UNIVERSITY OF SEVILLE

European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation A.Y. 2014/2015

THE UKRAINIAN PUZZLE

Pieces of the International Community and a Human Security Based Approach

"In a world in which nations once capable of imperial burdens are no longer willing to shoulder them, it is inevitable that many of the states created by decolonization should prove unequal to the task of maintaining civil order. Such nations have achieved self-determination on the cruellest possible terms."

Michael Ignatieff, 1997, p. 104.

Author: Karla Mae Gibson, BA

Supervisor: Prof. Pablo Antonio Fernández-Sánchez

Abstract

This thesis will make the case that peacekeeping operations and the doctrinal agenda they require create a strategy that, although boasting a massive bearing on the lives of civilians in conflict, does not afford for peripheral obligations such as the realisation of human security. Due to the fact that states have a fundamental responsibility to protect people's effective gratification of their human security, the international community has to salvage national security and take on a managing responsibility regarding the conflict environment. Proper international peacekeeping operations lead to a reinstatement of the pre-eminence of human security over that of the conflict. Peacekeeping operations can be deemed an appropriate instrument to fulfil human security basic needs. To facilitate an effective response to the intricacy of the conflict environment, it is imperative for states and intergovernmental organizations to cooperate in peacekeeping operations. The approach recommended recognises conflict as one of the causes of deprivation that leads to the detriment of human security. With the aim of identifying the responsibilities of the international community that a modern conflict might require, this thesis contends an alternative peacekeeping theory, 'a human security based approach to peacekeeping'.

The practicability of a human security based approach will be illustrated by concisely applying it to the current humanitarian and security crisis in Ukraine, and challenges inter alia the role of the United Nations, the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

¹ It is of critical importance to emphasize that the term 'human security' as understood in the context of this thesis is considered in the scope of reducing the human costs of indirect and/or direct violence, as put forth by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in their 'Human Development Report'. It is generally considered the 'most authoritative' definition of the concept.

Contents

ABSTRACT	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	VII
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. CONFLICT, REGIMES AND HUMAN SECURITY	9
I.A. PEACEKEEPING AND THE CONFLICT ENVIRONMENT	10
William J. Durch and Twenty-First-Century Peace Operations	12
Alex J. Bellamy's Next Stage and Thinking Anew	16
Sarwar A. Kashmeri on NATO 2.0	19
Summary	23
I.B. THE ROLE OF REGIMES IN CONFLICT	26
Why the United Nations has failed	30
And why NATO and the EU have failed too	33
I.C. THE ROLE OF HUMAN SECURITY IN CONFLICT	36
A Human Security Based Approach to Peacekeeping	41
Substance of the Human Security Based Approach	49
CHAPTER II. THE APPLICATION OF A HUMAN SECURITY	BASED
APPROACH	54
II.A. THE UKRAINIAN PUZZLE	57
II.B. PIECES OF HUMAN SECURITY IN THE UKRAINIAN PUZZLE	64
II.C. A HUMAN SECURITY BASED APPROACH TO PEACEKEEPIN	G AND
THE UKRAINIAN PUZZLE	
North Atlantic Treaty Organization	
European Union	
A Human Security Based Approach Applied	
CONCLUSION	84
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87