

As an important point of contrast, a couple of participants compared the situation in Kosovo with the impact of economic sanctions against Iraq on infant mortality. According to some reports, the sanctions and war have resulted in deaths of 500,000 children under the age of five.⁷ The combination of sanctions and the demolition of infrastructure through bombing have created a public health crisis, indirectly killing civilians, most frequently the young, the old and the sick. These policies have serious consequences for the human security of Iraqi citizens, and therefore require consideration by policy makers concerned with human security.

In summary, there was considerable debate on whether human security was compatible with the use of force. On one hand, human security may include obligations to citizens of other countries, and to fulfil such obligations may require forcible military intervention. On the other, such an intervention results in civilian casualties of the kind that human security seeks to avoid, and sets profound new precedents for military activity. Where human security involves the use of force, a host of issues worthy of further consideration are raised.

6. Human Security: A New Role for International Organizations

Participants considered human security and its relationship to the UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly. The Security Council has proven largely ineffective in dealing with humanitarian crises caused by military conflict and this is unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. While the broader UN framework has proven more sympathetic to the human security agenda, effective action to deal with crises is hindered by the bureaucratic structure of the UN itself. The development and humanitarian aspect of human security will be aided by large-scale institutional reform of the UN.

The Kosovo intervention calls into question the role of the Security Council in the international order, particularly in view of the implications of a regional military organization (NATO) undertaking forcible humanitarian intervention outside of the UN

⁷ United Nations, *Report of the Second Panel Established Pursuant to the Note by the President of the Security Council of 30 January 1999 (S/1999/100) Concerning the Current Humanitarian Situation in Iraq*, Annex II of S/1999/356, 30 March 1999. The Report notes that in the aftermath of the Gulf War, "The under-five child mortality rate increased from 30.2/1000 live births to 97.2/1000 during the same period [between 1989 and 1997]." In other words, it tripled. The report also notes that "Results of a nutritional status survey conducted on 15,000 children under 5 years of age in April 1997 indicated that almost the whole young child population was affected by a shift in their nutritional status towards malnutrition." This August, UNICEF released a report titled *Child and Maternal Mortality Survey 1999: Preliminary Report (Iraq)*. The press release (CF/DOC/PR/1999/29) dated 12 August 1999 states "Ms Bellamy [Carol Bellamy, head of UNICEF], noted that if the substantial reduction in child mortality throughout Iraq during the 1980s had continued through the 1990s, there would have been half a million fewer deaths of children under-five in the country as a whole during the eight year period 1991 to 1998. As a partial explanation, she pointed to a March statement of the Security Council Panel on Humanitarian Issues which states: "Even if not all suffering in Iraq can be imputed to external factors, especially sanctions, the Iraqi people would not be undergoing such deprivations in the absence of the prolonged measures imposed by the Security Council and the effects of war."