



# Peace, War and the World in European Security Challenges

## The European Way to Human Security

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# 2001 ICISS Report on the R2P

Sovereignty = responsibility to protect (R2P)

To protect the human security of people

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# Human Security

**Wider meaning:** physical safety, economic and social well-being, respect for dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms

**Narrower meaning:** protection from large-scale atrocities (i.e., genocide, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity)



# 2001 ICISS Report on the R2P

Should the interested State be clearly either unable or unwilling to fulfil its primary R2P, the ‘residual responsibility’ of the international community (i.e., the UN) should be ‘activated’

# Breaches of the R2P

Breaches of the wider concept of human security:  
only peaceful means

(only) most serious breaches of the narrower concept of human  
security: humanitarian military intervention  
(strict principles and thresholds)



# R2P as humanitarian doctrine

R2P/Human security are politically neutral and not related to the free exercise of political rights

No overlapping between human security/R2P and international democracy-building

# R2P as humanitarian doctrine

Not a blank check for overthrowing non-democratic regimes

Not a premise of an emerging ‘right to democratic governance’

No application if “a population, having clearly expressed its desire for a democratic regime, is denied its democratic rights by a military take-over” (ICISS Report, § 4.26)



# 2004 UNSG's High-level Panel

R2P is an “emerging norm establishing a collective international R2P authorizing military intervention as a last resort in case of genocide and other large-scale atrocities”



# 2005 UN World Summit

R2P is not of a legal character

International community, UNSC or individual States  
have no legal obligation to intervene in the name of R2P

Only a moral responsibility to act



# EU-revised concept of Human Security

Decoupled from the R2P doctrine

Linked to an aspirational right to democratic governance

Political and legal ground for democratic intervention  
in lieu of humanitarian intervention

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# Treaty on European Union

Art. 2: fundamental values (human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights)

Art. 3(5): “in its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests”

# Treaty on European Union

Art. 8(1): “The EU shall develop a special relationship with neighbouring countries, aiming at establishing an area of prosperity and good neighbourliness, founded on the values of the Union”



# Treaty on European Union

Art. 21(1): “The EU’s action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity”

# 2011 armed conflict in Libya

UNSC and NATO: humanitarian narrative

Use of force = only to protect civilians from the on-going armed conflict between Khadafi and the insurgents

UNSC RES 1973 (2011)



# 2011 armed conflict in Libya

## EU: democratic narrative

Khadafi must “relinquish power immediately”, Libya must “rapidly embark on an orderly transition to democracy” and the Interim national council in Benghazi is “a political interlocutor to be welcomed and encouraged” (Extraordinary European Council, March 2011)

# 2013-2014 crisis in Ukraine

A revolution, not an armed conflict

Humanitarian international law does NOT apply

Prohibition on the intervention in domestic affairs applies



# 2013-2014 crisis in Ukraine

“the EU stands ready to be more open and more supportive to those who are willing to engage in reforms and modernization” (e.g., the pro-EU protesters) and “to accompany our common neighbours towards modern, prosperous and rule-based democracies” (Joint Statement by the Presidents of the European Council and of the European Commission, 25.11.2013)

# The 2013-2014 crisis in Ukraine

Statement by the President of the European Council (March 2014) at the signing ceremony of the Association Agreement between the EU and Ukraine: the signing “recognises the aspirations of the people of Ukraine to live in a country governed by values, by democracy and the rule of law [...] and the popular yearning for a decent life as a nation, **for a European way of life**”





# Lessons learned from Libya and Ukraine

EU policy: promoting democracy and the European way of life  
in the wider world

vs

R2P policy: protecting peoples from large-scale atrocities

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# Lessons learned from Libya and Ukraine

Open activism in support of opponents of autocratic regimes  
and of not-pro-EU democratic governments

The EU is the 'President Wilson of the third millennium'  
promoting in the wider world the European way of life

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## The way ahead for the EU

A new world order of democratic and neo-liberal States and a new international law framework for the EU's external action

Legal rules and political goals of R2P doctrine are unsuitable for advancing democracy and the rule of law in the wider world

# 2016 EU Global Strategy

EU must be more “proactive” because “soft power is not enough”

EU to become a “global security provider”

No express reference to R2P doctrine but human security is mentioned many times in the Global Strategy





# The EU-revised notion of human security

Decoupled from the R2P humanitarian framework and  
bound in glove with global democracy and welfare

Comprehensive and expanded approach to  
human security, conflicts and crises

**A global strategy for democracy?**

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# Transforming the global order

Implementing the EU Global Strategy requires the commitment “to a global order based on international law, which ensure human rights [and it] translates into an aspiration to transform rather than simply preserve the existing system“, including international law

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# The European way to human (global) security

Human security overlaps with international democracy-building

**Promoting changes in future International Law?**

New rules for advancing democracy?

New legal entitlements to intervene in international/internal crises  
for democratic purposes?

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