РОЗДІЛ 4. ПОЛІТИЧНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ МІЖНАРОДНИХ СИСТЕМ ТА ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО РОЗВИТКУ

Veliyeva Nargiz Latif

Evolution of human security in international relations

Veliyeva Nargiz Latif
Doctoral Student
Baku State University
Academician Zakhid Khalilov str., 23,
Baku, Azerbaijan

The purpose of the study is to identify the concept of security in different periods of international relations and change the evolution of the concept of military security to the level of human security.

The article emphasizes the concept of security in the policy of states since the formation of international relations, especially in relation to human security. It is noted that in ancient times people did not pay attention not only to human security, but also to the security of the territorial integrity of the state. This methodologically became possible with the emergence of some elements of international law and human rights in the 20th century by the states undertaken in these areas.

The methodology of the research involves using the qualitative methods including content analysis, discourse anylysis, analysis of existing rules, documents, recommendations, research papers, chronology. Moreover, a strong empirical background and descriptive method of study are used in this research.

The scientific novelty of the article is that this research is the first broader research on identifying evolution of the security of individuals in international relations system.

Results. It is shown from the article that in ancient times it was important for states to maintain power and occupy many territories dont considering important of human-state relations. At that time it was impossible to ensure human security in practice despite of having some theoretical views on human life, inviolability and rights. In the middle ages after the emergence of the principles of international law such as sovereignty and territorial integrity the national security of states emerged in international relations theory. The two world wars forced the world powers to reconsider the concept of security. The concept of security expanding towards the end of the Cold War ended with human security in the early 1990s. However, states still do not pay much attention to human security in their policies. If most countries in the world adopt this concept, political, social, environmental and economic threats will be reduced.

Key words: *state, human, security, national security, rights, international relations.*

Introduction. The article emphasizes the concept of security in the policy of states since the formation of international relations especially in relation to human security. In ancient times people did not pay attention not only to human security but also to the security of the territorial integrity of the state. As some elements of international law and human rights emerged states began to think about human security in the last century.

The main goal of the article is to analyze the evolution of human-state relations from the perspective of security in the history of international relations.

Review of publications. Looking through the scientific research on human security and the UN publications of the last decade I got acquainted with numerous documents and sources. McIntosh, Malcolm, and Alan Hunter (Eds.). New Perspectives on Human Security was published in 2010. Centre for Research on Peace and Development published human Security: A critical review of the literature. Japan authors Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko and Carol Messineo brought new contra opinions about human security in international relations. Acharya, Amitav, Subrat K. Singhdeo and M. Rajaretnam analyzed human security as a theory and in practice in the case

of Northeast India and Orissa. European thinkers such as Koehler, Gabriel researched human security and the next generation of comprehensive human development goals in 2012. Jacobs, Garry published "Integrated Approach to Peace and Human Security in the 21st Century" and analyzed new dimensions of human security. Hernandez, Carolina G., Eun Mee Kim, Yoichi Mine, Ren Xiao researched human security and cross-border cooperation in East Asia in 2019. Covid-19 pandemics as a last threat to human security was searched by Centro Studi Internazionali with title of the impact of Covid-19 on human security. Gary King and Christopher J. L. Murray, Sarka Waisova as an independent researchers touched upon the problems and threats to human security in the beginning of XXI century and noted human security as a new paradigm in international relations. Sadako Ogata expressed his opinions on the theoretical and practical aspects of human security, prevention, protection, humanitarian agenda of UN and later evolutional development in human security sphere. Gerd Oberleitner expressed the problems of international law issues of human security and analyzed the UN Charter, OSCE documents on human security problems of the world. Mary Kaldor, Mary Martin, and Sabine Selchow researched human

security on the topic of a new strategic narrative for Europe.

The main matters

During the emergence of the ancient states in the world there were no any system of ensuring the security of the peoples, citizens and protecting their rights and freedoms. In ancient and medieval times the main duty of the heads of the states ruling the territory was to occupy new lands and prolong wars at the expense of the human lives despite of having intellectual opinions of philosophers such as Aristotel, Plato and etc. Aristotel told: "Just as, when perfected, a human is the best of animals so also when separated from law and justice, he is the worst of all". On Aristotle's view then human beings must be subject to the authority of the city-state in order to attain the good life. The following principle concerns how authority should be exercised within a community. In order to preserve both the dignity of the people and the security of the individual that part of legislature which respresents the people must bring its charges before that part of the legislature which represents the nobles, a body with neither interests nor passions. This type of government was in most ancient republics which were defective in that the people was at the same time both judge and prosecutor [1, p.95].

With the advent of great geographical discoveries territorial claims among states started to intensify in the Middle Ages. The introduction of the concept of nation-state in the Middle Ages in France, the existence of a nation in definite area, the rise of modern system of states, the concept of territorial integrity, sovereignty that were called Westphalian system emerged in international relations in that period. This global system based on the principle of international law that each state has sovereignty over its territory and domestic affairs, to the exclusion of all external powers, on the principle of non-interference in another country's domestic affairs and that each state (no matter how large or small) is equal in international law. These advantages that given to the states acording to Westphalian system gave an opportunity to the states to protect their nations, peoples and ensure their security within the territory.

Because of trying to acquire more territory in ancient times, to increase their territory from the middle ages states didn't pursue any policy in favor of ensuring security. The states' main purpose was to ensure the military security from the revolutionary period of XVIII century. Thereby the security of individuals was charasteristic from the mid-seventeenth century to the French Revolution. In Book XII, Montesquieu an enlightner of that period takes up the liberty of the citizen in relation to his person, property and honor. There he equates the liberty with security. According to the political thoery of Montesquieu that the main purpose of government is to maintain law and order, political liberty and the property of the individual 14 [2].

The revolutions and uprisings that took place in Europe and America after the emergence of feudal relations gave a way to capitalist relations to call people for their own security. However the resources struggle for the economic development of states in the world at the end of the XIX century increased tensions among European states and it resulted in World War I. At the end of the war U.S. President Woodrow Wilson put forward his thesis known as the "14 Points." He tried to serve humanity through leadership in ethical purposes and bringing peace and security to the world. Pacifists, liberal internationalists and atlanticists influenced W.Vilson to pursue the policy of neutrality preserving the security of the state and individuals and at the same time propaganda of basic rights of the humans [3].

The League of Nations was the first institution to ensure peace and security in the world. At the same time the United States was the first to promote liberal values to protect human rights and freedoms considered the value of man, the protection of his freedoms and rights as the main task of the state. Of course the protection of human rights and freedoms means ensuring the safety of humans. Any threat to their rights and freedoms is a violation of human security.

However political and economic tensions among the states continued after the creation of the League of Nations leading to World War II. Shortly after the Second World War during the Cold War period the concept of national security dominated in the field of security analysis. By the end of the Cold War the international environment and basic conditions of international relations had changed. The new international environment initiated debate about the basic characteristics of the international system, about relations among various actors, about the prospect of stability, the evolution of international relations and last but not least about security [4, p.58].

As mentioned till the beginning of the XX century the notion of security belonged both the states and humans. It was the notion of national security that the primary principle was to ensure territorial integrity and sovereighnty as a result of adopting a National Security Act by USA in 1947.

The maintenance of international peace and security, as laid down in Article 1 of the charter, pre supposes the territorial integrity and political independence of states. With the introduction of collective security in 1945, security was inter nationalized, allowing states under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to act collectively and, if necessary, with the use of force to uphold or restore international peace and security. National or state security and its offspring, collective security, have continued to dominate the inter national

legal order. The concept has then been broadened by including nonmilitary threats and by reluctantly including internal violence in collective security and peacekeeping activities. Following these develop ments, global security and the concern for the survival of mankind entered the agenda. Human security seems to be a next logical step in the development of ever expanding understanding of security [5]. In 1948 the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms better known as the European Convention on Human Rights was adopted by the Council of Europe. Certain of the rights provided for in the Convention contain an express clause permitting a state to limit the right in question on the basis of national security. This clause can be found in the fair trial (Article 6), to privacy, family life and inviolability of correspondence (Article 8), to freedom of expression (Article 10). There are also national security limitations on the rights to liberty of movement and freedom to choose a residence within a state [7].

The underlying issues of human security focus on the individual, the waning of state sovereignty and the rise of new actors, the shift in our understanding of security, the need and risks of "saving strangers" through humanitarian intervention, the reform of the Security Council, the conduct of complex peace missions and the adequate reaction to new threats a challenge to international law [7].

A new approach to the security consept emerging as economic security besides military started in 1970s because of having economic problems in the world. The Helsinki Agreement was signed in 1975 . It was that agreement that first brought peace and human rights together. The Helsinki agreement comprised of three baskets. The first was the security or peace basket; it was an agreement about the territorial status quo in Europe and about the non use of force on the European continent. The second basket was about economic and scientific cooperation. And the third basket was about respect for human rights [8].

However a broaden consept of security appeared in the beginning of 1980s by Copenhagen School. Except of mililtary security political, environmental, economic, social security notions started to analyze by states. Thus during the Cold War the spectrum of security expanded including concepts such as economic, social, cultural and environmental. Throughout all these historical and political processes the concept of human security was not mentioned.

Strategic security of the nation-state was conceptualised by the Americans during the Cold War as "national security". Consequently, "hard power" became the main arbiter of foreign policy formulation in the United States of America (US) and the rest of the world. Ever since the tag of "national security" became attractive and tactically useful for funding, the word "security" has been appended to all sorts of social concerns that have been incorporated into the concept of national security including economic, environmental, food and health security, etc. Of late water and cyber security have been added to the growing pantheon as well. The post-Cold War era saw a conceptual transition from national security to human security. "A secure Europe in a better world", "putting people first", "comprehensive security" and "vasudhaiva kutumbakam" (the whole world as one family) have become different phases of expansion and inclusion. Witnessing the bitter consequences of the war the states initiated to build international and regional institutions to ensure international peace and security. The Cold War deterred the two great powers from a major confrontation and ended in the destruction of socialism.

In the 1980s, nations such as Sri Lanka, Cuba, China, Costa Rica and the Kerala State in India-with long life expectancies at birth and low levels of income per capita7-heightened the recognition that income does not always predict other components of well-being. UNICEF's efforts to study the impact of structural adjustment on the health, nutrition, and education of children were particularly influential in this regard. Although the idea of human security was preceded by similar concepts in reports of global commissions the Palme Commission, the Brandt Commission, the Brundtland Commission and the Commission on Global Governance human security as a distinctive new concept was created and shaped by Mahbub ul-Haq. Capturing these concerns, Mahbub ul-Haq launched the United Nations' Human Development Report in 1990. The UNDP's work was the result of innovative scholarship by an Asian scholar Mahbub ul Haq. It listed seven separate components of human security: economic security (assured basic income), food security (physical and economic access to food), health security (relative freedom from disease and infection), environmental security (access to sanitary water supply, clean air and a non-degraded land system), personal security (security from physical violence and threats), community security (security of cultural identity) and political security (protection of basic human rights and freedoms). Overall, human security as a notion became popular in the early 1990s through the United Nations Development Program. The term originated in the post-Cold War period as a means of linking various humanitarian, economic and social issues in order to reduce human suffering and ensure security. The UNDP issued its Human De- velopment Report focused explicitly on the topic of human security. They argued that "human security is not a concern with weapons-it is a concern with human life and dignity." Human security had four essential characteristics: it is universal, its components are interdependent, it is best ensured through prevention, and it is people-centered. The report also proposed that threats to human security could be

grouped in seven categories: economic, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political. A detailed review of human security can be found for the first time in the 1994 UN Development Program [10]. In its report the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) argued that development must be focused on people (even though grouped by country) rather than the security of their national boundaries and on advancing health, education and political freedom in addition to economic well-being. Development was defined broadly as expanding people's choices in almost any relevant way. To enhance dialogue on human development and garner increased political attention, the UNDP now publishes annually the "Human Development Index" which is a somewhat narrower but still broad composite measure of income per capita, life expectancy at birth and educational attainment [9, p. 586].

The Commission on Human Security set up in 2001 and cochaired by Amartya Sen and Sadako Ogata, has concluded its work and published its final report. The UN Trust Fund for Human Security was established in 1999. In 2003, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan set up the Advisory Board on Human Security and a Human Security Branch has been established in the UN Office on Drugs and Crime in Vienna [11].

Former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan describes human security in the introduction to the Book of Human Security and New Diplomacy: "During the Cold War, security tended to be defined almost entirely in terms of military power and the balance of power". Today we know that "security" means more than the absence of conflict. We also have a broader understanding of the civilian sources of conflict. We are aware that lasting peace requires a broader vision that encompasses areas such as education and health, democracy and human rights, protection from environmental degradation and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We know that in times of famine we cannot be safe we cannot build peace without reducing poverty we cannot build freedom on the basis of injustice. "These basic principles of what we now understand as 'human security', a human-oriented concept are interdependent and complementary" [12].

Norway, Canada, Japan and other countries with democratic societies and stronger social policies adopting that the source of power is the people considered it important to ensure human security in the security system of the state and accepted human security programs. For example, Canada defines human security as "safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats," a more conservative and narrower focus than the UNDP version. According to Canada's Depart- ment of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, human security does not replace national security. Rather, state security and human security are mutually supportive. According to this limited definition, human security is freedom from fear and human development is freedom from want. They are mutually reinforcing but distinct concepts. Austria, Canada, Chile, Ireland, Jordan, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand, and Norway have also promoted a more limited human security agenda. These countries focus on antipersonnel landmines, small arms, children in armed conflict, and international humanitarian and human rights law [13].

Japanese officials have also articulated a foreign policy with human security playing a central role, but their definition of human security is more inclusive than Canada's. It also differs in some ways from the UNDP definition. According to Japanese foreign policy, "human security comprehensively covers all the menaces that threaten human survival, daily life and dignity-for example, environmental degradation, violations of human rights, transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, refugees, poverty, anti-personnel landmines and other infectious diseases such as AIDS and strengthens efforts to confront these threats [14].

The emphasis on national and human security was a clash of realist and liberal theories. Proponents of the theory of realism did not hesitate to endanger people's lives to ensure national security considering the provision of national security as the main principle. They considered the protection of national security to be the key to international security. Ensuring national security also meant ensuring human security. However when considering national security from the classical military point of view, human security is sometimes called into question in ensuring the territorial integrity of the state against foreign interference. The state itself as the main institution that ensures security sometimes threatens human security with its actions. The state which is the main principle of human security is both the guarantor of human needs and desires and the state that deprives people of their provision. European institutions stated that the rights of the individual were as important as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state. On the one hand, the states that called for the preservation of international peace and security and the non-violation of human rights were themselves resolving interstate conflicts by force.

Currently, the coronavirus epidemic is the biggest threat to human health. All countries of the world are facing a number of economic and social crises while addressing this threat to human security. This reaffirms that national security cannot be ensured without ensuring human security. If most countries in the world like the countries mentioned above adopt the concept of human security international security would be better ensured in accordance with the norms and principles of international law.

Conclusion. The article examines the evolution of human security throughout the history of international relations. Human-state relations have been resolved on an authoritarian basis among states since ancient times. Over time as the ideas of the enlightenment grew stronger in the Middle Ages human security, rights and freedoms of humans and the state's national security started to base on the human aspect. The formation of human security as a concept emerged after the Cold War because of broadening of security umbrella which several countries arrive to a conclusion successfully implement in foreign and domestic policy. The fact that the coronavirus pandemic an important threat to human security is now spreading to the politics of all countries of the world.

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Еволюція безпеки людини в міжнародних відносинах

Велиєва Наргіз Латиф

докторант
Бакинського державного університету
вул. Академіка Західа Халілова, 23,
Баку, Азербайджан

Метою дослідження є визначення терміна безпеки в різні періоди міжнародних відносин та зміна еволюції поняття військової безпеки аж до безпеки людини.

У статті підкреслюється концепція безпеки в політиці держав від моменту формування міжнародних відносин, особливо щодо безпеки людини. Відзначається, що в давнину люди не звертали уваги не лише на безпеку людини, а й на безпеку територіальної цілісності держави. Це методологічно стало можливим у міру появи деяких елементів міжнародного права і прав людини в XX ст., прийнятих державами зобов'язань за цими напрямами.

Методологія дослідження передбачає використання якісних методів, включаючи аналіз контенту, аналіз дискурсу, аналіз існуючих правил, документів, рекомендацій, наукових праць, хронології. Більше того, у цьому дослідженні використовуються сильний емпіричний досвід та описовий метод дослідження.

Наукова новизна статті полягає у тому, що ця стаття є першим більш широким дослідженням щодо виявлення еволюції безпеки індивідів у системі міжнародних відносин.

Зроблено висновок, що в давнину для держав було важливо зберегти владу й окупувати багато територій, не вважаючи це важливими відносинами між людиною та державою. Тоді було неможливо забезпечити безпеку людини на практиці, незважаючи на деякі теоретичні погляди на життя, недоторканність та права людини. У середні віки після появи таких принципів міжнародного права, як суверенітет та територіальна цілісність, національна безпека держав виникла в теорії міжнародних відносин. Дві світові війни змусили держави переглянути концепцію безпеки. Поняття безпеки, що розширюється наприкінці холодної війни, припинилося з безпекою людини на початку 1990-х років. Однак у своїй політиці держави все ще не приділяють особливої уваги безпеці людини. Якщо більшість країн світу приймуть цю концепцію, політичні, соціальні, екологічні та економічні загрози будуть зменшені.

Ключові слова: *держава, людина, безпека, національна безпека, права, міжнародні відносини.*