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Broad Approach to Human Security in the Visegrad Group Countries

Introduction

The Peace of Westphalia, signed in 1648 to mark the demise of the Thirty Years' War, had a long-lasting impact on perception of international relations and the notion of security. According to Stanisław Sulowski, the original understanding of security was focused on the safety of the state, its institutions, its order, and its individual properties.¹ Such a narrow perspective on security, limiting this notion solely to states,² was characteristic of a trend called realism, which had dominated international relations studies in the post-war period. The representatives of the realist school of thought saw military power as the main guarantee of state security.³ The new socio-political order, which has been taking shape since the beginning of the 1990s, became a catalyst for a change in the approach to matters of security and forced a review of state policies in this area. In particular, these changes concerned the states that had been dominated by the so-called real socialist ideology where ongoing transformation included many aspects of political, economic and social life.

This paper looks at the way the concept of human security has been perceived and enforced in the countries of the Visegrad Group. The working hypothesis is as follows: in the course of political transformation and democratisation, facilitated

S. Sulowski, 'W poszukiwaniu definicji bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego', Przegląd Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego, no.1, 2009, p. 10.

² H.J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, Revised by Kenneth W. Thompson, New York 1993.

P.D. Williams (red.), Studia bezpieczeństwa, Kraków 2012, p. 79.

due to the decomposition of the Eastern bloc, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary started a process of implementing guidelines of broadly understood human security in their internal security policies. This hypothesis will be tested through an analysis of strategic documents and legal acts adopted by Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, and Hungary. There are a number of research questions that will be answered. What is the current perception of human security in the world? What is the perception of human security in Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, and Hungary? What are the similarities and differences in the scope of realisation of the human security concept in the aforementioned countries?

Narrow and broad scope of human security

As the spectre of a looming world war had faded, thanks to the end of the bipolar division of the world, the perception of security began to change. It started to be seen in a dynamic and positive way, as expressed by Ryszard Zieba in his definition, which postulates that in its most general meaning, security can be described as a certainty of existence and survival, a state of possession, functioning and development of a subject. Zieba puts emphasis on the fact that this certainty results not only from a lack of threats (through their nonexistence, or elimination), but also from the creative activity of a subject, and that it varies over time, and thus has a nature of a social process. A New concepts of international relations started to appear due to the need for a new post-Cold War paradigm of security, which would be inclusive of dimensions that had not until then been within the scope of interest, such as human rights, living conditions or ecology. The new currents in security research, brought in by a gradual departure from the state-centred approach, are often called 'alternative' in literature, as they form an alternative to the realist approach characteristic of the post-war years. The table below provides characteristics of these new concepts.

The alternative concepts postulate the treatment of an individual human being as one of the subjects of security. According to Ken Booth, such perception of security stems from the emancipation of human beings:

[t]rue (stable) security can only be achieved by people and groups if they do not deprive others of it. [...] Emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. [...] Emancipation, not power or order, produces true security. Emancipation, theoretically, is security.⁵

The concept of human security has its roots in the United Nations (UN), which treats it as an analytical tool used to identify the international environment and its needs, as well as to develop various methods of their realisation.⁶ Recognising

⁴ R. Zięba, 'Pojęcie i istota bezpieczeństwa państwa w stosunkach międzynarodowych', Sprawy Międzynarodowe, no. 10, 1989, p. 49.

⁵ K. Booth, 'Security and emancipation', Review of International Studies, vol. 17, no. 4, 1991, p. 319.

E. Haliżak, 'Przewartościowania koncepcji rozwoju ONZ', [in:] J. Symonides (red.), Organizacja Narodów Zjednoczonych: bilans i perspektywy, Warszawa 2006, p. 272.

human security as a separate area of interest within security studies stems from the conviction that state security is not the same as security of its people. The security of an individual human being is an ambiguous notion, and different states treat its various dimensions with different levels of importance. In general, two main approaches can be distinguished here: the so-called "Canadian school" — which is based on the narrow scope — and the so-called "Japanese school" — which is rooted in the broad scope. S

Table 1. Alternative concepts of security

Security	Environmental	'Embedded'	Human		
type	security	security	security		
Security	The ecosystem	Nations	Individuals		
focus		Social groups	Mankind		
		Class/economic	Human rights		
		Political action committees/	Rule of law		
		interest groups	Development		
Security	Global sustainability	Identity/inclusion	Survival		
concerns		Morality/values/conduct	Human progress		
		Quality of life	Identity and governance		
		Wealth distribution			
		Political cohesion			
Security	Mankind: through	States	The state itself		
hazards	resource depletion,	Nation	Globalization		
	scarcity, war, and eco-	Migrants	Natural catastrophes and changes		
	logical destruction	Alien culture			

Source: own work based on P.H. Liotta, 'Creeping Vulnerabilities and the Reordering of Security', Security Dialogue, vol. 36, no. 1, 2005, p. 58.

The narrow scope of human security, featured in the slogan "freedom from fear", was mainly promoted by the authorities of Canada and Norway. One of the proponents of the narrow scope of human security was Lloyd Axworthy, a Member of Canadian Parliament and minister, who in 1997 stated that "human security is much more than the absence of military threat. [...] At a minimum, human security requires that basic needs are met, but it also acknowledges that sustained economic development, human rights and fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, good governance, sustainable development and social equity are as important to global peace as arms control and disarmament." In the following years, Axworthy, serving as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, concluded that human security implied

G. Michałowska, 'Bezpieczeństwo ludzkie', [in:] J. Symonides (red.), Świat wobec współczesnych wyzwań i zagrożeń, Warszawa 2010, p. 227.

⁸ K.P. Marczuk, 'Pojęcie i zakres human security', [in:] S. Sulowski, M. Brzeziński (red.), *Trzy wymiary współczesnego bezpieczeństwa*, Warszawa 2014, p. 40.

⁹ L. Axworthy, 'Canada and Human Security: The Need for Leadership', *International Journal*, vol. 52, no. 2, 1997, p. 184.

securing people from threats connected to violence, as well as non-violent ones. He thought that it was a condition or a state characterised by a freedom from omnipresent threats to human rights, their safety and their life.¹⁰

The Japanese school of human security is strictly related to the position of Japanese authorities, expressed through the slogan "freedom from want." This approach to human security stems from the experience of the economic crisis that hit East and South-East Asia in the late 1990s, as well as from further security threats, such as the epidemics of SARS, bird flu, or other calamities, such as tsunamis, and earthquakes.11 The term "human security" was for the first time used in 1998 by the Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi, who stated that security of an individual human being was a concept that embraced a comprehensive point of view on all threats to human survival, life and dignity, and also underlined the need to react to such threats.¹² Putting emphasis on the matter of human dignity means that the traditional catalogue of threats to human security should be expanded by adding those connected to the socio-economic dimension (poverty, social exclusion, inability to fulfil the basic needs, such as e.g. shelter).¹³ This is the essence of the broad scope of human security and its realisation level can be tracked through a variety of indicators pertaining to poverty levels, socio-economic development (e.g. HDI), and sustainable development.

Table 2. Narrow and broad scope of human security

	Narrow scope of human security	Broad scope of human security		
	(Canadian school)	(Japanese school)		
Main idea	Freedom from fear	Freedom from want		
Main values	Democratic governance; respect	Fulfilment of basic human needs; digni-		
	for human rights; freedom from vi-	fied life; development opportunities for		
	olence	individuals		
Main	Non-democratic state regimes; lack	Poverty and social exclusion; socio-eco-		
assumptions	of respect for human rights and	nomic problems (e.g. unemployment);		
	basic freedoms; political violence	environmental degradation		
Examples of	Sustainable Governance Indica-	Human Development Index (HDI); Sus-		
indicators used to	tors (SGI) in the part pertaining to	tainable Governance Indicators (SGI) in		
determine level	quality of democracy and 'good	the part pertaining to economic, social		
of human security	governance'	and environmental policies		
realisation				

Source: own work based on: K.P. Marczuk, Bezpieczeństwo wewnętrzne państw członkowskich Unii Europejskiej: od bezpieczeństwa państwa do bezpieczeństwa ludzi, Warszawa 2012, pp. 27–95.

L. Axworthy, *Navigating a New World: Canada's Global Future*, Toronto 2003, pp. 10–29.

A. Fukushima, W.T. Tow, 'Human Security and Global Governance', [in:] W.T. Tow (ed.), Security Politics in the Asia-Pacific: A Regional-Global Nexus?, Cambridge, New York, 2009, p. 171.

¹² K.P. Marczuk, 'Pojęcie i zakres... op. cit., p. 44.

P.J. Katzenstein, N. Okawara, 'Japan's Security Policy: Political, Economic and Military Dimensions', in P.J. Katzenstein (ed.), Rethinking Japanese Security: Internal and External Dimensions, New York, 2008, pp. 59–75.

In sum, human security, in its narrow scope, represented by the Canadian school, means providing people with basic safety conditions related to democratic ways of governance, respecting the rule of law by the public institutions, the assurance of human and citizen rights, and several other features. The Japanese school of broad approach to human security, on the other hand, requires not only the creation of a state that does not constitute a threat to its individuals, but also a provision of opportunities to fulfil those individuals' socio-economic needs. The table no. 2 provides a comparison of both approaches.

The Visegrad Group: genesis, goals, and cooperation in the area of security

Admittedly, the demise of the Eastern bloc was a key moment that resulted in a wave of significant changes in the international order, especially for countries that had formerly orbited within the Soviet sphere of influence. According to Laszlo Nagy, from a geopolitical point of view, these countries became a "grey area" between the stable West and the unstable East. 14 and, even though their history was varied, at the beginning of the 1990s, their situation was very similar. 15 This similarity was especially discernible in the cases of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, which historically shared common civilisational, religious and cultural roots. 16 Grazyna Michałowska admits that the renouncement of the concept of two fighting systems led to the elimination of barriers in communication and consequently resulted in cultural changes in the post-communist countries. ¹⁷ Severing ties with the USSR necessitated an intensive search for a new identity and forms of cooperation with the Western world. Such an atmosphere encouraged the countries to try coordinating mutual cooperation in the areas of economy and foreign policy. This form of cooperation provided a feeling of security and common interests in a period of volatile international relations.¹⁸

As a result of tightening cooperation between the aforementioned countries, Poland's President Lech Wałęsa, President of Czechoslovakia Václav Havel, and Hungary's Prime Minster József Antall on 15 February 1991 signed the Declaration on Cooperation Between the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, the Republic of Poland and the Republic of Hungary in Striving for European Integration.

G. Calopareanu, 'The Visegrad Group Security Policy During the Euro-Atlantic Structures Pre-Accession Period', Buletin Stiintific, vol. 2, no. 32, 2011, p. 93.

L. Nagy, Security Concepts of the Visegrad Countries, 2010, https://www.atlcom.nl/ap_archive/pdf/AP%201998%20nr.%208/Nagy.pdf [accessed: 31.10.2018].

P. Andrzejewski, M. Szczepaniak, 'Państwa Grupy Wyszehradzkiej – obraz gospodarczy', Przegląd Zachodni, no. 4, 1995, p. 57.

¹⁷ G. Michałowska, 'Bezpieczeństwo kulturowe w warunkach globalizacji', [in:] D.B. Bobrow, E. Haliżak, R. Zięba (red.) Bezpieczeństwo narodowe i międzynarodowe u schyłku XX wieku, Warszawa 1997, p. 136

¹⁸ E. Kużelewska, A. Bartnicki, 'Grupa Wyszehradzka – nowe wyzwania bezpieczeństwa i perspektywy współpracy', *Rocznik Integracji Europejskiej*, no. 11, 2017, pp. 103–104.

Following T. Klepner, "since that moment, it was possible to talk about the existence of a so-called Visegrad Triangle. The declaration itself formulated the main goals that the signatory countries had set themselves." The Visegrad Group – after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the initiative had four members; thus, it was no longer called a Triangle – was a forum of international cooperation with a broad scope that encompassed many areas: foreign policy, security and defence policy, economy, transport and infrastructure, agriculture, regional development, internal affairs, environmental protection, education, culture, tourism, sports, and a few others. The main determinants of creation of the Visegrad Group (V4) included:

- an attempt at filling political, economic and military void, created through dissolution of the Eastern bloc;²¹
- building a sense of community and good neighbourly relations in a new geopolitical reality;²²
- mutual support in the efforts geared towards the integration with NATO and the European Union;
- willingness to severe ties with undemocratic past and to express political emancipation of the signatory states;²³
- strengthening Central European identity within the European Union and promoting regional cooperation between countries of Central Europe.²⁴

The goals of the Visegrad Group were also laid out in the 1991 Declaration, and they include:

- full reinstatement of state independence, democracy and freedom;
- getting rid of all existing social, economic and spiritual aspects of totalitarian regime;
- building parliamentary democracy, modern legal state, respecting human rights and basic freedoms;
- creating modern free market economy;
- full inclusion into European political, economic, legal and security systems.²⁵

Security policy constituted one of the areas of cooperation. During the first stage of V4 existence, security cooperation was mostly centred upon military aspects; however, it needs to be made clear that at that time cooperation in this area was based on bilateral agreements, not on a single document signed by all

T. Klepner, 'Współpraca transgraniczna państw Grupy Wyszehradzkiej na rzecz zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa granic', *Poliarchia*, vol. 2, 2014, p. 104.

²⁰ T. Kubin, 'Grupa Wyszehradzka – perspektywa dalszej współpracy', Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne, vol. 42, 2014, pp. 25–26.

A. Czyż, 'Grupa Wyszehradzka – 20 lat współpracy', Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne, vol. 42, 2014, p. 11–12.

²² E. Kużelewska, A. Bartnicki, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

²³ J. Mizgała, *Perspektywy Grupy Wyszehradzkiej*, Warszawa, Departament Strategii i Planowania Polityki Zagranicznej. Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych, 2003, p. 3.

A. Wach, 'Znaczenie oraz rola Grupy Wyszehradzkiej w latach 1991–2007', Słupskie Studia Historyczne, no. 16, 2010, p. 224.

Deklaracja z dnia 15 lutego 1991 r. o współpracy Czeskiej i Słowackiej Republiki Federacyjnej, Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej i Republiki Węgierskiej w dążeniu do integracji europejskiej, http://www.visegradgroup.eu/documents/visegrad-declarations [accessed: 30.10.2018].

parties.²⁶ One of the main successes of V4 concerned the collaboration of the defence ministers of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary in withdrawing Soviet soldiers from their respective territories.²⁷

The dynamics of changes that were taking place in security, influenced by the occurrence of new types of threats (e.g. terrorism, economic, social and environmental threats), resulted in the need to undertake reforms of the security systems operating in the Central European states. The need for further reforms ensued too quickly, becoming a burden for states that at the same time had to undertake fundamental socio-economic structural changes. For them, the series of reforms was not just an exercise in changing the focus of defence politics, but it also meant a necessity to launch multiple changes within the reform itself. In addition, the assets of these small and medium countries were severely limited. The accession of the V4 countries to NATO in 1999 (Poland, Czechia, and Hungary) and in 2004 (Slovakia) allowed to base further military cooperation on the structures of the Alliance. The Visegrad Group evolved into a forum of cooperation and experience exchange in the area of internal security. One of the potential directions of further activity within V4 could also be the strengthening of energy security of the member states. The visegrad Group evolved into a forum of cooperation and experience exchange in the area of internal security. One of the potential directions of further activity within V4 could also be the strengthening of energy security of the member states.

Poland and the broad scope of human security

Poland occupies an area of 312,700 km² and has a population of approximately 38.4 million people, which makes it the biggest member state of the Visegrad Group. Poland is bigger than the other three countries put together, both by area and population. The GDP per capita in Poland is equal to 29,600 USD at purchasing power parity, and the rate of registered unemployment stands at 4.9%.³⁰ The principal act that formulates the state's legal and political framework is the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997.³¹ This act of basic law guarantees that the Polish state ensures freedoms and rights of persons and citizens, the security of its citizens, safeguards national heritage and ensures the protection of natural environment pursuant to the principles of sustainable development (Section 5). The political, social and economic rights of individuals have been listed in Chapter 2. They

A. Cottey, East-Central Europe after the Cold War. Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary in Search of Security, London 1995, p. 133.

²⁷ R. Morawiec, 'Military Cooperation in Visegrad Group', [in:] M. Madej (ed.), Cooperation on Security in Central Europe: Sharing V4 Experience with the Neighbouring Regions, Warszawa, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, 2010, p. 12.

P. Dunay, 'Security Sector Expert Formation: Achievements and Needs in the Visegrad Countries', [in:] P. Fluri (ed.), Security Sector Reform in South East Europe, Geneva, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), 2003, pp. 283–284.

²⁹ T. Kubin, op.cit., p. 24–31; K. Sobczyk, 'Współpraca państw Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w dziedzinie bezpieczeństwa energetycznego', Bezpieczeństwo Narodowe, vol. 4, no. 20, 2011, p. 175.

³⁰ CIA World Factbook: Poland, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pl.html [accessed: 30.11.2019].

³¹ Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz.U. 1997, no. 78, item 483.

include the duty to respect rights and freedoms of others (art. 31), and equality before the law (Section 32). The social and economic rights include the freedom to choose and to pursue any occupation, and to choose a place of work (Section 65), the right to social security whenever incapacitated for work by reason of sickness or invalidism, as well as upon reaching the retirement age (Section 67), the right to health protection (Section 68), and the right to education (Section 70). Particular protection from the state has been granted to the family (Section 71), and children (Section 72). Under the Constitution, the Polish state should also provide conditions for equal access to the products of national culture (Section 6).³²

The key strategic document pertaining to matters of security in Poland is the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Poland, approved upon request of the Prime Minister by the then President Bronisław Komorowski on 5 November 2014. This document specifies national security interests, which include:

- possession of effective national security capacities ensuring readiness and ability to prevent threats, including deterrence, defence and protection against them, as well as elimination of their consequences;
- strong international position of Poland and membership in reliable international security systems;
- individual and collective protection of citizens against threats to their life and health, as well as against the violation, loss or degradation of goods (tangible and intangible) which are important for them;
- ensuring that citizens freely enjoy freedoms and rights, without detriment to the safety of others and of the security of the state, as well as assuring national identity and cultural heritage;
- ensuring a sustainable and balanced development of the social and economic potential of the state, with particular attention paid to environmental protection, as well as living conditions and health of people as the basis of existence.³³

The first two interests pertain to international relations and are typical of the classical approach to security, according to the realist paradigm. The other three goals, on the other hand, have a direct connection to the basic rules of human security and concern the provision of decent living conditions for individuals, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, as well as the provision of sustainable socio-economic development respectful of natural environment.

The definition of sustainable development was introduced in an earlier Act, i.e. The Environmental Protection Act of 27 April 2001. According to its definition, sustainable development means "a socio-economic development which integrates political, economic and social actions, while preserving the natural equilibrium and the sustainability of basic natural processes, with the aim of guaranteeing the ability of individual communities or citizens, of both the present and future

J. Dziobek-Romański, 'Prawa człowieka w Konstytucji RP z 2 kwietnia 1997 roku na tle Konstytucji PRL z 22 lipca 1952 r.', Rocznik Nauk Prawnych, vol. 9, no. 1, 1999, pp. 143–154; M. Chmaj (red.), Wolności i prawa człowieka w Konstytucji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Warszawa 2008, pp. 151–198.

³³ Strategia Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, pp. 10–11, https://www.bbn.gov.pl/ftp/SBN%20RP.pdf [accessed: 3.11.2018].

generations, to satisfy their basic needs."³⁴ The notion of sustainable development can also be found in the Long-Term National Development Strategy – Poland 2030. Third Wave of Modernity. According to this document, the improvement in quality of life of Polish citizens is treated by the state as a strategic goal. The quality of life is defined broadly, as well-being in various areas of life, influencing, among others, overall longevity, longevity in good health, efficient social security network and participation in culture.³⁵ Such goals meet the definition of the broad scope of human security.

Czechia and the broad scope of human security

Czechia is a country occupying a territory of 78,900 km² and inhabited by 10.7 million people. In 2017, its Gross Domestic Product per capita at purchasing power parity reached 35,500 USD. The rate of registered unemployment oscillates around 2.9%.³⁶ As is the case with other Visegrad Group countries, the changes of 1989, frequently dubbed "the autumn of nations," 37 led to a fundamental political, social and economic redesign of the country. The so-called "velvet revolution" culminated on 1 January 1993 in the dissolution of the Czechoslovakian state and the formation of two independent state entities: the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic.³⁸ The foundations of the new democratic system were set down in the Constitution of the Czech Republic of 16 December 1992. Democratisation opened the way for cooperation, both with the Western world and with other post-Soviet states. Interestingly, Czechia has not always been too enthusiastic about its cooperation within the Visegrad Group. Czech Prime Minister Václav Klaus was one of the strong opponents of V4, considering it to be an artificial attempt at regional integration, supported by the West. He was of the opinion that Czechia was on a higher level of socio-economic development than its neighbours and, because of that, its integration with European structures would be quicker. Such position of the Czech authorities inhibited the processes of integration within the Visegrad Group.³⁹

The founders of the aforementioned Czech Constitution were focused on providing a catalogue of citizens' rights pertaining to the narrow scope of human security. The document states that "state power shall serve all citizens and may be exercised only in cases, within the limits and manner provided by law" (Section 2) and that "every citizen can do what is not prohibited by law, and nobody may

Art. 3, pt. 20, Ustawa z dnia 27 kwietnia 2001 r. Prawo ochrony środowiska, Dz.U., 2001, no. 62, item 627 as amended.

Jong-Term National Development Strategy – Poland 2030. Third Wave of Modernity, Warszawa, Ministerstwo Administracji i Cyfryzacji, 2013, pp. 42–43.

³⁶ CIA World Factbook: Czechia, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ez.html [accessed: 30.11.2019].

³⁷ A. Centkowska, *Jesień Ludów 89': kalendarium wydarzeń*, Warszawa 1992.

³⁸ M. Czyżniewski, Powstanie i tradycje państwowe Republiki Czeskiej, https://repozytorium.umk.pl/handle/item/279 [accessed: 31.10.2018].

³⁹ A. Cottey, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131.

be compelled to do what the law does not" (Section 2).⁴⁰ As far as social rights are concerned, an integral part of the Constitution is the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, which determines, among others, political, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the right to court protection and other forms of legal protection.⁴¹ The citizens are guaranteed access to medical care institutions (Section 31), adequate material security in old age and during periods of work inability (Section 30), special protection is also granted to parenthood, family and children (Section 32).

A key document of Czech security policy is the Constitutional Act on the Security of the Czech Republic of 22 April 1998, amended in 2000. The importance of security issues for the Czech authorities is highlighted by the highest possible rank of this legal act, i.e. a constitutional act. Even though no definition of national security can be found in the document, it was underlined that "it is the State's basic duty to ensure Czechia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the protection of its democratic foundations, and the protection of lives, health and property," thus designating the goals of national security, which were later invoked in other documents regarding the Czech policies of defence.

Another document significant from the point of view of security matters is the Security Strategy of the Czech Republic of 2015. It states that the main aim of state security politics is to "safeguard the security of the individual and to protect his/her life, health, liberty, human dignity and property." The document also asserts that, even though the state is responsible for the security of its citizens, an acceptable level of security can only be attained through cooperation with local administration authorities, non-governmental organisations, and local communities. Among the main security threats, the strategy includes weakening of international cooperation in the area of security, destabilisation and conflicts in the Euro-Atlantic region, terrorism⁴⁴, cyberattacks, negative effects of mass migrations⁴⁵, extremism and social tensions, organised crime, ensuring continuity of energy supply, and natural disasters.⁴⁶

In the context of the broad scope of human security, one should also mention the legislation connected to the implementation of a sustainable development

Art. 3 and 4, Ustawa konstytucyjna czeskiej rady narodowej z dnia 16 grudnia 1992 r. Konstytucja Republiki Czeskiej, http://libr.sejm.gov.pl/tek01/txt/konst/czechy-a.html [accessed: 31.10.2018].

Resolution of the Presidium of the Czech National Council of 16 December 1992 on the Declaration of the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms as a Part of the Consitutional Order of the Czech Republic, https://www.usoud.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/ustavni_soud_www/Pravni_uprava/AJ/Listina_English_version.pdf [accessed: 31.11.2019].

Constitutional Act of 22 April 1998 on the Security of the Czech Republic, https://www.usoud.cz/fileadmin/user_upload/ustavni_soud_www/Pravni_uprava/AJ/Zakon_o_bezpecnosti_English_version_110_1998.pdf [accessed: 31.10.2018].

⁴³ Security Strategy of the Czech Republic, p. 6, http://www.army.cz/images/id_8001_9000/8503/ Security Strategy 2015.pdf [accessed: 31.10.2018].

J. Jelínek, 'International Terorrism: Current Challenges and Legal Means of protection in the Czech Republic', Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, no. 2, 2018, pp. 28–45.

⁴⁵ K. Tamchynová, 'Securitizing Migration, Europeanizing Czechs?', Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, no. 4, 2017, pp. 107–132.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

strategy. The Czech authorities have already prepared a strategic sustainable development document by the name of The Czech Republic Strategy for Sustainable Development, adopted in 2004, the year of the country's accession to the European Union. This document includes the three main pillars of sustainable development – economic, social, and environmental – as well as research and education in this area, cooperation within the EU and internationally, and the concept of good governance. It also takes advantage of the definition of sustainable development, found in the Our Common Future report and encompasses world (main assumptions of Agenda 21, arrangements of the 2002 Johannesburg World Summit), as well as European (EU Strategy for Sustainable Development, EU Lisbon Strategy) output in this field.⁴⁷

Slovakia and the broad scope of human security

Slovakia occupies a territory of approximately 49,000 km² and is inhabited by close to 5.5 million people. Slovaks, who constitute 80.7% of the country's citizens, are Slovakia's biggest national group, while Hungarians at 8.5% are the biggest minority. The country's GDP per capita (at purchasing power parity) was equal to 33,100 USD in 2017, while the registered unemployment rate stood at 8.1%. 48

In the post-WW2 period, Slovakia did not gain independence as a state; instead, it became a part of Czechoslovakia, with the Soviet Union's influence effectively suppressing any nationalistic sentiments. The events of the "autumn of nations", coupled with a systemic transformation of the Czechoslovakian state, led to a significant revision of the Czech-Slovak relations. Political, economic and societal changes triggered a progressive disintegration of the common state, highlighted by the creation of Public Against Violence (*Verejnosť proti nasiliu*, VPN), a Slovak counterpart to the Czech Civic Forum (*Občanske forum*, OF) – a party that gathered together main politicians of the anti-communist opposition. ⁴⁹ Differences of vision regarding the country's future culminated in its dissolution. The modern Slovak state appeared on the European map on 1 January 1993 in the aftermath of a peaceful split with the Czech Republic.

The new state based its political order on the Constitution of the Slovak Republic (Ústava Slovenskej republiky) of 1 September 1992. Similarly to the Czech constitution, it proclaims that "state bodies may act solely on the basis of the Constitution, within its scope and their actions shall be governed by procedures laid down by a law" and also that "everyone may do what is not forbidden by a law"

⁴⁷ The Czech Republic Strategy for Sustainable Development, http://www.mzp.cz/ C125750E003B698B/en/czech_republic_strategy_sd/\$FILE/KM-CR_SDS_eng-20041208.pdf [accessed: 31.10.2018]; K.P. Marczuk, op. cit., p.386.

⁴⁸ CIA World Factbook: Slovakia, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lo.html [accessed: 30.11.2019].

⁴⁹ K. Żarna, 'Przed rozwodem. Sytuacja polityczna na Słowacji w ramach Czeskiej i Słowackiej Republiki Federacyjnej (1990–1992)', Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne, no. 2, 2018, pp. 35–48.

and no one may be forced to do what the law does not enjoin."⁵⁰ Additionally, the constitution contains basic social rights, including the right to free healthcare (Section 40), adequate material security in old age and cases of incapability to work (Section 39), more extensive health protection for women, minors and disabled persons (Section 38). Special protection is guaranteed for the institutions of marriage, parenthood, and family (Section 41). Further guarantees include the right to choose one's profession and appropriate training (Section 35), as well as the right to fair and satisfactory working conditions (Section 36). The constitution also provides protection of the environment and cultural heritage, stating that everyone has the right to live in a favourable environment (Section 44), and the right to full and timely information about the state of the environment and its consequences (Section 45).⁵¹

The main Slovak internal security document is the Security Strategy of the Slovak Republic 2005. Even though it had been passed quite a long time ago, it has not been updated since.⁵² This strategy defines the main aims of the activities undertaken by the state in the area of security:

The Slovak Republic adheres to the values of freedom, peace, democracy, rule of law, justice, pluralism, solidarity, and human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Slovak Republic guarantees security to its citizens irrespective of their origin, social status and place of their stay in conformity with international legal human rights standards, and in accordance with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. The security guarantee for the citizens is a basic prerequisite for the exercise of their human and civil rights and for a harmonious development of the society as a whole.⁵³

According to the founding fathers of this document, the main security threats include terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, organised crime, illegal and uncontrolled migration, activities of foreign intelligence services, globalisation, increasing influence of non-state entities, deepening economic imbalances and disruption of the natural environment.⁵⁴

The pursuit of the implementation of the broad scope of human security by the Slovak authorities has been reflected in yet another document – the 2001 National Strategy for Sustainable Development for the Slovak Republic, created as a part of preparations for the 2002 Johannesburg Summit.⁵⁵ In this document, there are ref-

Konstytucja Republiki Słowackiej z 1 września 1992 roku, trans. K. Skotnicki, Warszawa 2003, p. 695.

⁵¹ Ibid.

In 2005 another document – The Defence Strategy of the Slovak Republic was prepared, with final amended version coming in 2017. A new defence strategy is also being prepared – the project is currently undergoing consultations, see: New strategy responds to current threats, https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20665019/new-strategy-responds-to-current-threats.html [accessed: 31.10.2018].

⁵³ Security Strategy of Slovak Republic, https://www.mosr.sk/data/files/795.pdf [accessed: 31.10.2018].

⁵⁴ See also: V. Frianová, 'Safety and security threats: Perception of inhabitants of the Slovak Republic', Forum Scientiae Oeconomia, vol. 4, no. 1, 2016, pp. 53–62.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development 2002, organised by the United Nations, took place in Johannesburg from August 26 to September 4, 2002.

erences to the economic, social and environmental aspects of sustainable development, defined, according to the Czechoslovakian Act on the Natural Environment of 1992, as a targeted, long-term and comprehensive process that affects all conditions and aspects of life at global, regional and local levels, which meets biological, material, spiritual and social needs and interests of people in a way, that does not destroy conditions and forms of life. ⁵⁶ The principles of Slovak sustainable development have been defined as, among others, ensuring protection of human health, and optimal development of human resources, which undoubtedly realises the main premises of the broad scope of human security.

Hungary and the broad scope of human security

The Hungarian state has a surface area of over 93,000 km² and 9.8 million inhabitants. Its Gross Domestic Product per capita at purchasing power parity is equal to 29,600 USD, while registered unemployment stands at 4.2%.⁵⁷ Up until 2011, the main act of fundamental law in Hungary was the Constitution of the Republic of Hungary (A Magyar Köztársaság Alkotmánya) adopted on 18 August 1949.58 The 2010 parliamentary election victory of Fidesz, in alliance with the Christian-Democratic People's Party (Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt, KDNP) and the following election of Viktor Orbán to the position of Prime Minister,⁵⁹ paved the way for the commencement of intensive efforts on a adopting new constitution. The new act, by the name of The Fundamental Law of Hungary (Magyarország Alaptörvénye), was passed by the National Assembly on 18 April 2011 without any public consultations. According to its provisions, the country's name was changed to Hungary, the Forint became the official currency, and the Supreme Court was abolished. 60 The content of the new Hungarian constitution and the manner in which it had been adopted were met with due concern from the international circles. In particular, Amnesty International pronounced that Hungary took "a leap backwards when it comes to guaranteeing human rights and basic freedoms."61

The Fundamental Law guarantees that the inviolable and inalienable fundamental individual and collective rights should be respected, and that the protection of those rights is the primary obligation of the state (Section I). It also asserts

The National Strategy for Sustainable Development for the Slovak Republic, http://www.thegef.org/gef/sites/thegef.org/fi les/documents/Slovakia NSSD Final.pdf [accessed: 31.10.2018].

⁵⁷ CIA World Factbook: Hungary, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/hu.html [accessed: 30.11.2019].

⁵⁸ Hungary Constitution of 1949, http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-5878.html [accessed: 2.11.2018].

Hungary Orszaggyules: Elections in 2010, http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2141_10. htm [accessed: 2.11.2018].

⁶⁰ Ustawa Zasadnicza Węgier z dnia 25 kwietnia 2011 r. uchwalona przez Zgromadzenie Krajowe w dniu 18 IV 2011 r. i podpisana przez Prezydenta Republiki w dniu 25 IV 2011 r., Warszawa 2012.

D. Atol, Hungary's Constitutional Undermining of Internationally Protected Human Rights, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2013/03/hungary-s-constitutional-undermining-of-internationally-protected-human-rights [accessed: 2.11.2018].

that the state should strive to provide all its citizens with social security and a state pension system based on social solidarity (Section XIX). The guarantees of human rights that fall within the scope of the broad approach to human security include the right to physical and mental health (Section XX), decent housing conditions (Section XXII), education (Section XI), freedom to choose one's occupation, and the right to work (Section XII). Particular protection has been granted to children (Section XVI). Hungary also guarantees the fundamental rights to everyone without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, sex, disability, language, religion, political views or other views, national or social origin, property, birth, or any other status (Section XV).

As for internal security, one of the main Hungarian documents is Hungary's National Security Strategy of 2012.⁶² It states that guaranteeing citizens' security and securing a safe environment for their freedom and welfare are among the fundamental obligations of the Hungarian government. According to its creators, in the modern world, security threats exist on several levels: from individual security, through the security of communities, states and regions, up to the global level. The impact of these threats can be felt not only on the national level, but also among social organisations, and local communities. Among the main threats, the document mentions international terrorism, organised crime, drug trade, and migration,⁶³ while the main challenges are financial security, and energy security.⁶⁴ In addition, it is stated that "the absence of political, economic and social development in its totality increases the likelihood of the emergence of the aforementioned threats."⁶⁵ The document concludes that only a stable and sustainable development can positively influence the level of security.

The strive for sustainable development found its expression in the National Framework Strategy on Sustainable Development of Hungary, adopted by the Parliament on 28 March 2013. The goal of this strategy is to promote a common understanding of sustainability, not only within the government, but also among all individuals, families, enterprises, and organisations. The document defines its objective as "enhancing a happy and senseful human life and expanding public well-being while containing human actions within the limits of Earth's carrying capacity, maintaining and developing the quality and quantity of expandable human, social and economic resources." The goals of the strategy have been divided into four main groups: human resources, social resources, natural resources, and economic resources, and have been outlined in the table below.

⁶² J. Ušiak, Security and Strategic Culture of the Visegrad Group Countries, Banská Bystrica 2013, pp. 161–165.

⁶³ S. Sarkar, 'Engendering Trafficking and Human Security: A Comparative Study of India and Hungary', International Journal of Development Research and Quantitative Techniques, no. 2, 2011, pp. 25–42.

Hungary's National Security Strategy, http://2010-2014.kormany.hu/download/4/32/b0000/National%20Security%20Strategy.pdf [accessed: 2.11.2019].

⁶⁵ Ihid n 21

National Framework Strategy on Sustainable Development of Hungary, http://www.parlament. hu/documents/127649/1361679/NFFT-ENG-web.pdf/f692c792-424d-4f5a-9f9d-9e6200303148 [accessed: 2.11.2018].

Table 3. Goals of sustainable development in Hungary

Resource group	The main goal	Specific goals	
Human resources	A society with stable population, of healthy individuals, possessing knowledge and skills required to tackle the challenges of current Times		
Social resources	Creating a sustainable society through enhancement of positive values, norms and attitudes;	 strengthening the level of trust in society through fighting corruption and creating reliable public services; reducing workplace stress and social exclusion in the labour market through development of organisational culture and targeted programmes; enhancing family values; maintaining heritage of the past and developing cultural services; 	
Natural resources	Environmental capacity must be considered an economic barrier;	 conservation of biodiversity and utilisation of renewable energy resources; controlling and regulating emissions and other factors harmful to human health and living conditions; rational management of non-renewable natural resources; 	
Economic resources	Maintaining sovere- ignty in economic deci- sions, while strengthe- ning entrepreneurship and increasing the level of capital invest- ment	 improvement of the business environment, increase in the efficiency of innovation expenses and use of resources, promotion of technologies that reduce environmental load; reduction of public debt to a reasonable level and prudent budget management restoring generational balance and reallocating financial resources between generations; 	

Source: National Framework Strategy on Sustainable Development of Hungary, http://www.parlament.hu/documents/127649/1361679/NFFT-ENG-web.pdf/f692c792-424d-4f5a-9f9d-9e6200303148 [accessed: 2.11.2018].

Conclusions

Attempting to verify the hypothesis formulated in the introduction to this paper, it must be stated that after the fall of the Eastern bloc, all the four member states of the Visegrad Group started to implement several aspects of the broad scope of human security by taking various actions steeped in their policies. These include:

- taking into account not only the basic human rights pertaining to politics, but also providing social and societal rights, e.g. concerning support in case of social risks, the right to healthcare, education and freedom of employment;
- recognising human security as one of the duties of the state;
- acknowledging in the national security strategies the threats that are of major relevance from the point of view of individuals, such as uncontrolled mass migrations, crime, or organised crime;
- undertaking initiatives aimed at the implementation of sustainable development principles through adoption and realisation of strategic documents.

Even though in all the four states the principles of human security are formulated in a similar way, the achieved level of their realisation is different. This level may be determined using selected country-level development indicators, one of which is the Human Development Index (HDI), a synthetic measure used to describe the level of socio-economic development of all the countries in the world. It is calculated from the following component measures: life expectancy at birth, average number of years of education received by citizens aged 25 and over, expected number of years of education from birth, and gross national income per capita in USD at purchasing power parity.⁶⁷ The HDI ranges from 0 to 1, where 1 ndicates the highest possible value.

Another measure useful in this kind of analysis is the set of Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI), aimed at determining the level of realisation of sustainable development policies in selected countries. It is comprised of measures regarding:

- realisation of policies:
 - economic policies (including labour market, fiscal policy, research and development, national budget);
 - social policies (including education, social inclusion, health policy, family policy, pension system, security);
 - environmental policies (including natural environment protection);
- democracy:
 - quality of democracy (including freedom of media, electoral process, access to information, human rights and basic freedoms, rule of law);
- good governance:
 - executive capacity (including social participation, public consultations, strategic and operational maturity);
 - executive accountability (including the ability of various governmental and non-governmental entities to implement sustainable development policies.)⁶⁸

The individual measures are assigned a value between 0 and 10, with 10 being the maximum. Both HDI and SGI allow to compare the living conditions across various countries, while HDI can also be used to rank the countries based on one synthetic measure. The following table presents HDI and SGI results achieved by the Visegrad Group countries.

⁶⁷ Human Development Reports, http://hdr.undp.org/en/data [accessed: 2.11.2018].

⁶⁸ About the SGI: Mission statement, http://www.sgi-network.org/2018/About [accessed: 3.11.2019].

Table 4. Values of HDI and SGI indicators for the Visegrad Group countries

Measure analysed		Czechia	Slovakia	Hungary				
Human Development Index (HDI) in the years 2013–2017								
2017	0.865	0.888	0.855	0.838				
2015	0.855	0.878	0.846	0.836				
2013	0.834	0.861	0.830	0.818				
Human Development Index (HDI) in the year 2017, divided into component measures								
Position in the world ranking		27	38	45				
Life expectancy at birth		78.9	77.0	76.1				
Average number of years of education received by citizens		12.7	12.5	11.9				
aged 25 and over								
Expected number of years of education from birth	16.4	16.9	15	15.1				
Gross national income per capita in USD at purchasing	26,150	30,588	29,467	25,393				
power parity								
Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) data for the year 2018								
Economic policies		6.6	5.5	5.1				
Social policies		6.1	5.2	4.6				
Environmental policies		6.2	6.1	6.1				
Quality of democracy	5.3	7.3	6.8	3.5				
Executive capacity	5.2	5.4	5.0	5.0				
Executive accountability		6.6	5.4	4.8				

Source: Own work based on: *Human Development Index and its components*, http://hdr.undp.org/en/data [accessed: 31.10.2018] and *SGI 2018 Survey*, http://www.sgi-network.org/2018 [accessed: 31.10.2018].

The indicators presented in the table reveal that the best living conditions, i.e. the ones that guarantee survival and development of human beings, have been achieved in Czechia. In the HDI ranking, it occupies the 27th place and boasts the highest values of the four Visegrad Group countries in all component categories (healthcare, education, GNI per capita). SGI confirms this state of things – Czechia has the highest values of all the component indices. The situation of Poland and Slovakia is largely similar: while Poland is ranked higher in the HDI ranking (33th place in comparison to Slovakia's 38th), largely due to longer life expectancy at birth and expected number of years of education at birth, it is placed slightly below Slovakia in the SGI rankings. The biggest difference between these two countries can be seen in environmental policies (Poland ranks the lowest of the four countries taken under scrutiny), and the quality of democracy. Both HDI and SGI indicate that the worst living conditions among the V4 are in Hungary, which ranks lowest in all component categories (apart from environmental policies, where Poland ranks at the bottom). This is particularly visible in the quality of democracy measure, where Hungary scored merely 3.5 against Czechia's score of 7.3.

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Szerokie podejście do human security w państwach Grupy Wyszehradzkiej Streszczenie

Zakończenie zimnej wojny i oddalenie się widma wybuchu konfliktu zbrojnego sprzyjało poszerzeniu analiz dotyczących bezpieczeństwa o inne niż państwo podmioty. Jedną z rodzących się w latach 90. XX w. alternatywnych koncepcji było *human security* (bezpieczeństwo jednostki ludzkiej) stawiające w centrum zainteresowania jednostkę ludzką. W ujęciu wąskim (zwanym szkołą kanadyjską), *human security* nawiązuje do zapewnienia człowiekowi podstawowych praw politycznych oraz wolności od strachu. W ujęciu szerokim (szkoła japońska), *human security* obejmuje również kwestie praw społecznych i ekonomicznych oraz możliwość przetrwania i rozwoju każdego człowieka. Założenia japońskiej szkoły *human security* zostały zawarte w haśle "wolności od niedostatku". Szeroki

zakres bezpieczeństwa jednostki ludzkiej pozostaje w ścisłym związku z koncepcją zrównoważonego rozwoju. W niniejszym artykule przedstawiono podejście państw Grupy Wyszehradzkiej: Polski, Czech, Słowacji i Węgier do szerokiego zakresu human security. Analizie poddano główne dokumenty strategiczne dotyczące: praw społecznych i ekonomicznych obywateli, systemu bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego oraz implementacji koncepcji zrównoważonego rozwoju.

Słowa kluczowe: human security, Grupa Wyszehradzka, Polska, Czechy, Słowacja, Węgry

Broad Approach to Human Security in the Visegrad Group Countries Abstract

The demise of the Cold War and the fading risk of a global military conflict caused researchers to extend the notion of security to subjects other than the states. One of the alternative concepts that emerged in the 1990s was Human Security, which put individual human beings at the heart of analysis. In its narrow approach, called the "Canadian school", human security seeks to provide all people with the basic political rights and ensure "Freedom from Fear". The broad approach, advocated by the "Japanese school", encompasses social and economic rights, as well as the need to offer people the ability to survive and develop. Thus, it has been labelled as the "Freedom from Want" concept. The broad approach to individual human security is closely linked to the concept of sustainable development. This paper looks at the approach taken by the Visegrad Group countries – Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, and Hungary – to the broad concept of Human Security. It presents the analysis of the main strategic documents that deal with social and economic rights of people, the internal security system, and the implementation of the concept of sustainable development.

Key words: Human security, Visegrad Group, Poland, Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary

Die Staaten der Visegárd-Gruppe vor dem breiten Bereich von Human Security Zusammenfassung

Das Ende des Kalten Krieges und die nachlassenden Risiken eines globalen militärischen Konflikts veranlasste die Forschung, das Verständnis von Sicherheit über die Staaten hinaus um andere Akteure zu erweitern. Eines dieser alternativen Konzepte, das in den 1990er Jahren hervortrat, war *Human Security*, das die Individuen ins Zentrum der Analyse rückte. In einem engeren Ansatz (die kanadische Schule genannt), soll *human security* allen Menschen die grundlegenden politischen Rechte ermöglichen und "Freiheit von Angst" bedeuten. Im weiteren Sinne (die japanische Schule) umfasst *human security* soziale und ökonomische Rechte sowie die Notwendigkeit, Menschen die Fähigkeit zu überleben und sich zu entwickeln zu ermöglichen. Dieses Konzept wurde als "Freiheit von Not" erfasst. Der weite Ansatz der Sicherheit des Einzelnen steht im engen Zusammenhang mit dem Konzept der nachhaltigen Entwicklung. In diesem Artikel wurde der Ansatz der Länder der Visegrad-Gruppe: Polen, Tschechien, der Slowakei und Ungarn zum weiten Konzept von *human security* dargestellt. Es wurden die wichtigsten strategischen Dokumente analysiert, die sich mit sozialen und ökonomischen Rechten der Menschen,

dem System der inneren Sicherheit und die Umsetzung des Konzepts der nachhaltigen Entwicklung befassen.

Schlüsselswörter: *human* security, die Visegárd-Gruppe, Polen, Tschechien, die Slowakei, Ungarn

Широкий подход к human security в государствах Вышеградской группы Резюме

Окончание холодной войны и снижение угрозы начала вооруженного широкомасштабного конфликта способствовали расширению анализа проблем безопасности на другие, кроме государства, субъекты. Одной из родившихся в 90-е гг. XX века альтернативных концепций была концепция human security (безопасность человека, безопасность личности), ставящая в центре внимания человека. В узком смысле (так называемая канадская школа) концепция human security базируется на предоставлении человеку основных политических прав и свободы от страха. В широком смысле (японская школа), human security также охватывает вопросы касающиеся социальных и экономических прав, возможностей выживания и развития каждого человека. Сущность японской школы human security содержится в лозунге «свобода от недостатков». Широкий спектр концепции human security остается в тесной связи с концепцией устойчивого развития. В статье представлен подход государств Вышеградской группы: Польши, Чехии, Словакии и Венгрии к проблеме human security. Анализу подверглись основные стратегические документы касающиеся социальных и экономических прав граждан, системы внутренней безопасности и реализации концепции устойчивого развития.

Ключевые слова: human security, Вышеградская группа, Польша, Чехия, Словакия, Венгрия