Nations System] greater coherence to respond to broader needs of human security"¹⁷. Consequently, in 2000 the former United Nations Organization (UN) Secretary General, Kofi Annan, in his *Millennium Report* stated that humankind should be the most important point of interests for all the countries and international organizations, particularly for the UN, which would have to guarantee security for every man¹⁸. In addition, the UN emphasized the fact that human security could not be equated with *human development*. "Human development is a broader concept - defined (...) as a

process of widening the range of people's choices. Human security means that people can exercise these choices safely and freely (...)"¹⁹.

One of the first who proposed the idea of extended security study, including human security concept, was Professor Emma Rothschild from Harvard University, the U.S.A. In her precious article from 1995 entitled *What is Security?*, Rothschild explores the origin of the human security idea as the process of widening *national security* conception. "The ubiquitous idea, in the new principles of the 1990s, is of security in an «extended» sense. The extension takes four main forms. In the first, the concept of security is extended from the security of nations to the security of groups and individuals: it is extended downwards from nations to individuals. In the second, it is extended from the security of nations to the security of the international system, or of a supranational physical environment: it is extended upwards, from the nation to the biosphere. The extension, in both cases, is in the sorts of entities whose security is to be ensured. In the third operation, the concept of security is extended horizontally, or to the sorts of security that are in question. Different entities (such as individuals, nations, and «systems») cannot be expected to be secure or insecure in the same way; the concept of security is extended, therefore, from military to political, economic, social, environmental, or «human» security. In the fourth operation, the political responsibility for ensuring security (or for invigilating all these «concepts of security») is itself extended: it is diffused in all directions from national states, including upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local government, and sideways to nongovernmental organizations, to public opinion and the press, and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market"²⁰. To sum up, the human security concept being a consequence of the development and evolution of the Barry Buzan approach was proved by Rothschild. According to her, human security is a very important part of the national security as well. Moreover, bearing in mind all above-mentioned theories, it could be concluded that post-Cold War conception of security was called broad, wide, complex or extended, but the main idea was always the same - after the collapse of the bipolar system, security should be understood as covering all the aspects of our daily life. Thus, the human security theory could emerge and become popular in the 1990s, particularly in Western European countries (EU), Canada, Japan and the Third-World. Nowadays it is possible to state that this concept constitutes a new branch in security studies, although some academics do not agree with this view²¹.

3. Perspectives for the Conceptualization of Human Security in the Post-Communist Balkan Countries – The Crossroads between the Canadian and Japanese Approach

The former communist countries in South and Eastern Europe today are strongly interested in human security policy and, on the other hand, the human security leaders, such as Canada or Japan etc. are interested in this region. The reason why this situation takes place is a *soft power* of the human security concept. Moreover, new democracies, due to their membership in the EU/NATO tend to search for the best solution for their national security strategies. Thus, it could be stated that at this time the process of the conceptualization of the human security doctrine in the Balkans could be observed.

Firstly, the impact of Canada and Japan on human security theory should be analyzed. The beginning of that division (of the Canadian and Japanese schools) dates back to the time of the II World War. Sabina Alkire noticed the fact that "as far back as June 1945, the U.S. Secretary of State reported this to his government on the results of the San Francisco Conference: «The battle of 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»"²². The latter studies on security developed the idea from 1945 and led to create the two mentioned schools of the human security: Canadian (*freedom from fear* – humanitarian interventionism) and Japanese (*freedom from want* – social and economic development).

The Canadian approach was focused on the physical safety of the person. It affected all military and non-military threats for the nations and for the individual. Some of the countries did not accept the Canadian point of view and, consequently, the states which had developed human security in their foreign policy were divided into two above-mentioned parts. The first one entails with *freedom from fear* (supported mainly by Canada and Norway) and the second one with the *freedom from want* approach (Japan and the Third World). "Japan (...) stresses

the importance of development issues and «human dignity» and has been critical of Canada's approach to human security, which it sees as associated with humanitarian intervention"²³.

Academics from different countries have made research on this concept, being in favor of either the Canadian (so-called narrow approach) or Japanese (broad approach) school of human security. Gary King and Christopher Murray developed the Japanese *freedom from want* point of view: "We define an individual's human security as his or her expectation of years of life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty. Population human security is then an aggregation of individual's human security"²⁴. However, Caroline Thomas writes that *freedom from want* entails not only basic material needs, but also human dignity and democracy²⁵, these are the values which are supported also by the European Union. For Canadian researcher Fen Olser Hampson "the concept of «security» can be defined as the absence of threat to core human values, including the most basic human value, the physical safety of the individual"²⁶. Thus, protection of the vital values such as the personal safety of the individual human is treated by Canadian professor of political sciences Robert Bedesky as primarily, a narrow definition of human security²⁷.

To conclude, for the last few years the human security concept has rapidly changed, also due to the rise of the conflicts between the states. Professor Michael T. Klare, a famous American scientist, at the beginning of the 1990s predicted that in the next couple of years the international security environment will be dominated by interstate conflicts. "Preventing, controlling, and resolving these conflicts, and impeding the spread of advanced weaponry will, therefore, constitute the principal world security tasks of the 1990s and beyond"²⁸ warned Klare. The European Union had to face these new challenges by participating actively in many peacekeeping operations abroad (mainly in the former Yugoslavia) or distributing humanitarian aid (activity of Humanitarian Aid Department of the European Commission ECHO). Thus, human security concept has also become a point of interest for the EU. It means that the EU has successfully developed both Canadian and Japanese approaches to human security²⁹.

For the purpose of this article both, Canadian and Japanese, approaches to human security are important. The South and the East of Europe is a specific region, also because of its unhappy history: a

time of communist authorities. Since the early 1990s the political situation in the former communist countries in that region has been transforming into: democratic system of the governance, civil control over armed forces, economic reforms and protection of human rights. Moreover, the new national security strategies in these countries are related to the new security thinking (broad security concept). Thus, it is possible to state that the development in Western countries human security theory affects the national security policy of these states. Involvement of the EU into human security policy is another factor. The question which should be asked is: which school of human security, Canadian or Japanese, will the new democracies choose?

To answer this question, it is necessary to explore the topic of the Balkan states. As far as human security in this region is concerned, it seems that the countries of the former Yugoslavia are most interested in developing this doctrine compared to other post-communist countries of the region. The genesis of this policy is probably connected with the activity of the founder of the *Medecins sans Frontieres* organization, French doctor and politician, present Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Bernard Kouchner. He was the first to introduce the humanitarian intervention doctrine in his famous book entitled *The Duty to Intervene*³⁰; today Kouchner is known as "the father of modern interventionism". He argued that liberal democracies not only had a right but were morally obligated to override the sovereignty of another nation in the name of the protection of human rights. This point of view of Kouchner was used as an ideological basis during the NATO operation in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Taking into account the Canadian and Japanese schools of human security and the activity of Kouchner, it is necessary to highlight the French in-

fluence on humanitarian intervention, and in particular to focus on the role of Bernard Kouchner and the promotion of international interference within sovereign states. The origins of Kouchner's notion of legal obligation to interfere are traced back to the Biafra war, and to fierce debates about "third-worldism" in Paris. Furthermore, the point of view of "the father of modern interventionism" is similar to the Canadian school of human security. The Kosovo conflict, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina – the necessity of humanitarian support of the international community – could lead to the conclusion that those countries will accept this concept of human security (*freedom from fear*). On the other hand, it seems that the Canadian approach is developed in Serbia as well. For example, the Belgrade School of Security Studies³¹ was established, in cooperation with Norwegian and Canadian authorities. The School focuses on humanitarian intervention issues. The humanitarian intervention doctrine is also being developed in Macedonia³².

An exception to that rule is Slovenia. The country, being the only one from the former European communist states, is an active member of the Human Security Network (HSN). Last year Ljubljana took over as the HSN Chair. Slovenia's priority tasks were outlined by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dimitrij Rupel, who pointed out: the role the HSN would play in the newly-established UN Human Rights Council, facilitation of cultural dialogue and protection of children in armed conflicts³³. During the 9th Human Security Network Ministerial Meeting in Ljubljana on May 2007, Rupel argued that: "In the past year, the Network has strived to draw the international attention to the emerging threats to people's safety, security and well-being and to advance human security issues at all levels"³⁴. His words are significant, because the social aspect of

Table 1. A comparison of the preferred approaches to the human security concept in selected Balkan countries.

Country	Preferred approach to the human security concept
Albania	Japanese (<i>freedom from want</i>)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Canadian (<i>freedom from fear</i>)
Kosovo*	Canadian (<i>freedom from fear</i>)
Macedonia	Canadian (<i>freedom from fear</i>)
Montenegro	Canadian (<i>freedom from fear</i>)
Serbia	Canadian (<i>freedom from fear</i>)
Slovenia	Japanese (<i>freedom from want</i>)

human security was emphasized. The lesson learned is that Slovenia could be more interested in the Japanese (*freedom from want*) school of human security. Furthermore, Japan is strongly exploring the Slovenian case, especially in the context of economic affairs³⁵. On the other hand, it seems that the Slovenian government are not only focused on social issues; Slovenian soldiers are deployed in areas of the conflict during peace-keeping operations and through that activity they could implement the policy of humanitarian interventions. Another Balkan country which is mainly interested in social aspects of human security is Albania³⁶. Table 1 shows the preferred approaches to the human security concept in the selected Balkan countries.

The lesson learned is that Balkan countries are mainly interested in the *freedom from fear* approach to the human security concept. It seems that the reason is the unstable political situation in the former Yugoslavia, except for Slovenia and Croatia. On the other hand, the tough economic situation in these countries will probably force them to develop the Japanese concept as well. The future will show the results.

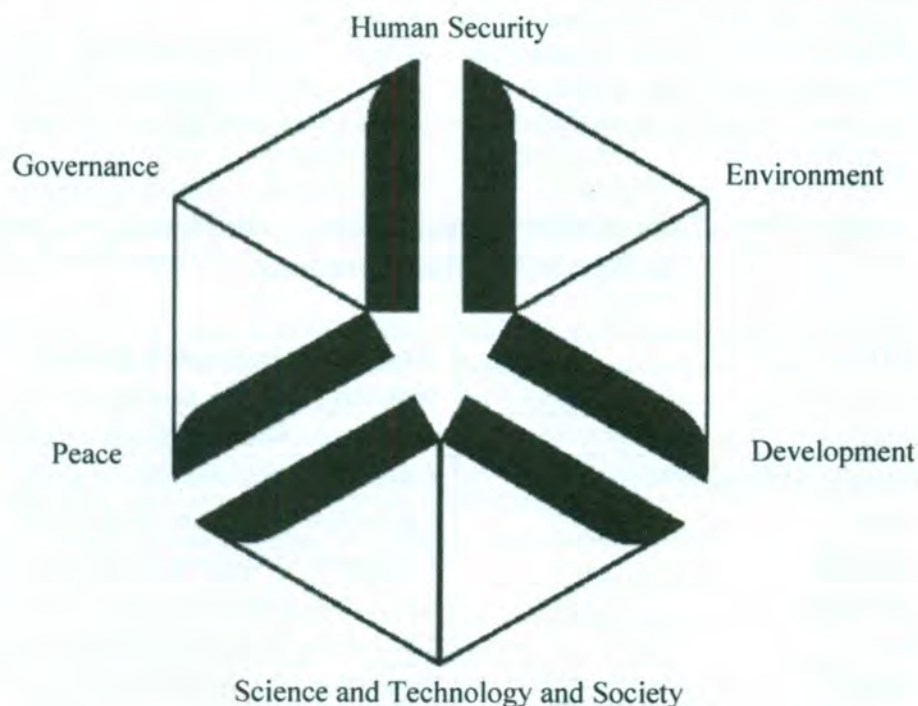
Taking into consideration the Canadian, Japanese and French impact on conceptualization of the human security policy in the former Yugoslavia, it is necessary to point out the American perspective. Involving in Iraqi and Afghanistan campaigns, the US

seems to be more interested in the Canadian (*freedom from fear*) approach³⁷.

Last, but not least, the human security doctrine perception by the new EU member countries, such as Romania, would affect the EU security policy. "So the Union, still carrying its historical baggage, had to find a role in an international system whose character was as yet unknown"³⁸. A Romanian author, Viorica Zorița Pop, conducted a profound study on the former communist countries and the impact of human security on them³⁹. According to her, new member countries, which in the past were communist, today are familiar with human security and support this idea. Analyzing the situation in Romania, it seems that Romanian authorities are interested not only in social issues and human rights⁴⁰, but also in taking part in military operations abroad (for example by establishing the French-Romanian Application School for Gendarmerie officers in Bucharest which prepares gendarmes to stabilization activity of the areas of the conflict⁴¹).

In summary, human security in South Eastern Europe is still in transition, on the crossroads – between the Canadian and Japanese approach. On the other hand, providing human security in that region is related to others values, such as sustainable development of the society, governance and peace, care for the environment, and the development of science. Picture 1 shows a set of the core values that should

Picture 1. A set of the core values which should be included in the human security concepts of the Balkan countries.



be included in the human security concepts of the Balkan countries.

It seems that involving all these elements could lead to the full, right and clear human security concept in Balkan countries.

4. Conclusion

Recently some academics called for a return to a comprehensive security concept, which would include such important questions as "(...) economy, ecology, demography, communication and the development of civilization and technology"⁴². Moreover, "(...) both the Commission on Global Governance and UNDP (...) have called for a broadening of the traditional concentration on state security to embrace the dimensions of human security and the security of the planet"⁴³. To conclude, it is the human who is

affected by all the above-mentioned theories as the object of the modern security concern. Barry Buzan called this process *macro-securitisation*: „By macro-securitisation I mean a securitisation aimed at, and up to a point succeeding, in framing security issues, agendas and relationships on a system-wide basis. Macro-securitisations are based on universalist constructions of threats and/or referent objects"⁴⁴. Furthermore, wide research on human security provoked security experts to generate a new branch in security studies – study on human security.

The conceptualization of the human security doctrine in the Southeast European countries seems to be a new challenge for politicians, security researchers and academics. By establishing this concept they should take into consideration not only all the approaches to human security, but also the core elements which are connected with this theory. ■

NOTES

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