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States Humanitarian Actions

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Summary: Two main UN reports (Brandt and Palme) include the satisfaction of human needs in the research of disarmament and peace. However, there are not a lot of analyses concentrated on humanitarian actions. Some actions of force are developed in order to fight against organized and systematic violations of the humanitarian right on the territory of another State. It implies the usage of the force and the other coercive means in order to stop the violent neglects in the humanitarian right (right to interfere). However, the integrity of the sovereign power of States stays the main foundations of the international law. The "duty to interfere" intervention must not be mixed up with the humanitarian intervention, which is peaceful, restful on the assistance to the victims of armed conflicts or natural disasters. There is two " political economies of the humanitarian ", expressed in the civil domain or by a military intervention.

Résumé : Deux rapports principaux des Nations unies (Brandt et Palme) traitent de la satisfaction des besoins humains dans la recherche du désarmement et de la paix. Cependant, il n'y a pas beaucoup d'analyses concentrées sur les actions humanitaires. Certaines actions de force sont développées afin de lutter contre les violations organisées et systématiques du droit humanitaire sur le territoire d'un autre Etat. Cela implique l'utilisation de la force et d'autres moyens coercitifs afin de mettre fin aux négligences violentes du droit humanitaire (droit d'ingérence). Cependant, l'intégrité du pouvoir souverain des États reste le fondement principal du droit international. Le "devoir d'ingérence" ne doit pas être confondu avec l'intervention humanitaire, qui est pacifique, reposant sur l'assistance aux victimes de conflits armés ou de catastrophes naturelles. Il existe deux "économies politiques de l'humanitaire", qui s'expriment dans le domaine civil ou par une intervention militaire.

Humanitarian actions, Famine, war, economic war, disarmament, international assistance

Actions humanitaires, famine, guerre, guerre économique, désarmement, assistance internationale

Today, the international security makes less reference to the military dimension. In its widest sense, the international security is insured when on one hand the peoples feel safe and on the other hand their fundamental needs are satisfied. Nations are secure when they can guarantee the rights of their citizens and when they can protect, on the long run, the environment for the future generations. Today, a lot of studies speak about ecological disaster, about demographic “bombs”, drugs, corruption, but especially about ethnic purge. About 45 million refugees were moved, without that the vital interests of major powers are concerned. Seize by the horror of the holocaust, renewed in Cambodia, is still on our mind. The economy has often become a weapon of war against countries that, politically or economically, do not meet the international criteria set by the major powers¹.

So, it is very important to develop some humanitarian interventions in order to protect universal values, even with the intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States. In the new system of current security, with the process of the globalization and transnational networks, the territorial authorities are not completely sovereign². Human rights, protection of minorities and rule of the law must be considered. The protection of human rights leads to an international condemnation of genocides, crimes against humanity and ethnic purification. It supposes a collective action, engaged by the State or by the non-governmental organizations, to reduce the poverty, improve the conditions of life and the security of all people. The development of international public goods creates spaces of solidarities between the States and all the countries. Two main UN reports (Brandt and Palme) include these human needs.³ However, there are not a lot of analyses concentrated on humanitarian

¹ Coulomb, F., Bensahel, L., Fontanel, J. (2007), The concepts of economic war and economic conflicts in a global market economy in « Arms, War, and Terrorism in the global economy today, Ed. Wolfram Elsner, Ed. LIT Verlag, Bremen Schriften zur Konverzion, Band 13, Hamburg.

² Fontanel, J. (2005) *La globalisation en analyse*. Géoeconomie et stratégie des acteurs, L'Harmattan, Paris,

³ Brandt Report (1980), *North-South : A program for Survival*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA.

Palme Report (1982), *Common security: A blueprint for Survival*, Simon and Schuster, New York.

actions, as we discussed in two former articles⁴. Moreover, some actions of force are developed in order to fight against organized and systematic violations of the humanitarian right on the territory of another State. It implies the usage of the force and the other coercive means in order to stop the violent neglects in the humanitarian right⁵ (right to interfere). However, the integrity of the sovereign power of States stays the main foundations of the international law⁶. The “duty to interfere” intervention must not be mixed up with the humanitarian intervention, which is peaceful, restful on the assistance to the victims of armed conflicts or natural disasters. There is two " political economies of the humanitarian actions ", expressed in the civil domain or by a military intervention.

I. The political economy of civil humanitarian actions

The political economy of humanitarian civil is not really a disciplinary field of the economics. It limits generally its investigations to the aid to the developing countries, what constitutes only a part of its contents. The analysis of humanitarian civil was often neglected by economists more worried to put in evidence the economic mechanisms that to analyse the basic needs. So, several theories give a sense and a social efficiency to the humanitarian actions. Contrary to the other sciences, it is necessary to say that the economic theory accumulates analyses without an obsolescence process. For instance, the fundamental objective of the economy is the power of the Prince (or of the State) for the mercantilism thought. In these conditions, the "humanitarian" character of the economy is not an objective in itself. All the theories on the notions of war or economic weapons are obviously taken away from a "humanist" conception of the economy. For example, the goal of the strategy of the impoverishment by the military effort, used mainly by the USA against USSR, was to make more and more difficult the satisfaction of the needs of the inhabitants of enemy countries.

Moreover, according to the liberal theorists, every country has to be specialized in the products in which its advantage-cost is the best. If

⁴ Fontanel, J, Pecqueur, B. (2002). Economie politique de l'humanitaire, in *Globalisation économique et sécurité internationale. Introduction à la géoéconomie*, côté Cours, Grenoble, décembre 2002, Hal-02064940

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⁵ Bettati, M. (1991), Un droit d'ingérence ? *Revue générale du Droit International Public*, 95(3).

⁶ Sur, S. (1999), Aspects juridiques de l'intervention des pays membres de l'Otan au Kosovo ; Défense nationale ; Décembre, p.50

Adam Smith condemned slavery and colonialism, it is mainly on the basis of an economic thought (not based, at least, on a humanist morality), he called at the same time the strictest application of the individual interest, fundamental factor of the realization of the "invisible hand". The "humanitarian" interventionism did not seem interesting for economic development issues. **For** the pessimist law of population, public assistance of poor people is baneful for economic development, unless applying a voluntary control of the births by the abstinence; there will be either threat of wars, or famine. For Marx, the humanitarian policy has no sense in the capitalism. The defence of the formal liberties is only a means of bourgeoisie domination, which organizes States with the aim of the defence of its own interests. In capitalist system, « the man is always a wolf for the man »

These ideas are still widely dominant in the contemporary economic analysis. However, following the Keynesian thought, François Perroux⁷ defined the foundations of the economy on the basis of a triple requirement that he called the costs of the human, namely to feed people, to nurse the individuals and to release the slaves. The function of fight against the famine is natural in the economy, the health protection of all people is an action of respect for the life and the human need a true life, with a sense of freedom and democratic responsibility. These ideas are resumed today by Amartya Sen⁸, who analyses the advanced economy as a society able of supplying important rights for each, what he calls "entitlements", including freedom, democracy, equity and the respect for all and for each. For a sustainable development, humanity does respect the rules of the nature, but also to fight against the destructive tendencies of the human nature, with war or economic and social excessive disparities. As a rule, UNO promotes disarmament and the uselessness of the armament. However, the international security is not a free service. It is about a conquest, in the same way as any satisfaction of the economic and social needs. The security constitutes a decisive factor of the "sustainable development". Moreover, the economic disparities based on the domination create the conditions of the misery. So, in an inevitable way, the military sector and the economic development are put in opposition, such as the domination effects and the permanence of misery in the world. .

⁷ Perroux, F. (1961), *L'économie du XXe siècle*, PUG, Grenoble.

⁸ Sen, A. (1982), *Poverty and famines. An essay on entitlements and deprivation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

The underdevelopment constitutes a threat for the world peace. For the partisans of the New International Economic Order, the disarmament appears rather as a consequence of the development. Today, these ideas developed are gradually abandoned by the development of the economic liberalism and the globalization process. The power based on the military force is supplanted by the development of the intelligence applied to economy and strategy. The humanitarian action is included in a moment where the powerful countries try to obtain from the poorest countries a general agreement applied on the western values and economic system. A lack of generosity and an excess of strategic realism forbid another massive democratic and economic aid to peoples. The proliferation of weak and unstable States provokes reflexes of distrust and tends to multiply barriers between the rich and poor states and citizens. States that fall to pieces and fragment is under the power of human beings, sometimes deprived, often criminal or illicit interests, controlled by the force. Because of the bad functioning of States, Mafias often govern these, where some monopolizes natural resources and international aid, which criminalized their detention and their use. The State is not more than the folding screen of private interests. The ideologies, the religions or the sects reserve the wealth or the monopoly of the violence to the "elected members", with often an ethnic base. In the XXIth century, the mafias risk to take it. There are constantly new damages to the human dignity and the universal consciousness.

Today, superpowers try to eliminate the war by the technology, but they have to face the barbaric and sophisticated terrorism. The unlimited violence is now intra and infra state. The purposes of the war intervene on the borders, the demands of territories, the will of a bigger autonomy or the fight for the power. The civil populations serve as objectives. The regular armies are assisted by militias, bands, militarized criminal conspiracies (Yugoslavia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Somalia). We are still in the world of States, of the society of States, which try to banish the military war and the use of the military violence in their own balance of power.

An economic development will be said "sustainable" when he allows an improvement of the conditions of life of each human being, without questioning the potential development of the future generations. This concept differs from the notion of growth, notably that of the Gross domestic product, which expresses at the same moment a conception profoundly one-dimension of the economy and a short-term vision of this one. So a country can have a strong economic growth, but profits of

which are reserved for the smallest number or the realization of which supposes forms of slaveries.

The development is considered as a situation of progressive and irreversible improvement of the state economy, in aid of the human beings who compose this one. To speak about "sustainable" development is, in this context, a pleonasm. A development, which would not "be sustainable", would thus be directed only to economic values of short run. However, behind the "sustainable" term, we have to settle down interesting values, such as ecology, the environment, the health, the education, the safety, that the masters of world economy, in their large egoisms, seem to have forgotten. In spite of satisfactory short-term results, if the ecology is not respected, in longer run, the economic crisis will be inevitable and it will result from it a strong recession and a decrease of the resources put at the disposal of the future generations.

II. The political economy of humanitarian military

There are a lot of modifications of the international system since the end of USSR, such as the erosion of the nuclear threat, the western turned to the obsession of the "dead zero" the development of terrorism and the power of "dirty money", intra states violent conflicts against the civil populations (Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Sierra Leone) and the influence of the Security Council with the application of economic sanctions. Any peace situation is not inevitably preferable to a situation of conflict, notably when it is based on the tyranny, the slavery or the exploitation and the disregard of the right of the man. But, the effects of the "humanitarian actions" are very disappointing.

It is often difficult to distinguish the operations engaged in conformity with the humanitarian intervention of those who are based on the preservation of the peace (peacekeeping operations). Sometimes, the second proposal has for vocation to succeed to the first ones. These military operations have a lower, moderate cost (0,5 % of the world military expenditures), what can make them economically justified. Their objectives are the dissuasion of aggressive behaviours, the respect by the belligerent parties of the international rules, a humanitarian assistance and a support a peace process, by a pacification of the spirits, on the basis of human rights and by the implementation of democratic institutions⁹.

⁹ Fontanel, J. (2010) Concept élargi de la sécurité économique, in *Economie politique de la sécurité internationale*, Economica, Paris.

There were more than 50 operations of preservation of the peace of the UNO since 1946, for a global cost lower than 25 billion dollars spent by United Nations. The costs depend on the operations, 3,3 billion dollars in 1998 to 1 billion in 2006. The financing must be found by internal budgetary solutions. These expenditures are important. However, the directly attributable additional cost for the peacekeeping operations is not excessive for industrial nations such as the United States, Germany or France. It represents less than 0,2% of the world military expenditures. The UNO and the regional institutions supported successfully the establishment of the peace in several conflicts (African Central Republic, Guatemala, for instance), but this action was more debatable in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Georgia, in Sierra Leone or in Tajikistan. It was a failure in Angola. The western intervention in Kosovo asked the question of the distinction between partners and opponents, on a battlefield covered with women and with frightened and starving children. Now, the Westerners have to distinguish the humanitarian targets and the human civil targets, what supposes the use of more and more lethal weapons. It would be necessary to prefer the preventive diplomacy. The UNO often compromised itself in the operations of preservation of the peace, the utility of which is debatable. The failure of a preventive diplomacy often supposes the use of forces for the preservation of the peace at the request of belligerent parties. The appeal to the international authorities intervenes when the situation is already conflicting. The UNO has to intervene with a moderate use of the necessary force.

However, there are "perverse effects" of these humanitarian actions, such as the various economic and political values of deaths, the complexity to apply and rationalize strategies, the difficulty of the financial assessments, the limited interventionist enthusiasm and a very selective "humanitarian" policy.

- The State humanitarian action is often more concerned by the protection of the life of the soldiers than that of the civilians that it is supposed to protect. The military deaths can be listed and are badly accepted by the international community.

- The Military Operations other than War (MOOTW) are actions that lead to the use of the military capacities in all their dimensions, without establishing for all that a war action. They are normally intended to dissuade the war, to resolve the conflicts or to promote the peace in a hostile environment, in a situation of civil disorder and terrorist actions. It is necessary to distinguish the operations of support for the diplomacy, the peacekeeping and the peace enforcement. This last operation is more

binding, because it does not imply an assent of the potential belligerent parties, it supposes the defence of a philosophy (the human rights) which leads to a kind of partiality in the steady forces or the ideas to defend, and it authorizes the appeal to the force in the application of a mandate. The operations are offensive (fight at the enemy), defensive (actions to prevent an enemy attack), of stability (military and diplomatic deterrence) and support (to calm the sufferings of the populations). The humanitarian assistance belongs mainly to this last type of justification.

- The Security Council lost a part of its prestige. The weapon of the veto does not work well, but major powers do not want to be deprived from it. USA tried to demythologize the mandate of the UN, by exploiting that their politics is the only possible for the international stability, that is, at first, based on the American interests. The humanitarian disasters connected to violence, as well as the interruption of the democracy or the respect for human rights, are less important than national public opinion.

- The finances of the UNO stabilized, with a "zero" growth of its budget over several years. But its position "in cash" is very weak, with the persevering decline of the rates for the preservation of the peace. The United States remains the principal debtor of the operations of preservation of the peace (50 % of the total amount)¹⁰.

- The governments are very reluctant to send their troops. 6 months were necessary to gather 5500 soldiers for Rwanda, while 19 governments had undertaken to send 31 000 soldiers. Now, it is necessary the application of the force to make cross the humanitarian convoys, the protection of the civil populations in the zones of safety, the maintenance of law and order. It leads to a delegation of power in groups of member states. The military interventions were organized always with hesitation and often with bad consciousness. There are difficulties mobilizing the democracies in the limited wars.

- There are selective humanitarian actions. When the massacres of the Serbs against Bosnian Moslem were broadcast, it will be necessary to wait 4 years so that the United States participates in important strikes against the Serbian positions. For the Europeans, it is a question of restoring the peace, even to the advantage of Serbia. For Clinton, it was a question of making justice to the victims of the Serbian aggression. The political international morality progressed, but the question of human rights passes in the background.

¹⁰ For a complete analysis, see Sheehan, N. (2005), L'analyse économique des opérations de maintien de la paix de l'ONU, Thèse de doctorat, Grenoble.

III. Humanitarian policy constitutes an instrument of economic globalization and it appears as an interesting strategic instrument

The American strategy is based on the shaping of the globalization. So, in his speech of the Union of January 27th, 2000, Clinton asserted that: « to realize all the opportunities of our economy, we have to exceed our borders and shape the revolution which brings down barriers and sets up new networks among nations and individuals, savings and cultures... We have to be in the centre of any global network. We have to admit that we cannot build our future without helping the others to build theirs ». The NATO influence, dominated par USA, reduces the specific action of Europe¹¹. There is three moments in this globalization, inspired by the American interests:

- At first, is needed a consensus on the expansion of the international trade, with new standards and the opening of the markets of the South. It is not enough to promote the free market and the integration; it is also necessary to implement policies of prevention. So, the national security intervenes in the international economic policy of the United States (allocation of the capital of the IMF, measure against the volatility of the capital, sales of weapons, etc.).

- Then, the United States favour the globalization to allow the American economy to benefit from the principle of the comparative advantages. For that purpose, this country wants to impose the own standards, to insure the normalization of markets. Any internal reform must be beforehand imposed on the international community, as well as the codes of conduct accepted by the American economic actors (as the laws anti-corruption, the economic sanctions, the sanitary standards or the environmental protection). The "humanitarian" policy joins at least partially in this ambition.

- Finally, the promotion of the democracy and the peace allows the integration of the former opponents in the liberalization process, the prevention of the conflicts when the interests of Western countries are concerned or the fight against the economy of the crime and the corruption. The contemporary economy is a war field (boycott, embargo, unfair competition, etc.). It must be controlled by the international organizations, which forbid the humanitarian principles necessary for the normal functioning of the market. The economic assistance is not often

¹¹ Fontanel, J. and Smith, R. (1991) A European defence union? *Economic Policy*, 6(13),

mentioned, because the market economy is sensible to fight, eventually, against the poverty and the misery. To do it, it is necessary to develop the military and diplomatic power. In other words, the humanitarian does not apply to the famine in the world, but rather to the disregard of the values of freedom. However, a help of the developed countries can lead to an evil-development. Some forms of international transfers turn out politically and economically expensive, notably when they are dedicated to the prestigious expenses, to the increase of the social disparities or to the development of the societies in which human rights are not inevitably respected.

The strategy is the art to combine the totality of the available means in order to be able to reach a State objective. For Clausewitz, there are two roads in the victory, the armed struggle or the control of the resources on which depends the opposition. It is the concept of global strategy.

The control of raw materials and energy materials becomes an important instrument of strategies for major powers. The command of the information is essential for the security.

Any conception of the peace depends on philosophic positions on the human behaviour¹². The war and the conflicts are at first social factors due to the fight for the power, for the ideas (religions or ideologies) or to purely economic reasons. It is necessary to think about the violence suffered by the people, notably the economic disparities or the violence of the daily work. It would then be interesting to build indicators of security, to put in evidence the causes of conflicts, to underline the military and civilian threats (human rights, environment, relative poverty etc.), to determine the possible measures susceptible to bring remedies to every cause of insecurity, to establish a strategy capable of reducing all the factors of conflicts, by the application of a synthetic method. It is thus necessary to build deliberately the peace and not only to dissuade the war. It is essential that peace is more attractive than war.

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