

What is the Human Security Approach and How the Phenomenon Contributed to the International Security Agenda: Canadian and Japanese Paradigms

İnsan Güvenliđi Yaklaşımı Nedir ve
Uluslararası Güvenlik Ajandasına Nasıl Bir Katkı
Sađlamıştır: Kanada ve Japonya Örnekleri

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Abstract

The state-centered and hard-power-oriented security notion, which was dominant perspective in the international conjuncture, has been re-defined after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). In this work, "human security" notion as a primary challenge to the traditional security conception will be examined with the respect of widening international security agenda and expanding actors of security. Within this framework, a normative understanding of human security, which reflects the security requests of individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGO) in security implementations, will be investigated by analyzing the Canadian and Japanese governments' normative initiatives in the security field. This article stresses the Canadian and Japanese governments' contributions to supra-national organizations such as the United Nation (UN) and International Criminal Court (ICC) in respect of institutionalizing the normative actions towards human security approach. Thus, it aims to highlight the shifting security conception and contribute to

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the security studies literature in Turkey through applying text and discourse analysis on Canadian and Japanese policymakers' arguments.

Keywords: *Human Security, Non-traditional Security Threats, Normative Theory, Canada, Japan.*

Öz

Uluslararası konjunktürde hâkim görüş olan devlet merkezli ve sert güç odaklı güvenlik nosyonu Sovyet Sosyalist Cumhuriyetler Birliği'nin (SSCB) yıkılmasının ardından yeniden tanımlanmaya başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, geleneksel güvenlik algısına meydan okuyan "insan güvenliği" nosyonu uluslararası güvenlik gündemini genişletmesi ve güvenlik aktörlerini çeşitlendirmesi açılarından incelenecektir. Bu çerçevede, bireylerin ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının güvenlik ihtiyaçlarını ön plana çıkaran normatif insan güvenliği algısı, Kanada ve Japonya hükümetlerinin güvenlik alanında gerçekleştirdikleri normatif girişimler açısından değerlendirilecektir. Bu makale, Kanada ve Japonya hükümetlerinin Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) ve Uluslararası Ceza Mahkemesi (UCM) gibi devletler üstü kurumlar çatısı altında insan güvenliğinin ve normatif girişimlerin kurumsallaşmasındaki katkısına vurgu yapmaktadır. Böylece bu çalışma, Kanada ve Japonya politika üreticilerinin argümanlarını metin ve söylem analizlerini uygulayarak incelemeyi, değişen güvenlik konseptinin altını çizmeyi ve Türkiye'deki güvenlik çalışmaları literatürüne katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *İnsan Güvenliği, Geleneksel Olmayan Güvenlik Tehditleri, Normatif Teori, Kanada, Japonya.*

1. Introduction

In a changing world, the concept of globalization has been frequently associated with the advancements in a communication field, decrease in travel times, growing trade interconnections, free flow of capital, and some set of interactive socio-economic and cultural processes, which have been experienced worldwide. At the same time, this pattern emphasizes on ambiguities and dualities that place individuals and states in diametrically opposed paths. For instance, interconnection

is boosting and yet locality still remains. Many wars and various conflicts are reduced to small scale and yet others come alive. Purchasing power increases and yet scarcity is becoming worsened day by day. Cutting-edge technologies offer luxurious alternatives to our daily routine and yet insecurities are getting global phenomenon. Regions are merging, removing boundaries and yet others are disintegrating, clashing among each other. In this environment, societies seek to understand changing patterns affecting their living space as well. Likewise, scholars and curious audiences also try to puzzle out why and how world politics create various concerns by evaluating influence of technology, new meanings of power, emergent national security issues, and so on. In this context, the notion is a further evidence of the two-edged nature of itself by highlighting intensification of risks among human geographies.¹ The new security headlines have begun to be concerned across the globe under various areas from narcotics to internet fraudsters.² These are the global risks that affect both the state and individual security, which have prompted the formation of new patterns within an evolving global system. Falling into this category, human security is thus considered as a newly-emerging and relatively overemphasized concept in globalizing security relations. Thoughts on globalization and interpretations of the “end of the Cold War” provide a point of origin for human security as the most accentuated theme after the collapse of USSR.³ In order to establish a theoretical background of the swift upsurge of the human security approach, it is crucial to reconsider that globalized security dialogues dominating wide-reaching problems have made a reference point for the discussion of security in a global sphere, coinciding with new discourses of security approaches from the Critical Security Studies

¹ Jan Scholte, *Globalization: a Critical Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan Publishing, New York, 2005, pp. 82-84.

² Frank Lechner and John Boli, *The Globalization Reader*, Wiley Blackwell Publishing, West Sussex, 2015, p. 229.

³ Bryan Mabee, *The Globalization of Security: State Power, Security Provision and Legitimacy*, Palgrave Macmillan Publishing, Basingstoke, 2009, p. 3.

to the Copenhagen School.⁴ These écoles principally dispute that there is a tendency towards screening off security issues into different fields such as military, financial and societal; however, it may pose complications since human security cases intersect with these domains. Therefore, it can be argued that human security discourse may provide an avenue for normative approaches to the global security intellection and critically engage in “re-production of security standards” by altering the “security” in the direction of “human” needs. This understanding, moreover, inherently cooperates with an emancipatory outlook, which in this case aims to shift and deconstruct the orthodox conception of security through well-positioned policymakers’ wills and discourses.

From this perspective, normative theory in international relations has been revolutionary in here by two means: opposing “traditional” and “pluralist” conceptions of security and developing universal “Kantian” framing to human security as an initiator of a “humanized” global order.⁵ Consequently, the concept of human security is reasoned to be one of the most significant challenge to re-think the idea of security that the field has been subjugated by traditional-pluralist security concepts, which were inherently designed to regulate the twentieth century relations. Since human security has been understood as a shifting outlook and orientation in contrast with the classical understanding of security, it has been emphasizing an alternative way to redefine the security relations by putting a “human” at the center rather than exclusively focusing on the security of states and national territories.⁶ On this basis, the human security framework serves to upset one-sided pluralist security doctrines.

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⁴ David Chandler and Nik Hynek, “Rethinking Global Discourses of Security” David Chandler and Nik Hynek, (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*, Routledge Publishing, London, 2011, pp. 114-123.

⁵ Tim Dunne and Nicholas Wheeler, “We the Peoples: Contending Discourses of Security in Human Rights Theory and Practice”, David Chandler and Nik Hynek, (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*. Routledge Publishing, London, 2011, p. 24.

⁶ Tara McCormack, “The Limits to Emancipation in the Human Security Framework”.

For these motives, in the first part of the article, it will be focused on the evolution of the discourse and then briefly review the existing literature on human security. In the second part of the work, it will be concerned on how normative institutionalization of human security functions to sustenance the contemporary global security agenda and make the concept implementable by supranational bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and the International Criminal Court (ICC) with using normative International Relations (IR) theory in the Canadian and Japanese human security regulations. In the final part of research, it will be evaluated and compared these two states' contributions to the universalization of the human security approach.

2. Human Security: A New Discourse in the Security Studies

A buzzword "human security", as a cohesive approach stressing the interrelatedness among poverty, human rights, public health, education, and political involvement, has entered to public discourse through the 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report. It has been argued that a new and comprehensive approach to security notion was necessary to address delicate humanitarian challenges in the post-Cold War environment.⁷ This human-centered concept, which rapidly convened adherents, was founded on the same ground as the related concepts of human rights and of human development, which emphasizes that human being is the main object of the concern, irrespective of nationality, religion, ideology, or ethnic group. Equally important to these principles, human security has been established vis-à-vis the characteristics of universality: It is relevant to individuals in all places since "the 'logic of security' should be broadened not only beyond territorial defense, national interests, and nuclear deterrence to include 'universal concerns' and the prevention of conflicts but also to ensure

David Chandler and Nik Hynek, (ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*, Routledge Publishing, London, 2011, p. 101.

⁷ *United Nations Development Programme Report*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, p. 3.

cooperative global effort in combating poverty and underdevelopment”.⁸ The UNDP Report defined human security as people’s “safety from chronic threats and protection from hurtful disorders in the patterns of daily life”, as it was listed; components of human security are diverse: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, physical security, community security, and political security.

This inclusive understanding of the human security approach has been interpreted in miscellaneous conceptualizations within scholars who involved in the security studies. Supporters of the human security paradigm claim that the concept represents its strengths by its own complete, wide-ranging, and universal outlook on the security discourse. For instance, King and Murray⁹, as well as Bellamy and McDonald,¹⁰ argue that the notion fills the gaps between development and security as a unifying player and universalizes the concept, which at the same time facilitates the establishment of broad partnerships without depending on state-oriented definitions of security hindering different voices. In a similar manner, Thomas and Tow;¹¹ Jolly and Ray¹² promote an inclusive line in parallel with their human security definition by putting forward that the post-Cold War world presents excess amount of security problems triggering the compact political and societal issues in all the regions which were, eventually, obliged countries to implement broad sense of human security. From another perspective, while human security connects the bridges between different understandings of security, it

⁸ Ibid., p. 22.

⁹ Gary King and Christopher Murray, “Rethinking Human Security”, *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume: 116, Number: 4, p. 585.

¹⁰ Alex Bellamy and Matt McDonald, “The Utility of Human Security’: Which Humans? What Security? A Reply to Thomas and Tow”, *Security Dialogue*, Volume: 33, Number: 3, p. 373.

¹¹ Nicholas Thomas and William Tow, “The Utility of Human Security” *Security Dialogue*, Volume: 33, Number: 2, p. 177.

¹² Richard Jolly and Ray Deepayan, *National Human Development Reports and the Human Security Framework: A Review of Analysis and Experience*, Institute of Development Studies Publishing, Brighton, 2006, pp. 13-14.

also fosters cooperative ties between international bodies in the scope of security.¹³ Within these holistic approaches delineating the human security concept, it has been an observable opinion that the broadness of the notion makes coalition-making easier and also creates a platform for neglected issues in pre-Cold War era in order to expand its influence in the international order. For instance, MacFarlane and Khong claimed that “construing the threat faced by innocent civilians caught in civil wars or those targeted for genocide by their ethnic enemies as ‘security’ issues increases, in theory, the possibility of action by the UN.”¹⁴ It can be utilized in a direction that the concept of human security both accentuates individuals and states as players in international security through the merging of the independent issues of development and security. In other words, the nexus between human “insecurity” and “international insecurity” has been revitalized in seven values, which were identified in the 1994 UNDP report.

Even though, these seven values of the human security idea have failed to apprehend the imagination of politicians in Washington, Paris or London, some others states like Canada and Japan have become incorporated into the human security discourse in the 1990s. Its genesis in the UNDP Report and its implementation as an agenda by these states consecutively provided a rallying point to the range of political actors seeking to boost development issues and humanitarian foreign policies. As stated by Suhrke¹⁵, these aspirations and ambitions coalesced with the global structural shifts in the 1990s that made more room for normative foreign policies based on humanitarian concerns, along with the evolving Post-Westphalian principle, which has also been shifting the

¹³ Pauline Ewan, “Deepening the Human Security Debate: Beyond the Politics of Conceptual Clarification”, *Politics*, Volume: 25, Number: 3, pp. 182-189. Malcolm McIntosh and Alan Hunter, *New Perspectives on Human Security*, Greenleaf Publishing, Sheffield, 2010, pp. 4-127.

¹⁴ Neil MacFarlane and Yuen Khong, *Human Security and the UN: A Critical History*, Indiana University Press, Indianapolis, 2006, p. 229.

¹⁵ Astri Suhrke, “Human Security and Interest of the State” *Security Dialogue*, Volume: 30, Number: 3, pp. 265-276.

classical realist understanding focusing exclusively on territorial defense and national interests. At this stage, Canadian and Japanese governments' implementations have been noticeable as the most prominent states, which have institutionalized normative human security in their foreign policy agenda and also influenced international bodies' structures in this direction.

3. Canadian and Japanese Cases: Normative Frameworks in the Human Security Agenda

3.1. Canada

According to the normative theory in international relations, global humanitarian issues have normative concerns and there is a need to improve more globalist theoretical perspective and common principles underpinning global common good and responsibility.¹⁶ To institutively support this framework, states, which are trying to contribute normative actions in respect to universal responsibility dialect, will become an "anchor" of these ethical concerns.¹⁷ On this basis, these governments have been leading the forefront position to enhance the common language of fundamental rights and securities by using interconnectedness of globalizing world structure.¹⁸ For instance, the government of Canada, which has turned out to be one of the champions of the aforementioned universalism idea of human security, has adopted the definition that human security means freedom from persistent coercions to people's constitutional rights, safety, and lives.¹⁹ In practice, the Canadian

¹⁶ Ayşe Bakan, "Normative Theory in IR: Frost's Constitutive Approach", *Ankara University Social Science Journal*, Volume: 63, Number: 1, p. 7.

¹⁷ Moffett Cochran, *Normative Theory in International Relations a Pragmatic Approach*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p. 15.

¹⁸ Richard Beardsworth, "Assessing Cosmopolitan Theory in World Politics", *E-IR*, 2012, p. 1, <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/05/27/assessing-cosmopolitan-theory-in-world-politics> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

¹⁹ Henning Frantzen, *NATO and Peace Support Operations, 1991-1999: Policies and Doctrines*, Frank Cass Publishing, London, 2005, pp. 142-143. Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World", 1999, p.5.

government has selected to concentrate on the “narrow” understanding of the human security agenda focusing on the “physical” dimension of security to sort it apart from the general conception of human development.²⁰

In pursuit of the post-Cold War era, some intrastate aggressions in ethnic cleansing and refugee crisis cases had taken lives of thousands in certain regions such as Eastern Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa. Assessing these cases, Canadian Foreign Minister Axworthy pointed that “the end of the Cold War was hailed by many at the time as the beginning of an era of unparalleled peace and prosperity. There was enormous optimism that the international community, released from the grip of superpower rivalry, would turn its attention to global problems, such as poverty, environment, and population growth. Yet, the income gap between the industrialized worlds has continued to widen. This trend has been compounded in some countries by internal conflict and state failure. At the same time, new security treats have emerged, including an increase in transnational crime and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Armed conflict has taken on a different shape and is often rooted in religious or ethnic discord”.²¹ These circumstances were quite the opposite way round to the ethical and humanitarian concerns of McLuhan and Fiore’s “global village” idealism in the 1960s.²² On account of the international media coverage of the emerging issues, the Canadian government has not turned a blind eye further to human suffering in these conflict zones. Within the normative theory framework, where the universality of human life is the supreme principle, the long-term need was to generate operational mechanisms to be a safeguard of human security.²³ In parallel to this paradigm, Axworthy has relocated

²⁰ Roland Paris, “Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?” *International Security*, Volume: 26, Number: 2, pp. 87-102.

²¹ Lloyd Axworthy, “Canada and Human Security: The Need for Leadership”, *International Journal*, Volume: 52, Number: 2, pp. 183-196.

²² Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, *War and Peace in the Global Village*, McGraw-Hill Publishing, New York, 1968, pp. 50-87.

²³ Richard Beardsworth, *ibid.*

Canada to the leadership on the normative human security approach by this institutionalized action: “It is, in essence, an effort to construct a global society, where the safety of the individual is at the centre of international priorities and a motivating force for international action; where international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced and woven into a coherent web protecting the individual; where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and where our global, regional, and bilateral institutions –present and future– are built and equipped to enhance and enforce these standards.”²⁴

The implementation of the Canadian “Human Security Agenda” has been pursued under physical security forms, however, aiming to regulate negotiation of the arms control treaties on landmines and small arms have been particularly prioritized in order to involve peace-building actions in post-conflict areas like Bosnia.²⁵ Within each theme beneath the Canadian human security agenda, the government unpacks diverse occasions such as war-affected children, the quick positioning of peace-keeping forces, security reforms, multi-national organized crime, and etc.²⁶ To support these normative themes and a further advance to them, “Global Human Security Agenda” was announced; “Peace-building Division” and “Human Security Division” were established under the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.²⁷ In the same

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²⁴ Canadian Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, “Canada World View Report”, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2011/aecic-faitc/e12-15-1999-4-1-eng.pdf (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

²⁵ Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee, “Canada and the Pursuit of Peace”, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/HOC/Committee/381/FAAE/Evidence/EV2124690/FAAE73/Eng/Canadian%20Peacebuilding%20Coordinating%20Committee.pdf> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

²⁶ Canadian Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, “A New Concept: Security for People”, http://www.hegoa.ehu.es/dossiera/seguridad/freedom_from_fear_canada_s_foreign_policy_for_human_security.pdf (Accessed: 05.01.2016). The Canadian Peacebuilding Network, “Canada & UN Peacekeeping”, <http://www.peacebuild.ca/documents/CanadaUNPKOE.pdf> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

²⁷ The Humanitarian Practice Network, “Canada’s Human Security Agenda”, <http://odihpn.org/magazine/canada%20s-human-security-agenda/> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

vein, the Canadian government has developed new initiatives and produced motivating and practical documents on human security, including the brochure of “Freedom from Fear: Canada’s Foreign Policy for Human Security” and “Human Security Network”, which currently has thirteen members and uses a variety of informal mechanisms, including annual ministerial meetings to universalize and make the human security idea normative discourse worldwide.²⁸ There have been also major milestones that this normative institutionalization and universal standing point to human security endeavored to enhance the United Nations structure and provided a pattern for newly founding legal entities like the International Criminal Court.²⁹

In order to materialize human security oriented institutional changes in the supranational bodies, Canada has revived many practical ideas and solutions to the table, as above-mentioned, particularly International Campaign to Ban Anti-Personnel Landmines and global disarmament agenda in the 1990s, which were jointly carried out by Handicap International and Human Rights Watch.³⁰ Within the scope of these movements, “Conference on Disarmament” was held in the UN General Assembly, and it was opened for signature in September 1996. These negotiations were discussed in the Ottawa Treaty (1999), which more than 140 states have ratified. Later on, the initiative was integrated into the UN Working Group of Conventional Arms Treaty in 2002.³¹

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Canadian Parliament Official Webpage, “The International Criminal Court: History and Role”, <http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/lop/researchpublications/prb0211-e.htm#fn53> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

³⁰ Canadian Landmine Foundation, “The Canadian Landmine Foundation: A History”, <http://canadianlandmine.org/the-foundation/history>. Handicap International, “Ottawa Treaty: Landmines are not a Problem of the Past”, <http://handicap-international.ca/en/ottawa-treaty-landmines-are-not-a-problem-of-the-past> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

³¹ Permanent Mission of Canada to the United States, “Non-Proliferation, Arms Control and Disarmament”, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/prmny-mponu/canada_un-canada_onu/positions-orientations/peace-paix/disarmament-desarmement.aspx?lang=eng (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

In these cases, Canada determinedly pursued normative perspective to strengthen and reform the UN's system with the intention of promoting the human security agenda, which would enable the UN to incorporate with the Canadian policy positions putting support behind the thematic human security disputes at the UN. Additionally, Canada has been a leading member of the Mexican-inspired Group of Friends, Swedish-led Carlsson Group, Utstein Group and Geneva Group that work to ensure operative management and accountability within the UN structure.³²

In the same vein, Canada has played a fundamental role on contributing institutionalization of the human security agenda while creation of the International Criminal Court during the Rome Conference. These normative aids can be categorized under three assessments. The first and foremost, the state has chaired a coalition of countries and NGOs entitled as "the Like-Minded Group" that assisted in inspiring the wider international community to adopt the Rome Statute in 1998. As Schabas argues, "driving the dynamism of the Conference were two new constituencies: a geographically heterogeneous caucus of States known as the 'like-minded'; and a well-organized coalition of non-governmental organizations. The 'like-minded caucus', initially chaired by Canada, had been active since the early stages of the PrepCom, gradually consolidating its positions while at the same time expanding its membership."³³

The "like-minded" group was dedicated to follow key proposals that were pursuing normative understanding in an inherent jurisdiction of the court over the human security issues covering genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.³⁴ Secondly, the group supported for

³² Canadian Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, "Canadian Policy Positions", 2012, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/prmnymponu/canada_uncanada_onu/positions-orientations/un_reform-reforme_onu.aspx?lang=eng (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

³³ William Schabas, *An Introduction to the International Criminal Court Cambridge*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 18-19.

³⁴ Canadian Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, "Canada and the International Criminal Court", <http://www.international.gc.ca/court-cour/index.aspx?lang=eng> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

a self-governing and operational ICC through raising public awareness and comprehensive lobbying until the Rome Conference began.³⁵ Thirdly, Canada assisted the United Nations Trust Fund to ensure international representation both from developed and developing nations, so that the ICC would be established with the reference to universal standpoint for human security. As a result of these normative movements, the Canadian delegation played a paramount role during the conference negotiations that concerned the principles and procedures of the ICC and the definitions of crimes against humanity. In addition to these accomplishments, the delegation has also managed to create an “Optional Protocol” which focuses on child soldiers with the help of Norway and Austria.³⁶ After five weeks of negotiations, as a “Chair of the Committee of the Whole”, Canadian Foreign Minister Philippe Kirsch presented a comprehensive proposal for the ICC. On the last day of the Conference, the proposal, which was prepared under the leadership of Canada was acknowledged broadly and the Rome Statute of the ICC was adopted by votes of 120 States in favor, seven against, and 21 abstentions.³⁷ To illustrate this milestone, Cassell argued that “the ICC agreed to in Rome is intended to prosecute ‘the most serious crimes of international concern’, in cases where national authorities are unable or unwilling to do so.”³⁸ Undeniably, it was a significant achievement that contributed the normative standpoint of human security in the international arena.

³⁵ Benjamin Schiff, *Building the International Criminal Court*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p. 105.

³⁶ International Committee of the Red Cross, “Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict to the Convention on the Rights of the Child”, <https://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/57jqqe.htm> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

³⁷ Canadian Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, “Non-Proliferation, Arms Control and Disarmament”, http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/prmny-mponu/canada_un-canada_onu/positions-orientations/peace-paix/disarmament-desarmement.aspx?lang=eng (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

³⁸ Douglass Cassel, “The Rome Treaty for an International Criminal Court: A Flawed but Essential First Step”, *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Volume: 41, Number: 4, p. 5.

3.2. Japan

In addition to the Canadian example, Japan has also been a salient actor, which has been trying to institutionalize the normative human security agenda as a universal perspective and contributed to the establishment of significant bodies within the UN structure. Nevertheless, unlike the physically oriented human security of Canadian agenda, the Japanese government has embraced the “broader” understanding of human security, which touches upon various concerns within the field.

To begin with, after the World War II, the Japanese government has adopted the UN Charter to its constitution, which was manifesting the precedent of present-day human security concept opposing war as a cause of transnational disputes, and also widened the idea by banning to upkeep armed forces: “Article 9: Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. To accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as another war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.”³⁹

In addition to this rooted normative background, the contemporary understanding of human security has entered into the Japanese context by Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi who supported normative understanding of the concept and followed the same principles with “The UN Commission on Global Governance”, which defends that “the concept of global security must be broadened from its traditional focus on the security of states, so that it includes also the security of people and the planet”.⁴⁰ In 1995 Copenhagen World Summit, Tomiichi further emphasized that a pioneering human security approach has developed

³⁹ Japanese Government Official Webpage, “The Constitution of Japan”, http://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

⁴⁰ The Commission on Global Governance Official Webpage, “Our Global Neighbourhood”, <http://www.gdrc.org/u-gov/global-neighbourhood/> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

within the United Nations and the idea was built with respect for each and every global citizen.⁴¹ With Tomiichi initiatives, human security has been officially pursuing as the “vital view” in Official Development Assistance and Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1998 and also paved the way to prolong the concept beyond the national implementation in following years.

In the pursuit of Canada’s leadership, the Japanese government ratified the Ottawa Convention and in the same year Japanese policymakers prepared an intergovernmental conference aiming operational human security that centered on disarmament issues and nuclear tests in South Asia.⁴² As a result of this normative attempt, the “Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament” was founded. In the same vein, “International Symposiums on Human Security” and “Japan Platform” have been periodically gathering to combat humanitarian emergency issues by Japan’s leadership since 2000.⁴³ Furthermore, since Japan has been motivated to promote peace through non-aggressive options owing to its constitution and its applied institutional changes, in the following year of the Tokyo Forum, Japanese government has created “The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security” with the purpose of upholding human security through empowering people and communities who are in endangered positions. Within this charter, the fund has been providing capital to wide-ranging projects in order to universalize the human security notion by cooperating with the UN and NGOs.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Bert Edström, *Japan and the Challenge of Human Security: the Founding of a New Policy 1995-2003*, Institute for Security and Development Policy Publishing, Stockholm, 2009, pp. 77- 239.

⁴² Christopher Hughes, *Japan’s Security Agenda: Military, Economic, and Environmental Dimensions*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado, 2004, p. 200.

⁴³ Japan Platform Official Webpage, “About”, <http://www.japanplatform.org/e/work/index.html> (Accessed: 05.01.2016). Japanese Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, “Chronology of activities related to Human Security by the Japanese Government”, http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/chronology.html (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

⁴⁴ Commission of Human Security Official Webpage, “Security centered on people-not states”, http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/chs_

In this spirit, with the ingenuity of the Japanese government responding to the previous Secretary-General of the UN, Kofi Annan's request at the Millennium Summit, "the Commission on Human Security" was established in 2001 with its co-president Sadako Ogata and further assisted by "The Advisory Board on Human Security".⁴⁵ *Human Security Now*, which was the final report of the Commission on Human Security, defined human security as the vital freedom of individuals: freedom from fear and freedom from want. In this sense, human security and peace processes have been supported by the Japanese government with the normative remark since these are "twin concepts and as two sides of the same coin".⁴⁶

It is a fact that founding of the "Commission on Human Security" and the "Trust Fund for Human Security" under the aegis of the UN was an achievement of the Japanese government but it also rendered human security to be a functional concept in the global and multidimensional milieu. Within these normative frameworks, the establishments of both bodies were pioneering movements pursued determinately by Japan with the intent to universalize human security approach in the international political environment.⁴⁷

4. Different Contributions to Universalization of Human Security

21 years after the 1994 UNDP report, globalization has become an identical phenomenon with the pluralization in the global sphere, and this multiplicity has been providing flexibility to states in order to implement human security as a normative foreign policy initiative and extend its impact through supranational organizations rather than following traditional security comprehension. In this respect, Canada and Japan have represented reliable and multi-functional ways to the

final_report_-_english.pdf (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

⁴⁵ The UN Refugee Agency Official Webpage, "Donors", <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a2d01fa6.html> (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

⁴⁶ Malcolm McIntosh and Alan Hunter, *ibid*, p. 127.

⁴⁷ Japanese Foreign Ministry Official Webpage, "The Trust Fund for Human Security", http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/human_secu/t_fund21.pdf (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

human security approach by their “broad” and “narrow” understandings of human security. On the one hand, Canada has adopted a “narrow” definition of human security, in which the concentration point was the “freedom from fear” concept. This meant that Canadian policy-makers intended to implement a limited “protection” program rather than an empowerment policy.⁴⁸ In this vein, the Canadian government has set human security as a guideway to its foreign policy, determined to become a flagship on human security as a leading voice on the global sphere by taking remarkable steps such as the Ottawa Treaty, the Human Security Network, and the creation of the ICC.

On the other hand, by pursuing a version of human security that diverged from Canadian practices, an opportunity was utilized by the Japanese government: exercising leadership in multiple fields. Under the Japanese “broad” understanding of human security, many bodies and forums were built such as the largest capital source with the UN, which is the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, and the Commission on Human Security, which have accomplished series of designated tasks and generated rewarding ideas on how to raise the human security approach universal in highly interconnected global affairs. To ensure these processes, Japan has been represented within these bodies, which proved that entities established by Japan’s endorsements provided chances to the foundering state in order to impulse its ideas at the center position.⁴⁹ In other words, instituting of such bodies helped Japanese government to pursue the normative human security policy and consolidate their thoughts as a prominent state.

In the light of these normative intuitionism paradigms to universalize human security, many scholars realistically put forward that functionality of the unique “narrow” Canadian and the “broad” Japanese agendas lie under the point that both states have grounded their human

⁴⁸ Tara McCormack, *ibid*, p. 101.

⁴⁹ Bert Edström, *ibid*, p. 239.

security approach predominantly on their standing external policies and pursuance of these outlines in time.⁵⁰ In this perspective, to holistically analyze two countries’ initiatives and contributions towards human security, following diagram can be beneficial:

	Canada	Japan
Foreign Policy Changes	Officially following physical means since 1999	Officially following a holistic approach since 1999
Internal Restructuring	Peace-Building Division Human-Security Division	Official Development Assistance
International Initiatives as Forums and Treaties	Ottawa Treaty (International Campaign to Ban Anti-Personnel Landmines) An Optional Protocol on Child Soldiers	Tokyo Forum for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament International Symposiums on Human Security Japan Platform
Leading Network Positions Operating in the UN	Mexican-inspired Group of Friends Swedish-led Carlsson Group Utstein Group Geneva Group	Friends of Human Security
Pioneering Initiatives in the UN	Working Group of Conventional Arms Treaty Conference of Disarmament	Commission on Human Security Trust Fund for Human Security Advisory Board of Human Security

Table 1. Canadian and Japanese Contributions to Universalization of Human Security

⁵⁰ David Bosold, “The Politics of Self-righteousness: Canada’s Foreign Policy and the Human Security Agenda”, *EISA*, http://www.eisa-net.org/bebruga/eisa/files/events/turin/bosold-bosold_sgir.pdf, (Accessed: 05.01.2016).

5. Conclusion

In the contemporary world, it is a shared opinion that globalization phenomenon poses a problem not only to social scientists but also others who are locals, since it is a notion that has become responsible for the radical changes in socio-political and economic conditions of our era. It is experienced especially in the fundamental area of discussion: the nexus between security and globalization.

On one side of the coin, developments towards a situation of globalization carry a potential to alter the state-centric position over the traditional security approaches. Therefore, the notion of security and its relations to changes in the structure of state-centric position is a crucial feature that has been included in globalization analyses. Furthermore, the unremitting widespread consideration of security, which has been, at its central position, a military concept, is one essential reason why the relations between globalization, security, and the state have been discussed so much. In this direction, human security approach for the normative expansion of the study of security beyond military force has been trying to emphasize on cases beyond the state-centric security notion. Security, in this sense, converts itself for the security of individuals; and not necessarily entirely about the states' security. It is also the circumstance that the security of citizens is closely linked with the state. In other words, the state becomes the instrument by which people pursue to attain sufficient amount of security against economic, political, environmental and societal threats. Such an indication about security is vital to examine the connection between globalization and security, because linking security directly with the security of citizens provides inclusive latitude for the extending normative human security agenda in a globalization era which also allows the possibility that globalization is altering the relationship between states and the security of the states' citizens. If globalization is focused from these lenses, it should be appreciated in for allowing transformation of states which provide institutionalized security not only to their citizens but also to the other individuals around the world as Canadian and Japanese human security examples demonstrated.

On the other side of the coin, Barkawi and Laffey argued that "security relations today are about the contradictions between old security

logics and new security problematics”.⁵¹ To get into this, it can be a decent rhetoric to reflect the issue on the human security approach that for 60 years, nuclear arms race have been boosting the traditional power-security orientation between states; however, after the collapse of USSR, the concept have been seeming to be obsolete merely because the central principle of the Cold War period, deterrence, has disappeared. Nuclear weapons expertise has become widespread and global superpowers could not control the monopoly any longer, which led to a decrease in a nuclear security dilemma. With the same logic, it can be argued that the contemporary global affairs have not reached a point in the human-centered security relations where the universal understanding of the human life is prioritized. Nevertheless, this neglected human security underscores extremely crucial global concerns from poverty to environmental degradation through the instrument of the ongoing globalization processes that undeniably broadened the scope of normative institutionalization for the human security agenda rather than emphasizing on purely pragmatic state security.

It has been a dominant idea in state-centric readings of political affairs and pluralist security insights in international relations that humans have been the unnoticed and “non-traditional” factors but have often been victims who exposed many dangers. Threatened by a range of these “traditional” violations, today’s “human” problems urgently required a dynamic framework of security analysis which catches up-to-date needs.

At this stage, there has been a search for normative institutionalization at the global level. Canada and Japan have taken up the humanitarian responsibility to encounter the challenges of human security in the contemporary world by creating various platforms to discuss and pioneering organizations to render human security functional. In many examples from founding the ICC to contrive the Trust Fund, both governments have been dedicated to raise the awareness of the

⁵¹ Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, “The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies”, *Review of International Studies*, Volume: 32, Number: 2, p. 329.

human security phenomenon as a new security agenda. Regardless of “narrow” or “broad” implementations, Canadian and Japanese governments have been affording to normatively institutionalize and universalize the human security concerns. Nevertheless, this new security outline has to raise attentions of more than these two states and need to be further institutionalized in internal and external agendas with the object of achieving global and holistic outlook of humans’ real needs in the new millennium, while it is still possible to preclude possible human security crises.

Özet

Değişen dünyada küreselleşme olgusu genellikle iletişim alanındaki gelişmelerle, ulaşım sürelerinin kısalmasıyla, birbirine bağımlı hâle gelen ekonomik ilişkilerle ve çeşitli alanlarda gerçekleşen sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel faaliyetlerle ilişkilendirilme eğilimindedir. Bu görüşün yanı sıra, küreselleşme olgusu aynı zamanda dünya toplumlarının karşılaştığı güvenlik tehditlerinin de altını çizmektedir. Bu çerçeveden bakıldığında küreselleşen dünyada narkotik probleminden banka hesaplarının çökertilmesine kadar birçok alana yayılmış güvenlik sorunlardan bahsetmek mümkündür. Bu sorunlar hem günümüz toplumları, hem de devletleri açısından riskler teşkil etmektedir. Bu risk algısı, uluslararası sistemde yeni güvenlik anlayışlarının doğmasının yolunu açmıştır. Üzerinde durulan yeni güvenlik anlayışları arasında “insan güvenliği” konsepti göze çarpmaktadır. Bu konsept SSCB’nin çöküşüne yakın bir dönemde, yoğun şekilde hissedilen küreselleşme ortamında geliştirilmiş ve güvenlik konseptlerinin merkezine “insan”ı yerleştiren bir bakış açısını temsil etmektedir. Özellikle SSCB’nin çöküşünden sonraki dönemde insan güvenliği konsepti, çok farklı alanlardaki eksikliklere dikkat çekmiş; bunu gerçekleştirirken de Eleştirel Güvenlik yaklaşımını ve Kopenhag Okulu’nu büyük ölçüde etkilemiştir. İnsan güvenliği ile koordineli şekilde gelişen bu ekoller güvenlik anlayışlarını askerî, mali, toplumsal güvenlik gibi farklı kategorilerde inceleme eğilimindedir; fakat insan güvenliği yaklaşımı bütün bu kategorilerle kesişmektedir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, insan güvenliği yaklaşımı, küresel güvenlik ilişkilerine yeni bir soluk getirmiş;

güvenlik standartlarını “yeniden belirleme” noktasında normatif bir duruş sergilemiştir. Bu algıyı iki şekilde oluşturmuştur. Birincisi, geleneksel güvenlik anlayışına tek taraflı olduğu için karşı çıkmıştır. İkincisi, Kant’cı bir yaklaşımla insan odaklı küresel sistemi hedeflemiştir, çünkü güvenliğin merkezinde insanın olması gerektiğini savunmuştur. Bu bağlamda düşünüldüğünde, insan güvenliği yaklaşımı, güvenlik anlayışlarını yeniden düşündürdüğü ve 20’nci yüzyıl ilişkilerini düzenlemek üzere inşa edilmiş geleneksel güvenlik algısını eleştirdiği için devrim niteliğindedir.

İnsan güvenliği yaklaşımının alanları çeşitli olmakla birlikte, genel anlamda mali güvenlik, çevresel güvenlik, fiziksel güvenlik, toplumsal güvenlik ve politik güvenlik alanlarına odaklanmaktadır. Bu kapsamlı algı güvenlik çalışmalarıyla ilgilenen akademisyenlerce farklı açılardan ele alınmıştır. Örneğin, King ve Murray insan güvenliğinin çeşitli alanlarda faaliyet göstermesinden kaynaklı olarak devlet-sivil toplum ilişkilerindeki güvenlik bağının gelişeceğine vurgu yapmıştır. Diğer yandan, Jolly ve Ray insan güvenliğinin Soğuk Savaş’ın göz ardı ettiği güvenlik konularının çözülmesindeki rolüne dikkat çekmiştir. McIntosh ve Hunter ise insan güvenliğinin devletler üstü örgütler ile devletler arasında koordinasyonu geliştireceğini düşünmüştür.

ABD, Fransa ve Büyük Britanya gibi ülkelerin politikacıları gelişen insan güvenliği yaklaşımını değerlendirilmek ihtiyacı duymamıştır. Ancak Kanada ve Japonya gibi bazı ülkeler insan güvenliğini kendi dış politikalarının parçası haline getirmiş; insan güvenliği konseptinin BM ve UCM gibi devletler üstü platformlarda kurumsallaşması için çaba harcamıştır.

Kanada’nın bu görüşü resmî olarak benimsemesi 1990’larda yaşanan insani krizler dönemine rastlamaktadır. 1990’lı yıllarda Balkanlar’da ve Sahra Altı Afrika’da yaşanan etnik kıyımlar ve akabinde gelişen yoğun göç dalgaları uluslararası medya organlarıncaya tüm dünyaya aktarılmıştır. Bu dönemde, zamanın Kanada Dışişleri Bakanı Axworthy, dünyada normatif bir girişimin olması gerektiği üzerinde durmuştur. İnsan hayatının ve güvenliğinin önemine dikkat çeken Axworthy, insanın fiziksel güvenliğinin odak noktası olmasını savunan “dar ölçekli” ve “fiziksel” insan güvenliğini savunmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Kanada

devleti kendi Dışişleri Bakanlığı çatısı altında “İnsan Güvenliği Ajandası” oluşturmuş; “Barış İnşası Departmanı” ve “İnsan Güvenliği Departmanı”nı hayata geçirmiştir. Bunların akabinde, Kanada, antipersonel mayınlarının yasaklanması odaklı Ottawa Anlaşması’nın yürürlüğe geçirilmesinde BM ile ortak hareket etmiştir. Aynı ölçüde önemli olarak Kanada devleti Roma Anlaşması’nın oluşturulmasına ön ayak olmuş, UCM’nin kurulmasında lider ülke konumunda hareket etmiştir.

Diğer yandan, Japonya ise insan güvenliğinin ilk örneklerini İkinci Dünya Savaşı akabinde yenilediği Japonya Anayasası’nda hayata geçirmiştir. İnsan güvenliği yaklaşımının şekillendiği 1990’lı yıllarda ise Japonya, Kanada’dan farklı olarak, “geniş” ve “kapsayıcı” insan güvenliğini savunmuştur. 1990’larda zamanın Japonya Dışişleri Bakanı Murayama Tomiichi tarafından resmileştirilen Japon insan güvenliği konsepti daha çok BM ile koordineli olarak yürütülmüştür. Bu bağlamda, Japon politika üreticileri Güney Asya’da nükleer denemelerin sonlandırılması için girişimlerde bulunmuş ve bunun neticesinde Tokyo Forumu kurulmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra, Japonya, BM çatısı altında en fazla finanse edilen komisyon olan BM İnsan Güvenliği Emanet Fonu’nu kurmuştur. Japonya’nın liderliğinde faaliyet gösteren bu fon, uluslararası insani kriz bölgelerindeki insan güvenliğini sağlama amacıyla 15 yıldan fazla süredir faaliyet göstermektedir.

Barkawi ve Laffey’in de vurguladığı üzere, şu bir gerçektir ki, günümüz güvenlik yaklaşımları eski güvenlik mantığının ve yeni güvenlik sorunlarının arasında kalmış karmaşık bir ilişkiyi yansıtmaktadır. 60 yıl boyunca güç ve güvenlik ilişkilerine hâkim olan nükleer silah teknolojisinin tekelliği sonlanmıştır, çünkü bu teknolojilerin zamanla öğrenilmesiyle caydırıcı güç olma özellikleri zayıflamıştır. Buna paralel olarak, insan güvenliği yaklaşımı günümüz küresel ilişkilerinde kendi “zirve noktası”na ulaşamamıştır, çünkü insan merkezli güvenlik henüz birçok devletin öncelik kapsamına girememektedir. Bununla beraber, günümüz insanların yaşadığı güvenlik sorunları geleneksel güvenlik tehditlerinden ziyade, geleneksel olmayan güvenlik tehditlerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Kanada ve Japonya bu noktada önemli inisiyatifler almış; “dar” ve “geniş” insan güvenliği yaklaşımına bakılmaksızın, uluslararası arenada “insan güvenliği” konseptinin kurumsallaştırılması

adına çaba göstermiştir. Fakat oluşacak insani kriz risklerini bertaraf etme noktasında insan güvenliğinin iki devletten daha fazlasınca desteklenmesi gerekmektedir.

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