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ȘCOALA DOCTORALĂ DE RELAȚII INTERNAȚIONALE  
ȘI STUDII DE SECURITATE

## CONSTRUCTIVISM ȘI SECURITATE UMANĂ

- Rezumatul tezei de doctorat -

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Cuvinte cheie: constructivism, securitate umană, identitate, identitate națională, identitate umană, violența structurală

Lucrarea își propune să identifice, din perspectivă constructivistă, implicațiile promovării conceptului de securitate umană la nivel internațional. Actualmente nu s-a ajuns la un consens real cu privire la cum trebuie înțeles acest concept, continuând să existe diferențe de opinie atât cu referire la aspectele metodologice, definiționale sau la implicațiile paradigmei securității umane pentru studiul și practica relațiilor internaționale.

Relevanța temei alese este dată, pe de o parte, de faptul că Uniunea Europeană își propune construirea unei culturi strategice europene care să aibă ca fundament conceptul securității umane. Spre exemplu, Raportul Barcelona<sup>1</sup>, care propune o doctrină a securității umane pentru Europa (*A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*), recomandă integrarea componentei de securitate umană în politica externă și de securitate a Uniunii Europene. Raportul are ca punct de plecare premisa că securitatea europenilor este în strânsă legătură și depinde de cea a non-europenilor.

Din alt punct de vedere, relevanța temei alese este dată de faptul că demersul este unul original în România: abordarea constructivistă nu a beneficiat de o atenție deosebită în țara noastră, nefiind elaborate lucrări speciale dedicate acestui subiect, iar, în ceea ce privește paradigma securității umane, numărul de lucrări și articole care abordează acest concept este restrâns, de dată recentă, fără a se apela la teoria relațiilor internaționale pentru înțelegerea acestuia.

Având în vedere că o mare parte a discuțiilor cu privire la cultura strategică europeană se bazează pe preceptele constructiviste care postulează centralitatea identității și că ipoteza de lucru formulată este că dacă se dorește funcționarea eficientă a politicii europene de securitate și apărare trebuie generată o identitate europeană comună și compusă o „narațiune” strategică unică (pentru că s-ar părea că preeminența culturilor strategice naționale împiedică crearea unui discurs comun european privind securitatea și apărarea), am pornit metodologic de la asumarea identității ca și concept cheie al abordării constructiviste și, după clarificarea conceptuală, explorarea opțiunilor de analiză și interpretare în relație cu paradigma securității umane.

Plasând identitatea în centrul explicațiilor sistemice, constructiviștii postulează identitatea ca bază pentru interese, respectiv pentru construcția sistemului internațional, în contrast cu abordările tradiționale ale relațiilor internaționale (realismul și liberalismul) care au fost incapabile să prevadă sfârșitul Războiului Rece sau să explice arhitectura ordinii internaționale post-Război Rece întrucât asumau centralitatea conceptului de interes.

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<sup>1</sup> *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe. The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities*,  
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Publications/HumanSecurityDoctrine.pdf>.

Asumarea identității ca și concept central al abordării constructiviste ne-a atras atenția asupra faptului că promovarea paradigmei securității umane se justifică discursiv pe baza ideii că toate viețile umane au aceeași valoare în virtutea faptului că aparținem cu toții umanității, spre deosebire de paradigma securității naționale care se bazează pe principiul privilegierii securității co-naționalilor. Din perspectivă liberală, singura identitate fundamentală pe care o avem derivă din apartenența comună la rasa umană. Putem avea, din întâmplare sau din liberă alegere, o serie de alte identități, dar acestea sunt esențialmente secundare. Faptul că acestea sunt secundare nu înseamnă că nu sunt importante. În anumite circumstanțe identitățile secundare pot deveni foarte importante și este de înțeles că politicile trebuie să reflecte acest aspect atâta timp cât identitatea primară, aceea de a fi oameni, nu este compromisă ca urmare a acelor politici.<sup>2</sup>

Lucrarea este structurată în cinci capitole, la care se adaugă partea introductivă, considerațiile finale și bibliografia consultată.

Primul capitol este o prezentare generală a abordării constructiviste, evidențiindu-se faptul că este vorba despre o “paradigmă a paradigmelor” pentru domeniul științelor sociale în care disciplina relațiilor internaționale se încadrează, nefiind o abordare similară celorlalte curente din relațiile internaționale specifice disciplinei (realismul, neorealismul, idealismul, liberalismul, etc). Constructivismul trebuie înțeles ca ontologie, epistemologie și metodologie. Am evidențiat temele constructiviste caracteristice relațiilor internaționale, relația acestei abordări cu raționalismul și, în final, dat fiind faptul că tema are în vedere problematica securității umane, câteva aspecte legate de studiile de securitate constructiviste.

Cel de-al doilea capitol, dedicat conceptului de identitate și problematicii identitare în diversele studii constructiviste, își propune să releve faptul că acest concept este unul esențialmente contestat, greu de circumscris, fiind utilizat de diverși autori în moduri distincte, ceea ce face dificilă operarea cu această noțiune. După cum observă și Maja Zehfuss, identitatea este conceptul central în susținerea argumentului sistemic elaborat de Alexander Wendt în

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<sup>2</sup> BROWN, Chris, ‘Borders and Identity in International Political Theory’, în ALBERT, Mathias, David JACOBSON and Yosef LAPID (eds.) *Identities, Orders, Borders. Rethinking International Relations Theory*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, London, 2001, p.128.

*Teoria Socială a Politicii Internaționale*<sup>3</sup>, dar semnificația noțiunii de identitate este mai problematică decât pare la început pentru că autorul nu oferă o prezentare satisfăcătoare a acesteia, tocmai acest lucru putând să-i submineze construcția<sup>4</sup> ('identitatea identității'<sup>5</sup> este circumscrisă celei statale, astfel că se crează o situație de incompatibilitate pentru că identitatea este în același timp dată, dar și construită).

Data fiind marea varietate a conceptualizărilor și semnificațiilor conferite identității am considerat util să ilustrăm în acest capitol teoriile privind sistemul internațional formulate de Alexander Wendt și Rodney Bruce Hall, autori care apelează la conceptul de identitate, respectiv de identitate colectivă, în susținerea argumentului sistemic, precum și modul în care diverși autori constructiviști au apelat la conceptul de identitate în studiile pe care le-au făcut.

Apreciem că soluția pe care Charlotte Epstein<sup>6</sup> o propune în conceptualizarea identității este valoroasă și utilă pentru studiul relațiilor internaționale, și anume abordarea discursivă și înlocuirea termenului de identitate cu cel de identificare.

În capitolul al treilea este discutat conceptul de securitate umană, importanța contextului internațional pentru evidențierea acestuia în studiile de securitate, în disciplina relațiilor internaționale, precum și prezența în discursul politic (dincolo de terminologie, conceptul nu este de dată recentă, având o istorie lungă). Am insistat asupra problematicei definirii securității umane, asupra dificultăților inerente care apar în evaluarea amenințărilor la adresa securității umane și, în mod deosebit, asupra problemei violenței structurale.

Capitolul patru se referă la relația dintre identitatea națională, securitatea stato-centrică și securitatea umană, marcată de o tensiune fundamentală, arătând faptul că, din perspectiva constructivistă a interpretării

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<sup>3</sup> WENDT, Alexander, *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

<sup>4</sup> ZEHFUSS, Maja, 'Constructivism and identity: a dangerous liaison', GUZZINI, Stefano, and LEANDER, Anna, *Constructivism and International Relations. Wendt and his Critics*, Routledge, London and New York, 2006, pp. 92 – 117.

<sup>5</sup> Sintagmă folosită de ZEHFUSS, Maja în *Constructivism in International Relations. The Politics of Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

<sup>6</sup> EPSTEIN, Charlotte, 'Who speaks? Discourse, the subject and the study of identity in international politics' *European Journal of International Relations*, 17(2), 2011, pp. 327-350.

cauzelor anumitor riscuri și amenințări de securitate, sistemul statelor naționale reprezintă o cauză constitutivă în generarea de situații de insecuritate umană.

În ultimul capitol am evaluat care sunt implicațiile promovării conceptului de securitate umană la nivel internațional în funcție de scopurile teoretice și practice deservite de paradigma securității umane, în înțelesul restrâns al acesteia, precum și din perspectiva efectelor sistemice pe care le poate genera identificarea cu umanitatea.

Constructiviștii radicali, adepți ai ideilor până la capăt, îl critică pe Alexander Wendt pentru că alege să considere tema statului și explicațiile comportamentului acestuia o problemă ontologică, nu una epistemologică. Suntem de acord cu ei, pentru că în loc să afirme fără îndoială că statul este real, constructiviștii radicali insistă că prima preocupare a analiștilor constructiviști ar trebui să fie aceea de a ridica întrebări privind modul în care oamenii se cunosc pe ei înșiși, precum și felul în care acționează conform acestor idei sau conceptualizări. Cuvintele, ca acte discursive care crează cunoaștere și acțiuni umane legate de reguli, sunt considerate a fi mai edificatoare decât identitățile statale stipulate de Alexander Wendt. A înțelege modul în care oamenii se cunosc pe ei înșiși și creează condițiile sociale pentru ei și pentru alți actori, precum statele, e probabil prima mișcare potrivită în analizarea fenomenelor politice și, în mod specific, în explorarea aspectelor de securitate.<sup>7</sup>

În aceeași linie, lucrarea se încheie cu unele concluzii care susțin că paradigma securității umane, interpretată prin lentila constructivistă, scoate în evidență faptul că o parte însemnată a cauzelor insecurității umane are legătură cu construcția identităților. Privilegierea identității naționale în organizarea politică mondială, concomitent cu defavorizarea identității umane, reprezintă o cauză constitutivă a insecurității umane, iar o strategie eficace de promovare a securității umane ar trebui să vizeze inversarea ierarhiei identitare, și anume plasarea identității umane pe cel mai înalt loc în organizarea politicii mondiale. Prin promovarea conceptului de securitate umană se promovează, implicit, discursul auto-identificării indivizilor cu

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<sup>7</sup> KOŁODZIEJ, Edward, *Securitatea și relațiile internaționale*, Iași, Polirom, 2007, pp. 322 – 323.

umanitatea, ceea ce presupune, conform teoriei sistemice a Rodney Bruce Hall (prezentată în al doilea capitol al lucrării), o schimbare epocală a sistemului internațional. Chiar dacă conceptul securității umane, în abordarea minimalistă a acestuia, legitimează 'intervenții umanitare' care pot servi tot interese particulare (realiste), efectele argumentului etic care susține paradigma securității umane, în varianta extinsă a conceptului, se vor manifesta din ce în ce mai pregnant. Din perspectivă constructivistă, legitimarea unor acțiuni prin apelul la valorile morale, la identitatea umană, va avea implicații sistemice majore, cu atât mai mult cu cât cauzele structurale ale insecurității umane vor fi puse în evidență.

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## **E. Surse electronice:**

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