Il Rapporto della Commissione sulla sicurezza umana*

Il 1° maggio 2003 i presidenti della Commissione indipendente sulla sicurezza umana, la signora Sadako Ogata, già Alto Commissario delle Nazioni Unite per i rifugiati, e il Premio Nobel per l'economia, il professor Amartya Sen, hanno presentato il loro Rapporto finale «Human Security Now» al Segretario generale delle Nazioni Unite¹. È il frutto dei due anni di lavoro di questa Commissione di esperti voluta dal governo giapponese nel gennaio del 2001, accogliendo così la proposta lanciata dallo stesso Kofi Annan nel corso del *Millennium Summit*, svoltasi alle Nazioni Unite l'anno prima.

Il Rapporto della Commissione risponde all'esigenza di ripensare il concetto stesso di *sicurezza*. Concepito tradizionalmente nei termini di sicurezza *statale* o *nazionale* esso si è rivelato inadeguato, da un lato nell'elaborazione di effettive strategie d'azione per la soluzione delle crisi che caratterizzano l'inizio del terzo millennio, dall'altro nel cogliere le innegabili opportunità offerte dalla presente situazione di crescente interdipendenza nelle relazioni internazionali.

Il riferimento alla dimensione umana della sicurezza è apparso nei primi anni novanta dello scorso secolo nei documenti delle Nazioni Unite in particolare per effetto dell'elaborazione concettuale dei Rapporti sullo sviluppo umano dell'UNDP (United Nations Development Programme)². Anche il Segretario generale delle Nazioni Unite Kofi Annan ha contribuito a definire il concetto di sicurezza umana. Nel 2000 egli si esprimeva così: «La sicurezza umana, nel suo significato più largo, abbraccia molto più che l'assenza di un conflitto violento. Comprende infatti i diritti umani, la good governance, l'accesso all'educazione e alla sanità e infine la garanzia che ogni individuo abbia le opportunità e le possibilità di scelta per esprimere il suo potenziale. Ogni passo in questa direzione è anche un passo verso la riduzione della povertà, lo sviluppo economico e la prevenzione dei conflitti. Libertà dal bisogno, libertà dalla paura e la libertà delle future generazioni di ereditare un ambiente naturale sano – questi sono gli elementi costituitivi di una sicurezza umana, e dunque nazionale»³.

La definizione di sicurezza umana proposta dalla Commissione richiama le parole del Segretario generale: «to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedom and human fulfillment». Sicurezza umana significa allora «proteggere le libertà fondamentali, libertà che sono l'essenza della vita. Significa proteggere le persone da

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¹ Il rapporto si può integralmente scaricare dal sito della Commissione, http://www.humansecurity-chs.org (visitato il 4 novembre 2003).

² Si veda, ad esempio, *Rapporto* sullo sviluppo umano, le nuove sicurezze, Torino, 1994, p. 32.

³ K. Annan, Secretary-General Salutes International Workshop on Human Security in Mongolia, 8-10 maggio 2000. Comunicato stampa SG/SM/7382, consultabile al sito http://www.un.org/News/Press/d ocs/2000/20000508.sgsm7382.doc.html.

minacce e situazioni critiche e pervasive. Significa utilizzare processi che si fondino sulle energie e le aspirazioni degli individui. Significa creare sistemi politici sociali, ambientali, economici e culturali che insieme forniscano gli elementi costitutivi la sopravvivenza, il sostentamento, la dignità».

La nozione di sicurezza umana è così volta alla garanzia delle libertà fondamentali e implica due strategie d'azione di carattere generale, che si integrano e completano a vicenda: la *protezione*, che richiede l'elaborazione di processi e istituzioni capaci di affrontare i pericoli che minacciano la vita delle persone e l'*empowerment*, inteso come quella strategia di sviluppo delle potenzialità degli individui perché possano prendere parte alle decisioni che riquardano la collettività.

La Commissione ha quindi esaminato nel suo Rapporto alcune minacce per la sicurezza degli individui e dei popoli tra loro distinte eppure irrimediabilmente interrelate, che costituiscono altrettante sfide sia per gli attori istituzionali che per la società civile. Il Rapporto elabora in relazione a ogni questione una serie di raccomandazioni e concrete proposte di azione politica.

Nelle pagine seguenti sarà in primo luogo proposto un passo del primo capitolo relativo alla definizione del concetto di sicurezza umana. Si riporteranno quindi le linee fondamentali dello sviluppo argomentativo del Rapporto.

Report of the Commission on Human Security

Chapter One. Human security now

Security centred on people - not states

The international community urgently needs a new paradigm of security. Why? Because the security debate has changed dramatically since the inception of state security advocated in the 17th century. According to that traditional idea, the state would monopolize the rights and means to protect its citizens. State power and state security would be established and expanded to sustain order and peace. But in the 21st century, both the challenges to security and its protectors have become more complex. The state remains the fundamental purveyor of security. Yet it often fails to fulfil its security obligations – and at times has even become a source of threat to its own people.

That is why attention must now shift from the security of the state to the security of the people – to human security. Human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development. It seeks to protect people against a broad range of threats to individuals and communities and, further, to empower them to act on their own behalf. And it seeks to forge a global alliance to strengthen the institutional policies that link individuals and the state – and the

state with a global world. Human security thus brings together the human elements of security, of rights, of development.

The Commission on Human Security's definition of human security: to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. The vital core of life is a set of elementary rights and freedoms people enjoy. What people consider to be «vital» – what they consider to be «of the essence of life» and «crucially important» – varies across individuals and societies. That is why any concept of human security must be dynamic. And that is why we refrain from proposing an itemized list of what makes up human security.

[...]

Human security and state security

Human security complements «state security» in four respects:

- Its concern is the individual and the community rather than the state.
- Menaces to people's security include threats and conditions that have not always been classified as threats to state security.
- The range of actors is expanded beyond the state alone.
- Achieving human security includes not just protecting people but also empowering people to fend for themselves.

[...]

Human security and human rights

Focusing on human security adds an important perspective to today's global challenges. But the question arises: How does human security relate to other approaches already in use in the United Nations? The idea of human security fits well with human development and human rights, but it also adds something substantial. [...] Respecting human rights is at the core of protecting human security. The 1993 Vienna Declaration of Human Rights stresses the universality and interdependence of the human rights of all people. Those rights have to be upheld comprehensively – civil and political, as well as economic and social – as proclaimed in the legally binding conventions and protocols that derive from the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Human rights and human security are therefore mutually reinforcing. Human security helps identify the rights at stake in a particular situation. And human rights help answer the question: How should human security be promoted? The notion of duties and obligations complements the recognition of the ethical and political importance of human security.

Outline of the Report of the Commission on Human Security

Ways to advance the security of people

Human security seeks to strengthen and bring together efforts to address issues such as conflict and deprivation. Attempts are being made, for example, to realize the United Nations' *Millennium Declaration* and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Achieving human security requires building on and going beyond the MDGs, by undertaking efforts to address the full range of critical and pervasive threats facing people.

Protecting people in violent conflict: Civilians are the main casualties in conflicts. Both norms and mechanisms to protect civilians should be strengthened. This requires comprehensive and integrated strategies, linking political, military, humanitarian and development aspects. The Commission proposes placing human security formally on the agenda of security organizations at all levels. There are critical gaps in how human rights are upheld, in respect for citizenship and humanitarian law. These gaps need to be closed as well as attention given to ending the impunity of perpetrators of human rights violations. Community-based strategies to promote coexistence and trust among people will support these efforts. Equally urgent is meeting the life-saving needs of people through humanitarian assistance. Special attention should be given to protecting women, children, the elderly and other vulnerable groups. Disarming people and fighting crime through preventing the proliferation of weapons and illegal trade in resources and people has to be a priority.

Protecting and empowering people on the move: For the majority of people, migration is an opportunity to improve their livelihood. For others, migrating is the only option to protect themselves, such as those forced to flee because of conflicts or serious human rights violations. Others may also be forced to leave their homes to escape chronic deprivations or sudden downturns. Today, there is no agreed international framework to provide protection or to regulate migration, except for refugees. The feasibility of an international migration framework should be explored, through establishing the basis of high-level and broad-based discussions and dialogues on the need to strike a careful balance between the security and development needs of countries, and the human security of people on the move. Equally important is to ensure the protection of refugees and internally displaced persons, and identify ways to end their plight.

Protecting and empowering people in post-conflict situations: Cease-fire agreements and peace settlements may mark the end of conflict, but not necessarily the advent of peace and human security. The responsibility to protect people in conflict should be complemented by a

responsibility to rebuild. A new framework and a funding strategy are necessary to rebuild conflict-torn states – one that focuses on the protection and empowerment of people. Such a human security framework emphasizes the linkages among the many issues affecting people, such as ensuring people's safety through strengthening civilian police and demobilizing combatants; meeting immediate needs of displaced people; launching reconstruction and development; promoting reconciliation and coexistence; and advancing effective governance. To be successful, it requires setting up unified leadership for all actors close to the delivery point of human security. To implement such a framework, a new fundraising strategy should be designed for post-conflict situations, at field level, to ensure coherence in the planning, budgeting and implementation of human security related activities.

Economic insecurity - The power to choose among opportunities: Extreme poverty remains pervasive. The proper functioning of markets as well as development of non-market institutions are key to poverty eradication. Efficient and equitable trade arrangements, economic growth reaching the extreme poor and a fair distribution of benefits are essential. Together with addressing chronic poverty, human security focuses on sudden economic downturns, natural disasters and the social impacts of crises. To make people secure when crisis hits or to enable them to move out of poverty, we need social arrangements to meet their basic needs and ensure an economic and social minimum. Threequarters of the world's people are not protected by social security or do not have secure work. Efforts to ensure sustainable livelihoods and work based security for all need to be strengthened. Access to land, credit, education, and housing, especially for poor women, is critical. An equitable distribution of resources is key to livelihood security and can enhance people's own capacity and ingenuity. Social protection measures and safety nets can advance a social and economic minimum. States, supported by the international system, need to establish early warning and prevention measures for natural disasters and economic or financial crises.

Health for human security: Despite the progress in healthcare, 22 million people died of preventable diseases in 2001. HIV/AIDS will soon become the greatest health catastrophe. In their urgency, depth and impact, global infectious diseases, poverty-related threats and health deprivations arising from violence are particularly significant. All health actors should promote health services as public goods. It is essential to mobilize social action and invest in supportive social arrangements, including the access to information, to remove the root causes of ill-health, to provide early warning systems and to mitigate health impacts once a crisis occurs. Providing access to life-saving drugs is critical for those in developing countries. An equitable intellectual property rights regime needs to be developed to balance incentives for research and develop-

ment with ensuring people's access to affordable life-saving drugs. The international community must also form a global network of partnerships for health, promoting, for example, a global surveillance and control system for infectious diseases.

Knowledge, skills and values - for human security: Basic education and public information that provide knowledge, life skills and respect for diversity are particularly important for human security. The Commission urges the international community to actively help the achievement of universal primary education, with a particular emphasis on girls' education. Schools should not create physical insecurities, but protect students from violence including sexual violence. Education should foster respect for diversity and promote the multiplicity of our identities by employing a balanced curriculum and method of instruction. Public media are important as they can provide information on life skills and political issues, and give people voice in public debate. Not only should education and the media provide information and skills that will improve work opportunities and family health, but they should also enable people to actively exercise their rights and fulfill their responsibility. [...]

Linking the many initiatives

For each of these policy conclusions joint efforts are necessary – a network of public, private, and civil society actors who can help in the clarification and development of norms, embark on integrated activities, and monitor progress and performance. Such efforts could create a horizontal, cross-border source of legitimacy that complements traditional vertical structures. This array of alliances could begin to give voice to a nascent international public opinion. Human security could serve as a catalytic concept that links many existing initiatives.

But effective and adequate resource mobilization is also required. Not only must there be greater commitment to providing additional resources but also a shift of priority assistance to people in greatest need. In this respect, the Commission recognizes the valuable contribution of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security and encourages the broadening of its donor base. It also recommends the establishment of an Advisory Board on Human Security to provide orientation to the UN Trust Fund and follow-up on the Commission's recommendations.

The Commission proposes the development of a core group made up of interested states, international organizations and civil society, around the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions, as a part of its critical initiative – in which a small input of resources might leverage great impact – to forge links with disparate human security actors in a strong global alliance.