

nuclear weapons, small arms or landmines, should be also be seen as important elements in the pro-active human security agenda.

Finally, some participants suggested that there are moral and operational dilemmas and trade-offs which those who advocate human security as a pre-emptive strategy must address. Populations under pressure do what they must to survive and to bring about profound social change: sometimes their actions are inconsistent with the principles of human security. For example, in seeking to ban child soldiers and small arms, would we have applied this principle to the armed students of the Soweto uprisings? In thinking about operational trade-offs, the negative impact of the redirection of development assistance into peace-building programs needs to be considered. One participant suggested that peace-building in conflict zones is expensive, uncertain, ineffective and takes away resources from development situations where they work (i.e. primary need scenarios in the worst off countries). Human security highlights the moral and political dilemmas which are created by having different values, limited funds and virtually unlimited need.

5. Human Security and the Use of Force

Minister Axworthy has suggested that Kosovo is a 'concrete expression of this human security dynamic at work' and that NATO's air campaign 'should serve to dispel the misconception that military force and the human security agenda are mutually exclusive'.⁵ Such statements endorse the precedent of the use of force in human security practice. More recently, the question of the protection of civilians, through forcible intervention by the international community, has been taken up by the Secretary General of the United Nations and Minister Axworthy at the September 1999 UN General Assembly.

Participants engaged in an animated discussion on whether the use of force was consistent with the ethos and agenda of human security. In particular, participants considered whether the intervention undertaken in Kosovo accorded with the principles of human security. There was agreement among most of the participants that human security, under certain circumstances, entails the use of force. To restore human security to the population of a failed state may require forcibly intervening in the sovereign affairs of states. All of the participants agreed that the engagement of a military alliance in such an intervention is a profound departure from past international practise and needs further analysis by the academic community.

Five key problems, fundamental to the relationship between the use of force and human security, were raised as potential foci for future study:

⁵ See 'Kosovo and the Human Security Agenda - Notes for an Address by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs', to the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Relations, Princeton University, April 7, 1999.