

Part I

Human Security Threats in the Atlantic Basin

Chapter 1

From Security to Human Security: The Evolution of the Concept and Current Perspectives for the Atlantic Basin

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Security does not enjoy an established definition, and, as such, it is challenged from the academic point of view. This chapter seeks to understand, through the historical evolution of the concept of security, how it has evolved until the present day, in which the dynamics of human security play a fundamental role. As argued by Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and Carol Messineo, “human security is a concept that identifies the security of human lives as the central objective of national and international security policy.” Actors other than states mark the pervasive dynamics of human vulnerability, which are increasingly present due to the new features of the conflicts. At the same time, new global threats such as poverty, disease, natural disasters and migrations demonstrate that state-centric security views do not meet the new security challenges of the contemporary world¹. In the large basin of the Atlantic, the traditional security dynamics are not the main focus of instability. In fact, in this region, it is mostly the dynamics of human security that are present, carrying obvious risks to the stability of international security. In the final part of this chapter, we will address this issue with particular attention.

From Security to Human Security

The concept of security is an old one, and it has evolved over the past centuries. In a comprehensive way, we can define it as “protection from harm.”² In the discipline of International Relations, the field of security studies began by focusing its analysis on two central dynamics: on the one hand, global security, which pertains to the protection and stability of the international system. On the other hand, national security, which addresses

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1. Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, & Messineo, Carol, “Human Security: a Critical review of the literature.” In CRPD Working Paper no. 11, 2012, 2.
 2. Andersen-Rodgers, David, & Crawford, Kerry, *Human Security. Theory and Action*. New York, Roman and Littlefield, 2018, 3.

the protection of individual states “from external harm and internal challenges or instability”³.

In the theories of international relations, security studies began by associating security with ‘national security’, reflecting the close association with the realist school, for which the State was the main actor and referent for security—which means, “the protection of the state from external threats.” Despite never losing its reference to the State, the term security is also connected to the idea of guaranteeing the safety of individuals against “violence or crimes, religious peace of mind, and financial measures to sustain a certain standard of living.”⁴ After the 1970s, and especially after the development of multilateral organizations, the traditional concept of security has also acquired a regional connotation. As Hideaki Shinoda puts it, “military measures and foreign policies to secure the independence of a state are not exclusive components of the term ‘security.’ The prevalence of national security discourses in the discipline of international relations ensues from the very modern recognition that the safety of a nation is the supreme mission for policy makers.”⁵

These ideas developed from the moment when states became central to the architecture of the international system. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, threats to the state represented the most important security issues. This meant, according to MacFarlane and Khong, “the reification of the state—privileging state security over the security of individuals residing within it.” Therefore, the centrality of the state in terms of security “was the product of specific historical circumstances.”⁶

With the emergence of the social contract, the state gradually took on the responsibility of protecting the fundamental rights of its citizens from external threats and internal instability, while maintaining its political and economic functions. In return, citizens would remain loyal to the state.⁷

3. Ibid.

4. Shinoda, Hideaki, “The Concept of Human Security: Historical and Theoretical Implications.” In *Conflict and Human Security: A Search for new Approaches of Peace Building*. IPSHU English Research Report Series, 2004, 6.

5. Ibid.

6. MacFarlane, S. Neil, and Khong, Yuen Foong, *Human Security and the UN. A Critical History*, Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2006, 246. Emma Rotschild shows that, in reality, conceptions of security in Classical Antiquity combined a state perspective, but also individual. See more in Rotschild, Emma, “What is Security?.” In *Daedalus*, 124:3, 1995, 61.

7. Andersen-Rodgers, David, & Crawford, Kerry, *Human Security. Theory and Action*. New York, Roman and Littlefield, 2018, 4-5.

Simultaneously, with the advent of nationalism, the ‘nation’ began to be understood as a living entity, and the dialectic between the nation and the individuals who compose it as something organic and the prime object of protection. However scarce its intervention in economic affairs might be, a state should never refuse to ensure the security of its nationals, from the military and political point of view.⁸

However, the very evolution of international historical circumstances has led to an influence of economic issues in the definition of the concept of security. The events of the first half of the 20th century are at the bottom of this. The liberal regimes felt gravely threatened both by the emergence of strong communist parties, especially after the Bolshevik Revolution, and by the social and political disbelief that followed the Great Depression of the 1930s. The answer was an increase in state intervention in the economy, with the implementation of policies such as the American ‘New Deal’, for example. Behind this notion was the premise that States were responsible not only for the political and military security of their citizens but also for their social wellbeing. Progressively, “economic and social security came to be recognized as an inalienable right of nationals,” with states obliged to ensure it.⁹

Therefore, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the security paradigm once again changed. Until then, the balance of power was generally the guarantor of international stability, and this stability was achieved through adjustment between the great powers, which often played the destiny of small countries according to their interests. That is, national security was individual to each state and each state did what it felt necessary to guarantee it. However, after World War I, the idea of collective security emerged: the security of each state must be assured by the other states. Or put in another way: “national security of each state [was] a common goal that the entire international community ought to maintain.”¹⁰ This was the principle behind the League of Nations, which collapsed with World War II. However, the Cold War somewhat recovered the principle of collective security. Recognizing, on the one hand, the principle of the sovereign equality of nations, it ensured that “national security for each state should be respected.” On the other hand, since only the superpowers could guar-

8. Shinoda, Hideaki, “The Concept of Human Security: Historical and Theoretical Implications.” In *Conflict and Human Security: A Search for new Approaches of Peace Building*. IPSHU English Research Report Series, 2004, 7.

9. *Ibid.*, 8.

10. *Ibid.*, 8.

antee the national security of each state within its respective sphere of influence, it materialized the principle of collective security through a system of alliances, wherein NATO was the most successful example.¹¹

At the same time, it was after the end of World War II that the internationalization of national security from an economic and social point of view became consolidated. The emergence of several international organizations after 1945 (such as UNICEF, WHO, World Food Program, etc.) signaled a widespread concern with people's economic and social wellbeing. According to Shinoda, "bilateral or multilateral aids between states expanded and created the notion that international agencies and industrial states are somehow responsible for economic and social security of developing states." The idea of public authorities responsible for political, economic and social security at national and international level was at the heart of the evolution of the concept of human security.¹²

Thus, since 1945, new attention has been given to economic and social aspects and the collective responsibility to protect the rights of individuals. This is the basis of the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations—"nations should act collectively to protect the freedom and dignity of individuals."¹³ Despite this, the international Cold War system did not allow a *de facto* application of these principles, defended primarily by the United Nations. It is true that the concepts, norms, and foundational values of human security were already universalized. The emergence of human rights issues, as well as the emergence of new actors such as NGOs and groups of activists, continued throughout that period. Concerns about issues arising from globalization, including economic, technological and environmental development, have been the focus of international *think tanks*. However, bipolar competition did not allow changes in the centrality of the importance of states and national security—a matter of sovereignty and, therefore, protected from external interference in the internal affairs of states. It was the end of the Cold War and the emergence of various internal conflicts (Somalia, Bosnia, etc.) that paved the way for a genuine concern for the safety of individuals.¹⁴

11. Ibid, 9.

12. Ibid, 5-22.

13. Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, & Messineo, Carol, "Human Security: a Critical review of the literature." In CRPD Working Paper no. 11, 2012, 4.

14. MacFarlane, S. Neil, & Khong, Yuen Foong, *Human Security and the UN. A Critical History*, Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2006, 138.

The theoretical formulations regarding the concept of security and security studies have followed this historical evolution. The concept of security has been used and defined in many different forms, which have evolved over the time. In the 1950s, in the height of the Cold War, security was regarded as something exclusive to the State—this was the perspective of the realist school—the referent of security was the State. In terms of International Relations, security meant studying State Security (National Security, in the case of the US, or National Defense, in the case of Europe). In this sense, security was related to “having”: wealth, arms, power—economic power, political power, but mostly, military power. Security was seen as a commodity, and the more powerful you were, the more secure you would be.¹⁵

Following the spirit of the liberal school, authors such as Keohane and Nye introduced in the 1970s a different approach to security studies: they broadened the traditional concept to include non-state actors, thus shifting the paradigm of security from inter-state to transnational, where they identify interdependency as the main element to consider when analyzing the international system.¹⁶ Departing from Karl Deutsch’s concept of security communities, the liberal school argues that, through the communities of shared values, networks and multilateralism, it is possible to keep the peace. Deutsch contended that there were pluralist security communities with shared values that could contribute to achieve peace, even amidst international anarchy—the region of the North Atlantic and NATO¹⁷ being the prime example of such communities. Deutsch’s work is innovative not only because it contested the realist state-centric approach to international relations, but also and especially, because he introduces the regional dimension in security studies, replacing national security with regional security—and even cooperative security, which would be used only after the end of cold war. As a matter of fact, it was only after the end of the bipolar conflict that these concepts had the chance to emerge in the theory of security studies and become virtually overriding in the 1990s.

Indeed, the post-Cold War period brought an intense paradigm shift in terms of the conceptual definition of security, from being centered in the state to being focused on the individual and even on universal values.

15. David, Charles Philippe, *A Guerra e a Paz: Abordagens contemporâneas da segurança e da estratégia*. Lisboa: Instituto Piaget, 2001, 32-35.

16. Keohane, Robert, & Nye, Joseph, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. London: TBS The Book Service, 1977.

17. Battistella, D., “L’apport de Karl Deutsch à la théorie des relations internationales.” In *Revue internationale de politique comparée*, vol. 10(4), 2003.

Moreover, this paradigm shift will follow closely the evolution of the practices in this area of studies, analyzed later on in this chapter.

The Copenhagen School, centered on the works of Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde, further contributed to this paradigm shift.¹⁸ These authors introduced two new concepts that would simultaneously broaden and deepen the concept of security. First, Buzan and other authors adopt a multisectoral approach to the concept of security, which included five sectors as referents to security: military security, political security, economic security, societal security and environmental security. Four of five of these sectors are non-military, i.e., they are not exclusively depending on the state to implement and ensure their security. In order to deepen the concept, they also include non-state actors as possible securitizing actors. Buzan and Weaver concur that the state plays a role in terms of security, but they shed the assumption that it stands as the only referent in terms of security studies.¹⁹ In this same work, they present a new conceptual tool that would open the way to the development of an “analytical framework to study security”: the concept of securitization.²⁰ This concept draws from the constructivist approach to international relations and identifies security as “a speech act: a concrete action that is performed by virtue of its being said.”²¹ In Weaver’s own words, an issue can be securitized “not necessarily because a real existential threat exists but because the issue is presented as such a threat.”²² This shows that the perception of threat derives from a subjective dimension of that threat and that it is a social construction.

The importance of the historical context of the post-Cold War world should not be ignored. The theoretical considerations and its evolution are closely related to the events and scenarios of the 1990s. Therefore, the following paragraphs focus on that historical context and reality, in order to understand how the term security evolved until reaching “Human Security.”

18. Buzan, B., Weaver, O., & Wilde, Jaap de, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998.

19. *Ibid.*, 7-8.

20. Emmers, Ralf, “Securitization.” In Collins, Alan, *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 136-151.

21. Mutimer, David, “Critical Security Studies: a Schismatic History.” In Collins, Alan, *Contemporary Security Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 84-105.

22. Buzan, B., Weaver, O., & Wilde, Jaap de, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, 24.

A historical evolution of the human security concept

With the end of the Cold War, the concept of human security begins to take root. Historically, the concept of human security has been associated with the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security, drafted by Mahbub ul Hak under the UN auspices. The report argued that, over the previous decades, the concept of security had been interpreted narrowly, emphasizing the security of the territories from external aggressions, or as protection of the national interests and the external policies of the states, on the one hand, or against the nuclear threat, on the other. In this sense, it was focused more on the state than on the individuals. This report sought to build a bridge to the United Nations Charter, written in 1945, wherein the question of security rested on the dynamic between “freedom from want and freedom from fear.” In other words, ensuring that individuals were free from violence and poverty.

As the report argued, human security was understood as a concern for human life and dignity, not the threat of weapons. It was also a universal concept, relevant to all people, whether from wealthy nations or poor states. It was focused on people, as the concern was about how they live in the societies they belong to, how they express their political and social choices, the freedom to access the market economy and what social opportunities they have, whether they live in peace or in conflict. In this sense, the report identified seven core elements that together developed the concept of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. Once the bipolar conflict was over, it was now time to bring forth human development as the main concern for the international community.²³

However, the comprehensiveness of the definition of human security embodied in the report generated deep criticism. As Sabine Akire points out, the main assessment was that, because of the unclear interconnection between human development and security, the report had, for many, an “idealistic” component and “naïve” recommendations. These criticisms helped to substantiate the concept of human security in two dimensions: a broad and a narrow one.

In relation to the first, starting with the 1994 Human Development Report, it argues that human security is “concerned with human vulnerability

23. Kaldor, Mary, “Human Security in Complex Operations.” In PRISM, Vol. 2 (2), 2011, 2.

overall, and therefore encompasses all forms of threats from all sources.” In other words, it includes, in addition to organized political violence, other forms of violence or threats such as natural disasters, diseases, climate change, hunger and economic problems²⁴. This approach was embodied in the Commission on Human Security report in 2003. Building upon the definition presented in 1994, the report of this independent commission set up in 2000 sought to bridge the ‘narrow’ and ‘broad’ definitions of the concept. Refraining from listing all the threats to human security, it advanced with a set of elementary rights and freedoms that every human being should enjoy—as a “vital core.” However, its main contribution was the emphasis on the need to involve multiple actors who went beyond the state, such as NGOs, regional organizations and civil society, in managing human security. In this sense, it has clearly shown that “the empowerment of people” was seen as “an important condition of human security,” emphasizing that “security and human security are mutually reinforcing and dependent on each other.”²⁵

By contrast, the ‘narrow’ formulation advocates a less holistic view of human security. Assuming that the ‘broad’ version is too comprehensive to be useful, critics consider that human security focuses primarily on protecting the individual against political violence, on the one hand, and on the ability to intervene to obviate threats at the expense of long-term strategies and planning on issues of sustainability and human development, on the other. As a result, the threats to be addressed turn out to be relatively traditional, such as armed conflicts, human rights abuse, insecurity and the fight against organized crime. Contrary to the broad view, proponents of this approach seek to prevent the concept of human security from becoming a useless shopping mall of threats. Countries such as Canada have defended this position and contributed to the debate on Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which advocated the right of the international community to intervene in the internal affairs of states in the event of attempts against human security. To some extent, and in the light of the international context of the late twentieth century, when the intervention in Kosovo marked the international scene, this approach ended up guaranteeing a certain prevalence of the state in the protection of human life.

The main resistance to the adoption of these definitions came from states, fearing that such a broad definition of threats could create legitima-

24. Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, & Messineo, Carol, “Human Security: a Critical review of the literature.” In CRPD Working Paper no. 11, 2012, 5.

25. *Ibid.*, 6.

cy for interventions that go beyond and override their national sovereignty. One of the initial premises of the concept of human security, as embodied in the 1994 Human Development Report, is the principle that “human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention.” That is, it is less expensive and more efficient to try to prevent threats to human security from establishing risks and consolidating instruments for support, than to later try to nullify these threats. On the other hand, the various measures that have been implemented reflect a narrower or broader approach to the concept of human security. Interestingly, proponents of a more limited approach to the concept of human security, which refers merely to threats of violence, repression and human rights abuses, tend to point to responses around global policy initiatives. On the contrary, those who have a broader view of the concept of human security advocate a set of responses at the regional or even national level in the context of development aid cooperation.²⁶

The case of Japan, which even had the initiative to create, along with the UN Secretariat, the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS), is a clear example of a broad approach to the concept of human security and type of threats it encompasses. Nowadays, Japan remains the champion of a broad approach to the concept and its officers are a top-level presence with the United Nations General Secretariat.²⁷ By contrast, Norway (besides the abovementioned Canada) has adopted narrower perspectives of the concept and has also included them in their foreign policy guidelines.²⁸

The broader concept of human security is thus subject to a number of criticisms, namely that it is too vague and ambiguous, making it more difficult to operate. There is also a risk that such a broad definition might encourage “the application of military solutions or the illegitimate use of political, social and economic problems.”²⁹ And this could lead to a culture of intervention on the grounds that the prevention of possible threats would justify any external intervention.³⁰

26. Ibid, 11.

27. See, for example, the UNTFHS website: <https://www.un.org/humansecurity/> [Consulted at 16 April 2019].

28. Alkire, Sabine, “A conceptual Framework for Human Security. Working Paper 2.” Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, CRISE, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2003, 20-21.

29. Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, & Messineo, Carol, “Human Security: a Critical review of the literature.” In CRPD Working Paper no. 11, 2012, 13.

30. Ibid, 11.

However, there are also those who find advantages in such a broad definition: it becomes easily adaptable to national or regional realities, a sort of adaptation to the national context where it is directly related to the local specificity of the population that it is supposed to protect. In addition, its methodology, dependent on the causality of the processes, allows the “policy makers to establish linkages between traditional military threats, non-traditional human security threats and human development and to create coherent policy responses that simultaneously mitigate insecurity and promote sustainable development.”³¹

In sum, the emergence of concerns over human security in the post-Cold War era marked the end of the state’s natural privilege over individuals—human beings are now at the center of security concerns—and the securitization of issues such as health and climate change naturally increased the concern and attention given to these topics as well as facilitated the distribution of resources for their protection. On the other hand, we see an incorporation of the concepts, both from the point of view of vocabulary, and from the point of view of local/regional application of its principles.³²

Security threats in the Atlantic Basin

As we have seen above, the concept of security has evolved from pertaining exclusively to states, to a notion that addresses all that may threaten individuals, including threats posed by states. In this sense, security has become transnational, as it encompasses previously disconnected areas such as economy, environment, health and food security. However, the type of answers demanded are also more expensive: there is a need for “complex, coordinated and costly approaches that often cannot be afforded” by individual countries or even regional organizations.³³

The Atlantic basin can be seen as a highly cohesive region, with several elements of “shared culture and values,” such as religion, language and human rights visions, which “have the potential to facilitate coalition building, or bilateral and multilateral security cooperation.” Additionally, there is also space for an “urban and demographic revolution,” as the Afri-

31. Ibid, 13.

32. Ibid, 14.

33. Kotsopoulos, John, “The Atlantic as a new Security area? Current engagements and prospects for security cooperation between Africa and its Atlantic counterparts,” *Atlantic Future Project*, 2014, p. 4. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/the-atlantic-as-a-new-security-area> [consulted in 22 April 2019]

can and Latin American societies are booming and expecting to double in size by 2050. It is also a region with high military capacities, as NATO remains at the “epicenter of security architecture with global reach.” Finally, one cannot forget the importance of the Atlantic’s economic and energetic dynamics³⁴. In sum, one can say, “there are concrete elements of globalization, with people, commodities, technologies of transportation and communication creating specific interdependence links between the four shores of the Atlantic Space.”³⁵

Consequently, there are also common threats and security challenges within the region. The most wide-ranging are piracy, trafficking (whether of drugs, humans or arms), terrorism and political instability.

Piracy is often associated “with other organized criminal activities,” and it turned out to be more important “as it became more violent and organized in the Gulf of Guinea (...), as pirates take advantage of poor maritime surveillance and still-incipient regional cooperation” in this area. At the same time, transatlantic drug trafficking flows also remain relevant security threats to both sides of the Atlantic. Exploiting “local weaknesses as deficient controls at ports and poor inspection equipment, South American drug cartels have targeted Atlantic waters as preferable transit routes for European markets.”³⁶

It is in West Africa where piracy is mostly felt. In 2014, piracy and armed robbery in the Gulf of Guinea represented a quarter of worldwide reported attacks. Maritime insecurity in this region affects more than a third of oil shipment of Africa per day, destined mostly to Europe and the United States. Thus, the major target in Gulf of Guinea Piracy is related to oil trafficking, whereas there are also some small theft episodes on the north coast of the Americas and in the Caribbean. Combating piracy has become more complex due to the increasing cooperation between criminal trafficking organizations and violent or extremist groups. “In order for governments to this cross-regional challenge, they will need to be able to monitor what is happening on the seas, detect illegal activities, and develop legal and

34. Lété, Bruno, “Addressing the Atlantic’s Emerging Security Challenges.” *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, p. 3. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

35. Teixeira, Nuno Severiano, & Marcos, Daniel, “A Historical Perspective of the Atlantic’s Evolution.” In Bacaria, Jordi and Tarragona, Laia (eds.), *Atlantic Future. Shaping a New Hemisphere for the 21st century: Africa, Europe and the Americas*. CIDOB, Barcelona, 2016, 10.

36. Seabra, Pedro, “Stretching the Limits? Strengths and Pitfalls of South Atlantic Security Regionalism.” In *Contexto Internacional*, vol. 39(2) May/Aug 2017, 316.

administrative frameworks, as well as adequate coastguard capacities.”³⁷ This is increasingly harder as some of the main countries affected by this piracy have political rivalries going on between them—there is mistrust among them because ongoing border disputes (in the case of West Africa countries) and states disagree on how to share the financial burden of the shared responsibilities.³⁸

Another major threat to security in the Atlantic is the interconnection between organized crime, trafficking and terrorism. These features bring political instability to the region. As Daniel Hamilton puts it, currently, “flows of drugs, arms and cash flow across the full Atlantic space.”³⁹ The flexibility and the ability to move quickly make these networks of organized crime relevant sources in the “increase in money laundry, corruption, which in turn erodes state authority and creates areas of unsecured, un-governed or under-governed territory.”⁴⁰ Arms trafficking, light weapons in particular, is on the rise in the region. On the one hand, this is in itself a problem (particularly felt in Mexico or Nicaragua, for example);⁴¹ on the other, light weapons are traded/exchanged for drugs and natural resources (oil, precious stones, metals, timber), which is present, for example, in Central and West Africa.⁴²

Drug trafficking remains a major threat to security in the Atlantic. The US and Europe continue to be the major consumers of cocaine, while three

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37. Lété, Bruno, “Addressing the Atlantic’s Emerging Security Challenges.” *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, 4. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].
 38. IBID, 4-5. On the broader issue of piracy in Africa, see Sergi, Bruno S. & Morabito, Giacomo, “The Pirates’ Curse: Economic Impacts of the Maritime Piracy.” In *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39:10, 2005, pp. 935-952; Bueger, Christian, “Learning from piracy: future challenges of maritime security governance.” In *Global Affairs*, 1:1, 2015, 33-42.
 39. Hamilton, Daniel, “Promoting Human Security and Effective Security Governance in the Atlantic Hemisphere.” In Hamilton, D. (ed.), *Dark Networks in the Atlantic Basin. Emerging trends and Implications for Human Security*. Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, 2015, p. ix.
 40. Lété, Bruno, “Addressing the Atlantic’s Emerging Security Challenges.” *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, 5. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].
 41. Both Mexico and Nicaragua are profiled as moderate cases of threat (Tier II) by the Council on Foreign Relations’ Center for Preventive Action. See *Preventive Priorities Survey 2019*. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/report/preventive-priorities-survey-2019> [consulted at 22 April 2019].
 42. Lété, Bruno, “Addressing the Atlantic’s Emerging Security Challenges.” *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, 6. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

southern American countries remain the world's producers: Columbia, Peru and Bolivia. There are two main routes for supplying US and Europe. Mexico and Caribbean Sea are the routes to the US. For Europe, there are two points of shipment: through Guinea-Bissau and Guinea, and other through the Benin. Besides this, there is an important circulation of cannabis in North Africa.⁴³

However, more recently, we have assisted to a change in the consumption and trafficking routes, with African countries gradually becoming consumers, in addition to being part of the drug trafficking routes. Having in mind the particular characteristics of African societies, one might expect that "increased drug trafficking in Africa will lead to similar effects as seen in some Latin American communities."⁴⁴

This upsurge in criminal activities has led to an increase in money laundering, which can have disastrous consequences in terms of the economic stability in the region. This has direct interaction with the global financial system and economic crises are increasingly endangering global economic stability. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) links these activities to the financial instability of national institutions (putting corruption in the center of the political frailty of certain states) and these problems can easily spread to other countries in the region or other parts of the world.⁴⁵

In fact, political instability is also spreading in the Atlantic Basin. In the abovementioned *Preventive Priorities Survey 2019*, the Council of Foreign Relations attaches particular relevance to the high level of risk that the Venezuelan crisis represents. Civil unrest in Brazil (the survey was collected in November 2018) is also something that might be expected to spill over to neighboring countries. As noted by the report, for the first time since 2008, three Central and South America contingencies have been assessed. Besides Venezuela, also Mexico and Nicaragua were identified as posing

43. Ibid, 7. See also Hesterman, Jennifer, "Transnational Crime and Terror in the Pan-Atlantic: Understanding and Addressing the Growing Threat." In Hamilton, D. (ed.), *Dark Networks in the Atlantic Basin. Emerging trends and Implications for Human Security*. Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, 2015, 35-56.

44. Mouzouni, Mustapha, "Cooperation Against Transnational Crime: The Case of the Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic." In *Atlantic Currents: An Annual Report on Wider Atlantic Perspectives and Patterns*, German Marshall Fund and OCP Policy Center, 2016, 45 (42-56). Available at <http://www.policycenter.ma/publications/atlantic-currents-annual-report-wider-atlantic-perspectives-and-patterns-1> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

45. Lété, Bruno, "Addressing the Atlantic's Emerging Security Challenges." *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, 7. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

moderate level threats due to “intensification of organized crime-related violence” (Mexico) and to the “consequences to the migration crisis in Central America” that the political violence and instability in Nicaragua might bring. Indeed, three Central and South American countries lead the rank of worsened countries in the Fragile States Index (FSI) 2019, produced by the Fund for Peace: Venezuela, Brazil and Nicaragua.⁴⁶ Venezuela faces a critical combination of “widespread human flight, a public health catastrophe, economic collapse, and significant crime and violence” that explains the rise in the FSI. On the other hand, Brazil is feeling the spillover effects of neighboring Venezuela, which add to the country’s most recent political developments. Nevertheless, Brazil’s score in the FSI has been worsening since 2013, which is explained as “far more deeply-rooted in a general economic malaise, rampant corruption, and crumbling public services that have seen Brazil’s FSI score worsen for six straight years.” Nicaragua was a case for some stability, but the events in 2018, when “hundreds were killed and thousands more disappeared” in clashes with the government forces in protests against Ortega’s cuts in social security programs brought the country to a high level of frailty.⁴⁷

The problem of fragile states, in terms of a broader security perspective in the Atlantic Basin, is that they have greater difficulty to “achieve and consolidate” any security or development gains, “further increasing these countries’ vulnerability to shocks (whether financial, natural disasters, social unrest, political instability or violent conflict).”⁴⁸

However, the possibility of political instability in the European Union is also envisaged in the Preventive Priorities Survey 2019, due to, “among other things, continuing populist and anti-immigrant sentiments as well as a disruptive exit by the United Kingdom” from the EU.⁴⁹ The same can be said of the emerging populist regimes that are gaining more relevance in Europe, such as those in Poland and in Hungary.

46. Followed by United Kingdom, and other Atlantic countries like Togo, Cameroon, Honduras and Mali. See Fragile State Index 2019 Report, Available at <https://fragilestatesindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/9511904-fragilestatesindex.pdf> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

47. Fragile State Index 2019 Report, Available at <https://fragilestatesindex.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/9511904-fragilestatesindex.pdf> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

48. Faria, Fernanda, “Fragile States: Challenges and Opportunities for Atlantic Relations.” *Atlantic Future*, 2014. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/fragile-states-in-the-atlantic> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

49. Council on Foreign Relations Center for Preventive Action, *Preventive Priorities Survey 2019*. Available at <https://www.cfr.org/report/preventive-priorities-survey-2019> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

In fact, some analysts refer that the Venezuelan crisis illustrates some of the difficulties that the European Union faces in what regards its role as a global actor. The struggle to find a common position which would allow a commitment by the EU to the crisis was echoed by EU High Representative Federica Mogherini's declaration on minimum terms, underlining the EU's agreement "on one crucial point: 'the presidential elections that were held in (sic) last May in Venezuela were lacking democratic legitimacy'." If it could have a stronger position, Europe would "make a difference in a world in which the US, China, Russia, and other states are increasingly committed to the politics of raw power," according to ECFR's Pawel Zerka.⁵⁰

Another security challenge faced by Atlantic concerns its energy infrastructures. In recent years, the Atlantic basin has become an important energy provider, both in terms of oil and hydrocarbons. A significant contingent of Atlantic nations has been relying on the trade of these products for their economic development. The main holders of oil reserves were Venezuela and Canada (having become 1st and 3rd worldwide producers), but countries such as Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, the US, Brazil and Mexico should also be considered.⁵¹ China is becoming a major net importer and aggressively seeks to secure oil supplies to from Africa and South America, although without any concerns regarding the "environmental impacts, revenue transparency and good governance."⁵²

However, as the energy sector is becoming very important in economic and development terms, and countries are investing in infrastructure development plans, concerns with security are also rising. One of the most important issues for both governments, as well as for private companies, is "managing the security, safety and external threats that can affect the infrastructure." Attacks in the oil sector have cost billions of dollars in lost revenue, destabilized global energy prices and led to many environmental disasters along the West and Central coast of Africa⁵³.

50. Zerka, Pawel, *Europe should do better in Venezuela*. European Council for Foreign Relations (ECFR), 22.02.2019, available at https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_europe_should_do_better_on_venezuela [consulted at 22 April 2019].

51. Kraemer, Andreas and Stefes, Christoph, "The changing energy landscape in the Atlantic Space." In Bacaria, Jordi and Tarragona, Laia (eds.), *Atlantic Future. Shaping a New Hemisphere for the 21st century: Africa, Europe and the Americas*. CIDOB, Barcelona, 2016, 87-102.

52. Lété, Bruno, "Addressing the Atlantic's Emerging Security Challenges." *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, 8. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

53. Ibid.

The energy sector is fundamental for the Atlantic Basin and its security is interconnected in many ways to the security of the whole region. An attack to any critical energy infrastructure would have a general impact on several security interests. In the first place, on the national security of the targeted country; secondly, on regional security and stability; thirdly, on the investment security of multinational oil companies; and lastly, on global energy security.⁵⁴ Therefore, these matters cannot be left to private companies' security systems, as it is usually done, as the threat at hand jeopardizes national and regional economic interests and human security in general.⁵⁵

As such, and keeping in mind these different security threats, what are the existing security structures that could deal with them?

The integration of the South Atlantic is more difficult because the region is marked by a higher degree of fragmentation compared to the north—and NATO's continuity after the Cold War highlights this stability. But still, there are several initiatives that reflect certain security policy alignments and even institutional arrangements at the regional and sub-regional levels. According to Seabra, the prevalence of multilateral institutions in the security framework in South Atlantic can “prove to be problematic,” as one tends to focus excessively on them—which adds to the fact that there are several of such bodies and institutions that “co-exist (...) without taking the next step of either additional institutionalization or shared sovereignty.”⁵⁶

Brazil and South Africa see their ever-increasing role in Latin America and Africa as a way to gain global influence. ZOPACAS (South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone, created 1986, last meeting in Montevideo in 2013) is the main initiative so far bridging the gap in the South Atlantic security framework. This brings African and South American states together. Brazil is particularly interested in ZOPACAS since its new defense policy makes the South Atlantic one of its top priorities. Currently it has an action plan that boosts cooperation along nuclear non-proliferation, development and economic relations. Coordination among member-states is still incipient and there is wide variability in the capacity and political willingness of those states to make ZOPACAS the focal hub of the South Atlantic. There

54. Lété, Bruno, “Addressing the Atlantic’s Emerging Security Challenges.” *Atlantic Future Project*, 2015, 9. Available at <http://www.atlanticfuture.eu/contents/view/atlantics-emerging-security-challenges> [consulted at 22 April 2019].

55. *Ibid.*

56. Seabra, Pedro, “Stretching the Limits? Strengths and Pitfalls of South Atlantic Security Regionalism.” In *Contexto Internacional*, vol. 39(2) May/Aug 2017, 306.

are other initiatives in the region, but they are often characterized by low degrees of institutionalization and weaker results.

The other regional institutions, such as African Union, ECOWAS or the Organization of American States, are interesting because they already work as *fora* for political coordination and consultation and have proven to be able to prevent and solve conflicts in the region. Additionally, they have all established extra-regional dialogues with the EU, the US or the UN.

Concluding remarks

As we have seen, the concept of security has evolved and changed over the time. It was deepened and broadened in its definition through the evolution of its practices, but also thanks to the development of different approaches and theories. From a state-centered approach, which characterized the realist theory, to the inclusion of societal and economic dynamics concerning non-state and global actors, we have now reached a broader concept of security: Human Security. This is a more comprehensive concept, which on occasion entails a military capacity, but which mostly concerns non-conventional responses. It is based on the belief that prevention is the best solution to fight possible threats and that states must work together with multilateral, non-governmental and regional organizations to prevent these threats (which very often come from non-state actors). As Dan Hamilton puts it, “[Governments] ...must protect their society’s critical functions, the networks that sustain them, and the connections those networks bring with other societies. These developments call for private-public partnerships and close interactions among governments, the private sector, the scientific community and non-governmental organizations.”⁵⁷

The Atlantic basin is an excellent example of how security issues have evolved to become full human security concerns. Although it is a very uneventful region in terms of inter-state conflicts, intra-state or transnational conflicts, however, are abundant, as are the threats posed by health epidemics, natural resources scarcity and migrations. The development of international and regional organizations, the cooperation between state and non-state organizations and the prevalence of cooperation in the Atlantic

57. Hamilton, Daniel, “Promoting Human Security and Effective Security Governance in the Atlantic Hemisphere.” In Hamilton, D. (ed.), *Dark Networks in the Atlantic Basin. Emerging trends and Implications for Human Security*. Center for Transatlantic Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, 2015, xii.

basin have been used to counter and, mainly, to attempt to prevent the threats posed by these challenges.

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