

KHAZAR UNIVERSITY

Submitted to the Department of Political
Science and International Relations

*“Security in the South Caucasus:
Non-traditional (Human) security threats”*

A Senior Thesis

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• Abstract

Khazar University

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After the World War II the Agenda of Security Issues become more internal for Nation-States and universal or international for World Population. According to traditional perspective if until 1945 the security agenda was mostly state centered, but after 1945 it became more broad. In the result, economic crisis, environmental pollution and climate changes, terrorism, political and social expectations of people and other this type of problems became main challenges of states. The threats which comes through such kind of problems differs from traditional threats and called non-traditional security threats. In this notion of security phenomenon “state security” replaced with “human security”. According to the “United Nations Development Program's 1994 Human Development Report” people centered view of security is necessary for national, regional and global stability. So in this senior thesis I will try to focus on non-traditional/human security challenges in the context of regional security in case of South Caucasus.

● Acronyms

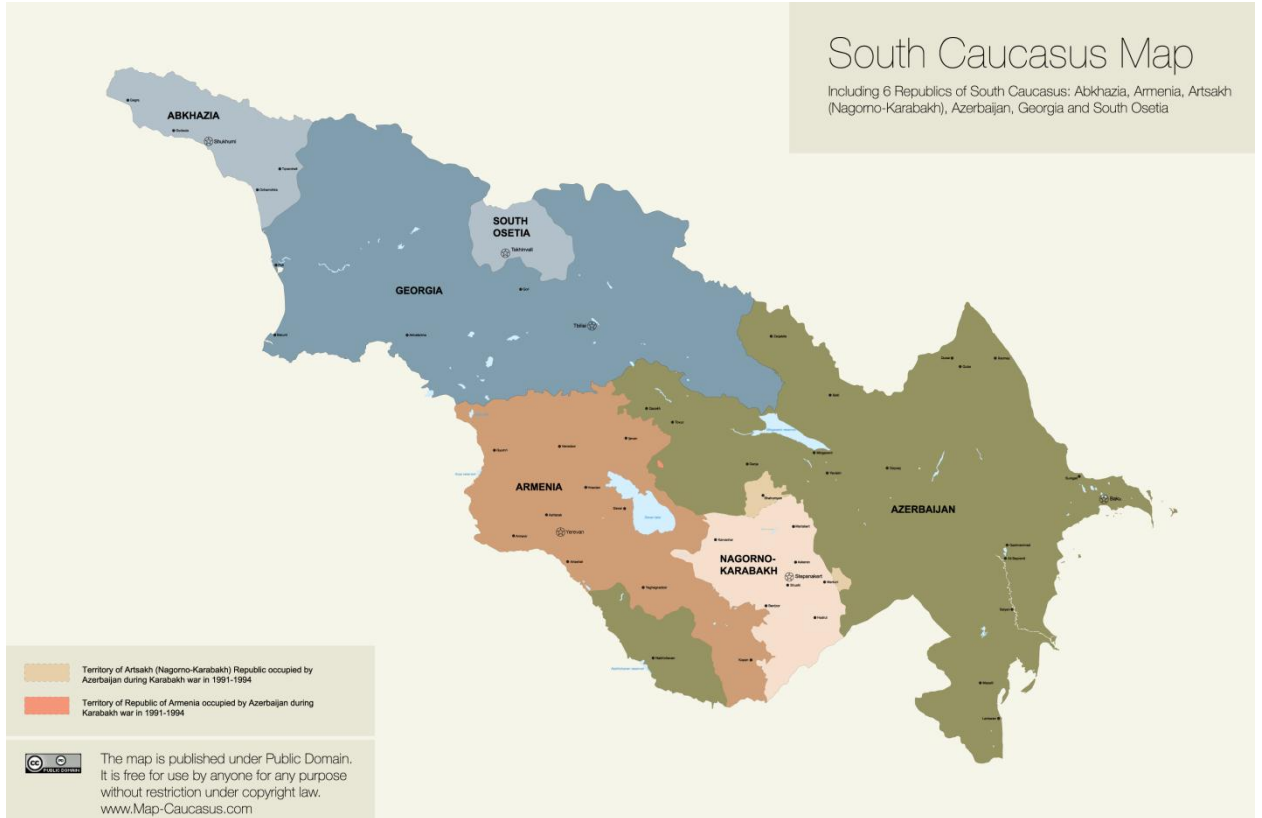
HS:	Human Security
UNDP:	United Nation Development Program
HDR:	Human Development Report
SC:	South Caucasus
NREs:	Non Recognized Entities
SU:	Soviet Union
UN:	United Nation
OSCE:	Organization for Security and Cooperation in the Europe
EU:	European Union
NATO:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
CBC:	Caucasus Biodiversity Council
CBDN:	Caucasus Business Development Network
CENN:	Caucasus Environmental NGOs Network
CPAF:	Caucasus Protected Areas Fund
CI:	Caucasus Initiative
ECP:	Eco-regional Conservation Plan
REC:	Regional Environment Centre for the Caucasus
SCRM:	South Caucasus River Monitoring Program
ENP:	European Neighborhood Policy
EaP:	Eastern Partnership
ERP:	Economic Rehabilitation Program
SCPE:	South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
SDC:	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
TRACECA:	Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia
ENVSEC:	The Environment and Security Initiative

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The South Caucasus



Source: www.Map-Caucasus.com

● Introduction

The end of Cold War have been beginning of new age in the life of world population. This period also is called the age of globalization. In the globalized world everything become more and more universal for all countries. Especially significant changing was happened in the field of security. After WW II there was emerged collective security tendencies. It was new securitization policy against military threats from outside in the bipolar military-political environment of the world. But after the Cold War changing nature of the World politics brought with itself new challenges for security of states. The traditional understanding of security gradually replaced with non-traditional understanding of security since threats became more universal in terms economic crisis, climate change, global warming, worldwide spread diseases etc. and internal which deeply related with human rights violation, civil unrest etc. The working definition of non-traditional security adopted by the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asian located in Singapore is: “Non-traditional security threats are defined as challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily from non-military sources, such as climate change, cross-border environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages and transnational crimes such as people smuggling and drug trafficking”¹. This new understanding of security is also known as Human Security (HS). So in this thesis I will use human security notion instead of non-traditional security notion. If traditional understanding of security was emphasis on military threats from outside, this new understanding of security stress on internal security challenges such as state violation against citizens, and universal problems such as environmental security threats. Therefore referent object of HS are individuals and their communities.

According to UNDP HDR (1994) Humans Security is important for global regional and national security. In fact new security challenges such as environmental degradation, diseases, hunger, unemployment are interrelated problems of HS. Therefore HS progressively becomes national security preference of states. At the same time to provide HS in increasing interdependency circumstances is very difficult for a single state. It needs complex policy making process not only within the country but also with neighbor countries in regional and global levels. In fact regional cooperation for HS is important for national and global levels. We can interpret regional human security cooperation as bridge between national and global HS issues. Especially in the regions such as South Caucasus (SC) where territorial conflicts and

¹ M. Caballero-Anthony. Non-Traditional Security and Multilateralism in Asia: Reshaping the Contours of Regional Security Architecture? The Policy Analysis Brief, The Stanley Foundation, Muscatine, IA, June 2007, p.1. Also available at: <http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/pab/pab07mely.pdf>

separatism are still main obstacles for economy, democracy, human development etc.. HS can become main encouragement for regional cooperation, peace and confidence building among conflict parties.

The aim of this senior thesis is to highlight HS situation in the South Caucasus region. The first chapter emphasis on Human Security as new paradigm that emerged just after the Cold War in the security studies. In this chapter I tried to describe and explain two different approach about this new understanding of security.

In the second chapter I emphasized on linkage between territorial conflicts and HS threats and importance of regional cooperation to fulfill HS in the region.

The third chapter is about HS threats and their old and new reasons in the south Caucasus countries.

Chapter 1. From traditional to non-traditional security: theoretical approach

In this chapter I will speak about historical background and theoretical explanation of nontraditional/human security concept

1.1. Non-traditional or Human security: definition and scope

“The state remains the fundamental purveyor of security. Yet it often fails to fulfill its security obligations....That is why attention must now shift from the security of the state to the security of the people—to human security.”

Commission on Human Security, 2003²

Beginning from early of 1990s the world has faced with new challenges of security such as global warming and environmental degradation which threatened significant fields of human life including food, health, access clean water etc. In the same time, this period is observed with mass violation in different countries such as Yugoslavia in Eastern Europe, Rwanda in Central Africa and so on. Also last two decades has been observed with shift in organized crimes including the drug trafficking, human trafficking, and international terrorism that deeply related with each other. All this non-traditional threats which threaten the world universally, seriously alarmed UN and UN played a key role to focus international attention on these nontraditional threats in terms of Human Security.

It is no coincidence that, the human security concept firstly explained in its broad meaning in UNDP HDR of 1994. According to UNDP HDR `s definition “...human security is a universal concern. It is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor. There are many threats that are common to all people - such as unemployment, drugs, crime, pollution and human rights violations. Human security is people-centered. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities - and whether they live in conflict or in peace.”³” In this definition of human security clearly depicted that referent object of human security are

² Human Security Now: Final Report of the Commission on Human Security, New York-2003, p.2. Also available at: <http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/chs/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf>

³ UNDP HDR-United Nations Development Program Human Development Report 1994, Copyright ©1994 by the United Nations Development Program 1 UN Plaza, New York, New York, 10017, USA, p. 22-23. Also available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

people and human security concept embraces all threats to survival, daily life and dignity of human being. But it does not mean that human security ignores traditional view of security. “This new emphasis on human security complements the traditional concept of security and represents the emergence of a new paradigm in the field. Real security entails the protection of individuals from such threats as disease, hunger, unemployment, political oppression and environmental degradation.⁴” In this sense of notion UNDP HDR 1994 argue that human security includes both freedom from fear and freedom from want. This idea is rooted in the Franklin Roosevelt's speech on January 6, 1941: “...**freedom from want**--which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants--everywhere in the world. ... **freedom from fear**--which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor--anywhere in the world.⁵” Freedom from fear and freedom from want are two main components of Human Security. In 1945, the US secretary of state reported to his government on the results of the conference in San Francisco that set up the United Nations. He was quite specific on this point: “The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory mean freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace,No provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs.”⁶

These “**two fronts**” make clear that freedom from fear means providing safety of people from violence and freedom from want spells protection of people from poverty. According to UNDP HDR combination of those two notions create “**vital core**”⁷ of human security which defines what should be secured. It refers to the scope of Human Security which is suggested in

⁴ Yu-tai Tsai The Emergence of Human Security: A constructivist view, International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 14, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2009, p.21. Also available at:

https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol14_2/TSAI%20-%2014n2%20IJPS.pdf

⁵ Franklin Roosevelt's Annual Address to Congress - The "Four Freedoms"/ January, 1941 p.8. Also available at: <http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/od4frees.html>

⁶ UNDP HDR- United Nations Development Program Human Development Report 1994, Copyright ©1994 by the United Nations Development Program 1 UN Plaza, New York, New York, 10017, USA, p. 24. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

⁷ A conceptual framework for Human Security by Sabine Alkire. Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE/Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford 2003, p. 24-25. Also available at: <http://www3.queh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/crisewps/workingpaper2.pdf>

the UNDP HDR. Dr. Mahbub ul Haqq first drew global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Report (1994) and sought to influence the UN's 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen. UNDP HDR 1994 suggests that the scope of global security should be expanded in following seven areas: “**economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.**”⁸ In brief description for each area I can say that **economic security** focus on to prevent poverty, to solve unemployment, and reduce poverty rate by achieving economic stability, and promoting socio-economic reforms for sufficient distribution of resources and for sustainable development. **Food security** emphasis on sufficient satisfaction of people with healthy food, prevention of scarcity of food in poor areas of the world and additionally to provide monitoring on food in order to prevent spreading of gene changed products in the world and within the countries. **Health security** focus attention to the decease, pandemic illnesses and infections such as HIV/AIDS, H1N1 etc. which can resulted massive death among people. Health and food securities are deeply related with economic security. It is completely clear that only with economic stability and wellbeing can be achieved health and food security. Food security is relate also with environmental security. **Environmental security** threats include environmental degradation caused by human activities, pollution of atmosphere and clean water, natural disasters and so on. In some cases environmental threats affect both health and food security. **Personal security** stress on both internal and external threats, because personal security is threatened also by interstate wars. In internal level personal security threats include physical torture, ethnic tension, crime, street violence, violence against women and child abuse, suicide, drug use etc. **Community security** focus attention on the prevention ethnic and religious conflicts, with other words all identity based tensions. People want to live in communities where they feel secure. That is why they tend to live in a societies where they share the same language, culture, traditions in terms of ethnic and religious values. But in the world there are only few mono communities. So today there is one of the main challenges of human security are conflicts in the ethnic and religious level which often caused by limited access to opportunities. Finally **political security** means protection of people from political repression, human rights abuses etc. Thus, these seven components of HS are vital security areas in 21st century in all over the world. But agenda of HS is flexible and can embrace all kind of security threats. Because in globalized world every insecurity matters are interconnected and need common cooperative solutions which required true cooperation among states in bilateral and multilateral levels in regional and global bases.

⁸ UNDP HDR-United Nations Development Program Human Development Report ,1994. Copyright ©1994 by the United Nations Development Program 1 UN Plaza, New York, New York, 10017, USA, p. 24-25. Also available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

Definition and scope of human security shows that it is: a) people centered security dimension; b) universal challenge, significant for people in everywhere in the world without exception, whether they live in rich or poor country; c) easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention. d) components of HS are interdependent. The seven areas of HS suggested by UNDP 1994 especially economic, food, health and community security are deeply related with each other. For example, unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence. For today it is one of the main security challenges for Europe where right-wing parties encourage people against migrants and seriously stress on reforms for realization strict migration policies.

These broadening agenda of global security shows that human security become more important than traditional understanding of security. Or let me argue that state security changed its meaning and replaced with human security during the last two decades. “The Human Security Centre clearly expresses the purposes of this approach:

“ Since the end of the Cold War, armed conflicts have increasingly taken place within, and not between, states. National security remains important, but in a world in which war between states is the rare exception, and many more people are killed by their own governments than by foreign armies, the concept of ‘human security’ has been gaining greater recognition. Unlike traditional concepts of security, which focus on defending borders from external military threats, human security is concerned with the security of individuals...”⁹

In following figure we can see difference between TS and HS.

Table .1

Type of Security	Referent Object	Responsibility to Protect	Possible Threats
Traditional Security	The State	The Integrity of the State	Interstate War, Nuclear Proliferation, Revolution
Human (non-traditional) security	People and their communities	The integrity of people	Disease, Poverty, Natural Disaster, Violence, Landmines, Human Rights abuses so on...

But it does not means that we have to look those two notion of security separately. Because today in many cases lack of cooperation between the countries which create serious obstacles

⁹ Owen and Liotta – Why Human security? The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations , p.42-43. Also available at: <http://www.taylorowen.com/Articles/Owen%20and%20Liotta%20-%20Why%20Human%20Security.pdf>

for ensuring Human Security policies in such regions as South Caucasus significantly related unresolved territorial conflicts between the states.

1.2 Two theoretical approach toward Human security

As it explained above Human Security is people centered and it is new approach and new paradigm in the field of security studies. Mainly there are two theoretical perspectives which debate on this new understanding of security: Neo-realist, and (Social) Constructivist views on (human) security. Logically debates is going around three main questions:

- a) what should be protected?;
- b) by whom?;
- c) and with which means?

Neorealist approach

Neo-realist view base on the primacy of states within the broadened agenda of security. This approach also known as “new thinking on security¹⁰”. Neo-realists (Walt, Helga, Nye, Lynn-Jones, Gat, John Shy, Williams, Buzan et al¹¹) argue that without key role of state there can not be security in the world. According to neorealist scholars the state represents the primary guarantee of security, authority, and obligation. With other words security of citizens, territorial integrity and sovereignty are main responsibilities of the state. Neo-realists argue that these obligations of the state is threatened from outside. They think that true cooperation among states is not possible. Because states often cheat each other. They do it not only for their own benefit. But also because they do not trust each other and believe that others will cheat and they must behave adequately. So all states, according to neo-realists, focus on their own national interests and act solely. Such explanation of international relations system represent claims about international anarchy. Therefore security is the most important concern the state.¹² From this point of view neo-realists believe that only state as a key actor able to provide territorial integrity and security for its citizens by using military force against threats from outside. They argue that anarchy still is a nature of international relations. Therefore in the security dilemma situation state behave self-interested and tries to develop military power. But in order to have strong military, state has to have strong economy. In the contemporary age without cooperation with

¹⁰ Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams - Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods, October 1996 Mershon International Studies Review, Vol. 40, No.2 p.229. Also available at:

<http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/courses/PoliticalScience/661B1/documents/KrauseWilliamsBroadeningSecurityStudies.pdf>

¹¹Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams - Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods, October, 1996 Mershon International Studies Review, Vol. 40, No.2 p.229. Also available at:

<http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/courses/PoliticalScience/661B1/documents/KrauseWilliamsBroadeningSecurityStudies.pdf>

¹²Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams - Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods, October, 1996 Mershon International Studies Review, Vol. 40, No.2, p.231- 233. Also available at:

<http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/courses/PoliticalScience/661B1/documents/KrauseWilliamsBroadeningSecurityStudies.pdf>

other states and international organizations in bilateral and multilateral levels, it is not possible to improve economy. So it means that economic security comes first than military force for ensuring security of people as one of the primary obligation of state. On the other hand post-cold war era is observed with environmental, socio-political and human rights challenges. This type of non-traditional threats become more and more significant which seriously alarmed all states even if neo-realists generally argue that it can not be accepted as primary threats. But it recognized by some neo-realists such as “Brad Roberts , Myron Weiner , and Beverly Crawford - who attempts to broaden the neorealist conception of security to include a wider range of potential threats, ranging from economic and environmental issues to human rights and migration. This challenge has been accompanied by discussions intended to deepen the agenda of security studies by moving either down to the level of individual or human security or up to the level of international or global security, with regional and societal security as possible intermediate points. ... Others(Palme Commission 1982; Kupchan and Kupchan 1991; Carter, Perry, and Steinbruner 1992; Dewitt 1994) have remained within a state-centric approach but have deployed diverse terms (common, cooperative, collective, comprehensive) as modifiers to "security" to advocate different multilateral forms of interstate security cooperation that could ameliorate, if not transcend, the security dilemma”¹³. Of course neo-realism do not ignore cooperation among states for ensuring security together. Because in globalized world increasing interdependence reduces the ability of state to provide national security alone. Today states are challenged with internal threats (civil unrest which usually observed with collective violence rather than external). But neo-realists do not step back from their classic view about security. In the same time neo-realists see human security concept as supplementary or even symbolic term. They think there is no any need to use this new paradigm. Because neorealist approach to the security embraces all fields of security. On the one hand neo-realism generally emphasis on classic view on security where state is soul protector, which provides security for the integrity of state sovereignty for its citizens with other words people by using military power. On the other hand, “ ... neo-realism leave us with few pointers as to how human security objectives might be achieved without subordinating human security to national security and to global stability conceived as a rough equivalence of material power.”¹⁴ In this sense neo-realists such as Buzan et all, argue that the ‘straitjacket’ militaristic approach to security that dominated the discourse during the Cold War was ‘simple-minded’ and led to the underdevelopment of the concept. He

¹³ Adler Emanuel .The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control,1992. International Organization,Vol. 46, issue 01, p.101-145. Copyright the IO Foundation 1992

¹⁴ Globalization and human security by Paul Battersby and Joseph M. Siracusa, Copyright _ 2009 by Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.. Also available at:
<http://books.google.ru/books?id=d11HKBHzUUEC&pg=PA44&lpg=PA44&dq=neorealism%2Bhuman+security&source>

subsequently broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic. Although Buzan examines security from the three perspectives of the international system, the state, and the individual, he concludes that the most important and effective provider of security should remain the sovereign state.¹⁵ Gelb Leslie in his famous article, “GDP now matters more than force”, argues that today main concern for nation-state is to have strong economy in order to have strong military power.¹⁶ Survival, self preservation and therefore security are thus, according to a neo realist, best achieved by having a strong military and preparing for war whether it comes or not¹⁷. According to Tomas Hobbs¹⁸ Waltz states that “among men, as among states, anarchy, or the absence of government is associated with the occurrence of violence”.¹⁹ The Hobbesian attitude that realists take towards security in International Relations was particularly popular in the bi-polar world of the cold war, an era of arms racing and zero sum politics. However even during this time challenges emerged to neo-realist conceptions of security and since the end of the cold war it could be argued that this viewpoint is looking increasingly worn out. However there is no doubt that even now neo-realism base on traditional view of security and components human security is considered as supplementary elements which help to ensure security more effectively. With other words as Buzan said in his famous work “New Patterns of Global Security in the 21th Century”, political, economic, social, environmental etc. are additional elements of security that allow to provide further strengthening the military security²⁰. Because neo-realists argue that military threats are always possible . They give examples from recent experiences of intervention to Afghanistan and Iraq more recently Russian intervention to Georgia(August war 2008) etc. Thus neo-realism emphasis that first of all sovereignty, territorial integrity and population should be protected from outside threats and by military forces. So we can see that Neo-realism especially emphasis on materialist aspects of security. Because neo-realists focus on military security. Even when they spoke about protection of population they mean military protection of people from outside threats.

¹⁵ Theoretical Conceptualization of Human Security, by Sagaren Naidoo Researcher, Institute for Global Dialogue, Johannesburg., p. 2. Available at: <http://www.issafrica.org/Pubs/Books/Unesco/Naidoo.pdf>

¹⁶ Gelb Leslie GDP now matters more than force. Foreign Affairs November-December, 2010, Vol. 89 Issue 6, p35-43.

Also available at: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/node/66767>

¹⁷ Rudolph Christopher ‘Globalization and Security’, Security Studies, p. 32.

¹⁸ Leviathan or the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Common-wealth Ecclesiasticall and Civill. By Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury London, printed for Andrew Crooke, at the Green Dragon in St. Pauls Church-yard 1651. Prepared for the McMaster University Archive of the History of Economic Thought, by Rod Hay. Also available at:

<http://socserv2.socsci.mcmaster.ca/econ/ugcm/3ll3/hobbes/Leviathan.pdf>

¹⁹ Waltz Kenneth (1979) Theory of International Politics. Mc Graw-Hill, New York, p. 102

²⁰ Buzan B. 1991. New Patterns of Global Security in the 21th Century. International Affairs Vol. 67, No. 3, p. 431-451.

Social Constructivist Approach

Human security is explained by constructivism more clearly and successfully. Instead of material understanding constructivism base on ideational understanding of security phenomena Constructivist approach is considered the primary source of HS. For example in UNDP HDR is argued that:

“the world will never be secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and in their jobs.”²¹

This argument is completely based on (social) constructivist view.

“Constructivism has deeper roots; it is not an entirely new approach. It also grows out of an old methodology that can be traced back at least to the eighteenth-century writings of the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico. According to Vico, the natural world is made by God, but the historical world is made by Man. History is not some kind of unfolding or evolving process that is external to human affairs. Men and women make their own history. They also make states which are historical constructs. States are artificial creations and the state system is artificial too; it is made by men and women and if they want to, they can change it and develop it in new ways”²². In this sense I wish argue that man and woman with other words human being is the main object of (social) constructivist view on security. According to this view I can say that changing definition of security is deeply related human`s expectations and new challenges which humanity faced with in post-cold war era in both material and non-material. Constructivism does not ignore non-material aspects of security but especially emphasis on ideas, values and norms. “Everything involved in the social world of man and women is made by them. The fact that it is made by them makes it intelligible to them. The social world is a world of human consciousness: of thoughts and beliefs, of ideas and concepts, of languages and discourses, of signs, signals and understandings among human beings, especially groups of human beings, such as states and nations.”²³ So according to constructivist approach importance of material power can only be determined by ideas. With other words norms, values, rights and rules (ideas) are determinants of material power. Based on these ideas different policies are made by policy makers for ensuring security of people by using material power. With other words constructivism emphasizes the importance of the non-materialistic aspects of international society, but without denying the substance of society, such as economic development or material needs and wants.

²¹ UNDP HDR-United Nations Development Program Human Development Report , 1994, p. 24. Also available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf

²² Jackson Robert and Sorensen, Georg. Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches. 3rd edition. Oxford university press, 2006, p. 164 Also available at: http://e-edu.nbu.bg/pluginfile.php/147644/mod_resource/content/0/jackson_sorensen_Intro_in_IR_chap06.pdf

²³ Jackson Robert and Sorensen, Georg. Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches. 3rd edition. Oxford university press, 2006, p. 165. Also available at: http://e-edu.nbu.bg/pluginfile.php/147644/mod_resource/content/0/jackson_sorensen_Intro_in_IR_chap06.pdf

For interpretation Human Security through constructivist view Yu-tai Tsai suggests six observations. I used here four out of six which are more important in the conceptualization of human security:

“ a)All knowledge is composed of social structures which guide the nature of knowledge and social significance. Both of these rely on human perception, which plays a decisive role in all human actions. The concept of human security has gradually developed through a series of initiatives and academic reports by multi-national, independent commissions of experts, academics and intellectuals. For example, non-governmental organizations (NGO) and civil society in general play a major role in the study and advocacy of human security concerns, and are involved in practically all human security issues;

b) The emergence of the concept of human security reflects the influence of values and norms on security studies, as opposed to the influence of national security. This also demonstrates a change in international relations, identities and interests, and is best explained with reference to constructivist thought;

c)Since they are constructed out of concepts, identity and interests are neither unchanging nor endless, and vary with the emergence of new issues and concepts. This can be seen as a revision of human security, raising questions concerning political economy, sovereign states, and political community. When people start to think of common interests, the definition of security will become people-centered. On the one hand, there is the conviction that states are responsible for regulating the actions of its individual citizens, and on the other hand, individuals are responsible for violating international human rights and humanitarian law;

d)In the 1990s, realism and liberalism were criticized for their overemphasis on material concerns and for failing to take into account subjective, psychological, and human elements. Constructivism attempts to challenge established world views which have been set in place by material concerns. Constructivism and human security have much in common, and human security can be seen as an application of the tenets of constructivism. Constructivism reinterprets traditional material, state-centric society; similarly human security reinterprets traditional theories of military force and national security.”²⁴

Many constructivist scholars (Alexander Wendt, Marta Finnømer, Nicolas Onuf, Peter Katzenstein)²⁵ argue that (human) security is a matter of the identity and interests of countries. Identity and interests determine interaction among states. It helps to derive collective identity,

²⁴ Yu-tai Tsai The Emergence of Human Security: A constructivist view. International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 14, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2009, p.22-24. Also available at: https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol14_2/TSAI%20-%2014n2%20IJPS.pdf

²⁵ Yu-tai Tsai.The emergence of Human Security: A constructivist contribution. International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 14, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2009, p. 24-28, Also available at: https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol14_2/TSAI%20-%2014n2%20IJPS.pdf

cultural identity, national preferences, language and norms. For example Wendt emphasis on importance of collective identity. He argues that interdependence among states creates collective identity and encourages cooperation. According to him human security is a product of the values of collective identity. “Wendt has focused on interaction between states in international system and ignored non-systemic sources of state identity such as domestic political culture. According to Price and Reus-Smit, Wendt’s approach is called systemic constructivism.”²⁶ In this sense of notion, the definition of human security by Japanese sponsored Commission on Human Security is very interesting and creates clear picture of constructivist view on human security: “ ... It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.”²⁷

Another constructivist approach takes HS as new preference of national politics of states. For example Marta Finnomera focuses on changing national preferences. She’s argument is that rules, IOs and values change national preferences. From this point of view human security emerges in the process of altering preferences of countries. And this process is led by the international community. She claims that national interests is formed according to norms and standards created by international community. For Nicolas Onuf language and norms are main determinants of security-building through social interaction. According to Onuf language and rules shape the foundations of the constructivism and human being is the key point of study and the main object of human security. He also argue that, language has become one of the essential components of building HS.²⁸ Other constructivists such as Peter Katzenstein emphasis on cultural identity based constructivist view on human security. He approaches to the human security as new type of understanding of national security and tries to explain that national interests is formed through social interactions. Because national identity alters a country’s interests and actions. In this sense Human Security is emerged from the shaping of culture and identity. “Taking Japan as an example, after going through a period of extreme militarism and eventual defeat in World War II, various divergent memories and interpretations gave rise to intense debate. Following a period of internal political struggle, an undisputed collective identity

²⁶ Karacasulu Uzgoren. Explaining Social Constructivist Contribution to Security Studies. Perceptions. Summer-Autumn 2007, p. 29. Also available at:

<http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/KaracasuluUzgoren.pdf>

²⁷ Human Security Edward Newman. University of Birmingham, p. 8. Available at:

http://www.isacomps.com/info/samples/humansecurity_sample.pdf

²⁸ Onuf Nicholas. G. 1989. World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, p. 58-61.

was generated, and economic policy and security became the nation's main priorities."²⁹ According to these constructivists I can argue that constructivism and human security are new approach, language, view and interpretation of security and international relations. Thus, "... underlying argument is that behavior, interests, and relationships are socially constructed, and can therefore change. Values and ideas can have an impact upon international relations; norms, systems, and relationships can change as an aggregation of agent-oriented processes"³⁰

In international relations constructivism and human security base on the same ideas. Both of them emphasis on security, interaction and development of people and their communities. If we compare constructivist approach with neo-realist we can see that neo-realism would not be sympathetic to the concept of human security, which relies upon the significance of agent-oriented processes, the emergence of non-state forces, and the impact of ideas and values. Constructivism, however, helps to explain these phenomena. As a body of ideas, human security is having an impact in a similarly constructivist manner. States are acknowledging that, on the basis of new understanding, certain forms of economic and political organization are more conducive than others to peace and stability within communities; that conflict within states has an impact upon the international system that disrupts the regularity of economic and political interaction and threatens security; and that certain norms and values can be productively shared as a minimum standard of cooperation.³¹

It is completely clear according to constructivism that there is no any given threats. Threats are constructed through interactions between individuals, societies and states. Even many environmental problems such as global warming, clean water etc. occur as a result of human activities. More clear comparison we can find in the writings of neo-realist Barry Buzan and constructivist Ken Booth. According to Buzan militaristic view of security that have played primary role during Cold War period was unsophisticated approach and resulted with underdevelopment of concept. In his work "People, States and Fear", Buzan broadened it to include political, economic, social and environmental threats, in addition to those that are militaristic. He also focuses on three elements or units of security: the international system, state and individual. Buzan argues that most effective provider of security is the state.

Ken Booth also supports broadening agenda of security. But he argues that the state must be dislocated as the primary referent of (human) security, and include as an alternative a broad range of non-state actors, such as individuals, ethnic and cultural groups, regional economic

²⁹Katzenstein Peter J. ed. 1996. Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

³⁰ Human security and Constructivism, Edward Newman, International Studies Perspectives -2001,2, p. 247. Also available at: <http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/courses/PoliticalScience/661B1/documents/NewmanHumanSecurityConstructivism.pdf>

³¹ Human security and Constructivism, Edward Newman, International Studies Perspectives -2001. 2, p. 247-48. Also available at:

<http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/courses/PoliticalScience/661B1/documents/NewmanHumanSecurityConstructivism.pdf>

blocs, multinational corporations (MNCs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and just about all humankind. He try to introduce human security more important than state security.³² Consequently, both approaches on human security advocate the importance of broadening conceptualization of phenomena. But neo-realists (Buzan et al) argue that most important and effective provider and promoter of human security is the state. But constructivists such as Booth argue that human security is more important than state security and human security can be effectively provide by IOs, NGOs, MNCs through cooperation among different societies and states within the IOs. That is why as it advocates in UNDP HDR 1994 human security is important in national, regional and global security levels. But it doesn't means that neorealistic view (Buzan) have to be completely ignored. Because in reality states are key actors for ensuring human security but not lone actors. There is no any doubt that true cooperation among states without their will is not possible. IOs are other important actors but if national interests of states are not taken account IOs can not be enough effective to ensure security. Especially in regional level of human security without intraregional cooperation ensuring human security is not possible. Barry Buzan in his work *Regional Security Complexes Theory* explains importance of regional security for global (human) security. In next chapter I will try to describe and explain importance of Human security for ensuring regional security by using some related elements of both neo-realist and constructivist views.

³² Peace, Human Security and Conflict Prevention in Africa, Proceedings of the UNESCO(United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)–ISS(Institute for Security Studies) Expert Meeting held in Pretoria, South Africa 23–24 July 2001, edited by Ms Moufida Goucha and Mr Jakkie Cilliers, p.2
Also available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001249/124996e.pdf>

Chapter 2. Human Security in the context of Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus

In first part of this chapter I will try to describe and explain how human security becomes important for ensuring regional security and cooperation or how human security threats can bring to conflict. In the second part of this chapter I will focus on interrelation between regional conflicts and HS threats.

2.1. Importance of Regional Cooperation for ensuring HS in the South Caucasus: the role of IOs

As it is confirmed by UNDP HDR 1994 Human Security is important for national, regional and global security. Of course in globalizing world threats against human being are universal and can influence all people who live in everywhere in the world. According to Buzan's Regional Security Complexes Theory regions are clusters within the global security system: "The central idea in the RSCT is that, since most threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones, security interdependence is normally patterned into regionally based clusters: security complexes."³³ Buzan (neo-realist) argue that threats within the region spread from one country to another very quickly. Therefore regional security have significant importance in order to ensure global security. Actually he used this argument especially for traditional threats such as military conflicts among neighbor countries. But for my point of view we can successfully associate this theory to regional level of HS. In this sense, I would like to claim that, regions can be interpreted as "links of global chain". In fact, regional cooperation especially based on interstate relations within the same region. Therefore for regional security primary element is cooperation among neighbor countries which can be called intraregional cooperation. Without intraregional cooperation in the increasing interdependency tendencies it is practically not possible to ensure human security in regional level. In this sense, support by International Organizations play significant complementary role. Additionally as an another important actors of International Relations IOs' assistance for encouraging and successful satisfaction of intraregional cooperation can not be ignored. Because IOs' assistance for promoting cooperation on behalf of regional level of HS is especially required in the regions where territorial conflicts exist. In the same time I would like to claim that HS must become an essential part of national politics of states in a world where threats become more internal and

³³ Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The structure of International Security*-2003, p.4. Also available at: <http://blogriobranco.files.wordpress.com/2010/04/buzan.pdf>

universal than external. Because, as Finnømer (constructivist view) suggests norms, values and IOs can change national preferences on behalf of HS.³⁴ So we can think that today human insecurities are main challenges of national security. That is why human insecurities have some paradoxical characters. On the one hand human insecurities can increase hostility and bring to conflict. Such as among Turkey and Syria in Middle East and between Kirgizia and Uzbekistan in Central Asia. “In 1975, unilateral water developments came very close to leading to warfare along the Euphrates River. The three riparian to the river- Turkey, Syria, and Iraq -had been co-existing with varying degrees of hydro-political tension through the 1960s. At that time, population pressures drove unilateral developments, particularly in southern Anatolia (Turkey), with the Keban Dam (1965-73), and in Syria, with the Tabqa Dam (1968-73).”³⁵ Another example is tension in Central Asia around Amudarya and Syrdarya rivers. “President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan indicated that efforts by Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to build hydroelectric power stations on rivers that flowed into Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan could “spark war.” ”³⁶ Because experts warn that it will reduce quality and quantity of downstream of rivers` water. And also it is completely possible upriver Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan will take control over rivers and in future they can use it for their political interests against downriver Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

On the other hand human insecurities create many opportunities for to find mutual interests in order to increase confidence among neighboring states. For example prevention of pollution of cross border water sources such as rivers, lakes etc. must be in the interests of the neighboring countries. Because pollution tendencies of clean water sources threaten not only agricultural issues but also can increase health problems for all countries where for example a polluted river pass through. So such kind of insecurities can bring together even such countries who were previous enemies. If a country recognizes human security as an essential part of its national security, then that country will ready for cooperation with other countries, including previous enemies, in order to eliminate human security threats. In fact world history have many experiences that can confirm such kind of tendencies such as “Treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community (1951)”³⁷ where reconciliation of previous enemies Germany and France took place in order to achieve sustainable development of economy and for lasting peace for their

³⁴ Yu-tai Tsai. The Emergence of Human security: A Constructivist View, International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 14, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2009, p. 26. Also available at:

https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol14_2/TSAI%20-%2014n%20IJPS.pdf

³⁵ Oregon States University, Case Study of Transboundary Dispute Resolution: the Tigris-Euphrates basin. Authors: Aaron T. Wolf and Joshua T. Newton. Available at: http://www.transboundarywaters.orst.edu/research/case_studies/index.html

³⁶ Reuters Uzbek leader sounds warning over Central Asia water disputes. Available at:

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/09/07/centralasia-water-idUSL6E8K793I20120907>

³⁷ The ABC of European Union Law by Professor Klaus-Dieter Borchardt European Union, 2010, p.11

people. Similarly for solution tension around Tiger and Euphrates rivers which continue till now some scholars and politicians (Cattarossi(a water consultant expert with more than 10 years experience in Iraq and head of MED Engineering), Alwash (founder of both the environmental non-governmental organization Nature Iraq and AUIS's Twin Rivers Institute for Scientific Research) et all) suggests to increase regional cooperation. For example, "We must build trust among the countries that need to cooperate over water, and we can start building trust by sharing information," Andrea Cattarossi said.³⁸ Azzam Alwash sees cooperation on this issue as bridge to lasting peace in the region: ".Where there's a will there's a way, and we have the opportunity to use water as something that unites us."³⁹

So a state alone is practically not able to resolve human insecurities which has common character. That is why intraregional cooperation for satisfaction of HS in regional level is very important. Of course it is not easy to provide such cooperation especially in the regions where exist territorial conflicts like in the South Caucasus. Therefore non-traditional/human security threats such as economic crises, environmental degradation, pollution of clean water, air pollution, organized crimes, terrorism, drug trafficking etc. required more complex and cooperative action plans in the sphere of regional (human) security. Of course IOs` assistance in this area is very significant. Particularly in the South Caucasus UN, OSCE, EU and NATO are main supporters of cooperation, development, democracy and other fields of HS. On the other hand there is some ideas about deep and comprehensive integration of South Caucasus as EU. In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly in September 2010, Georgian President Mikhael Saakashvili called for a 'united Caucasus': "I strongly believe that a common market, shared interests, and political and economic interdependence will one day give birth to a united Caucasus."⁴⁰ Actually this idea theoretically is enough attractive. But in the current situation in the region it is practically not possible. National interests of the three states and existing conflicts are main obstacles for deep integration and cooperation. But international organizations such as UN, EU and OSCE try to find mutual gain among those three states Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

In fact for promotion HS in the region engagement of IO`s to the process is extremely necessary. Their support to the peace-building process is especially significant for bring together

³⁸ Iraq, Turkey and Syria: The Opportunity to Use Water as Something That Unites Us by Kira Walker. 9/3/2014.

Also available at: <http://rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/09032014>

³⁹ Iraq, Turkey and Syria: The Opportunity to Use Water as Something That Unites Us by Kira Walker. 9/3/2014. Also available at: <http://rudaw.net/english/kurdistan/09032014>

⁴⁰ Remarks of H.E Mikhel Saakashvili, President of Georgia, the 65th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, 23 September 2010, New York, p.8. Also available at: http://www.un.org/en/ga/65/meetings/generaldebate/Portals/1/statements/634209147655000000GE_en.pdf

conflict parties. In order to fulfill HS in the region sufficiently, IO's role to encourage reliable cooperation is a vital need.

Confidence-building is the main task for reliable cooperation among three South Caucasian countries in order to prevent regional human insecurities in the level of environmental and economic issues. "Three issues are central to facilitating cooperation: (1) identifying authentic interests to assure ownership; (2) connecting agents of change capable of influencing their societies; and (3) tailoring formats of cooperation to the complex reality of the South Caucasus."⁴¹ There are many programs and initiatives for to increase and promote regional cooperation in different areas in the South Caucasus that supported by UN, EU and OSCE. These initiatives and programs including Caucasus Biodiversity Council (CBC), Caucasus Business Development Network (CBDN), Caucasus Environmental NGO Network (CENN), Caucasus Protected Areas Fund (CPAF), Caucasus Initiative (CI), Eco-regional Conservation Plan (ECP), Regional Environment Centre for the Caucasus (REC), Environment and Security Initiative (ENVSEC), South Caucasus River Monitoring Program (SCRM), European Neighborhood Policy (ENP), Eastern Partnership (EaP), EU Economic Rehabilitation Program (ERP), South Caucasus Parliamentary Initiative (SCPE) help and encourage to create productive environment for bring together positions of three South Caucasus countries in order to achieve sufficient and sustainable peace and development through reliable cooperation. On the other hand some individual countries such as US (US Agency for International Development (USAID)), Switzerland (Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)) etc. are also involved into the process. Mostly this initiatives surround environmental and economic security areas. Because especially environmental and economic problems gradually becomes more dangerous threats for population of the world including South Caucasus. Other elements of HS such as food, health security deeply related with economic and environmental security threats. Environmental and economic cooperation also are effective areas for peace and confidence building among conflict parties in the region. "The proposed logic is that cooperation over issues of mutual interest, such as the environment or economy, will build trust between (former) conflict parties, create mutual incentives in each other's stability and prosperity, and facilitate more constructive relationships between enemies."⁴² In this sense regional cooperation is the most important instrument to ensure HS for the three South Caucasus countries. So we can make analogue between Buzan's neorealist and Finnomera's constructivist views on new

⁴¹ Anja Wittich and Achim Maas: Regional Cooperation in the South Caucasus-April 2009, p7. Also available at: http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/Regional_Cooperation_in_the_South_Caucasus.pdf

⁴² Regional cooperation on environment, economy and natural resource management How can it contribute to peace building? Synthesis report Moira Feil, Diana Klein, Meike Westerkamp April 2009, p.7 Also available at: http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/Synthesis_Regional_cooperation_on_environment_economy_and_natural_resource_management.pdf

understanding of security. Because according to Buzan, “security complex is defined as a set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security perceptions and concerns can not reasonably be analyzed and or resolved apart from one another.”⁴³ Finnomena also emphasis on interaction between states in the format of IOs and argues that Human Security gradually becomes national security preference of states within the same region.⁴⁴ But there is several obstacles on the road of regional cooperation for ensuring HS in the South Caucasus. One of them and most important one is separatism and territorial claims between neighbors. In next part of this chapter I will try to focus on linkage between territorial conflicts and HS challenges in the South Caucasus.

2.2 Linkage between territorial conflicts and human security threats in the region

Actually South Caucasus is such a region where complex traditional and non-traditional security threats exist and in many cases non-traditional or human security threats is deeply related with regional conflicts in the areas environmental and economic cooperation and cooperation for overcoming organized crimes in the region.

After the collapse of Soviet Union three south Caucasus countries gained their independence like other members of union. This period has been observed with complex transition processes in the economic, political and social life of the people. Military aggression, separatist movements and geopolitical rivalry over the region became main difficulties for effective regional cooperation. Especially undesirable “heritage” from SU - territorial claims of Armenia against Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh and separatist movements in Georgia over Abchazia and South Osetia became real obstacles to economic prosperity, integration and stability of the region in its wider meaning.

On the one hand, Armenian aggression between 1988-1994 has been resulted with violation of all rights of about one million people. They still live as refugees and IDPs. On the other hand in the result of Nagorno Karabakh conflict significant part of borderline between Azerbaijan and

⁴³ Buzan, Barry; Weaver, Ole and Wilde, Jaap de, “Security: A New Frame work for Analysis”, Boulder: Lynne-Rienner Publishers, 1998, p.12

⁴⁴Yu-tai Tsai. The Emergence of Human Security: A Constructivist view. International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 14, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2009., p. 26. Also available at: https://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol14_2/TSAI%20-%2014n2%20IJPS.pdf

Iran has become loopholes for drug trafficking and terrorists. Because in fact this part of borderline between Azerbaijan and Iran is still non controlled zone. While three states formally exist in the region, the factual situation is that three geographic areas (Mountainous Karabakh and its surroundings, Abkhazia, and parts of South Ossetia) are ruled by secessionist ethnic movements outside government jurisdiction. These areas thus remain unrecognized entities (NREs), shielded from the influence of the international community. Allegations have been made that these territories are used for the smuggling of persons, narcotics, and arms, and form potential havens for terrorists. The lack of solutions to these protracted conflicts have increased frustration among the publics in the three states; Armenia is crippled economically and has experienced massive emigration; Georgia and Azerbaijan are faced with a growing reaction to their humiliating defeats in the wars of the early 1990s, especially among the refugee population.⁴⁵ Consequently there are two general obstacles for cooperation to promote regional HS which are related with conflicts in the region. They can be grouped like following:

- a) Lack of strategy for effective change; and
- b) Lack of broad inclusiveness;⁴⁶

There is such fields of cooperation for environmental improvement and economic development that require effective bilateral interactions among conflict parties in the South Caucasus. It could be increase political will and trust between conflict parties and could be helpful for confidence building among them. Such interactions must be effective on political levels. But in such initiatives often have been observed with many difficulties to bring people together and achieve or even define mutual aims. In this sense involvement of civil societies to the issue is often not used sufficiently. For example, “ in 2006, forest fires affected the areas surrounding Nagorno Karabakh. The fires were serious enough to provoke a resolution by UN General Assembly (A/RES/60/285). Armenia and Azerbaijan agreed to a joint, OSCE-led environmental assessment mission under the umbrella of the Environment and Security Initiative, which has the aim of fostering cooperation and mutual confidence. In this noteworthy mission, experts from Armenia and Azerbaijan were involved and worked together on both sides of the border. It also marked the only event in recent years in which Azerbaijani experts officially traveled to Nagorno Karabakh. One of the key recommendations of the joint mission was to establish a joint, technical monitoring system regional cooperation for fire management

⁴⁵The South Caucasus A Regional Overview and Conflict Assessment by Svante E.Cornel August 2002. Also available at: <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2004/SIDA.pdf>

⁴⁶ Regional cooperation on environment, economy and natural resource management How can it contribute to peace building? Synthesis report Moira Feil, Diana Klein, Meike Westerkamp April 2009, p. 10. Also available at: http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/Synthesis_Regional_cooperation_on_environment_economy_and_natural_resource_management.pdf

and research. However, the mission remained a singular event among technical experts without political follow-up, shutting a window of opportunity for significant cooperation.⁴⁷

Other significant initiative was the Caucasus Initiative. It was launched by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) in 2001 in order to promote cooperation among three South Caucasus countries and encourage economic, social and political development in the region. Main aim was to help defuse conflicts by this way. The initiative surrounds the areas sustainable economic development, energy, environment, democracy, municipal development and the rule of law.⁴⁸ The initiative involves Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Armenia into cooperation in the listed areas to bring these countries closer. But it kept out NREs (non recognized entities) – Nagorno Karabakh, South Osetia and Abkhazia of the cooperation.⁴⁹ Of course involvement of NREs to the cooperation could be seen as encouragement of separatists. But we have to take consideration that people`s interaction who live in the NREs with core countries population is significant factor to defuse conflicts. So this tendency shows that lack of broad inclusiveness that deeply related with conflicts is a serious obstacle for regional cooperation which is vital for ensuring HS in the South Caucasus.

At the same time, South Caucasus is a region which located between three regional powers Russia, Turkey and Iran and each of them has its own interests in the region. At the same time EU and US also are seriously interested in this region. Because it is not only energy rich region but also is a bridge between Europe and Asia. In fact EU`s role for promotion of regional cooperation is important and reasonable for three countries of the region. But geopolitical rivalry between Russian federation and Western Block in the region also creates many difficulties for regional cooperation to promote HS in the South Caucasus. “Since the mid-1990s, the EU has provided significant humanitarian and technical assistance to the region and in 2004 it included the South Caucasus in the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). In the field of conflict resolution, however, little has been done, even if conflict settlement is one of the main priorities of the ENP. The European Union has also tried to promote conflict resolution indirectly through its regional cooperation initiatives. Thus, the EU started to promote Black Sea cooperation and launched its TRACECA (The Transport Corridor Europe Caucasus Central Asia program provides technical assistance covering road, rail, aviation and maritime transport

⁴⁷ Regional cooperation on environment, economy and natural resource management How can it contribute to peace building? Synthesis report Moira Feil, Diana Klein, Meike Westerkamp April 2009, p. 13. Also available at: http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/Synthesis_Regional_cooperation_on_environment_economy_and_natural_resource_management.pdf

⁴⁸ Caucasus Initiative, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany. Available at: http://www.bmz.de/en/what_we_do/countries_regions/Central-Eastern-and-South-Eastern-Europe/kaukasus/index.html

⁴⁹ Regional cooperation on environment, economy and natural resource management How can it contribute to peace building? Synthesis report Moira Feil, Diana Klein, Meike Westerkamp April 2009, p. 14 available at: http://www.initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/pdf/Synthesis_Regional_cooperation_on_environment_economy_and_natural_resource_management.pdf

connections from Central Asia to Europe.) program which was abandoned, however, and thus failed to achieve its goal of diversifying energy supply routes to Europe and deepening the EU's energy ties with the countries of the region. By opting for limited engagement in the region, the EU hand may have avoided confrontation with Russia on the one, but on the other it has failed to achieve its objectives of conflict resolution, regional cooperation and energy diversification."⁵⁰

So as I already mentioned, this region with its complex geopolitical realities and frozen conflicts has many difficulties for providing HS in the region.

⁵⁰ Eastern Partnership and Conflicts in the South Caucasus: Old Wine in New Skins ? by Nona Mikhelidze, 2009, p.3.
Also available at: <http://www.iai.it/pdf/dociai/iai0923.pdf>

Chapter 3. Non-traditional (Human) Security Threats in the South Caucasus

In this chapter I will try to describe and explain the common vital HS challenges for three South Caucasian countries. I will especially focus on economic, environmental, community security challenges in the region. Food, health, and personal securities are deeply related with economic and environmental security issues and socio-political situation in many cases.

3.1 General information about the South Caucasus region

Map 1.1



Source: mappery.com

The South Caucasus located in south east Asia. The region is also referred to as Transcaucasia or the Trans-Caucasus and surrounded with Caspian Sea from the east, with Black Sea from the west, With Great Caucasus Mountains from the north and with Iran plateaux from the south. The region is a bridge between Europe and Asia for energy transportation and trade. With its significant and at the same time complex geopolitical and transit, position and near location to the rich energy resources of the Caspian Sea and Central Asia region South Caucasus has always been in the centre of interests of the great powers.



Source: mapsof.net

The South Caucasus consists of three countries: Republic of Georgia, Republic of Azerbaijan and Republic of Armenia. These countries are covered from the north Russian Federation, from south-west republic of Turkey, from south Islamic Republic of Iran. During more than 70 years between 1920-1991 South Caucasus countries were a part Soviet Union. In 1991 all three countries got back their independence as a result of collapse of the SU. The process began in the end of 1980s and has been very painful and tragic especially for people of Azerbaijan. 20 January, 1990 entered to the history of Azerbaijan as “Black January”. Anti-Soviet demonstrations take place in Baku and are followed by a violent military crackdown. “Krasny Army” entered to Baku and massacred hundreds civilians in the city. At the same time Azerbaijan faced with Armenian aggression. 20 % of the territories of Azerbaijan occupied by Armenia including Nagorno Karabakh and 7 surrounding rayon. Consequently Azerbaijan lost its de facto jurisdiction over Nagorno Karabakh.

Georgia also suffered from separatist movements in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. Georgia began to fight against separatism in this provinces between 1991-93⁵¹. But could not reconstruct its whole control over South Ossetia and Abkhazia. President Mikhail Saakashvili began increase his efforts for get back jurisdiction of Georgia over these provinces just after coming to power as a result successful presidential election in 2004. But with military intervention of

⁵¹ Sadri, Houman A. Global Security Watch: The Caucasus States, copyright 2010 by Houman A. Sadri, p.12. Available at the library of The Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

Russia to Georgia in August 2008 Georgia completely lost de facto jurisdiction over South Ossetia and Abkhazia. These territorial conflicts are main causes of instability and lack of confidence in the region.

This situation is often related with great power`s rivalry (great power penetration in the Buzan and Waever`s terms) over the region . Russian Federation took the way supporting separatism in Georgia and Armenian aggression against Azerbaijan in order to have strong influence instruments over the region. By this way Russia succeeds to prevent foreign policy interests of EU and US toward SC. Those two factors are main external obstacles for HS in the SC countries.

In early independence period all three states are faced many economic, political challenges. These countries have experienced very complex economic transition and democratization period. Steel this countries have some features of command economy which was familiar in the Soviet communist period.

Today, the South Caucasus still remains highly influenced by the local and distanced greater powers as well as regional powers, all of which have serious interest in the region`s energy and other resources. Oil and natural gas are vital natural resources that their scarcity makes them and the states that claim ownership of them strategic international focal point. Armenia and Georgia are dependent on gas and oil imports. Regarding regional energy sources, Azerbaijan is the key state, sitting directly on the shore of the Caspian Sea with access to its fuels. According to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, the Caspian Sea Region is estimated to hold between 17 and 44 billion barrels (bbl) of oil and 232 trillion cubic feet (TCF) of natural gas. Azerbaijan holds between 7 and 125 bbl of these oil reserves and 30 TCF of the Caspian Sea Region`s natural gas⁵². With its rich oil and natural gas resources Azerbaijan plays locomotive role for economic development of the region.

Table 2.⁵³

Country	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
Indices			
Surface Area (km ²)	69,700	86,600	29,740
Population (mill.)	4,49	9,3	3,0
GDP (USD/ billion)	16,13	73,56	10,43
GDP per capita	\$ 2156.94	\$3252.83	\$ 2309.71

⁵² Sadri, Houman A. Global Security Watch: The Caucasus States, copyright 2010 by Houman A. Sadri, p.6. Available at the library of The Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

⁵³ Source: <http://www.tradingeconomics.com>

3.2 Economic security threats in the South Caucasus

As former soviet-communist economies the South Caucasus countries – Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia have many similar and various economic features. First of all main industrial infrastructure in both heavy and light industry are already became obsolete and need modernization which require huge amount of finance. On the other hand corruption and unhealthy environment of competition are serious obstacles for economic development.

During the Soviet era the economy of Azerbaijan has been specialized over oil production and oil refinery, while metallurgy and the production of mineral fertilizers, fuels, lubricants herbicides, and synthetic rubber were also important fields. Among the light industry enterprises cotton, wool, and footwear-manufacturing plants have also great importance. Agricultural products of Azerbaijan was consumed not only in the country but also in other regions of the former USSR⁵⁴.

Georgia also had one of the developed industrial bases in the soviet socialist economic system. Especially heavy and fields were characteristic for Georgian economy. For example metallurgy, the production of ferrous alloys, machine-tool industry and the chemical industry have to be noted. The agricultural products and foodstuffs especially wine, mineral water, tea, and citrus fruit were very popular and mainly exported beyond Georgia and was in demand essentially throughout the former USSR.⁵⁵

“The economy of soviet Armenia was characterized by the chemical industry, the production of ferrous metals, machine-tools, precision tools, textiles, clothing, leather footwear and so on. Particular mention should be made of electric power generation and of the atomic power station which was and still is the only one in the entire South Caucasus.⁵⁶”

It is enough to pay attention to above features of soviet south Caucasus`s economy for understanding the similarity of industrial fields. These uniqueness show the one-sided specialization of Soviet period economy of these South Caucasian countries. Because goods which was produced in that industrial enterprises were for Union`s domestic market. On the other hand, it is remarkable to note that especially in the last period of USSR the industrial

⁵⁴ Eldar Ismailov and Vladimir Papava, *The Central Caucasus: Essays on Geopolitical Economy*, CA&CCPress, 2006. p.92, available from The Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

⁵⁵ *Non-Traditional Security Threats and Regional Cooperation in the Southern Caucasus* Edited by Mustafa Aydin Department of International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2011. Economic Transformation and the Impacts of the Global Financial Crisis in the Southern Caucasus Vladimir Papava, p20 available at: http://www.papava.info/publications/Papava_Economic_Transformation.pdf

⁵⁶ *The South Caucasus 2021: Oil, Democracy and Geopolitics*/Fariz Ismailzade and Glen E. Howard, Editors, p.68 Copyright 2012 The Jamestown Foundation

machinery were already became old. So production in that enterprises was based on old style production. At the same time these enterprises were based on cooperative relations and consumption of their products were supported by command economy system.

Therefore “after the collapse of the Communist regimes and their command economies, the countries of the former Soviet Union found themselves with only a very small amount of goods to supply to the global market. With few exceptions, such as some hydro energy outputs, oil and gas extraction and the primary processing of raw materials, the goods they manufactured failed to meet the high international standards as a result of their overall low quality and or high prices. In fact, no markets existed for these particular products. Moreover, in principle, there was no way that they could have existed, in that an economy of this type is nothing more than a corpse or a so-called “necroeconomy”⁵⁷.”

On the other hand territorial conflicts that erupted just after the collapse of SU seriously damaged South Caucasian countries. The destruction, the victims, and the social problems generated by the large number of refugees (Azerbaijan), as well as the ensuring blockade of transportation arteries have serious impact on the economic situation and production potential in the South Caucasus.

One of the main economic development challenges for South Caucasus countries is to attract foreign investors` interests. It requires sustainable economic and political stability. Even if there exists ceasefire in the conflict zones it does not means that the situation is stable. Because conflict zones are non-controlled zones and are attractive not only for terrorists and drug traffickers but also these zones are zones for laundering dirty money, kidnapping hostages, and trading on people. On the other hand creation of common market is important for development of region but conflict zones create serious obstacles for realization this task⁵⁸.

Corruption is another threats for economic security of people. All three South Caucasian countries suffer from corruption till today. It is also one of the undesirable heritages of Soviet period. For example **Georgia** as a result of corruption has historically suffered from a chronic failure to collect tax revenues; however, the government science coming to power in 2004 has simplified the tax code, improved tax administration, increased tax enforcement, and cracked down on petty corruption, leading to higher revenues. The country is pinning its hopes for renewed growth on a determined effort to continue to liberalize the economy by reducing

⁵⁷ Economic Transformation and the Impacts of the Global Financial Crisis in the Southern Caucasus Vladimir Papava, p.18 available at: http://www.papava.info/publications/Papava_Economic_Transformation.pdf

⁵⁸ Eldar Ismailov and Vladimir Papava, The Central Caucasus: Essays on Geopolitical Economy, CA&CCPress, 2006,.97-98, available from The Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

regulation, taxes, and corruption in order to attract foreign investment, with a focus on hydropower, agriculture, tourism, and textiles production⁵⁹.

Another threat for Georgian citizens is unemployment. The unemployment problem persisted with a net decline in business sector jobs by 5 percent during the first three quarters of 2013. Georgia has historically had a high unemployment rate of 12–13 percent even during the high growth period from 2004–08 because of low net job creation. Unemployment rose during the crisis and reached 17 percent in 2010 and then fell to 15 percent in 2012. During the first three quarters of 2013, in line with subdued economic activity, a number of sectors shed jobs, led by the construction sector where the number of jobs declined by almost 28 percent⁶⁰.

In turn to Azerbaijani economy there are also threats by corruption like in Georgia and Armenia. On the other hand Azerbaijani economy is highly dependent from oil revenues which is common for all oil based economies. In 2011, Azerbaijan joined the Open Government Partnership, an intergovernmental organization promoting transparency and civil society involvement in monitoring state finances. In order to neutralize undesirable effect of corruption and as a membership obligation in this organization Azerbaijani government adopted the National Action Plan for 2012–2015 and set up a State Agency for Public Service and Social Innovations, supervising the Azerbaijani Service and Assessment Network (ASAN). As part of ASAN, nine ministries and agencies offer numerous types of services, including issuing residence permits and birth certificates. In the past, many of these services were accessible to citizens only in exchange for a petty bribe. Azerbaijan joined the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) in 2003, which was hailed by the international community as an important move toward transparency in the oil industry. However, of 14 foreign oil and gas companies operating in the country, only BP and the state oil company SOCAR make their statistics publicly available⁶¹.

According to world fact book unemployment rate in Azerbaijan was 6% for 2013. In a speech to the meeting that was held on May 19, 2014 for "The labor market and social security reform: the role of international partners" Minister of Labor and Social Protection of People Salim Muslimov said that as result sustainable economic policy of president Ilham Aliiev unemployment rate has reduced from 10,6% to 5,0% the last 10 year⁶². Much of Azerbaijan`s

⁵⁹ Source: [CIA World Factbook](#) - Unless otherwise noted, information in this page is accurate as of December 6, 2013

⁶⁰ Georgia Economic Report No.5, Spring 2014, The world Bank Washington DC. Also available at:

<http://www-wds.worldbank.org>

⁶¹ Azerbaijan Nations in Transit 2014. Also available at: http://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/NIT14_Azerbaijan_final.pdf

⁶² "Poliqon" informasiya agentliyi: "Azərbaycanda işsizliyin səviyyəsi azalıb"/Available at:

http://www.pia.az/_%E2%80%9CAzərbaycanda_ishsizlik_seviyyesi_-32360-xeber.html#.VAYtMPmSyzl

growth has come from using oil earnings finance public investment, as transfers from SOFAZ(State Oil Fund of Azerbaijan) have provided nearly 60% of budget revenues. That is why one of the main aims of Azerbaijan is reduction of dependency of economic development from oil revenues. So the authorities need to promote a wider regional network of bank branches, enforce financial consumer protection, and create conditions that will enable financial institutions to reduce real lending rates for rural enterprises. These steps should boost rural income and, eventually, revenue from rural areas, thereby reducing the budget's current dependence on oil earnings⁶³.

For Armenian economic security main threats are corruption, unemployment, blockade of access to communications by Azerbaijan and Turkey, dependency from Russia and aid of Diaspora. When taken on an international scale comparison Armenia is ranked among world's most corrupt countries with results of 101/180 according to the World Audit, and 129/183 according to the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index Studies on local perception show that about 82% of Armenian households are concerned with corruption and consider it a serious problem for the country. Additionally, the public seems to be less and less convinced of the government's ability to make positive changes regarding corruption in Armenia. As about 50% believe that corrupt authorities cannot struggle against themselves⁶⁴.

Unemployment in Armenia is the urgent problem that need prompt solution. During the period of 1991-2009 the employment structure by sphere of economic activity has been changed significantly as well, and in such a way that it became less diversified and more vulnerable to internal and external shocks. Subsistence agriculture emerged as a key factor mitigating the shocks of transition period, as well as the absence of policies for creating non agricultural jobs. The greatest change since this transition has been the shift, although involuntary, from stable wages and salaried jobs to casual and less-formal jobs and self-employment. Moreover, the main cause of this situation is the lack of alternative employment, especially in rural areas. Informality is another challenge for Armenian labor market; employment in the informal sector is mostly casual and based on personal and social relations rather than on contractual arrangements. Informal employment is usually low paid, instable and creates challenges for the future as well. People engaged in the sector do not accrue any social protection rights. In the case of unemployment or sickness, any insured pension rights will depend on social pension only,

⁶³ Asian Development Bank Asian Development Outlook 2014 Fiscal Policy for Inclusive Growth: Azerbaijan, p.103, Also available at: <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/ado2014-azerbaijan.pdf>

⁶⁴ Angela Hassassian, AUA PSIA Class of 2013 Corruption in Armenia: An unresolved Problem Posted by auatcpa on January 24, 2013. Available at: <http://tcpablog.wordpress.com/2013/01/24/corruption-in-armenia>

therefore putting an extra burden on a budget.⁶⁵ On the other hand according to Nelly Babayan monopolies are also one of the main causes for poverty and unemployment in Armenia.⁶⁶

As a result of corruption, unemployment, and low level living standards force thousands Armenians to leave country. “It is estimated that Armenia has lost up to a quarter of its population since independence, as young families seek what they hope will be a better life abroad.”⁶⁷ According to Gallup’s studies in 2010, 39% of the population desires to leave Armenia. Moreover, this statistic I the highest among the Commonwealth of Independent States(CIS). Nearly, 70000 people have left Armenia in 2010. According to police records, the difference between the numbers of those who left and repatriated has been 4,019people, meaning that 7,894 have returned and 12,013 have left.⁶⁸

On the other hand Russian Federation have strong military and economic position in Armenia. Russia is biggest trade partner of Armenia and more than 40% foreign investments in the Armenian economy belong to Russia. Such a situation shows that almost half of Armenian economy depends on Russia. So it is clear that Russia has all opportunities to manage internal economic and political situation and to stress on foreign policy of country⁶⁹.

Table 3.⁷⁰

Country	Georgia	Azerbaijan	Armenia
Index			
Unemployment (%)	15,1	5,4	17,3
Poverty /% population	18	6	32,4
Corruption rank among 177 country, and score (best is 100)	55/177 49/100	127/177 28/100	94/177 36/100

⁶⁵ Armenia : Social Protection and Social Inclusion Country Report European Commission Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion Manuscript completed in 2011. Also available at: ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=6881&langId=en

⁶⁶ Read more at: <http://en.aravot.am/2013/11/29/162755/>© 1998 - 2014 Aravot – News from Armenia

⁶⁷ BBC-News Europe: Armenia profile, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17398605>

⁶⁸ Armenia’s National Security Threat: Soviet-Era Corruption, Nepotism, By Appo Jabarian Executive Publisher/Managing Editor USA Armenian Life Magazine, Posted on March 11,2011. Also available at: <http://www.armenianlife.com/2011/03/11/armenias-national-security-threat-soviet-era-corruption-nepotism>

⁶⁹ Strategic Culture Foundation: Russia and Armenia’s Strategic Partnership Given New Impetus by Mikhail Aghajanyan Available at: <http://m.strategic-culture.org/news/2013/12/05/russia-and-armenia-strategic-partnership-given-new-impetus.html>

⁷⁰ Data in the table 3. base on CIA World Factbook, data.world bank.org, and statistical services of countries

3.3. Environmental Security Threats in the region

As I already mentioned in the Chapter 1. environmental security threats include environmental degradation caused by human activities, pollution of atmosphere and clean water, natural disasters, and so on. Today environmental security threats are global security concern. Climate change, global warming, earthquakes etc. can bring to undesirable consequences for world population. Such kind of natural crisis needs joint preventive activities. Therefore international approach to the question is often unambiguously.

For example the Brundtland Commission of 1987 argued that the concept of security “must be expanded to include the growing impacts of environmental stress locally, nationally, regionally, and globally”. Principle 25 of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environmental Development states that “peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent.”⁷¹ It is quite clear that both statements stress on importance of regional level of environmental security.

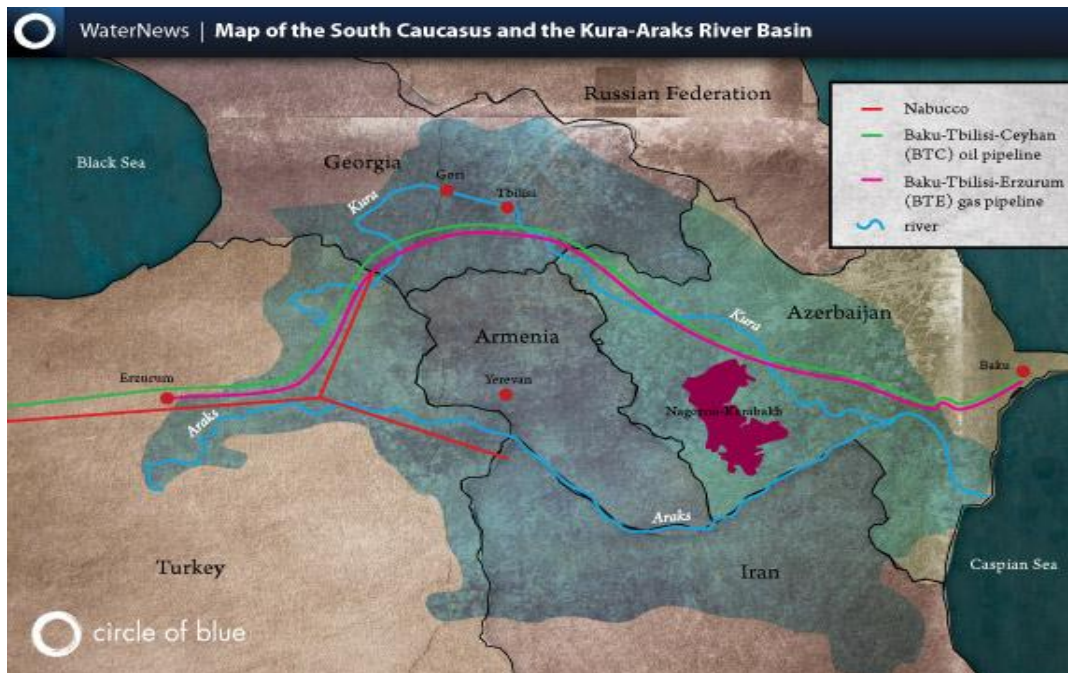
Especially second statement about commonality peace and environmental security is important for regions such as South Caucasus. Because common environmental security issues can bring together conflict parties in the region. In such small regions as South Caucasus natural environment related changing can easily and quickly spread from one country to another. Therefore regional cooperation over environmental issues is important for regional environmental security. Environmental security threats is often related with human factor. Especially pollution, deforestation, forest fires etc. related with human activities in the area directly or indirectly. The use of nuclear stations for power making, non-secure exploitation of energy resources like oil and natural gas production also are actual threats for the region. In this regard Medzamor nuclear power station in Armenia and oil production in Azerbaijan are remarkable to not. Additionally damaging of environment due to construction of oil and gas pipelines and “inherited” obsolete military munitions from the Soviet-era must be taken consideration as serious threats. By the way principle 25 of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment where is mentioned interdependency of peace, development and environmental protection finds its real confirmation in the case of South Caucasus. I would like to add social and economic stability to this list as well.

“In fact, the first public demonstrations in Armenia and Georgia in 1987 were related to environmental issues. The main problems in the South Caucasus are pollution, deforestation, the

⁷¹ ENVSEC: Environmental Security Initiative in the South Caucasus: An overview of the project ,Published by the OSCE and ENVSEC Initiative. Also available at: <http://www.osce.org/eea/89301?download=true>

Caspian Sea and the Metzamor Nuclear Plant in Armenia.”⁷² **Pollution** of water resources of Kura-Araks basin is one of the main environmental security challenges for the region. Both rivers are started from Turkey and pass through Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Kura is cross border river between Turkey and three South Caucasus countries. Aras flows with Armenian Azerbaijani-Iranian borderline.

Map 1.2



Map by Hannah Nester and Eric Daigh for Circle of Blue.

Total area of the basin is more than 200000 km², Kura-1515 km, Aras-1070km.

Kura-Aras basin`s waters play one of the vital role for South Caucasus states` development in both national and regional level. The basin have extreme importance for economic growth and reliable cooperation even among Armenia and Azerbaijan. Its water resources is used for industrial, agricultural, urban and hydropower purposes. Therefore the rivers accumulate significant amount of industrial and other type of waste from region`s countries. But for today lack of true cooperation among region`s states for water resource management of basin creates many difficulties for reduction of pollution. The high level pollution with not only industrial, municipal wastes and additionally with agricultural runoff and landfill discharges create not only environmental but also dangerous health problems for future.

“Along with the river Mtkvari (Kür) the most polluted rivers in Georgia are Rioni, Kvirila, Galidzga, Tkibuli, Enguri and Gubistskali. In most of these rivers, concentrations of phenods,

⁷² The South Caucasus A Regional Overview and Conflict Assessment August 2002 Cornell Caspian Consulting, p.39. Also available at: <http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2004/SIDA.pdf>

hydrokarbons, copper, manganese, zinc and nitrogen are considerably higher than the national and international standards.”⁷³

In order to prevent and reduce pollution tendencies in the basin all three countries must work together. But in fact there is no uniform control or management system for the rivers and no water quality monitoring by the region's countries. Currently no water treaties exist among the three countries, a condition directly related to the difficult political situation in the region. So such kind of cooperation needs international efforts to bring together conflict sides in the region.

“Moreover, the Absheron peninsula on which Baku is located is one of the environmentally most destroyed areas in the world. Damage from industries, a century and a half of oil production, energy and transport in the peninsula have made it a wasteland. The polluted air, water, and soil in Baku, Sumgait and surrounding settlements are particular problems.”⁷⁴

Other dangerous threat for environmental security is **deforestation**. Because deforestation can result with reduction humidity which is an important natural component for agriculture. On the other hand reduction humidity can bring to climate change in the region like increase of warming. The causes of deforestation for Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan are probably the same. After the collapse of the SU, when these countries regained their independence, one of the main problems that they faced was energy supply. The people of these countries heavily relied on local forests to provide heat and energy for their homes. Therefore the South Caucasus forests faced with massive cutting.

Armenian nuclear plant **Metsamor** is another serious threat for regional environmental security. This nuclear power plant is located in one of the most earthquake-prone terrain of the world. This outdated plant was built without primary containment structures. Therefore Metsamor causes risks for the environment and people. If an earthquake will take place in the area, it will bring catastrophic consequences for all region and neighboring regions⁷⁵.

⁷³ The South Caucasus A Regional Overview and Conflict Assessment August 2002 Cornell Caspian Consulting, p.39.

Also available at:

<http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2004/SIDA.pdf>

⁷⁴ The South Caucasus A Regional Overview and Conflict Assessment August 2002 Cornell Caspian Consulting, p.39.

Also available at:

<http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2004/SIDA.pdf>

⁷⁵ Revisiting Metsamor Nuclear Power Plant by Lily Torosyan, December 7 2012 The Armeniya Weekly. Also available at:

<http://www.armenianweekly.com/2012/12/07/revisiting-the-metsamor-nuclear-power-plant>

3.3. Community security in the region

Community security focus attention on the prevention ethnic and religious conflicts, with other words all identity based tensions. People want to live in a such communities where they feel secure. That is why they tend to live in a societies where they share the same language, culture, traditions in terms of ethnic and religious values. But in the world there are only few mono communities. So today there is one of the main challenges of human security are conflicts in the ethnic and religious level which often caused by limited access to opportunities.

The South Caucasus is one of the historically multinational regions in the world. During its history there were many religious and ethnic based clashes among neighbor nations. Especially among Armenians and Azerbaijanis ethnic based clashes have often been actual just after Armenian`s resettlement to the region by Russian Empire beginning from first quarter of 18th century.

Map 1.3



Source: mapsof.net Map by Philippe Recagewicz-Le Monde Diplomatique, Paris

Above Ethno-Linguistic map clearly describe distribution of dominant and minority ethno-linguistic groups in the South Caucasus. The most homogeneous of these states is Armenia, where Armenians 97,9 percent of the population. In this republic, the Kurds are 1,3%, Russians 0,5% , and others 0,3 % , make up the rest of the population. Azerbaijan is historically multi-ethnic country. Azeris are 90,6 % of the population, Dagestanis (Avars, Lesghins, Algus) 2.2 % , Russians 18%, Armenians 1,5 % , and others 3,9%. Almost all of the Armenians recorded as living in Azerbaijan, however live in Nagorno-Karabakh. According to non-official statistics even today 30 000 Armenians reside in Azerbaijan and most of them are housed in Sumgait. Georgia is the most heterogeneous Caucasus state, as Georgians comprise only 83,3%, of the total population even after the separation of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The Azeris 6,%, Armenians 5,7 % , Russians 1,5%, and others 2,5 % make up the rest of the population of

Georgia.⁷⁶ When SU collapsed one of the most dangerous consequences was rise of nationalist ideas in the newly independence gained states including South Caucasus countries. In **Georgia** this situation was related with nationalist character of first president of the country Zviad Gamsakhurdia. His “Georgia for Georgians” slogan quickly became an ethno-nationalist doctrine that attributed to him. In his period of presidency the rise of Georgian nationalism resulted with separatist movements in the country. In the north-west Abkhazia, in the south-west Adjara, in the north Ossetins began to feel themselves insecure and to protect their own ethnic identity. It bring ethnic clashes in Georgia. The situation was entire community security crisis which was resulted with de facto separation of this provinces from Georgia in late. Only over Adjara Georgia succeed to rebuilt its jurisdiction on May 2004 after 13 year. But it was not repeatable in South Ossetia and Abkhazia.⁷⁷ In the post-Gamsakhurdia era his ethno-nationalist doctrine was indirectly continued till Saakashvili’s presidency. When he came to power immediately declare that Georgia is motherland of all Georgian citizens.

“The on-going debate over the issue of whether to register ethnicity in Georgian documents reveals how much passion ethnic affiliation can generate. The ethnic Georgian supporters of registration led by MP Guram Sharadze claim that if registration of ethnicity is abolished, the Georgians can quickly lose their distinct identity and be outnumbered by other groups which enjoy higher birth rates.”⁷⁸ Still minorities face with national discrimination in Georgia may be not openly and directly, but indirectly. For example government pay less attention to the development of provinces where minorities live compactly like Kvemo-Kartli/Borchaly where Azeri population takes majority.

Azerbaijan also experienced community security threats in 1990th. During the presidency of Abulfaz Elchibay nationalist climate in the country arise and awakened similar mood among minorities in the north-east and south provinces of the country. At the beginning of the 1990s so called Sadval movement began to spread its secessionist activity using military-political crisis in Azerbaijan as an opportunity. Sadval was not just mere backlash against nationalist policy of the titular nation in the country. It was mainly a creation of Russian special agencies to destabilize the situation and exert influence in Azerbaijan. Their aim was unification of all Lezgin inside

⁷⁶ Sadri, Houman A. Global Security Watch: The Caucasus States, copyright 2010 by Houman A. Sadri. p.7 Available at the library of The Center for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan

⁷⁷ Europe Briefing Tbilisi/Brussels, 18 August 2004, Saakashvili’s Ajara Success: Repeatable Elsewhere in Georgia? Available at:

http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/europe/040818_saakashvili_ajara_success_repeatable_elsewhere_in_georgia.pdf

⁷⁸ Minorities in the South Caucasus by Anna Matveeva, Bishkek October 2014, p.5. Available at:

http://ap.ohchr.org/documents/E/SUBCOM/other/E-CN_4-SUB_2-AC_5-2003-WG_7.pdf

Russia. It was serious community threat against Azerbaijan which could be resulted ethnic clash between Azeri and lezgin population. But the movement was banned and its members were arrested. Since 1994, after the last tension between Lezgin and Azeri, Lezgin community began to focus on protection of the Lezgin language, culture economic and social conditions.⁷⁹

Likewise, foreign aided Alikram Humbatov tried to establish “Talysh-Mugan Autonomous Republic” and even declared its establishment in 1993 when republic was in the chaos and political disorder. He held power but could not maintain it more than 3 months. During this period Heydar Aliev strength his position in Baku and political situation stabilized in the country. As a result Alikram Humbatov could not take enough public support, because it has newer been any genuine nationalist movement of Talyshs, but rather a foreign aided creature. Therefore “Talysh-Mugan Autonomous Republic” overthrown by local people themselves.⁸⁰ This instability during 1992-1994 caused by nationalist idealist climate in the country during the presidency of 2nd President of Azerbaijan Abulfaz Elchibey. His Turkish nationalist ideological policy awakened nationalist sentiment among minorities. But when Haydar Aliyev came to power in 1993 he preferred Azerbaijani identity for all which embrace all citizens without exception. This policy helped to promote trust among all and strengthen community-building in the country.

Only in **Armenia** such kind of community security problems was not observed during the early period of independence. In order to eliminate possible unrest by Azeri minority during the aggression against Azerbaijan they already departed them from Armenia in 1988-91. By this way Armenian nationalists succeed to create mono ethnic society in order to create solid community in the country. Another community security concern is religion in the South Caucasus. During the Soviet era communist regime used severe restriction on religion. It was resulted with spread of atheist ideas within the soviet society including south Caucasus countries. When SU collapsed there begin uncontrolled spread of religious ideas by Islamic and Christian missionaries. Democratic values, freedom of faith and non limited spread of religious ideas resulted with identity uncertainty for soviet man who have filled with communist atheist ideas. Disintegration of SU was observed with disintegration of society in the region. The public blame on atheism has become so visible that politicians and public figures. Have started to respect religious traditions that ironically contradict their atheistic convictions. Traditional religious institutions now have a chance to bring back their lost influence and take part in nation building process. In

⁷⁹ NATO Parliamentary Assembly – 166 CSCDG 05 E- Minorities in the South Caucasus: Factor of instability? Available at: <http://www.nato-pa.int/DEFAULT.ASP?SHORTCUT=683>

⁸⁰ Caucasian Review on International relation: Inspired from Abroad: The External Sources of Separatism in Azerbaijan From Vol. 2 (4) - Autumn 2008. Also available at: http://www.cria-online.org/5_4.html

fact in some cases religion was used for unification of society in new independent states (for example in Georgia). However, the prospect of an open society and free competition with other confessions has been perceived by the clergy as a danger to their own social position and identity. Because non-traditional movements, taking advantage of some parts of the population who distrust the official clergy, shape their propagation using social and religious protests. On the other hand they try to find access to government officials or even try to set their supporters within political elite. In **Azerbaijan**, the authorities evenly distance themselves from all type of confessional groups and religious organizations. The main policy of Azerbaijani government about religious organizations and groups is tolerance. Underlining the historic importance of tolerance the authorities demonstrated their readiness to co-operate with all traditional confessions. In contrast with Azerbaijan where the religious communities have a marginal position, in **Georgia** the Orthodox Church plays a significant role in public and political life. In the second half of 1990s when there was deep political, social, and economic crisis, the Orthodox Church of Georgia (OCG) used significant resources to maintain the countries' religious and political solidarity. But relationship of the OCG and other confessions is not simple inside the country. The missionary activities of non-traditional groups, particularly in Georgian ethnic environments, are perceived very negatively. Annual reports of the People's Protector of Georgia, the US State Department and international organizations note attacks on the representatives of minorities by different public figures and politicians. Religious discrimination is observed also at secondary schools where those schoolchildren not professing the Orthodox faith or refusing to attend the religion history courses are subjected to pressure from teachers or schoolmates. In **Armenia** Armenian Apostolic Church together with fulfillment spiritual mentor function, protects political elite's interests. The situation with other confessions acting in Armenia and the attitude of the State and society toward these organization are not homogeneous. Armenian catholic community has between 100 thousand and 180 thousand members and support friendly relations with Echmiadzin. There are also nontraditional confessions exist like Yezidi Kurds (Sun worshippers). But there is some aggressive discriminations against non-traditional confessions such as Jehovah's Witnesses and other protestant groups. The public opinion of the country understand the division of confessional groups into traditional and non-traditional. Hranush Kharatyan (the chairman of the Armenian center for ethnologic studies) wrote that the transition to non-traditional movements in Armenia is perceived not as realization of the freedom of faith but the loss of the important element of identity. That is why the prevention of proselytism is not considered a limitation of human rights but rather as the right of groups to maintain their specific ethnic culture⁸¹.

⁸¹ The South Caucasus 2021: Oil, Democracy and Geopolitics/Fariz Ismailzade and Glen E. Howard, Editors 2012, p.5-19

● Conclusion

Consequently, I would like to say that extreme significant of Human Security as new paradigm and new understanding of security phenomena have gradually increased during last two decades. As it confirmed by UNDP HDR (1994) HS` importance in all three levels including national regional and global is very important. Especially in regional level HS threats have become a vital concern. As we already saw in case of South Caucasus the importance of HS threats can become a vital subject for regional cooperation, peace and confidence building among the conflict parties and to find mutual areas which are in the direct interests of all three SC countries. In fact after the collapse of SU South Caucasus countries regained their independence and especially early period of their independence between 1991-94 has been observed very complex military-political, economic, and humanitarian crisis in the region. To prevent or eliminate such kind of problems require international attention and intraregional cooperation in the region. Therefore the efforts of IOs for promotion peace and confidence and their assistance through different programs and initiatives including environmental based policies are remarkable to note.

As I already mentioned above, the collapse of old style soviet-communist economic system, outdated industrial enterprises, and the consequences of territorial conflicts (destruction of infrastructure, refugees and IDPs) have become main economic security threats in the region. On the other hand non-secure exploitation of resources of the region during the soviet period have resulted with pollution of Absheron peninsula with industrial especially with oil wastes in Baku and chemical wastes in Sumgait. In the same time from soviet period till today the existence of industrial enterprises and well populated cities including , on the Kur and Aras rivers and absence of cooperative water management agreement among countries which located in the Kura-Aras basin including Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia, have resulted with pollution of the basin. At the same time huge deforestation and existence of outdated and most dangerous nuclear power plant Metsamor in the region extrime serious environmental security threats for South Caucasus countries. Such kind of environmental threats also threaten health and food security in the region. Especially pollution of the Kura-Aras water basin and deforestation in the region are very serious threats for food and health security. Also ethno-linguistic and cultural-religious situation in the region steel is very sensitive and can create serious community security threats in the region. Because regional powers like Russia and Iran in order to realize their own ambiguous interests in the region can use this situation as a tool encourage instability in the region. South Caucasus countries already have such kind of experiment in their early

independence history. Nevertheless, today the ethno-religious situation in the region is stable, these countries have to be ready any threats for their community security.

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