



# **A Decade of Human Security**

## **Global Governance and New Multilateralisms**

*Edited by*

**Sandra J. MacLean, David R. Black**

*and*

**Timothy M. Shaw**

# A DECADE OF HUMAN SECURITY

# Global Security in a Changing World

Series Editor: *Dr Nana K. Poku, John Ferguson Professor,  
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Globalisation is changing the world dramatically, and a very public debate is taking place about the form, extent and significance of these changes. At the centre of this debate lie conflicting claims about the forces and processes shaping security. As a result, notions of inequality, poverty and the cultural realm of identity politics have all surfaced along side terrorism, environmental changes and bio-medical weapons as essential features of the contemporary global political landscape. In this sense, the debate on globalisation calls for a fundamental shift from a status quo political reality to one that dislodges states as the primary referent, and instead sees states as a means and not the end to various security issues, ranging from individual security to international terrorism. More importantly, centred at the cognitive stage of thought, it is also a move towards conceiving the concept of insecurity in terms of change.

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# A Decade of Human Security

Global Governance and New Multilateralisms

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August 2006

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# List of Abbreviations

AAI	Accelerated Access Initiative
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AI	Amnesty International
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
APF	African Peace Facility
ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative
ART	Anti-retroviral Treatment
ARV	Anti-retroviral
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development
BRICSAM	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, ASEAN and Mexico
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBR	Centre for Basic Research
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIP	International Potato Center
COMPITCH	Council of Indigenous Traditional Midwives and Healers of Chiapas
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CPPIB	Canadian Pension Plan Investment Board
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CT	Critical Theory
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDI	Diamond Development Initiative
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Rehabilitation
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
DFI	Direct Foreign Investment
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
DRC	Dispute Resolution Corporation
EAC	East African Community
ECOMOG	West African Peacekeeping Force
ECOSUR	El Colegio del Frontera Sur
EDA	Excess Defence Articles
EDC	Export Development Canada

EDF	European Development Fund
EIA	Energy Information Administration
EITI	Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative
EU	European Union
EUPOL	European Union Police Support Mission
EUSEC	European Union Security Sector Reform Mission
FAC	Foreign Affairs Canada
FADH	Haitian Armed Forces
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDLR	Forces Democratiques de Liberation du Rwanda
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLR	Great Lakes Region (Africa)
GMO	Genetically Modified Organism
GNI	Gross National Income
GNPOC	Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company
GoC	Government of Canada
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HLP	High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change
HNP	Haitian National Police
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSN	Human Security Network
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IBSA	India, Brazil and South Africa
ICBG	International Cooperative Biodiversity Group
ICBL	International Campaign to Ban Landmines
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICCAF	Inter-Church Coalition of Africa
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICHRP	International Council on Human Rights Policy
IDP	Internationally Displaced Person
IDRC	International Development Research Center (Canada)
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organization
IO	International Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPE	International Political Economy
IPR	International Property Right

IPS	International Policy Statement
IR	International Relations
IT	International Technology
KPCS	Kimberley Process Certification Scheme
LICUS	Low-Income Countries under Stress
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
MISR	Makerere Institute for Social Research
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
MUST	Mbarara University of Science and Technology
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Association
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCP	National Congress Party
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NIC	Newly Industrialising Country
NIF	National Islamic Front
NRM	National Resistance Movement
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSSREA	Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa
PAC	Partnership Africa Canada
PCD	Peace, Conflict and Development
PCO	Privy Council Office
PE	Political Economy
PMCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
PMO	Office of the Prime Minister
POC	Protection of Civilians
POGG	Peace, Order and Good Government
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PS	Political Science
PSD	Private Sector Development
PST	Problem Solving Theory
PTSD	Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
RAFI	Rural Advancement Foundation International
RAWOO	Netherlands Development Research Assistance Council
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCF	Save the Children Fund

SEMA	Special Economics Measures Act
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
START	Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force
TCCR	Task Force on Churches and Corporate Social Responsibility
TRIPS	Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights
UDN	Uganda Development Network
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNCAR	United Nations Register of Conventional Arms
UNCC	United Nations Conference Center
UNDCP	United Nations International Drug Control Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIHP	United Nations Intellectual History Project
UNITA	National Union for Total Independence of Angola
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
UNU/WIDER	United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economic Research
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defence Force
WEF	World Economic Forum
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTO	World Trade Organization

PART I  
Human Security and ‘New’  
Multilateralisms

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## Chapter 1

# Introduction: A Decade of Human Security: What Prospects for Global Governance and New Multilateralisms?

Timothy M. Shaw, Sandra J. MacLean and David R. Black

### Introduction

This collection of original, edited chapters seeks to mark – as celebration as well as reflection and revisionism – a decade of ‘human security’ (Burgess and Owen 2004). It also explores the prospects for the human security agenda in the next decade, particularly with respect to the possibilities inherent in new multilateralisms as emergent forms of global governance.

The concept of human security was proposed and popularised in the first half of the 1990s, when some optimism remained that, in a ‘new world order’, a peace dividend was possible in which security defined as ‘freedom from want’ as well as ‘freedom from fear’<sup>1</sup> would be enhanced. A decade later, we know all too well that such post-bipolar optimism was misplaced; by the turn of the century, the world had become much more Hobbesian (Neack, forthcoming). Moreover, despite mounting evidence that links security with development, there is a tendency still in some centres to compartmentalise along traditional conceptual lines. Thus, for example, although the recent United Nations Commission on Human Security (UN 2003), chaired by Sadako Odaka and Amartya Sen, was very much in favor of a return to a broad formulation, the first, long-awaited edition of *The Human Security Report* in 2005<sup>2</sup> advanced a narrower perspective.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ are two of the four ‘freedoms’ – the other two being ‘freedom of speech’ and ‘freedom of worship’ designated as human entitlements by former US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in his inauguration speech, 6 January 1941. The first two of these freedoms were highlighted as conditions of human security in the UNDP’s *Human Development Report 1994*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Human Development Report* is supported by Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT); the Canadian International Development

The proliferation of states in the decade of the 1990s was accompanied by conflict in many areas of the world. But, just as the new states of the late-twentieth century were different from those of the earlier period of decolonisation in the two decades from the late-1940s to the end of the 1960s, so post-Cold War conflict was no longer just a nuclear standoff between two superpowers; it had become less interstate and more intrastate and/or regional in character (Kaldor 1999). Thus, humanitarian intervention and peacekeeping operations became much more complex and problematic, in part because they necessarily involved strategic alliances with nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), and in part because the antagonists were frequently gangs and/or private militias rather than standing national armies (Hoffman and Weiss 2006; Smillie and Minear 2004).

Partly in response to the proliferation of the 'new wars', 'new multilateralisms' emerged. These novel institutional complexes treated 'new' security challenges, incorporating non-state actors as well as states: myriad NGOs and think tanks from around the world. Thus, for example, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) came to include some 1400 partners. But, as this so-called 'Ottawa Process' evolved from advocacy to implementation, the balance between inter- and non-state actors shifted so that international (that is, essentially inter-state), law could be agreed and effected. NGOs remain engaged; however, now mainly as watch-dogs rather than advocates.

Meanwhile, the initial UNDP (1994, pp. 22–40) formulation of human security as 'freedom from want' – community, economic, environmental, food, health, personal and political securities – has been challenged by a narrower, 'freedom from fear' definition, which is more compatible with orthodox 'realist', state-centric perspectives on international relations (Paris 2001, 2004; Buzan 2004). Such differences are apparent in the character and orientation of alternative human security networks, even in Canada, which was an early and strong proponent of the original concept (see Black, MacLean G. and Smith in this volume). The memorable pre-9/11 'Axworthy era'<sup>3</sup> in Canadian foreign policy was marked by a persistent (if arguably fleeting), quest to advance human security (McRae and Hubert 2001; Smith, this volume; see also MacFarlane, *et al.* 2004), even if the Chrétien government as a whole was rather skeptical. Thus, while the Ottawa Process to ban landmines is widely considered to be an Axworthy/Canadian success for the human security agenda, other issues did not fare as well. For instance, the well-informed and -intentioned 'Harker Report' on the lack of human security in the Sudan – the syndrome of Canadian investments

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Agency (CIDA); the UK Department for International Development (DFID); the Norwegian Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Rockefeller Foundation; the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA); the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. It is prepared at the Human Security Centre, Liu Institute for Global Issues, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Volume I of the 2005 Report was published by Oxford University Press in the summer of 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Lloyd Axworthy was Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade at the time; he has been credited with spearheading the Canadian government's support for the concept of human security.

in the new oil industry/pipeline contributing to internal displacement and slavery – was essentially sidelined (Harker 2002; see also Blackwood, this volume). Not much has changed since; if Canada reneged on its obligation to act a decade ago, today's Darfour is a further awful consequence of denial of the full implications of the 'responsibility to protect' on the part of Canada and the rest of the international community (Macfarlane, *et al.* 2004; Matthews 2005; Nossal 2005).

The twenty-first century has not started peacefully, but, regrettably, most students of international relations/organisations have yet to comprehend, let alone explain, the dynamics of contemporary conflict, much less address the root causes. The theme of this project is that established, traditional, state-centric approaches to 'international relations' have to be transcended in a 'post-globalisation' era characterised by a set of 'new' global issues and by a range of non-state actors who are increasingly influential, even authoritative. Such a 'paradigm shift' presents particular analytic and policy challenges, but also opportunities, for Canada and other like-minded, erstwhile 'middle powers', with relevance to their state and non-state – civil society and corporate – actors alike.

### **The New Collective Insecurity**

The world polity now includes some 200 states, but between a quarter to a third of these actually control very little.<sup>4</sup> Instead, their erstwhile national territory is the site of mafias and militias with their own transnational networks for drugs, forced migration, guns, money, etc. Thus, increasingly, conflict is intra- or trans-national rather than inter-state – a critical change not adequately recognised or recorded by orthodox conflict data sets (Lemke 2003).

As the editor of the leading US journal *Foreign Policy* recently cautioned (Naim 2003: 29):

The illegal trade in drugs, arms, intellectual property, people and money is booming. Like the war on terrorism, the fight to control these illicit markets pits governments against agile, stateless and resourceful networks empowered by globalisation.

The power of such global mafias to coerce and corrupt is growing, exacerbated by the facilities of globalisation, with profound implications for local to global security and development. The heady mixture of drugs, gangs and globalisation – let alone fundamentalisms and terrorisms – presents profound challenges to notions of cosmopolitanism, global governance and human development/rights/security.

Remarkably and regrettably, such a volatile threat to world order is only just beginning to be recognised in interrelated academic and policy worlds as indicated by such scholars as Duffield (2001) and Reno (1999), on the one hand, and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) (2005a and b), and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (2002),

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<sup>4</sup> DFID (2005a) counts 46 of these as 'fragile states'.

on the other. Around the turn of the century, but somewhat diverted by 9/11, creative analysts concerned about development in both academic and donor worlds began to realise that the difficulties presented by the 1990s were structural rather than coincidental. Such realisations were reflected particularly in the so-called ‘political economy of conflict’ or ‘greed and/or grievance’ approach (for example, see Collier and Hoeffler 2001). As is acknowledged in several of the chapters in this volume, the academic and policymaker worlds increasingly come together in debates over conflict/security and development, with profound implications for the definitions of, and policies and practices around, peace-making and -building. As Duffield (2001, p. 7) suggests:

The focus of the new security concerns is not the threat of traditional interstate wars but the fear of underdevelopment as a source of conflict, criminalized activity and international instability.

And as the recent DFID (2005a, p. 5), report on ‘fragile states’ indicates:

Fragile states contain 14 per cent of the world’s population but account for nearly 30 per cent of people living on less than \$1 a day ... Fragile states cannot or will not deliver what citizens need to live decent, secure lives ... they significantly reduce the likelihood of the world meeting the MDGs [Millennium Development Goals] by 2015 ...

Such states are more likely to become unstable, to destabilise their neighbours, to create refugee flows, to spread disease and to be bases for terrorists.

Aside from the now-established ‘political economy of conflict’<sup>5</sup> discourse, the donor community has come to characterise the burgeoning conflict and development connection in terms of ‘difficult environments’ (DFID), ‘difficult partnerships’ (OECD), ‘investing in prevention/stability’ (UK 2005), ‘low-income countries under stress’ (IBRD), or ‘weak states’ (Center for Global Development). In the case of the UK, this has led to a major policy initiative on ‘security and development’ (DFID 2005b), and the creation of a tri-ministry Post-Conflict Reconstruction Unit. Similarly, the Canadian government’s 2005 *International Policy Statement* announced plans for a Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) to anchor inter-departmental collaboration on crisis responses. And the European Union (EU) continues to ponder the extent to which its collective foreign policy should be compatible with a broad or narrow human security orientation (Kaldor and Glasius 2005; see also Keane, this volume).

Such emerging concerns are well-reflected in contemporary Commissions such as the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS 2001), or Panels such as the UN High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Changes (UN

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<sup>5</sup> This term often refers narrowly to the thesis, often associated with Paul Collier (for example, see Collier 2003; Collier and Hoeffler 2001; see also Berdal and Malone, 2000) that economic competition is the major source of the new wars (that is, greed, not grievance, is the predominant motivator for starting war).

2004). The former, crafted before but presented after 9/11, tried to learn lessons from conflict and 'humanitarian intervention' in the 1990s to articulate a trio of catalysts to act: responsibility to prevent, react and rebuild (ICISS 2001, p. xi):

Where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it, the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect.

The latter's report, 'A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility' (UN 2005, p. 11), argued that:

The threats are from non-State actors as well as States, and to human security as well as State security;

The central challenge for the twenty-first century is to fashion a new and broader understanding ... of what collective security means ...;

In describing how to meet the challenge of prevention, we begin with development because it is the indispensable foundation for a collective security system that takes prevention seriously.

Amongst the half-dozen clusters of threats identified by the High-level Panel were (UN 2004, p. 12):

Economic and social threats, including poverty, infectious diseases and environmental degradation ... internal conflict, including civil war, genocide and other large-scale atrocities ... transnational and organized crime.

In response to the High-level Panel, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called for freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity:

The Secretary-General fully embraces a broad vision of collective security. The threats to peace and security in the twenty-first century include not just international wars...but... organized crime and civil violence. They also include poverty, deadly infections disease and environmental degradation ... Collective security today depends on accepting that the threats each region of the world perceives as most urgent are in fact equally so for all (UN 2005, p. 3).

Undeniably, then, challenges to the definition and sustainability of 'global governance' proliferate, from 'weak', 'fragile' or 'failing' states to global warming, now reinforced by the awful end-year 2004 *tsunami* that swept across the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, 'foreign policy' is no longer the prerogative of states alone, if it ever was so; increasingly myriad non-state actors, from global companies to international NGOs, make rules and form regimes.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Such global to national and regional insights informed the policy debate around the role of Britain as host of the mid-2005 G8 summit at Gleneagles and assumption of the Presidency of the EU for the second half of 2005.

## **New Multilateralisms**

Novel 'multilateralisms' are more imperative than ever, but the retreat to unilateralism led by the US administration threatens to undermine even tenuous progress towards sustainable global regimes through, for example, Montreal, Ottawa and Kimberley 'Processes' over ozone-depletion, landmines and 'conflict' diamonds, respectively. In short, human development and security are more endangered than ever despite collective advocacy of, among others, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), UN Global Partnership and/or corporate codes of conduct.

Aside from the supposedly 'national security' dimensions arising from the 'war on terrorism', as indicated above in ICISS and UN documents, instability increasingly arises from myriad threats to human security because of the knock-on effects of deficits in human development. The original UNDP (1994: 34) formulation – 'global challenges to human security arise because threats within countries rapidly spill beyond national frontiers' – looks increasingly prescient, as problems such as economic disparities, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, international terrorism and migration pressures create ever-increasing threats to security (UNDP 1994, pp. 34–37).

In myriad ways, nations are continually sacrificing or sharing their 'sovereignty'. This arises through numerous multilateral associations or networks which impact joint policies on issues such as finance, mobility, security, trade: the established 'international organisation/law' or 'global governance' syndrome manifested through present in organisations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and especially the European Union (EU) and the North America Free Trade Association (NAFTA).

One especially salient, yet not so far sufficiently recognised, dimension is the illegal flow of peoples across international borders leading to large numbers of residents – often quite essential workers – without legal standing (for example, there are some 10 million in the US alone). Yet states seem to be unable (and sometimes unwilling) to control entry. Why are they accepting this loss of sovereignty by relinquishing control (*de facto* if not *de jure*) over who lives in their territory?

A variety of approaches have been proposed to regulate if not reverse this seemingly uncontrollable flow, ranging from the Australian policy of mandatory detention of those arriving by boat as asylum seekers to calls in the US for a 'points credit' process which would be applied to the 10 million illegals, providing residency status to those who qualified according to tests resembling those presently applied in the formal Canadian immigration proforma entry system.

There is no doubt that the growing mobility of those seeking work internationally by legal as well as illegal means presents a new challenge to foreign policy in OECD countries and beyond and, like other new security threats, requires attention.

The range and ranking of 'new' security issues varies between regions and over time, but the following cannot be overlooked anywhere: genocide, global warming, landmines, mafias, migrations, militias, resource wars (especially over energy, land and water), small arms, transnational organised crime, vulnerable islands, and

global diseases. And if the world's two most populated countries – China and India – continue to allow population practices which discriminate against female babies, then the future Asia in which Canada is partially located as a participant in organisations such as APEC will face a new set of unprecedented security challenges.

To date, there has been too little analysis of and attention to the sources or catalysts of such novel global issues – typically deriving from the articulation of NGOs and think tanks rather than state or inter-state institutions – such as those mobilised around conflict diamonds and landmines. There has also been too little attention to and explanation of why some issues receive positive attention – as in the 'new' multilateralist Montreal, Ottawa and Kimberley Processes, each involving extensive mixed-actor coalitions – while others languish, such as child labor/soldiers and small arms. Moreover, such issues typically involve a broad range of large to small, state and non-state actors and evolve into more/less state forms over time.

Don Hubert (2000, p. xviii), has provided one of the few comparative analyses of more and less successful humanitarian coalitions. He contrasts the Ottawa Process on landmines with parallel and no less compelling campaigns on child soldiers, the ICC and small arms which together suggest:

that a model for humanitarian advocacy is emerging with three broad dimensions. They are the pursuit of stringent standards with widespread but not necessarily universal support; political coalition building among NGOs, states, and international organizations; and negotiating environments that allow for voting rather than consensus decision-making, access for NGOs and the selection of a supportive chairperson.

So research into the origins of 'security and development' requires attention to the genesis and novel 'public diplomacy' of coalitions such as the Nobel Prize-winning International Campaign to Ban Landmines ([www.icbl.org](http://www.icbl.org)), or roles of micro-NGOs like Global Witness and Partnership Africa Canada in getting the Kimberley Process started and ensuring its success. Interestingly, the Diana Fund ([www.theworkcontinues.org](http://www.theworkcontinues.org)) now supports Ottawa and Kimberley Processes along with parallel work on treatments for HIV/AIDS. Also, the extensive network of British Overseas NGOs for Development (BOND) ([www.bond.org.uk](http://www.bond.org.uk)) has been very active in negotiations about UK and EU policy on security and development. Peacemaking already involves strategic alliances between men in uniform or blue helmets and NGOs; though often fraught, these are likely to continue to develop in the future given new threats and responses.

This volume seeks to juxtapose recent literature on these new multilateralisms with the emerging and relatively focused new 'security and development' genre (*Conflict, Security and Development* 2004), as well as with more established and comprehensive global governance and earlier international organisation/law perspectives. Thus it builds on the recent work of such scholars as Robert Cox (1987), Michael Edwards (2002; 2004), Don Hubert (2000, 2004), Mary Kaldor (1999, 2004), Craig Murphy (2004; 2005), Robert O'Brien *et al.* (2000), O'Brien and Williams (2004), Jean-Philippe Thérien (2005), Tom Weiss (2000, 2001, 2004, 2005) and Simon Zadek (2001). The project also takes into account recent policy developments, such as the

2005 DFID (2005b) policy strategy for security and development that prioritises the regional level to advance poverty reduction and reduce insecurity with interesting implications for the analysis and practice of human security. Finally, the project draws insights from such recent advances in analysis and policy for application to specific cases. It draws out lessons from the experiences of Canadian state and non-state actors, certainly for relating to the human security agenda in that country, but with implications as well for other jurisdictions globally. It also addresses issues of operationalising the human security agenda in several fragile states, particularly in Africa, with comparisons of cases from Latin America.

### **Structure of the Book**

The book is organised in five parts. Part I contains four chapters that consider both theoretical questions and implementation problems that arise from a shift to a 'human security' agenda. Chapter 2 by Ian Smillie explores four dimensions of human security with which scholars and practitioners are grappling, thereby 'setting the stage' for the remainder of the volume. The first of these is *innovations*; that is, what is new about human security and what can be discerned from actual situations to show how (or if) the concept of human security is being operationalised? The second dimension is *responsibility*: who has a responsibility to respond to issues of insecurity, and what constitutes responsible actions? The third concern is *perception*: how do views on human security differ and whose opinion counts? Finally, regarding *reality*, Smillie explores to what extent the views of the protectors/interveners coincide with the lived experiences of the recipients of security interventions.

He discusses these dimensions in the context of post-conflict Sierra Leone.<sup>7</sup> With respect to innovations, he argues that several can be identified in this case: in the area of *peacekeeping*, both the use of regional forces (ECOMOG) and the retaliatory military actions of a British contingent of UN forces are novel responses to 'new' war conditions; in *peacebuilding*, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation (DDR) programme, while not exactly new ideas, have been adapted, although not particularly effectively in Smillie's view, to the Sierra Leonean situation; and in *prevention*, for Sierra Leone and many other war-torn countries, one of the most important recent developments has occurred with the emergence and continuing maturation of the Kimberley Process to stem the illegal trade in diamonds that fuels wars.

However, the positive results achieved or anticipated from innovations are tempered, Smillie argues, by strategic players renegeing on their 'responsibility' to ensure that the innovation in question works in the interests of human security.

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<sup>7</sup> These 'innovations' have particular relevance for, and are discussed by Smillie in reference to, Sierra Leone, but they are not specific to this country. Each of these issues of peace-making/-keeping/-building have implications for, and are informed by, situations in other conflicted African countries, and, indeed, various other 'new war' situations around the world.

Given growing support in the international system for the innovative ‘responsibility to protect’ doctrine, Smillie cautions that it is critical to draw on lessons learned in situations such as Sierra Leone, and especially to recognise when initiatives such as the DDR program may create as many or more problems than it solves. One of the reasons for program failure is that ‘perceptions’ and ‘realities’ are not always consistent, and the perceptions of outsiders as to what constitutes security and insecurity are not always the same as the perceptions of those inside a situation. In post-conflict Sierra Leone, for example, interviews with local people indicated that the predominant fears were about unemployment, food insecurity, gender-based violence, and local crime (that is, mainly ‘freedom from want’ issues). International agencies, however, tend to focus on military issues (‘freedom from fear’ issues such as DDR; civil military relations), often overlooking the full ‘reality’ of insecurity. For Smillie, human security is defined, not in foreign policy circles, or only by ‘old’ multilateral mechanisms, but by innovative ‘new’ multilateralisms that involve the partnering of state and non-state actors, and by defining the problem in terms of the actual lives of ordinary people. Ultimately, this means that human security is understood in broad, interactive terms; for Smillie, ‘genuine human security can only come from a consistent approach to human rights and justice’.

Antonio Franceschet, in the third chapter, sees the possibility of such consistency emerging within international law. Starting from the premise that ‘human security is made intelligible by the politics of applying law and legalism to global politics’, Franceschet argues that human security is not as vague or difficult to implement as some (for example, Paris 2001; Khong 2001) have insisted, but instead ‘... has been applied and implemented ... primarily through legalistic initiatives’. While ‘human security’ can be used as a rationale to reinforce the international structures of power, and while international law is frequently subverted by dominant states’ interests (as, arguably, in the case of Kosovo), there have also been significant recent advances, both legally and normatively, that enhance the prospects for human security. Franceschet lists the implementation of the ICC, the Ottawa Treaty, the Kimberley Process, and on-going negotiations on small arms and child soldiers as important examples. However, while like Smillie he sees possibilities for enhancing human security in these recent innovations, he – again echoing Smillie – sees responsibility lacking among the dominant players in the system. Franceschet’s concern is with Western actors’ unwillingness to address seriously the issues of global inequality and inequity, even though these conditions both create insecurity (defined as welfare insufficiency) and contribute to conflict-related insecurity. Franceschet’s optimism, despite this, rests in the normative potential of the human security concept. The international legal framework is established through a dynamic political process, he argues, and in the spaces thus created, challenges to orthodoxies and dominant powers can be mounted to promote new concepts and mechanisms for improved human security.

Rory Keane shares some of the optimism expressed by Franceschet with regard to human security’s increasing influence in/on international relations. In the fourth chapter he argues that, in the construction of the European Union’s (EU’s) current

foreign policy, human security norms are now competing with or supplementing traditional national interest concerns. Based on an examination of the EU's policy toward Africa, Keane argues that these mixed motives may create some difficulty in establishing policies based upon a 'Responsibility to Protect' rationale that will be in the best interests of Africa and of human security on that continent. On the other hand, evidence of a 'broader approach' to EU foreign policy in Africa, as reflected in the creation of the new African Peace Facility (APF), 'may point to a more mature and constructive way of interpreting global responsibility to protect' – that is, in a manner consistent with Smillie's appeal to place at the forefront the interests and perceptions of the recipients of 'protection'.

Part I is largely about the potential of human security, both as a way of conceptualising new and/or more complex threats to safety and welfare in a globalising world and as a possible, albeit not unproblematic, framework of action for dealing with these challenges within a changing multilateral system. The second Part examines these ideas within the Canadian context, a useful focus given that Canada has been a strong supporter traditionally of multilateralism, and is now wrestling with the changes occurring in the shift to new multilateralisms. Moreover, Canada was a leading proponent internationally of the idea of human security following the publication of the *1994 Human Development Report*. Yet, despite its role in championing the agenda and its position as a leading player in many of the recent human security 'successes' (Ottawa Process, R2P, ICC), many scholars who have examined Canada's human security agenda have found it ambiguous at best and seriously limited at worst.

David Black is situated in the former camp, and in Chapter 5, he explains the apparent ambiguities in terms of the need for policymakers to balance their ability to provide practical support for new, and often controversial, 'human security' initiatives with the need to be cognisant of both the limited resources at their disposal and the traditional concerns of national self-interest. Canada's support for human security, argues Black, is essentially a 'statist objective' – an effort to 'brand' Canada with an image of 'enlightened cosmopolitanism' – and not ultimately a commitment to a fundamental change in security policy to be achieved 'through robust and determined collective (multilateral) action'. Moreover, critics of Canada's foreign policy, especially from the academic community, have not been particularly helpful in solving these tensions, since they are as divided on the question of operationalising human security as are the policymakers. Yet, despite this, Black argues that the concept of human security has made an important contribution in highlighting how taken-for-granted assumptions about the nature of the policy environment ('problem solving' theory) are challenged by changing political forces and orders ('critical theory').<sup>8</sup> Critical analyses of human security have opened an important dialogic space in which normative objectives for the greater safety and well-being of the world's people can be examined and promoted. Thus, a new convergence of theory

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<sup>8</sup> Black's analysis draws upon Robert Cox's (1987) Gramscian critical theory approach and his distinction between 'problem solving' and 'critical' theory.

and practice in Canadian foreign policy may yet emerge that is cognisant of, and more relevant for, the new world order, alterations in the multilateral system, and the changing nature of (in)security.

In Chapter 6, George MacLean, arguing from a different analytical approach, nevertheless reaches similar conclusions. In his view, a traditional understanding of the factors that drive foreign policy adequately explains Canada's human security agenda. Moreover, while others write of the narrow interpretation or the ambiguities of the concept in the Canadian context, MacLean argues that the idea of human security is entirely consistent with Canada's historical emphasis on 'peace, order, and good government' (POGG). However, there is more involved than a simple rhetorical resituating of the fundamental Canadian values of POGG within the human security discourse; rather, security considerations – whether framed as human security or POGG – must take into consideration the changing global system in which the divisions between national and international/global, state and non-state, are no longer clearly distinct. Therefore, while Canada has traditionally been a strong supporter of multilateralism, it is now responding to the 'new' multilateralism that 'envelopes a more multivariate network of actors and global governance issues'. Therefore, while the underlying principles of human security can arguably be encompassed within Canada's traditional values, in practice, the new realities of a globalising world strongly influence reinterpretations of long-held principles.

In Chapter 7, Heather Smith by contrast argues that, although Canada was an early champion of human security, the concept no longer features prominently in Canadian foreign policy. Human security gained a high profile in Canada's foreign policy in the mid-1990s due to the efforts of Lloyd Axworthy who was Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, but with a change in that portfolio in 2000, and especially with a change in leadership of the governing Liberal Party in 2003, argues Smith, emphasis on, and even mention of, human security declined. Human security has been supplanted by national security, particularly in the interest of protecting the economy, but also because of heightened fear of terrorism. In Smith's view, Canada's response to the challenges of globalisation is less a commitment to new and innovative multilateralisms than a reversion to traditional national-interest strategies in an increasingly competitive and dangerous world. Moreover, with the election of a new Conservative federal government in early 2006, the trend that Smith has identified is likely to be reinforced.

Part III moves the discussion from the relationship between national interest and human security to an examination of how, and to what extent, the principles of human security are being operationalised in particular cases. In the three chapters that comprise this part, the focus is on cases where 'freedom from fear' is at stake; that is, each of these cases is concerned with human security as it relates to the traditional security issue of conflict. Chapter 8, by Elizabeth Blackwood, examines the Canadian government's actions on corporate social responsibility in response to the Harker (2000) 'Report on the Sudan'. Her analysis echoes some of the same concerns raised by authors in Part II regarding Canada's inconsistency between rhetoric and practice in human security. She argues that the Canadian government reneged on its

responsibility to promote corporate social responsibility and on its responsibility to protect vulnerable people when it adopted a 'constructive engagement' policy – as opposed to the use of sanctions – to discourage Talisman Energy's investment in the Sudanese oil industry (which according to the Harker Report was fueling human right and security violations). Specifically, Canada's desire (need?) to protect economic interests apparently discouraged it from adopting a robust, effective strategy to deal with a clear case of human insecurity. This, in Blackwood's view, provides evidence of conflicted and ambiguous decision-making, especially given the good intentions implied by the government's commissioning of the Harker Report. Yet, perhaps it was more a case of the government trying to have it both ways: that is, supporting its humanitarian 'brand' and the principles of POGG, but not going so far as to undermine the state's priority to protect Canadian investments.

While understanding the conflicted nature of foreign policy objectives from the donor's perspective is key to appraising the operationalisation of human security initiatives, it is only part of the equation. Conditions at the recipient end may also create difficulties in establishing coherent intervention policies. In Chapter 9, for instance, Timothy Shaw discusses the divided nature of Ugandan governance and development. While the economic momentum that has been established in the south of the country has earned Uganda a reputation as a developmentalist state, war and associated egregious human rights violations in the north are more reminiscent of conditions in so-called 'failed' or fragile' states. The 'two Ugandas' that Shaw describes underscores the relevance – indeed, necessity – for a new multilateral approach in supporting human security in that country. While external interventions in the South tend to be largely in the form of international financial institutions' (IFI) Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) under the HIPC (heavily indebted poor country) initiative, interventions in the North are more likely to take the form of second and third-tier diplomacies that attempt to bring the government to the peace table with the rebel Lord's Resistance Army. But these different forms of intervention cannot be separated, analytically or practically; they converge in, and complicate the proceedings of regional and national politics, such as in the operations of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) and/or Uganda's involvement in peace negotiations in Sudan and Congo. Moreover, civil societies are crucial elements, whether in maintaining the developmentalist momentum in the South, or in supplying information and personnel for peacemaking in the North. As Shaw argues, the case study of Uganda demonstrates the necessity to 'go beyond the state and formal economy' and to examine myriad links between these and non-state actors and informal economies. Moreover, recent experiences in the Great Lakes Regions (GLR) suggest that it is not possible to separate traditional from 'new' security concerns, nor can security be separated from development.

In Chapter 10 Robert Muggah and Keith Krause explore such security and development concerns in Haiti. Specifically, they compare the two UN missions to Haiti –UNMIH (1993–1995) and MINUSTAH (2003–2005) in order to discern whether there were differences between the two missions which indicate that human security objectives had developed, both discursively and operationally over

time. Their conclusions are that, while human security had indeed become more established in the second UN missions' discourse, and greater policy emphasis had been placed on civilians' security, successes were limited. For instance, they argue that the DDR programme '... officially launched in late 2004 has, to date, generated few positive outcomes'. Like most of the other contributors to this volume, Muggah and Krause conclude with a 'cautionary note', but not 'an indictment of the human security framework'. Indeed, they argue that this 'framework is a *necessary*, [but] not a *sufficient* condition for the achievement of improved safety and security on the ground'. They argue, as do several of the other contributors, that it is the conditions in which people live that will ultimately determine the success or failure of the human security agenda; whether the concept is consistently and coherently articulated in the foreign policy documents of states or international organisations will be decided finally in practice rather than in theoretical debates.

In the chapters of Part IV, the analytical lens is broadened to explore non-traditional, 'freedom from want' agenda items. While many scholars have been skeptical of the 'value added' in so broadening the agenda, several of the contributors to this volume draw links between security and development, either explicitly or implicitly, and argue that the concept of human security is most meaningful when the interconnectedness of human welfare and safety – that is, the holistic nature of human security – is recognised. In Chapter 11, Catherine Schittecatte addresses the issue directly, arguing that global economic changes and the dominant multilateral financial institutions are responsible for increasing levels of insecurity for many people in the world. She sees hope for a renewed impetus towards redistributive policy in the emergence of global civil society and the counter-hegemonic discourse and activities that its components are furthering: that is, in the formation of new and innovative bottom-up multilateralisms. These actions in support of human security, broadly defined, serve the purpose at the international/global level that David Black identifies at the national; that is, they point to the need for a 'critical theory' explanation of changing political forces and orders, thus challenging the policy directions of official actors that operate according to the assumptions of a 'problem-solving' orthodoxy.

In Chapter 12, Rebecca Tiessen focuses also on differing perceptions of global imperatives as well as on structural inequalities. In her analysis of the spread and treatment of HIV/AIDS in Africa, she argues that this disease should be considered an issue of security, both intrinsically, because of its direct threat to human life, and associatively, because of the other threats that the disease poses to human safety and wellbeing (the breakdown in family structures, loss of economic potential, military uses of HIV/AIDS, etc.). She argues that discourse analysis is an innovative method for understanding the varied perceptions of the disease among a range of stakeholders; moreover, gender analysis not only exposes an important demographic reality of the disease in Africa, but offers insights for local, national and multilateral actors on responsible methods for fighting the disease.

Chapter 13 by Colleen O'Manique is also concerned with HIV/AIDS, but she is unconvinced that situating this health issue in a human security context is useful.

Instead, she argues that the increasing securitisation of health, in general, and HIV/AIDS, in particular, is contributing to a decrease in appropriate support for the people on the ground that suffer from this disease. In other words, the securitisation of HIV/AIDS is an impediment to meeting the human security threshold (as established, for example, by Smillie and by Muggah and Krause) of improved conditions for ordinary people. O'Manique's critique targets the framing of HIV/AIDS as a security issue, especially by the United States (US) government. Yet, it is questionable whether the human security agenda is behind, or even a factor in this re-framing; global health issues are likely to have become 'securitised' in the current environment whether or not the concept of human security had entered the international discourse. In the end, O'Manique's argument that 'HIV/AIDS can be seen as part and parcel of a broader systemic and global crisis of social reproduction' is consistent with those who argue for the broader understanding of the concept of human security; that is, one that includes issues such as economy, health and environment.

Such a reconceptualisation will derive from careful research. The final part of the book is concerned, therefore, with the possibilities for innovation in conducting research on security, especially in terms of North-South collaboration. Both contributors to this part – one from a research institute in the North and the other from a Southern think-tank – argue that such collaboration is critical to enhancing human security. They also both note, however, that there are myriad problems associated with attempts to establish effective and equitable partnerships between Northern and Southern researchers. In Chapter 14, for instance, Pam Scholey from Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) writes that North-South research collaborations on peacebuilding are fraught with difficulty: from limited resources, time constraints, travel logistics and safety, to differences in researcher capacity and perspective (that is, Northern researchers tend often to be more concerned with theoretical/conceptual issues like 'human security', while Southern researchers are more inclined to address pragmatic/thematic concerns in their immediate environments). Taking responsibility to improve the divide (and thus diminish existing perception/reality gaps) will involve developing an 'ethos of solidarity' argues Scholey. This will require a shift in power and advantage from North to South through frequent, closer and more transparent interactions between researchers and mutual training sessions for specific projects. It will also require greater effort to reduce the theory-policy gap; that is, scholars need to be mindful of the policy relevance of their work (the 'problem-solving' aspect), while practitioners need to be more receptive to ideas and concepts that challenge or destabilise prevailing assumptions (the contribution of 'critical theory').

In Chapter 15 Alfred Nhema, Director of the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) reiterates, from a Southern perspective, many of the research difficulties listed by Scholey. Situating these problems within the debate on human security, Nhema argues that donor countries fail to address the root causes of conflict; that is, they overlook or ignore the connections between development and security and hence inadequately support peacebuilding initiatives. Research is fundamental to addressing the obvious gaps in

knowledge for successful peacebuilding and specifically, argues Nhema, there needs to be ‘mechanisms laid down for monitoring issues of human security in volatile regions’, and better coordination of strategies between regional and international institutions.

Institutions such as OSSREA and IDRC that are engaged in trying to find effective North-South and state-civil society collaborations perhaps best exemplify the promise of the concept of human security. Therefore, it is fitting that the last words from contributors to the book belong to their spokespersons. Their relevance relates in part to their normative objective to promote and enhance human security, but also, methodologically, they establish links with both state and non-state actors across national, regional and international boundaries, and thus are prime examples of the possibilities inherent in the ‘new multilateralisms’. Furthermore, based on their ‘on the ground’ experience, they are well-placed to understand fully human safety and welfare, and thus their conception of human security unequivocally juxtaposes security and development. Overall, their research and activities continually highlights the question, ‘Who is security for?’ which underscores the human security agenda. And, clearly, if the idea of human security is to be meaningful, the answer, without exception, is that the security referent is human beings. Yet, as several of the contributors recognise and our final ‘postscript’ acknowledges, realising the potential of the concept may be much less likely than many of us wish.

## Conclusion

This project attempts both to promote the ideal of human security and also to employ the concept as an analytical focus through which to explore current global changes that pose new threats to the safety and well-being of many – perhaps all – of the world’s people and in so doing challenge mainstream orthodoxies. We argue that the approach for such a project must be interdisciplinary, drawing on a variety of overlapping disciplines, debates and discourses in political science/international relations, international political economy, development and security studies, regionalisms and feminisms. Innovative analysis and policy, we believe, are required to advance human security in the present climate of uneven and unstable globalisation, regionalisms and state collapse and/or building.

Few students and practitioners of ‘international relations’, however, have yet recognised that, in a ‘new world’ of some 200 states, many regimes – probably between a quarter to a third – are poor and weak and cannot contain threats from rich and strong militias and mafias. Such ‘failing’ or ‘failed’ states are not aberrations, but rather continuing features of global inequalities. They are not limited to ‘Africa’ but are present in all regions, especially ‘new’ post-Soviet ones like Central Asia and Central Europe, and even the South Pacific.

Furthermore, scholars and policymakers alike have yet to conceive of an analytic framework which integrates or juxtaposes areas of conflict and developmental states, yet these are often close or even overlapping; for example, north and south in

Uganda; Singapore and some of the islands in the Indonesian archipelago; or Kenya and its neighbors, the trio of Somalias. If there are 'two' Ugandas or Africas, there may yet be two South Pacifics, but without effective management of the 'borders' between them.

Therefore, unless the affluent communities/countries become effectively 'gated', which is likely impossible given globalisations, new and sustainable forms of 'coexistence' have to be devised which would inevitably include increased redistribution and joint management of global goods or global commons, as indicated in the UN Secretary-General's report for the MDG summit in September 2005 (UN 2005).

While mainstream IR is increasingly unhelpful in explaining contemporary global or regional relations, orthodoxies persist; for instance, national interest continues to take precedence over human security in official foreign policies. Yet, as most of the contributors to this project have argued, a decade after human security was championed by the UNDP, this concept continues to resonate as an alternative framework within the international community, and to date, several innovative initiatives have been launched under its banner. Among the more positive developments, in this regard, is the emergence of new multilateralisms – whether state sponsored 'partnerships' with epistemic communities or more informal, 'bottom-up' processes originating in civil society to effect governance of particular areas of insecurity.

On balance, then, our examination of the past decade of human security indicates that the concept and the agenda are established, if not prominent, in the normative international relations framework. Moreover, the projections of most of the authors regarding the future prospects of the human security agenda are at least cautiously optimistic, although recent developments in the world, as outlined in the postscriptum, indicate that even cautious optimism is under challenge. While human security has undoubtedly provided a discursive space within which to consider alternative futures for international/global relations, traditional multilateralism is challenged by unilateral and/or polyilateral interests and initiatives undertaken through new multilateralisms remain largely in embryonic stage. Given the intensifying challenges, we believe that the agenda can only be furthered if human security is defined in terms of the interrelatedness of security and development; if it is operationalised through new multilateralisms that effectively bring together relevant state and non-state actors; and if more emphasis is placed on interdisciplinary research that includes the establishment of effective North-South research partnerships. Finally, and most importantly, we submit that human security must be operationalised responsibly, with close attention to 'lessons learned' and 'best practices' discovered by careful attention to the needs and voices of vulnerable people.

## Chapter 2

# Whose Security? Innovation and Responsibility, Perception and Reality

Ian Smillie

A version of this chapter was presented at the workshop at Simon Fraser University in February 2005 from which this volume emerged. Some of the other presenters at the workshop were dismissive of the concept of ‘responsibility’ which I had chosen as one of my themes. The so-called ‘responsibility to protect’ was singled out by one or two presenters as an especially paternalistic, Western construct.

The ‘responsibility to protect’ concept may be contentious, but the word ‘responsibility’ should not be. Governments, citizens, organisations and companies all have responsibilities. These may or may not be well defined, well understood, or adequately exercised, but they exist. This chapter examines how responsibility was understood by a variety of parties in relation to the decade-long war in Sierra Leone, and how innovation – positive and negative – was used to enhance or shirk responsibility.

What follows are two broad tales of responsibility and irresponsibility, and of innovation in a particular kind of governance. The first deals with a peacekeeping fiasco, and the second, which deals with ‘conflict’ or ‘blood diamonds’, is about the kinds of innovation and responsibility in human security that can be exercised by governments, the private sector and civil society – if they choose to do so.

Much of the chapter focuses on Sierra Leone, a country that I have known since I first went there as a CUSO teacher in 1967, and which I most recently visited in February 2005. I focus on Sierra Leone not just because of its war and conflict diamonds, but because Sierra Leone was one of those disgraceful cancers that we refer to in polite company as ‘forgotten emergencies’. There is no such thing as a forgotten emergency. Emergencies can be ignored, or disguised, or suppressed. But they cannot be ‘forgotten’. Sierra Leone’s ten-year tragedy, which caused half the population to be displaced – two and a half million people – which sent hundreds of thousands of people across borders to live for years in some of the most disgusting refugee camps on the planet, which killed upwards of 75,000 people and which destroyed the infrastructure, the livelihoods and the hopes of a generation, was only ‘remembered’ in 1999.

But the story begins well before 1999. The Revolutionary United Front (RUF), a rebel group led by a former army corporal named Foday Sankoh, began its war against the government of Sierra Leone in 1991. The RUF, armed and trained by Liberia's warlord and president-in-waiting, Charles Taylor, said it was fighting against corruption and dictatorship, of which there had certainly been plenty in Sierra Leone over the previous two decades. The problem with the RUF, however, was that it waged its war almost exclusively on civilians, attacking towns and villages first for food and supplies, and later to clear the alluvial diamond fields where they could dig for the resources they needed to pay for their weapons. They developed an especially effective terror technique: they chopped the hands, feet, ears and breasts off women, men and children, sending a clear message to anyone who might resist or hang back to face their advance.

The RUF had no ideology, no ethnic basis and no Cold War antecedents. It was a gangster army composed largely of thugs and drug-addled teenagers, many of them coerced into the effort through kidnapping and worse. Many were actually forced to kill members of their own families, after which they had nowhere to go but down.

By the end of 1998, the RUF was in the ascendant. ECOMOG, the Nigerian-led West African peacekeeping force, had mounted a largely ineffectual seven year attempt to solve the problem, and in that time it had suffered serious casualties. Something between 800 and 1200 Nigerian soldiers had lost their lives, and the effort was said to be costing Nigeria a million dollars a day. What it cost Sierra Leone will never be known, but there is no doubt that Nigerian troops on occasion conspired with the rebels, and that Nigerian officers became involved in the diamond trade, actually helping to finance the rebels they were there to defeat. Among Sierra Leoneans, the acronym ECOMOG stood for 'Every car or moveable object gone'.

In January 1999, the RUF attacked Freetown with a vengeance. They razed parts of the city as Nigerian soldiers fled, and for two weeks they searched for civil servants, politicians and civil society leaders, killing many of them on the spot. By the time ECOMOG beat them back, 6000 civilians lay dead, and two thousand children were missing. Nigeria said it had had enough. The newly elected civilian government in Lagos announced that it would pull its troops out of Sierra Leone within six months. This much-touted 'African solution to an African problem' was falling apart.

In fact ECOMOG itself was an innovation, one that Western governments hoped might relieve them of responsibility for dealing with Africa's wars. The UN – controlled by the five permanent members of the Security Council – had failed in Somalia; it had done little more than run away from Rwanda, and it was about to pull its peacekeepers out of Angola where there was no peace to be kept. Sierra Leone was thus caught between a big rock and a very hard place. The days of the lacklustre ECOMOG were numbered, but there seemed little prospect of a United Nations peacekeeping force to take their place. Faced with an impossible situation, Sierra Leone's elected President, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, bowed to growing international pressure to make a peace arrangement with the RUF. There could never be a military solution, he was told; the solution had to be political.

What then occurred must go down in the annals of international diplomacy as one of the most stunningly irresponsible and disgraceful episodes of all time. Jesse Jackson, 'Special Envoy for the President, and Secretary of State for the Promotion of Democracy in Africa', had already urged President Kabbah to 'reach out' to the RUF in order to make peace. Prominent members of the Congressional Black Caucus in the United States became involved. Many were close to Charles Taylor, and some were thought to be beneficiaries of his largesse. Under direct personal pressure from Jesse Jackson and American State Department officials, and with a rapidly dwindling military capacity to resist the RUF, Kabbah finally agreed to join Foday Sankoh for negotiations in Lomé, the capital of Togo. There, over a 45-day negotiating session, US officials and others helped to broker a peace deal. What resulted was a blanket amnesty for all RUF fighters. In addition, the RUF was given four ministerial posts in Kabbah's government, and vice presidential status was conferred on Foday Sankoh. As icing on the cake, he was also made head of a new commission to oversee the country's diamond resources.

There is a powerful scene in the film *Hotel Rwanda*, where the Nick Nolte character, loosely based on General Dallaire, tells the Don Cheadle character – the manager of the hotel in question – why the UN is abandoning Rwanda. 'It is because you are Africans,' he says, 'You aren't even niggers. You are just Africans.'

The Lomé agreement demonstrated that butchery paid off. Instead of being punished, the RUF was rewarded, and they were assisted in the process by the most powerful government on earth. At precisely the same moment that NATO was spending billions of dollars to save Kosovars from human rights abuse, and at precisely the same moment that the Security Council, the World Bank, the IMF and the UN were pressing for a halt to Indonesian atrocities in East Timor, much worse atrocities were being generously rewarded in Sierra Leone. Instead of going to prison, Foday Sankoh was made vice president. As a prize for eight years of diamond theft, he was put in charge of the country's entire mineral wealth. Assistant US Secretary of State, Susan Rice, bragged at the time that 'the US role in Sierra Leone ... has been instrumental. With hands-on efforts by the president's special envoy Jesse Jackson ... and many others, the United States brokered the cease-fire and helped steer Sierra Leone's rebels, the Kabbah government, and regional leaders to the negotiating table' (Lizza 2000, p. 27).

Within six months, this claim of responsibility would change to one of denial. In the middle of 2000, US State Department Spokesman, Philip Reeker, would say that 'The United States did not pressure anybody to sign this agreement ... We neither brokered the Lomé peace agreement nor leaned on President Kabbah to open talks with the insurgents ... It was not an agreement of ours' (Ibid. p. 22). Reeker had good reason for trying to distance the administration from responsibility for the Lomé agreement. Apart from its grotesque rewarding of criminality, it was destined to fail.

As part of the peace deal, the Security Council – as ill-informed about the true nature of the RUF as Jesse Jackson and Susan Rice – had at last agreed to send a peacekeeping force to replace the departing Nigerians. The first contingent began

to arrive at the end of 1999, and for a while, a fragile near-peace prevailed. During the first months of 2000, the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) gradually deployed into the countryside. But Sankoh, who had been given complete authority over Sierra Leone's diamonds, was not about to let any army but his own pitch their tents in the diamond fields. Nor had he allowed his fighters to hand in anything more than symbolic weaponry under the agreed disarmament program.

The clash came at the beginning of May 2000 when a force of 500 Kenyan and Zambian peacekeepers were stopped near the rebel-held town of Makeni. In a sudden test of willpower, eight peacekeepers lay dead, and five hundred were kidnapped, spirited away into the bush along with their vehicles and military hardware. Surprised as the soldiers may have been, the Security Council was even more so. The first test of UN resolve after its pullout from Angola looked like it might be the last. As diplomats evacuated Freetown amidst rumours of a final RUF push, the world's media began to ask who was responsible for the mess. They asked why UNAMSIL was comprised only of troops from developing countries. Why had they arrived so ill-equipped? Why had they not fought back when confronted? Why were there no troops from countries more practised in the art of war? The answers were self-evident. They were the same answers to the questions asked a year earlier when Kosovo and East Timor were getting so much attention and Sierra Leone none: nobody cared. Sierra Leone was of absolutely no strategic interest to anyone except Charles Taylor, the RUF and the diamond industry. Uganda's foreign affairs minister, more polite than Hollywood scriptwriters, said it clearly enough: 'When it is Kosovo, you are there in one minute and you spend billions... When it is Africa there are all sorts of excuses' (Perlez 2000, p. 3).

The peacekeeping 'innovations' in Sierra Leone were largely innovations designed by members of the Security Council who wanted to avoid taking any kind of direct responsibility. They included:

- ∞ an incompetent and endlessly prolonged West African peacekeeping force draped in the slogan heard today in Darfur: 'African solutions for African problems';
- ∞ a peace agreement that legitimized and rewarded war crimes and gross human rights abuse;
- ∞ an assumption that such a peace deal was sustainable, and that it could be backed up properly by a second-rate UN peacekeeping mission.

The real innovation in all of this was the British reaction to the kidnappings. With UNAMSIL in disarray, Britain sent in a small military force. British troops were on the ground within 100 hours of the event, and although there were never more than 400 of them, they stopped the rebel advance on Freetown dead in its tracks, with an emphasis on the word *dead*. They did something that the rebels had not encountered before: they fired back. And their aim was good. Not to put too fine a point on it, this was a truly genuine innovation in this terrible war.

Later, they attacked a rump group of disaffected army personnel who had kidnapped six British soldiers, freeing all of the soldiers and killing most of the kidnapers. In addition to taking unilateral responsibility for saving the UN's peacekeeping operation – in Sierra Leone and perhaps everywhere else – Britain demonstrated something important, very quickly and with a small investment. Although the RUF had completely buffaloed the government of Sierra Leone, ECOMOG, the Security Council and a UN peacekeeping force, it was not much of a fighting force. It never had been, and it could probably have been stopped years before if anybody had taken the responsibility.

## Diamonds

Parallel with these events, another initiative was under way. The *leitmotif* in much of Sierra Leone's history, and through most of its tragedy, has been diamonds. But until 1999, the role that diamonds were playing in Sierra Leone's war was generally unknown. Early that year, the organisation I work with – Partnership Africa Canada – began a small research project to look into the connection between the war and diamonds. What we discovered was striking. The RUF was gathering something between \$25 and \$75 million worth of diamonds a year, and selling them almost exclusively through the good offices of Charles Taylor in Liberia. This was not a very complicated operation. Liberia had been fencing stolen diamonds for half a century, and the diamond industry itself had been complicit for years. But during the 1990s, the problem began to spin out of control. Between 1994 and 1998, 31 million carats, worth US\$1.96 billion were recorded by Belgian customs as originating in Liberia.

Belgium is the centre of the world's diamond trade. If any customs agency on earth knows about diamonds, it is Belgium's. And yet nobody in Belgium thought it odd that Liberia, a country incapable of producing more than \$10 million worth of low-grade diamonds in a good year, was actually exporting such large quantities of high quality goods. There were other things that went unnoticed in Belgium: hundreds of millions of dollars worth of diamonds were arriving from countries that produced no diamonds at all – Gambia, Togo, Burkina Faso, Congo Brazzaville and Rwanda. And hundreds of millions of dollars worth of Angolan diamonds were arriving from rebel-held areas. In fact at least 20 per cent of the diamonds reaching world markets at that time were illicit: stolen, used for tax evasion, money laundering and gun running. Rebel armies did not need to invent back channels into Antwerp, Tel Aviv and Bombay; these were already well established.

Who took responsibility for this? Belgium and other governments said it was 'an African problem'. The diamond industry said 'diamonds don't kill people; guns kill people'. The problem was the arms industry, they said. Nobody took any responsibility whatsoever.

In writing our first diamond report – *The Heart of the Matter: Sierra Leone, Diamonds and Human Security* (Smillie, *et al.* 2000) – we discovered that a British

NGO, Global Witness, had already reported on diamonds as the engine for Angola's rebel army, UNITA. Later, when the UN Security Council issued an Expert Panel Report on diamonds in Angola, it became clear beyond the NGO world that something needed to be done about this unregulated, much-corrupted industry.

Between them, Global Witness and Partnership Africa Canada put the diamond industry on notice, and they also singled out the giant De Beers conglomerate for special attention. De Beers has traditionally controlled about 80 per cent of the world's trade in rough diamonds.<sup>1</sup> In its annual reports in the mid 1990s, it boasted about its ability to keep mopping up diamonds from Angola, despite the unsettling business of war. Antwerp and De Beers were the largest entrepôts for diamonds, but they were not alone in failing to see the damage that their product was doing in Africa. Israel represents about a quarter, by value, of all the rough diamonds that are cut and polished in a year. The equivalent Indian figure is more than 40 per cent. The United States consumes more than 40 per cent of all diamond jewellery sold every year. Russia produces about 20 per cent by value of the world's rough diamonds while more than 25 per cent are produced in Botswana. Australia, Namibia and South Africa are also significant producers. None of these countries or their diamond industries had anything to say about conflict diamonds until the issue was exposed by NGOs.

The problems of Sierra Leone and Angola were not unique. While Mobutu Sese Seko was president of the then Zaire, formal diamond production fell from 18 million carats in 1961, to about 6.5 million carats in the 1990s. But these are only the figures that were recorded. Mobutu 'informalised' much of the diamond industry, bringing it and its profits under his personal control and that of his cronies. Similar levels of theft were taking place in other industries: copper, cobalt, timber and coltan, a highly prized mineral used in the manufacture of cell phones. The human cost of this corruption, and of the resource-based war that followed Kabila's takeover, was enormous. The International Rescue Committee, an American NGO, has reported that more than 3.3 million more people have died in the Congo than would otherwise have died, had the resource wars not occurred (International Rescue Committee 2003).

In 1999, the Security Council Sanctions Committee on Angola, chaired by Canada's UN ambassador Robert Fowler, fielded an 'expert panel' to examine the connection between diamonds and weapons, first exposed several months earlier by Global Witness. When they reported to the Security Council in March 2000, they also had the benefit of the PAC report. Unable to ignore what the NGOs had already said about the industry and Belgium, for the first time a UN report named sitting heads of government as accomplices in the breaking of UN sanctions. The Presidents of Togo and Burkina Faso were named as both diamond and weapons traffickers.

Worried that growing UN involvement and NGO campaigning might spiral out of control, the government of South Africa called a meeting of interested governments, NGOs and the diamond industry in May 2000. The meeting, held in the town of

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<sup>1</sup> The figure has dropped to approximately 60 per cent in recent years.

Kimberley, where South African diamonds had been discovered 135 years before, was ground-breaking, not least because of the eclectic mix of people who attended. NGOs were able to talk for the first time directly with the Belgian Foreign Minister; De Beers was able to have a direct conversation with its accusers. The meeting reached no conclusions, but the participants did decide to hold another meeting at which the issues could be explored further.

This was the beginning of what became known as the 'Kimberley Process', and it eventually culminated, a dozen meetings and 30 months later, at Interlaken, in Switzerland. The road from Kimberley to Interlaken was a bumpy one, with more than a few false starts. To its credit, however, the diamond industry had realised by the summer of 2000 that if it didn't take the NGO charges seriously, it faced a public relations disaster that could turn into a devastating commercial problem.

And by then, the spotlight on the diamond trade was so bright that the illicit traffic from Liberia had almost dried up. In fact when the British troops fired back at the RUF, the RUF was already having serious supply problems with its ammunition.

The NGOs had four sets of allies through the Kimberley Process. Ironically, and in an odd way, the first was the diamond industry. The relationship was frequently adversarial, and the industry wanted little more than for the NGOs to go away. But for this to happen, the NGOs would need to be satisfied that an effective agreement was in place.

The second NGO ally was the United Nations. The first UN Expert Panel report on Angola in March 2000 changed the nature of the debate. It was no longer 'just' an NGO campaign; the Security Council itself now had its own study confirming what NGOs had said. Other Expert Panels followed, confirming and reconfirming the connection between war, weapons and diamonds.

The third ally in the process, and perhaps the most important, was the Government of South Africa. Without a governmental champion for the process, it would certainly have taken a very different turn in its early stages. In fact the thing most feared by the industry and South Africa – an NGO boycott – might well have come to pass, in the absence of any alternative. South Africa called the first Kimberley meeting, and it chaired the process throughout the following months. It gathered and disseminated information, it did the background preparations for all the meetings and it chaired all of them. Canada, a relative newcomer to diamonds, took on the chair of the Kimberley Process in 2004, and Russia has taken the chair for 2005. Botswana will follow in 2006.

The Kimberley Process Certification Scheme for rough diamonds (KPCS), a significant innovation in human security, came into force on January 1, 2003. 'Force' is perhaps the wrong word, because it took six months more for it to begin functioning properly, and there are still problems. Essentially, however, all participating governments agree that they will not allow any diamonds to be exported without a government certificate stating that the diamonds are clean. This is backed by a government-audited chain of warranties. Today, no government will allow the import of any rough diamonds that are not accompanied by a certificate from another government. These certificates are forgery-resistant – like banknotes – and in some

cases there is an electronic transfer of encrypted information with details of what is in the parcel.

Every diamond-producing country is a member, and every country that imports, trades or cuts and polishes diamonds is also a member – in all, more than 40 countries plus the entire European Union. If your country is not a member of the Kimberley Process, you cannot export or import rough diamonds. It is that simple.

The KPCS, of course, will not stop diamond theft any more than locks stop burglary. The diamond industry has been badly infected by corruption and it will take time for that to change. But the KPCS will help to ensure that whatever happens, conflict and illicit diamonds will never be traded with the ease they enjoyed in the 1990s.

The KPCS is still a work in progress: it has been very difficult to get the statistical data base up and running. There is a good peer review process which involves representatives of government, industry and NGOs examining member countries for Kimberley Process compliance on their internal diamond controls. The peer review process is voluntary, but so far a dozen countries have been reviewed, and a dozen more will be covered in 2005. By 2006 it may well become universal. Most importantly, it has already resulted in the expulsion of Congo-Brazzaville from the system – and from world diamond trade – because it could not account, either through production or import, for the millions of dollars worth of diamonds it was exporting.

The Kimberley Process has been responsible for other important steps forward. In 2003, Sierra Leone recorded its largest diamond official export level in more than two decades, at US\$76 million in total. This was an 85 per cent increase over 2002 and triple what was officially exported in 2001. Last year exports almost doubled again, to \$126 million. And the DRC exported an all-time record of \$642 million in rough diamonds in 2003, a 62 per cent increase over the previous year. Both governments attribute the increase, in large part, to the Kimberley Process.

The innovation in the Kimberley Process lies not so much in the details of the agreement, as it does in the willingness of the diamond industry and governments to acknowledge and take *responsibility* for the problem. And it lies in the nature of the process itself – a largely unbureaucratic, almost informal process of meetings at which civil society and industry had – and continue to have – as great a role as governments. This does not mean that the Kimberley Process agreement itself is informal. Although it is purely voluntary and is not supported by a formal international treaty – this would have taken years to organise – it is backed by national, Kimberley-specific legislation in each member country. Canada now has a Kimberley-specific diamond act, as do the United States, Russia, the EU, Brazil, the DRC, South Africa and the rest. The KPCS is legally binding in each participating country. This too, was an innovation.

This chapter has the word ‘perception’ in the title, because I want to conclude in Sierra Leone – where the chapter began – with a brief discussion about perceptions of human security in that country today. I am currently involved in a Tufts University study that is looking into local perceptions of security in three countries: Afghanistan,

Kosovo and Sierra Leone. The aim of the project is to go beyond the received wisdom expounded by the UN's Department of Peacekeeping Operations, peacekeepers themselves, donors, military trainers and police, and to canvass ordinary people on *their* perceptions of security.

Although the war in Sierra Leone has been over for more than two years, there are still some very real security threats:

- ∞ UNAMSIL's troop strength had declined from a high of 17,500 to about 3,500 troops by March 2005, and they are expected to pull out completely by December 2005;
- ∞ there are questions about the loyalty of the army, which includes not only officers from the pre-election coup period, but also men drawn – as part of the reconciliation process – from the RUF and militia forces;
- ∞ There was an apparent coup attempt in Guinea in January 2005, and as a result there was some cross-border activity in the eastern part of Sierra Leone. Instability in Guinea is predicted if and when the elderly and ailing President Conté leaves the scene. This could have a spillover effect into Sierra Leone;
- ∞ Liberia poses no immediate apparent threat, but the peacekeeping force there, UNMIL, still has much work to do in consolidating the peace in that country, and Charles Taylor – in exile in Nigeria – remains a wild card;
- ∞ The economy of Sierra Leone remains weak and the government is highly dependent upon donor assistance. Apart from Britain and the United States, there are no sizeable bilateral donors in the country. In February 2005, the government was said to be 'broke', and important obligations, such as the provision of food for the army, were not being met. Unemployment is very high, and the prices of basic goods rose sharply in the last quarter of 2004.

What I found, however, in talking to students, teachers, farmers and civil servants, was something a little different in their views about security. Typically, a discussion about security started with a statement about peace – how peace has at last come to Sierra Leone. In almost every case, however, this was followed quickly with a series of qualifiers. Robbery – more like petty theft than armed robbery – was raised as the most common security problem today. This led to a discussion about the police, the courts and justice, and inevitably to the deeper underlying causes of crime – and ultimately of the war itself: the economy, poverty, youth unemployment, corruption and mismanagement. Other issues, such as the role of the army and the withdrawal of UNAMSIL, were regarded by some as important subjects, but they were seldom 'top of mind' considerations in the interviews.

Despite the efforts of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and other attempts to promote forgiveness and forgetting, some basic home truths about the war and about the DDR process – disarmament, demobilisation, and rehabilitation – are voiced by those living with permanent wounds and amputations. One man said this:

We were told to forgive, but forgiveness doesn't hold any water without restitution, and we are not getting any. We continue to suffer, we can't afford education for our children, and our families scatter because we can't look after them ...

The ones who did this to us are getting support – training, kits, money, and jobs. They actually got compensation for what they did. The security everyone talks about is at risk, not just for us but also for our children, the next generation. I am supposed to forgive, but what about my children – deprived of education and a life? For us, if there is to be security, this matter has to be settled.

DDR – disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation – frequently discussed as an innovative and important part of rebuilding human security in postwar societies, is often little more than a cheap payoff for ex-combatants, heavy on the DD and weak on the R. DDR programs from Haiti to Liberia have done little more than give dangerous young men \$200 and train them for trades in which they will never find employment. This approach to dealing with ex-combatants has become a kind of ritualistic postwar fraud, and the long-range harvest has yet to be reaped.

Sooner or later (and usually sooner), every conversation in Sierra Leone turns to the economy and the lack of viable livelihoods. Sierra Leone has been last on the UN Human Development Index since the year the index was inaugurated. The poverty – in villages, in towns and in the capital – is palpable. Poor wages and high prices are a part of every conversation, and they are a backdrop to every discussion about corruption.

The leader of a local NGO says, 'The real security issue is the economy, and people's livelihoods. Opportunities are very limited. There has been a lot of talk about food security, but so far it has not been translated into anything very meaningful.'

The head of an international NGO asks, 'Is there a real will to deal with the underlying causes – patronage, corruption, a bad justice system, government meddling in traditional processes of governance? Are they going down the same road as in the past? Where is the collective will? Where can they get innovative, charismatic, progressive leadership? The political parties can't look beyond their own noses and their own greed.' These, of course, are questions that could be asked of almost any country on earth, but they are more poignant coming from people who have suffered so much.

A high school principal is more optimistic: 'There is', he says, 'much more awareness of these issues today. There is willingness by women and young people to challenge old ways and the old-style leadership; democracy is now much more embedded, and there are a lot of new ideas about how things should be done.'

The answer to the question, 'What makes people most nervous today?' is often 'unemployed youth'. Many are educated, says an NGO leader, but there are few new jobs; just a lot of old jobs being recycled. Another says, 'The biggest threat is youth unemployment and government's complacency. Donors and NGOs are doing a lot of micro credit, but this is not serious job creation. There is no serious targeting of youth, and not much is going on in agriculture.'

I spent some time with a group of 15-year-old girls and boys in Kambia, a five hour drive from Freetown, and in many ways, my conversation with them put a

different light on the youth issue. These children are part of a series of clubs that were established after the war by SCF (Save the Children Fund), CARITAS, the Ministry of Youth and others to help make children aware of their rights and responsibilities, to help them to understand gender issues, violence and HIV/AIDS. What made the discussion special was that the children were so determined and so bright, and so articulate.

They spent a lot of time talking about what they do – attending meetings, a children's parliament, meeting with elders, visiting the UN-backed Special Court in Freetown, which is trying war criminals. They have representatives in all the chiefdoms of Kambia District, and they meet regularly with the police. 'Not all police know much about juveniles', one of them says.

UNAMSIL started radio programs for children, and these are now widespread on commercial radio stations, so children know a lot more than they once did. There are 20 of these commercial radio stations in the country now, and a vibrant print media. Security? 'We are security for ourselves', one girl says, but she adds that today there is a family support unit within the police force, which is a big help. And there is a community approach to security now, so they are not completely dependent on the police and army. People are much more aware of human rights than ever before. Parents can actually be fined if they do not send their children to school – a new thing and not fully in place, but important in the view of these young people.

The children work on gender-based violence, as one of them puts it, 'for this generation and the next one'. Someone says gender violence is a Muslim thing. One of the boys says no, it comes from illiteracy. He quotes, perhaps from the Koran, 'It is better to train boys than to repair men'.

At the end of the meeting, they each talked about what they want to be when they leave school. All want to be professionals – nurses, doctors, two accountants, two lawyers, an 'agricultural engineer', and a human rights worker.

They hope some organisation will be able to help them buy footballs and other sports equipment.

And so we return to questions of perception, and of responsibility: what level of responsibility can be demanded of a democratic and largely well-meaning but bankrupt government, saddled with the legacy of two decades of tyranny and corruption and another decade of war, in a country where infrastructure has been destroyed, where investment opportunities are not readily apparent to outsiders, where donors are in short supply, where the Human Development Index is lower than that of any other country on earth, and where a police officer earning \$50 a month is expected to resist temptation when he stops an overloaded taxi on a safety violation.

It is hard to know how to leave Sierra Leone in February 2005 – is the glass almost empty, or are there reasons for hope? In the brief Kambia vignette, there are half a dozen innovations in human security, and enough optimism to conclude on a positive note: a free and open media; community policing; compulsory primary education; a Special Court for war criminals; children's clubs; bright, informed, ambitious young people.

These are all important – hugely important. But there is no quick fix, and there is certainly no cheap fix. The children still don't know where they will get a football, and no one knows where they will get jobs. In the end, if people, institutions and governments in the West want a safer world for *their* children and grandchildren, they will have to take more responsibility for the future of countries like Sierra Leone. Genuine human security can only come from a consistent approach to human rights and justice, and from a wider, properly coordinated and properly funded approach to *development* – in all of its manifestations.

## Chapter 3

# Global Legalism and Human Security<sup>1</sup>

Antonio Franceschet

### Introduction

Human security is a liberal, cosmopolitan idea that individuals, regardless of their citizenship, location, and identity ought to be made secure from a range of fears, threats, and deprivations. In this chapter, I argue that human security is made intelligible by the politics of applying law and legalism to global politics. I also argue that many of the human security discourses and initiatives to have emerged since the end of the Cold War are shaped, mobilised but also limited and constrained, by this wider problematic of the legal constitution of global politics.

Interestingly, the initial articulation of human security in the 1994 United Nations *Human Development Report* did not emphasise legalism. The concern in this Report was countering socio-economic threats to dignity rather than legal initiatives to control and limit conflict violence, atrocities, and violations of humanitarian law. Subsequently, however, human security has been deployed by states, non-governmental actors, and intergovernmental organisations almost primarily to deal with the effects of legal violations to civil and political rights rather than structural violence. This shift reflects not only the obvious post-Cold War salience of civil wars, genocide, and war crimes – it also reflects a lack of commitment by sovereign states, particularly powerful Western states, to address directly the underlying issues related to development and global distributive justice.

Human security has been heavily criticised as vague and thus difficult to implement in policy terms (Paris 2001; Khong 2001). I argue, however, that human security has been applied and implemented, but primarily through legalistic initiatives. For example, the consolidation of international humanitarian law and the construction of supranational courts like the International Criminal Court (ICC) have been outstanding symbols of the human security agenda. What have been the results of filtering human security *via* laws and legalism? Certainly there have been positive developments, particularly in the area of humanitarian law and its enforcement. However, this has not been sufficient to alter radically the constitutional foundations of global legal order. In fact, human security has, for example, in the case of Kosovo in 1999, created and heightened continuing dilemmas and controversies about great

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter was published in *Policy and Society*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2005, pp. 1–23.

power prerogatives. Human security has been implemented in an exceptionalistic and partial manner in ways that illustrate and reinforce the interests of the most powerful actors in the global legal order. Consequently, the application of human security has run the danger of becoming an instrument of hegemonic interests with decidedly non-universalistic motivations and policies. Nonetheless, I also suggest that there are always progressive openings in the politics of the global rule of law, openings that can facilitate a wider conception of human security than has typically been pursued since the end of the Cold War.

### **Liberal Internationalism, Law, and Human Security**

The human security concept, although contested, emerges from liberal internationalist thought. Liberal internationalists have typically posited causal and moral interconnections between the domestic and the international political realms. Immanuel Kant (1991), for example, argued that without republican governments, global justice and order would be thwarted; and without a peace federation, justice in domestic governance would be perpetually frustrated. Woodrow Wilson wanted to make the 'world safe for democracy' because of similar linkages. The framers of the UN Charter posited linkages between peace, self-determination, and human rights. Non-state actors, too, have made similar linking arguments in an effort to humanise and civilise the worst effects of global political relations. The International Committee of the Red Cross, women's movements, and labor movements have echoed liberal internationalist linkage assumptions since the nineteenth century (see Lynch 2000). The legitimacy of the state and international legal order were viewed by these activists as fundamentally linked to the progressive reform of international law (to outlaw slavery, the use of force, exploitative labor, and the exclusion of women from politics). Viewed in comparative and historical perspective, recent human security discourse and initiatives are the latest phase of ideological and social forces rooted in post-enlightenment, industrialised and Western societies (Keating 2000, p. 4). Human security similarly asserts causal and moral linkages between domestic and international political actors, factors, and responsibilities. There are at least two linkages associated with human security, each related to an attempt to liberalise the traditional, state-centric foundations of global law.

First, human security expands the conventional limits of the security concept beyond the sovereign state (Axworthy 2001a, p. 19). Security is not primarily or exclusively a matter of defending the territorial integrity and functioning of the state as an autonomous institution – it is, rather, a matter of 'protecting the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment' (Ogata and Cels 2003, p. 274). 'Using the individual as the key point of reference, the human security paradigm also assumes that the safety of the individual is the key to global security; by implication, when the safety of the individual is threatened, so, too, in a fundamental sense, is international security' (Hampson *et al.* 2002, p. 6). By securitising human rights, freedom, and well being, the human security concept

links up the urgency of high politics among states and the fate of individuals and peoples.

Second, human security links individual rights and state sovereignty in a way that reverses the hierarchy of sovereignty over individual rights in traditional international law. Whereas state sovereignty and human rights were viewed as incompatible, human security advocates argue it necessary to redefine sovereignty to mean an ethical responsibility to defend and protect the vital interests of all human beings (Axworthy 2001a, p. 6). States are instruments for achieving individual security, rather than, as conventional international law has assumed, individuals are simply properties or subordinate appendages of their sovereigns (see Annan 1999). Thus, sovereignty is conditional or dependent upon human security.

It should be noted here that the precise causal and moral connections emphasised by differing human security proponents has ranged considerably. The initial, *1994 Human Development Report* emphasised socio-economic and sustainable development as the principal ingredients of human security, thus linking up issues such as poverty, inequality, and debt to the general obligation of the international community to promote human security. Although not ignoring such linkages altogether, the dominant interpretations of human security have focused not on structural violence but rather civil wars, physical safety, and humanitarian violations of individual dignity. It has been easier to build political support for human security initiatives that deal with threats to civil and political rights and victims of direct violence than for economic and social issues related to the deleterious effects suffered by those at the margins of global capitalism.

As linkages assumed by human security are so broad and the range of conceivable threats to individuals and peoples so vast, the challenges of translating the concept into specific policy and political initiatives are numerous. Any concrete, limited, and bounded initiatives are likely to fall short of what might be required in practice to fulfill the potentially boundless imperatives linked to human security. My argument is that legalism has provided a means of fulfilling – and, perhaps as important, *being perceived as fulfilling* – the demands of human security. States, in particular Western, liberal democratic, states turned to legalistic repertoires almost instinctively to put flesh on the bones of human security. If human security assumes linkages among complex forms of political causality – linkages that can mask the tough political and ethical dilemmas of world politics – legalism provides a solution that on the surface fixes all problems.

The dominant articulations and heralded successes of human security in the past decade have focused on impartial norms, rules, and law. Key human security initiatives have focused on: promoting the rule of law within failed states; post-conflict and transitional societies through peacebuilding; consolidating, amending, and closing gaps in international humanitarian and human rights law; creating and employing supranational judicial enforcement bodies to end impunity for human security violators; and establishing new legal norms, treaties and regimes to regulate and govern specific threats to human security and particularly vulnerable groups of people. The ICC, the comprehensive Ottawa Treaty on anti-personnel land mines,

continued negotiations to control small arms, the problem of child soldiers, and also global trade in 'conflict diamonds' are signal examples of how legalism has mediated, implemented, and managed the human security agenda. In light of these positive developments, Oberleither (2005, p. 195) enthusiastically states, 'human security concerns are already shaping international legal documents'.

### **Politics and the Limits of Legalism**

Legalism is not a panacea for complex political, social, and economic issues and problems. As E. H. Carr (1939) complained of the interwar period, legalism tends toward 'utopianism' if states and other relevant actors do not have political interests and incentives to follow through on obligations. Charlotte Ku (2001) argues similarly that law is only effective if grounded in a particular political context: if there is too wide a gap between law and political will, law is bypassed, lacks influence, and is eventually discredited. To the extent that the human security agenda has depended so heavily on legalist initiatives it has been subject to these shortcomings of legalism. The US's rejection of the Ottawa Treaty, the ICC, and its limited concern with regard to small arms, for example, have blunted the positive impact of law. The robustness of a legal regime, particularly with regard to compliance, is thwarted when a global hegemonic power rejects (and, in the case of the ICC, actively undermines) it. Additionally, many note that legalistic initiatives tend to be inexpensive substitutes for more robust, costly political, military, or economic solutions to human insecurity. As Thomas W. Smith (2002) claims, rather than preempt and suppress terrible war crimes and genocide, the ICC might end up as a substitute for more effective forms of preventive diplomacy and humanitarian intervention. Others have had similar concerns about the Ottawa Treaty: although it has had salutary effects in reducing injuries and deaths due to landmines, the number of global casualties in the so-called 'new wars' in the global periphery have continued to climb. From a consequentialist moral framework, legalistic initiatives – although they may make actors 'feel good' – are akin to emptying a sinking ship of water one thimble full at a time (fore example, see Amstutz 2005, pp. 29–30).

Human security has also been the motivating factor for the direct enforcement of human rights and humanitarian legal standards. Many would agree with Oberleither's (2005, p. 195) claim that 'human security is interventionist by nature'. However, when human security initiatives have included forcible or coercive interventionist measures, they have had ambiguous effects.

So-called Third Generation peacekeeping missions, in places like the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and East Timor, have been interventionist whilst not completely violating extant legal rules on sovereignty and the lawful use of force. Using the UN Security Council's legal discretion, such peacekeeping missions have been authorised to use force to facilitate peace accords, to protect innocent civilians, to apprehend war crimes suspects for relevant tribunals, all without the consent of the sovereign states involved. Each time the Security Council acted in

this way, and linked human security issues to the preservation of ‘international peace and security’, otherwise illegal acts of force in or against a sovereign state were legitimated and lawful. Whether forcible or coercive third party intervention authorised by the UN effectively amends global legal order is unclear. To some, the activist Security Council of the 1990s contributed to norm change and, as states accepted and acquiesced to intervention, customary law was amended. This is a contentious view, however: others hold that the Security Council is simply using its legal prerogatives on a case by case basis, not wishing to endorse any general legal doctrine of intervention for human security (Jackson 2000, p. 289). After all, there was no suitable intervention to suppress or stop the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

The most problematic case is NATO’s 1999 aerial bombardment of Yugoslavia in order to curb the systematic abuse of human rights in Kosovo. Unlike the cases cited above, the Security Council did not give its legal imprimatur – NATO states did not bother bringing forward an authorising resolution, knowing that at least one or perhaps both Russia and China would cast a veto. The bombing campaign, although clearly not lawful, was defended by NATO member states as legitimate because of the human security imperative. Some interpret Kosovo as part of the process of amending the global constitution in favour of more liberal and cosmopolitan interests. Allen Buchanan (2001), for example, points to Kosovo as an instance of ‘illegal legal reform’ – NATO states were seeking to amend the rule that used to allow states to hide behind sovereignty to systematically violate human rights. From this perspective, intervention for human security is viewed as entirely compatible with the progressive evolution of global legality.

What the Kosovo case eloquently demonstrates is the danger that human security is becoming co-opted by forces that favour the entrenchment of an unequal, non-universal global legal order. Human security will be de-legitimised and rejected if associated with the creation of a two-tiered global legal order, with a self-selected group of liberal states imposing, through force, their unilateral moral judgments onto weaker states outside of the consent-based UN legal framework (Brunnee and Toope 2004, p. 253). These concerns have become all the more salient after 9/11 because the US administration has, when needed, mobilised concern over human security to justify, after the fact, the widely regarded illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq. In this case we see that an ostensible virtue of human security, that is, its ability to link previously unrelated concerns about security, human rights, democracy promotion, and weapons of mass destruction, can have unintended and undesired consequences: namely, the corrosion of global legal restraints on imperial powers (Cohen 2004). Some warn, however, that ‘neither intelligent policy nor international law is aided by simply merging all of these issues. Linkages should be carefully considered, but interventions must be justified on grounds that relate to the actual problems that one is seeking to alleviate’ (Brunnee and Toope 2004, p. 251). Human security discourses and practices since the end of the Cold War have unfortunately reflected the historic legacy of great power exceptionalism that has characterised the politics of global legalism. Rather than restructuring fundamental power relationships that would limit and constrain the behaviour of some great powers, human security has been used in

certain areas to enhance that power and the discretion. NATO's Secretary General stated not long after Kosovo that the intervention 'would constitute the exception from the rule, not an attempt to create new international law' (quoted in Hampson and Hay 2003, p. 253).

By focusing primarily on humanitarianism and intervention, the human security agenda has arguably been implicated in a process of distracting attention away from perhaps the most significant causal forces of human insecurity – such as poverty and inequality – in relation to the global political economy (see Busumtwi-Sam 2002). With approximately 18 million people a year dying from poverty-related causes across the Global South, it seems perverse that the human security agenda to has been mobilised by Western states primarily and almost exclusively for violent atrocities in civil war. This is perverse because the global institutional order of trade, finance, and debt is causally connected to these deaths (see Pogge 2002). As Tom Keating (2000, p. 6) notes, 'The violation of human security engendered by economic structures and practices arguably exceeds that committed by states, yet these structures and practices are protected, even rewarded, and are becoming firmly entrenched in international law.' The dominant conceptions of human security tend not to ask the powerful actors in global society to curtail the harmful (whether intended or not) consequences of their behaviour. In spite of moral rhetoric about the superiority of Western and liberal states, it is their power or dominance in the international system that shapes much of the content and impact of global legal rules that facilitate globalisation.

Like any other political realm, however, international law is not completely closed to counter-hegemonic and more progressive outcomes. Human security discourses and policies help demonstrate in at least two ways that global laws are not simply an instrument for domination. First, although Western, liberal states tend to dominate and shape legal and political outcomes in their own interests, this bloc is not completely homogenous and unified on issues of human security and law. For example, Canada, Norway and, on some issues, the European Union, have been greater advocates of human security through multilateral institutions and universal, general legal principles. Indeed, the US is isolated in its rejection of the Ottawa Treaty, the ICC, and a number of multilateral treaties that hold all states, formally at least, accountable to the same horizontal legal standards, rather than above them. On the 2003 invasion of Iraq, a large number of states including Canada, France and Germany, refused to acquiesce US and British arguments that force was justified, and have thereby refused the pretext of human security as the ground to legitimate unlawful force. Certainly these states had complex and mixed political, strategic and economic motivations for refusing in this case a right of preemptive intervention in Iraq. However, these states were also terribly sensitive to the undeniable societal opposition to the invasion: civil society actors had demanded through massive global protests that international law be upheld.

Second, it is important to underline the point that states, although dominant, are not unitary, monolithic actors in the creation, evolution, and enforcement of international law. As Cecelia Lynch (2000, p. 140) argues, 'Social forces, in the form

of peace movements, have, since the post-Napoleonic period, attempted with great energy and considerable success to influence the norms underpinning international law.' '[L]egal norms do not arise in a vacuum, but are socially contested, promoted, and legitimised' (Ibid., p. 142). States as institutions are influenced by social forces and civil society groups to pursue certain forms of global legalism and certain laws and institutions, sometimes progressive and sometimes not. Partnerships between civil society actors and states were key to the formation of the ICC and the Ottawa Treaty, and help explain why vast coalitions of states opposed Washington's efforts to water down the universal human security impacts for which these initiatives were designed. The liberalising and cosmopolitical features of the politics of global legalism mean that states do not control entirely the legal agenda: non-state actors are involved the promotion and monitoring of norms and compliance (Ku 2001, pp. 26–34).

If human security has future progressive possibilities, it will in large part be a result of the open spaces for contestation provided by the social and political realities produced by legalism. Only in a political realm shaped by the ideal that laws, rather than arbitrary will, are the legitimate basis for action, will actors be free to interact and influence each other in ways that challenge the powerful to justify the inequalities and injustices that have created human insecurities. There is, in other words, the possibility of an 'international law from below', as Rajagopal argues (2003).

## **Conclusion**

It is important to consider how law and legalism are political and to understand their political dynamics. Human security is a concept that links up law and politics: it promotes a change to more cosmopolitan norms and rules, but it is heavily dependent upon and shaped by the dominance of the West in today's world. However, it is also the case that human security is open to more progressive forces, both within and outside of states (as institutions). Human security has also been deployed by actors who seek to limit the prerogatives of all states, including the powerful. The ICC and the Ottawa Treaty are significant examples of this. Legalism as a regulative idea helps shape the arena in which a variety of social forces contest the institutional order of global politics. This institutional order has a tremendous impact, both positive and negative, on the extent to which human security can be realised.

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## Chapter 4

# EU Foreign Policy Motivation: A Mix of Human Security and Realist Elements<sup>1</sup>

Rory Keane

### Introduction

Broadly speaking, human security interpretations or enlightened self-interest interpretations tend to motivate international security and development policies at different times and places, often depending on the issue under consideration. I argue in this chapter that the EU's motivation to respond to security and development needs in the international arena is an abstract force that on some subconscious level determines the shaping of policy. This shaping of EU security and development policy is most effectively outlined in both the 2003 European Security Strategy (Council of the European Union 2003) and the 2005 EU Strategy on Africa (Commission of the European Communities 2005). In these documents the EU sees itself as an actor that has a responsibility to respond to security and developmental challenges in Africa and internationally.

The question this chapter asks is where does the motivation for such foreign policy responsibility come from? In response to this question, the EU's sense of geographical proximity to a crisis or security concern often (but not always) tends to determine the response. Generally the EU's 'backyard' is prioritised over and above more distant crises. This reality would indicate that the EU's sense of responsibility has, in most cases, geographical contours. While this is the case, additionally, products of globalisation such as the mass-media affect how the EU perceives foreign policy objectives, meaning that prioritisation is not always geographical, but can also be determined by media prioritisation – a fact well understood by champions of the fight against poverty such as Bono and Sir Bob Geldolf. Interpretations of the causes of insecurity and the link between development aid and security also condition EU foreign policy priorities. All such factors culminate in creating a sense of what is important for the EU policymaker (not necessarily the EU policy taker) and ultimately what shapes EU foreign policy.

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<sup>1</sup> The views in this Chapter are the author's own views and do not necessarily represent the views or policies of the European Commission.

A reflection of the EU's shared interpretation of foreign security and development policy based on variant sub-conscious motivations as outlined above is depicted in both the 2003 European Security Strategy and the 2005 EU Africa Strategy. Significantly, the Security Strategy appears to be based upon both realist and human security motives, while the Africa Strategy appears based on purely human security motives. Within the EU Security Strategy, the EU interpretation of foreign policy conflates into a strategy that is influenced by factors such as enlightened national self-interest, the 'responsibility to protect' and the notion that certain outside actors directly affect *our security*. These elements of enlightened national self-interest are not so prevalent in the EU Africa Strategy, and the document reads as a development policy that seeks to realize the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). What is not outlined in the Africa Strategy is the fact that there appears to be an unwritten rule that the more self-serving motives outlined in the EU Security Strategy will take precedence, on occasion, over the ideals depicted in the Africa Strategy if considered necessary in the interest of the EU's enlightened self-interest. For example, fear of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) in Iran consumes much more time at the EU General Affairs Council (where EU Foreign Ministers meet and make decisions), than does the global fight against HIV/AIDS which is by far a bigger killer than WMD and an existing threat, rather than a 'potential' future threat. This reality would indicate that the WMD priority in the Security Strategy is more of a priority than the HIV/AIDS priority in the Africa Strategy. This reality also indicates that there is a hierarchy of EU documents and EU policies – based on the hierarchy of EU motives.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the hierarchy of motives in EU foreign policy, looking specifically at how foreign policy motives determine the degree of prioritisation and indeed the ever altering interpretation of EU security and development policy. The aim is also to interpret where such motives come from in the first place.

### **International Relations Theory and EU Foreign Policy**

Comparative politics academics sometimes assert that the EU should not be analysed through the prism of international relations theory. 'IR, runs the argument, is particularly ill equipped to deal with the complexity of the contemporary EU game' (Rosamond 2000, p. 157). It is the case that comparative EU politics as a discipline examines more or less exclusively the state of affairs inside the walls of the EU family, or the aspiring EU family, decoupled from the international. However, as the EU develops and grows, its awareness of and influence on international affairs becomes increasingly significant; for this reason alone, the discipline of international relations should increasingly be applied to the EU.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For an account of the relationship and dialogue between international theory and European integration see Kelstrup *et al.* (2000).

For example, both international relations discourse and EU foreign policy analysis pose questions relating to territoriality (both inside and outside the EU) (Walker 1993), identity and security (McSweeney 1999), sovereignty (Bartelson 1995; Keane 2002) and many questions encompassing governance. The EU is not only a vehicle with which to carry policy and procedures, but has encompassed a shift from 'policy' to 'polity' (Wallace 1993), and thereby given its growing political personality it can certainly benefit from a constructivist reading capable of uncovering the epistemic dominant interpretation of material world constructs such as governance, power, sovereignty and responsibility that, in fact, determine the motivations behind EU foreign policy. The growth of constructivism in international relations theory provides the paradigm with a new tool kit with which to analyse aspects of EU foreign policy. 'Its importance for the study of international relations is that its emphasis is on the ontological reality of intersubjective knowledge and on the epistemological and methodological implications of this reality. Constructivists believe that international relations consist primarily of social facts, which are facts only by human agreement' (Adler 1997, pp. 322–3). The constructivist school has enabled IR theory to move away somewhat from old-fashioned theories of the state, so prevalent in earlier IR theoretical schools, and towards a more hermeneutic understanding of policy. Constructivism shows how alterations in the conception of security have helped the EU to develop and legitimise its foreign policy in line with alterations in ideational meaning, which seem more post-nation. This growing post-nationalism has tended to de-center identity by de-correlating identity from fixed territory and re-correlating identity with other social meanings, such as responsibility – our responsibility towards others. The spirit of responsibility towards others both informs the drive behind why peoples and citizens would promote human security in addition to self-preservation and advancement.

In the development of EU foreign policy, the social motivation of responsibility is forged at the community level in non-territorial terms. For example, increasingly EU foreign policy responsibility is not delineated only in terms of territorial considerations and geo-politics, as would be the case in the Westphalia system. Rather, EU foreign policy has steadily initiated an ethos based on trans-territorial principles, such as development aid, crisis management, conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy – ultimately by embracing aspects of human security and self preservation and advancement.<sup>3</sup> For example, the title itself of the European

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<sup>3</sup> 'Human security connects different types of freedoms – freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to take action on one's own behalf. To do this, it offers two general strategies: *protection* and *empowerment*. Protection shields people from dangers. It requires concerted effort to develop norms, processes and institutions that systematically address insecurities. Empowerment enables people to develop their potential and become full participants in decision-making. Protection and empowerment are mutually reinforcing, and both are required in most situations.' This definition of human security is taken from the report, '*Human Security Now*' prepared by the Commission on Human Security and presented to the United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan on 1 May 2003. See [www.humansecurity-chs.org/](http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/).

Security Strategy, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World', depicts the mixed nature of EU Foreign Policy motivation. On one hand, the objective is to 'secure ourselves – secure Europe', while the second motivation is to 'make the world better'. There is also a covert understanding in the title that these two motivations are complementary and coherent. The EU Africa Strategy, in contrast, only focuses on developing the MDGs and, in this way, the focus remains solely on creating a 'better world' by accelerating Africa's development.

### **The Interpretation of EU Foreign Policy**

In reality, while EU foreign policy, as epitomised in the Africa Strategy, is increasingly based on aspirations *among* member states to shared principles such as human security, shared interpretation of these principles is not always uniform *within* EU member states. This line of thought leads to the conclusion that it is effectively the process of member state interpretation of foreign policy motivations that in fact makes EU foreign policy – be it unified or not – a reality. For the apolitical questions (whether to develop an EU plan of action against bird flu) or indeed overwhelmingly accepted moral wrongs (such as the 9/11 disaster), convergence in interpretation is easier to achieve as the collective motivation is uniformly based, for example, on self preservation against a global pandemic or terrorism. However, where the strategic interest of EU member states is directly concerned, policy convergence among the states is proportionally more difficult to find (for example, whether to invade Iraq). In such circumstances the motivations in different EU member states cannot always converge, as the question of whether to try and bring democracy to Iraq at the expense of democracy itself creates at best confusion and inaction and, at worst, bad policy.

In this respect Africa is an interesting case study, insofar as the strategic interest of the EU towards Africa makes it difficult to ascertain whether the EU looks particularly at sub-Saharan Africa through a realist post-colonial lens or a human security lens.

### **The EU Motivations behind Intervention**

Realists would certainly argue that EU foreign policy *only* goes beyond the sum of its parts when EU member states feel it is in their interest to give up power/sovereignty to EU bodies. From this reading, supranational aspects of EU development and external relations policy within pillar one (community competence) of the EU should not be seen as the seed of supranationalism or global governance, but rather as the result of a calculating realist tactic by member states, who see the sense in allowing the EU to administer aid policy or foreign policy on their behalf. In other words, 'other actors (such as the European Commission) matter only to the extent that states allow them to matter' (Sorensen 2004, p. 179). Georg Sorensen argues that the realist notion is itself an assumption. The question to be asked, according to Sorensen is,

what if the assumption changes? In other words, what if realists decide that it is in their interest not to be realists (*ibid.*), but rather perhaps neo-functionalists or post-modernists. Certainly, as EU foreign policy instruments develop and become more ‘useful tools for realists’, this possibility should not be discounted.

Furthermore, as mass communication and global information exchange develops, global moral proximity – as the soul of new political communities – may also develop accordingly. As an example of this, ‘Der Derian seeks to alert us of the role of virtuality and the power of new media and technologies in the construction (and destruction) of political communities’ (Kelstrup and Williams 2000, p. 14) For example, we see war, famine and poverty for what it really is on our plasma television screens and internet sites. We meet refugees who escaped from dire war scenarios, we see photographs of Iraqi prisons brutalised by US soldiers and international aid workers brutalised and killed by extreme militant groups. If accepted, as outlined by David Hume,<sup>4</sup> that responsibility (as a forerunner to merging political communities) is conditioned by proximity, then globalisation and mass communication – if balanced, objective and truly reflective of situations – will bring war, brutality and famine closer to our reality and may condition our spirit of responsibility accordingly. Responsibility as a social force could thus directly or indirectly – if nevertheless partially – feed into policymaking processes. However, it is also certainly the case that it will take more than moral responsibility to create global justice. Just as Rousseau’s social contract theory required sovereign legitimacy in order to succeed at the state level, so too, ultimately, global justice will require a sovereign implementing agency. Given that the United Nations or international law does not hold such sovereign authority in full, the interpretation of responsibility at EU level remains based on the EU’s collective interpretation of moral responsibility in addition to self-interested, realist-driven criteria (including strong economic criteria).

### From Interpretations to Policy Questions

Taking the above into consideration, EU foreign policymaking appears as a cocktail of realist driven assumptions, together with broader human security objectives that have developed slowly in line with ideational changes, notably changes in what we interpret to mean as security, (*their* security is *our* security) and changes in the proximity of responsibility, which is no longer directly tied to physical proximity only, but also to the proximity of feelings, as conditioned by the products of globalisation.

Preventing the EU foreign policy realist agenda from subsuming the human security agenda is a challenging task when moving from the broad interpretation of EU foreign policy to the actual implementation of policy. The debate has been made more vivid due to the idea in the EU draft constitution to create the ubiquitous institution of EU Foreign Minister. Despite the failure to adopt the constitution in

<sup>4</sup> ‘A Humean view assumes that the limits of one’s affections or sentiments are the limits of one’s obligations’ (Hume 1739/1972, pp. 318–322).

2005 (after both France and the Netherlands rejected it in referenda), it is likely that the institution of EU Foreign Minister will be developed in the next few years even without ratification of the constitution. The creation of an EU Foreign Minister, as argued by some, will inevitably politicise the EU's developmental forum. According to Carlos Santiso (2002, p. 403), 'Europe has never clearly decided whether it wants development aid to be an instrument of its diplomacy or an autonomous policy with its own objectives and rationale.' The question facing the EU increasingly today is whether it should also aim to provide 'security governance'<sup>5</sup> outside its borders? In other words, should the EU utilise its vast development aid budget to positively condition the security environment? Copenhagen-influenced theorists would argue that the politicisation and securitisation of the EU – by taking on external political, security and military tasks – will lead to securitisation, rather than de-securitisation. However, equally, by providing security governance beyond its borders in line with human need and human security, the EU also may well preserve its sense of internal security – given that in the post 9/11 globalised security dynamic, external security considerations condition internal security to a large degree. The post 9/11 security dynamic manifests that global security concerns are simultaneously local security concerns. Therefore, apart from the EU's responsibility to secure a better world 'out there', there is a realist self-interest reason why Europe wants, for example, to bring peace and democracy to the Central African Republic or Sudan. Instability, corruption and war in Africa are not anymore just moral concerns for Europe, but a potential cause of global insecurity. Insecurity agents such as war, terrorism, drugs and weapons are increasingly no longer spatially confined. After all, black-market funded terrorism was at least partly responsible for the 9/11 events. Therefore, based on both moral and realist grounds, there are reasons why the EU should pursue security governance beyond its borders.

If the EU decides increasingly to pursue security governance, the principle of human security must remain central to policy objectives in order to ward off hard security leanings and realist interpretations at the EU level. The EU's prioritisation of hard security, as Weaver stated in 1998, is likely to de-securitise Europe. Today we see how the hawkish hard security policy in the US, which led to war victories in Afghanistan and Iraq, has ironically left US citizens feeling more insecure post-victory than pre-victory. The US victories, in this sense, have somewhat diminished America's sense of protection from fear and also consolidated the politics of terrorism. It may be argued, therefore, that the hard security agenda can only win war at the expense of ontological security – whether national or human. On the other hand, a human security approach is more likely to relate policies of governance, development and security coherently. Traditionally, '(s)ecurity (as) a policy discourse ... has frequently worked to constitute political order rather than to initiate social change'

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<sup>5</sup> 'While not fully developed (academically as a concept), security governance offers an explanation that is alert to functionalist explanations associated with institutionalism, power-based perspectives which consider state preferences, and ideational (or constructivist) considerations which allow for norms as driving influences' (Webber *et al.* 2004, p. 25).

(Dalby 1994, p. 2). In this regard, security has tended to work towards ‘freedom from fear’ (fight against terrorism, weapons of mass destruction etc.), rather than freedom from want (as symbolised, for example, through the UN Millennium Development Goals). If the EU’s external actions manage to balance its focus in favor of linking freedom from fear and freedom from want it may be possible to secure Europe and create a better world at the same time. In order to achieve this the EU needs to focus less perhaps on EU terrorism policy and EU migration policy, which has tended to fill the policy making agenda in recent years and focus more so on ‘root causes’ of terrorism and migration.

### **The European Security Strategy: Based on Human Security or Realism?**

Responding to the new post-Cold War security threat perception, Robert Cooper (2003) in the *Breaking of Nations* brings forward a new conception of threat for the twenty-first century. In the power-flux of the post bi-polar world, Cooper outlines a world of unipolarity, a world where state sovereignty is eroding and where the politics of identity, culture and values are becoming more extreme due to globalisation. He puts forward a number of mechanisms to deal with the new character of threats today. Specifically, in order to prevent the threat of Huntington’s ‘clash of civilizations’, Cooper forwards that we must ‘understand foreigners better’ (pp. 88–102). Secondly, he notes that all politics is local and therefore foreign policy practitioners must ‘get under the domestic skin’ (pp. 102–113) in order to make a difference. In dealing with threats, Europe must make ‘long term commitments’ (pp. 113–127) in order to influence foreign governments. We can see the slow actualisation of this long-term approach through EU contractual processes such as the Stabilisation and Association Process in the western Balkans, the Cotonou Agreement for African, Caribbean and Pacific countries and the new Neighborhood Policy for the EU’s enlarged neighborhood.

Cooper’s ideas, which can be summed up in the words ‘enlightened self-interest’, dominate the 2003 European Security Strategy. In identifying priority threats for the Year 2015, the *European Security Strategy* adopted by the Heads of EU member states on 12 December 2003 (Council of the European Union 2003), provides benchmark policy conclusions. The Strategy notes that today’s global problems are complex and inter-relating, and thus no one single country can alone resolve global problems; rather, an international alliance or cooperation is required. Indeed, the reference in the first page of the strategy to, ‘no single country is able to tackle today’s problems on its own’, points to a underlying EU fear that the US – being the unipole in the post Cold War world – may tend to act alone, outside international alliances, such as NATO and the UN. As a counter-weight to this fear, the EU asserts in its strategy that it is willing to take on its ‘global responsibility’, given its size and economic prowess. Part of the motivation to take on global responsibility is to develop the legitimacy of the EU through the use of the contemporary language of legitimacy, including respect for human rights and human development (Donnelly

2003); part of it is also to act as a counter-weight to the US and part of it is based on EU human security considerations.

The EU perceives poverty and underdevelopment as a distinct threat in the Strategy, noting that 45 million people die every year due to malnutrition and hunger. In responding to this priority, the Strategy notes the need to link security with development. The AIDS crisis in sub-Saharan Africa is also identified in the Strategy. Under the sub-heading 'key threats', the Strategy initially makes reference to terrorism, outlining the ability of terrorism (both state and non-state) to network globally through electronic networks. The Strategy also refers to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) as a specific threat, noting that advances in biological sciences may make the WMD threat more potent. On the regional level, the Strategy makes reference to ongoing regional conflicts as a threat (Great Lakes, Korean Peninsula, Middle East, Kashmir), exclaiming that regional conflicts can act as a catalyst leading to WMD proliferation and/or terrorism. The Strategy indicates that failing states (Afghanistan, Somalia) are open to terrorism/organised crime and therefore additionally heighten the security threat. Specifically, regarding organised crime, the strategy notes that 'this internal threat to our security has an external dimension' (p. 4). The external dimension refers to the cross-border smuggling of weapons, drugs and women.

Regarding objectives, the Strategy states that today's globalised threats cannot be resolved by military means alone, as all of the new threats are not purely military in nature. For example, WMD proliferation may well be abated through tighter export control for example. In dealing with terrorism, intelligence, political and judicial remedies may be very useful. Meanwhile civilian crisis management and the economic dimension may abate regional conflicts.

Significantly, the Strategy appears to be based upon both realist and human security concerns, as the EU interpretation of its foreign policy focus culminates in a Strategy that is influenced by factors such as enlightened self interest, the 'responsibility to protect' and the notion that *their security out there effects our security* in here. These influences mean that the Security Strategy can be endorsed by a realist practitioner or a human security practitioner, as the line between intervention based on peace and development versus intervention based on regime change becomes ever murkier in the twenty-first century. The debates of the early 1990's on the merits and demerits of humanitarian intervention and 'humanitarian corridors' – notably in Bosnia – appear outdated now. Today it has become accepted – without much questioning – that we (the West) will in many cases intervene internationally based on a whole host of motivations. Today the challenge is to break down and categorise these motivations in order to see if it is in fact selfish or selfless motivations that determine the intervening actions of the international community and the EU. Making this assessment all the more complicated is the fact that subjectivity conditions our conception of both 'selfish' and 'selfless'. For example, it is difficult to say what motivations in the European Security Strategy can be deemed selfish. Some realist EU practitioners would argue that the enlightened self-interest motivations are selfless, insofar as the hard choices and hard cash to protect and make safe EU citizens are put before the

‘feel-good’ human security doctrine, as spelled out in the EU Africa Strategy for example. Others would argue the opposite, believing that the use of EU taxpayers’ money to enhance peace, security and development on the African continent is the selfless option. It is this ambiguity in interpretation of the motivations behind EU foreign policy that enables realist and idealist to read the same EU documents, attend the same EU meetings and endorse the same EU policies, and nevertheless interpret the same reality in different ways. EU foreign policy is thus all things to all people and thereby fully vulnerable to the politics of spin, the politics of perception and the politics of influence.

### **African Ownership: All Things to All People**

Through numerous instruments – from the European Development Fund to the Common Foreign and Security Policy budget – the European Union provides a considerable contribution to peacebuilding efforts in all regions of the world. The case of Africa is particularly relevant given the obvious security and development needs on the continent. In assessing the case of EU policy in Africa, the mixed motivations behind EU foreign policy is evident, where human security objectives stand side by side with more realist-driven objectives. Increasingly, the EU sees a role for itself in supporting the African continent to create and develop African-owned institutional mechanisms in order to secure the continent. From a human security perspective, the objective is to provide Africa with the architecture that can uphold good governance and ultimately development. Based on credentials of local ownership and capacity-building the focus has clear human security leanings. On the other hand, the objective is to provide regional structures in Africa with hard security credentials, so that African can take care of its own problems. From this perspective, the EU’s support for hard security and military structures in Sub-Saharan African places the responsibility to protect increasingly on homegrown institutions. While there is certain merit to this homegrown approach, there is also a danger that the EU could use these structures as an excuse not to take concerted EU security and development action in Africa or to press the UN to take concerted action when urgently required. A case in point today is the East of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where FDLR rebels continue to plunder and kill. Rather than trying to force the UN to take concerted action against the FDLR, many EU member states prefer to shirk such responsibility and rather hope that the already over-stretched and under resourced African Union will take action against the FDLR. The complexity of this question is made all the more intricate by the fact that promoting home-grown solutions on the African continent sounds good to the enlightened self-interest school and left-leaning internationalists alike. For very different reasons both schools would prefer Africa to deal with its own problems. The self-interest school would prefer not to over-commit itself in Africa, especially with existing commitments in Iraq. Left-leaning idealists and indeed many human security partitions would like to see a larger degree of local ownership in Africa; therefore they can also support a stronger lead

role for the African continent in security and development policy. Indeed this notion of local ownership is also at the centre of the EU Africa Strategy (Commission of the European Communities 2005, p. 19). The policy of African ownership is thus all things to all people. However, what happens when it does not work? What happens when the AU peace mission in Darfur does not have the ability or the means to respond to the challenge? What happens when President Deby in Chad takes too much African ownership and insists that all revenue from oil be redirected away from alleviating poverty in the country, as was the case in the winter of 2006?

In responding to these unique challenges the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine takes us past the mantra of African ownership and towards value based judgments on when and why to intervene. The 'responsibility to protect' approach to intervention is outlined in the 2001 Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). The report 'asserted that where a population is suffering serious harm as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it, the principle of non-intervention yields to an international responsibility to protect' (Austin *et al.* 2005, p. 18). However, decoding and delineating the difference between the 'responsibility to protect' versus 'self-interest based intervention' can at best be subjective. Intervention into Iraq in 2003 can easily be viewed through a 'responsibility to protect' lens, as can the NATO intervention in Kosovo in 1999. Therefore, the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine could become an ambiguous indicator on when to intervene: on when we have arrived at just war theory. In view of this ambiguous scenario, I urge prudence in the use of the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine and urge that even when utilised, the West should continue to support as much local ownership as possible in designing a 'responsibility to protect' initiative. In this way local actors will continue to govern – at least to some degree – their own affairs, which may also prevent the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine being manipulated by some actors in the West. To finish on a more positive note, if the 'responsibility to protect doctrine' is used with the right motivations in mind (including respect for local ownership), the instrument could in future become a valuable tool for promoting security and development on the African continent.

In the final section of this chapter, I will briefly outline the emerging EU policy in Africa, which appears increasingly to be motivated by a responsibility towards human security and local ownership.

### **The Example of EU Support for the Security Architecture in Africa**

Despite the sometimes mixed motivations for creating regional security architecture on the African continent, the process has been largely positive and has led to a strengthening of the African Union and African ownership. Key EU member states, utilising their *de facto* influence over the European Development Fund (EDF)<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> European Development Fund resources for the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries were 13.5 billion Euro under the 9<sup>th</sup> EDF between 2000–2007.

(namely France and the UK) and G-8 membership (again France and the UK) have increasingly focused on conflict management and prevention in Africa especially Sub-Saharan Africa. This growing focus on conflict management and prevention in Africa can be traced back to 1993 when the European Commission launched its first initiative on Peacebuilding, Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Africa. Thereafter, in 1995 the EU Summit in Madrid officially made the security problems in Africa a concern for Europe. The 1999 EU Cologne Summit went further in enshrining the Petersberg Tasks,<sup>7</sup> which would enable the EU to undertake peacekeeping and crisis management operations in Africa. As a result, the EU involvement in African conflict has grown. For example, the EU has become a major actor first and foremost in the Great Lakes Region (GLR), as the largest international aid donor in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). As a follow-up to the Petersberg Tasks, the EU launched a peacekeeping operation (Operation Artemis) in the Ituri region of the DRC in 2003, and later in 2005 followed up with a police support mission (EUPOL) and support to military reform (EUSEC). Also, through EDF funding, the EU has supported African peacekeepers in Burundi and in West Africa, the EU-funded ECOWAS peacekeepers in the Ivory Coast. Given the EU's long standing developmental approach in Africa, alongside the recent prioritisation of conflict prevention and resolution, the EU's most recent focus on internal reform and added impetus within the African Union (AU) appears coherent with the EU's overall objectives as outlined in the European Security Strategy and indeed with the MDG focus in the EU Africa Strategy.

The focus of the EU approach in Africa, most recently symbolised with the creation in 2004 of the EU African Peace Facility (APF) mainly as a means to support African Union operations is testimony to a broader EU approach to develop local capacity on a partnership basis. The APF provides the EU with an additional instrument with which to promote sustainable human security in Africa. While the Facility is limited initially to a budget of 250 million Euro (which now needs to be replenished), its development points to a growing awareness within the EU that developmental support must go hand in hand with peace support so as to ensure human security. The approach taken by the EU in supporting the African Union's structure and work, together with regional organisations in Africa, may point to a more mature and constructive way of interpreting global responsibility to protect – based on up-stream capacity building. Alternatively, however, it may increasingly give the EU an excuse not to send EU soldiers on peacekeeping missions to Africa, by co-opting the African Union.

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<sup>7</sup> The Petersberg Tasks include humanitarian and Rescue Tasks, plus peacekeeping, crisis management and peacemaking responsibilities. The tasks were codified on 19 June 1992 by the foreign and defence ministers of the Western European Union. The tasks were implicitly incorporated into the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam, and thus formed an integral part of the EU's fledgling European Security and Defence Policy. See Keane (2005) European Security and Defence Policy: From Cologne to Sarajevo. *Global Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has aimed to provide an interpretative overview of EU foreign policy motivations, with particular focus on the selfish and selfless motivations of EU foreign policy. The article has aimed to show that the growing human security ethos in the EU – outlined in the final section of this chapter – is a reality that stands side by side with more realist-driven realities.

The chapter explores the growing link between security and development and explains why both realist and human security practitioners may feel comfortable with the direction of EU foreign policy, given the fact that interpretation of foreign policy tends to govern reality. The chapter also points out how different EU motivations may be behind support for homegrown solutions to crises in Africa.

Overall, this chapter aims to highlight the fact that human security as a concept is very much a part of EU foreign policy and overall it is becoming a more fundamental part of the motivation behind EU foreign policy. However, the article also shows that human security is but one motivation behind EU foreign policy. The chapter hints that human security can possibly be co-opted by more realist elements within EU foreign policy. With this in mind, practitioners and advocates of human security alike at the EU level must always aim to interpret the motivations behind EU foreign policy and not necessarily assume that the principle is principled.

PART II  
Canada:  
A Contradictory Human  
Security Agenda

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## Chapter 5

# Mapping the Interplay of Human Security Practice and Debates: The Canadian Experience

David R. Black

### Introduction

Beginning in the mid-1990s, human security emerged as a hallmark of foreign policy in a relatively small group of more or less ‘like-minded’ states. These states were concentrated in, though not confined to, the members of the Human Security Network (HSN),<sup>1</sup> and they had no more enthusiastic and outspoken champion than Canada. Indeed, Kyle Grayson has argued persuasively that human security became a central theme in the ‘branding’ of Canada, both domestically and internationally (Grayson 2004, pp. 41–43). The Canadian government and its state-based human security fellow travelers were networked, in turn, with a diverse coalition of International and Non-governmental Organisations in what former Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy characterised as the ‘new diplomacy’. In light of the Government of Canada’s recent (2005a) International Policy Statement, it is not altogether clear how much the ‘Human Security Agenda’ will persist as a central theme in Canada’s international affairs. Nevertheless, human security has been, and arguably will remain, an important political and conceptual development in the landscape of Canada’s global affairs.

In this chapter, I will ‘map’ the relationship between the evolving practice of Canadian human security policy and the academic debates that have surrounded it. This dual focus is appropriate – indeed necessary – because human security (like development) is at its core both a deeply practical/applied and conceptually foundational idea. My purpose is not to comprehensively review the extensive literature on the theory and practice of human security in Canada, but rather to illuminate pivotal points of contention and debate. This, I hope, is a useful exercise not only for students of Canada’s international role but for those interested in the trajectory of human security globally, since Canada has been a key proponent and

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<sup>1</sup> The member states of the HSN are: Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, the Netherlands, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland and Thailand, with South Africa as an Observer.

player in efforts to extend its global appeal. Studying the Canadian case, therefore, serves to illustrate core ambiguities and tensions that attach to this concept, and to highlight potential points of convergence and divergence in its wider promotion.

Many scholars have commented on the breadth, multi-dimensionality and complexity of the human security concept, often critically (e.g., Paris 2001; Khong 2001; Hampson, *et al.* 2002). I will focus on one crucial dimension of this complexity. My basic point of departure is Robert Cox's seminal distinction between 'problem solving theory' (PST) and 'critical theory' (CT) (Sinclair 1996, pp. 4–6; Cox 1986). Problem solving theory accepts the basic parameters of the international system as it finds them – notably the privileged position of states – and seeks to ameliorate and 'manage' the action within it. Critical theory, on the other hand, takes a historicised view. It regards all orders as fundamentally transient, albeit over long historical periods, and analytically steps outside the confines of the existing order to identify both its origins, and the potential trajectories for change from the current to various alternative future orders. The distinction also entails a vital ethical dimension. Problem solving theory assumes the functional desirability of the existing order, and is therefore fundamentally conservative – both assuming and, in effect, working to replicate the core features of the dominant order. Critical theory, on the other hand, in studying contradictions and conflicts within the current order, highlights the potential to identify and work towards a normatively preferable future – a better, more just social and political order.<sup>2</sup>

In a world marked by dizzying changes, deep injustices and profound challenges, critical theory holds obvious appeal. It is not hard to identify potentially system-transforming forces within the current global landscape; nor is it difficult to see the ethical imperative of addressing the poverty, inequalities and other depredations that scar a world order of truly unprecedented aggregate wealth and privilege. Yet critical theory has also been relatively weak in addressing the question of how to connect real time political choices to future orders – how to act in the here and now in ways that connect to, and help to foster, future world order possibilities.

My argument in this chapter is that a crucial part of what makes the idea of human security so appealing and important, but also so contentious, is its potential to encompass and act as a bridge between real time responses to immediate crises, and long term processes of transformation or (in Critical Security Studies terms) emancipation (see Booth 2005, pp. 181–235). Given its simultaneous foci on the local and the global, the immediate and the long-term, it embodies the potential to link urgent, often more or less humanitarian, 'problem solving' with critical processes of regional and global social change. However, to the chagrin of more critical scholars, it can also be turned towards narrower, more palliative, system maintaining purposes. Much of the contention and debate surrounding the Human Security Agenda, in Canada at least, can be understood through this prism.

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<sup>2</sup> Although it must also be analytically attuned to tendencies towards a less desirable future, or 'retrogression'.

## Human Security in Canadian Foreign Policy: Tracking the ‘official’ trajectory

Much has been written about the ‘Human Security Agenda’ in Canadian foreign policy, particularly under the Foreign Ministership of Lloyd Axworthy from January 1996 to October 2000.<sup>3</sup> The trajectory of Canada’s evolving human security policy and practice can be quickly summarised. Axworthy and other protagonists of human security in the 1990s drew much of their initial inspiration from the conceptual and popularising work of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), whose 1994 *World Development Report* argued that the primary referent of security should be shifted from the state to the individual, and that security policy should be concerned, above all, with human life and dignity. Within this overarching premise, it highlighted the breadth and interdependence of the elements of human security, including economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political dimensions. Thus, Axworthy’s early pronouncements on human security reflected this broad and holistic understanding:

.human security is much more than the absence of military threat. It includes security against economic privation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights. This concept .recognizes the complexity of the human environment and accepts that the forces influencing human security are interrelated and mutually reinforcing .(Axworthy 1997, p. 184).

In attempting to give operational shape to this approach, Axworthy explicitly prioritised peacebuilding (vs. peacekeeping), the campaign to ban Anti-Personnel Landmines (in the context of broader efforts to promote disarmament), the need for greater coherence between foreign and development policies around the conceptual premises of human security (for example, through the Canadian Peacebuilding Initiative), the situation of children, and economic development through rules-based trade (Axworthy 1997). This last priority, in particular, illustrates how even in this early phase, there was a tendency to filter human security priorities through long-established, interest-based priorities of Canadian foreign (economic) policy. Even so, this articulation of human security clearly encompassed both ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’, broadly in the mold of the UNDP approach.

By 1999, however, the Department of Foreign Affairs had articulated a narrower ‘freedom from fear’ approach as Canada’s distinctive conception of human security. While still emphasising prevention as well as resolution of conflicts, it laid out five specific priorities focused on protecting individuals from physical threats. These priorities were: public safety, focusing on countering transnational terrorism, drug trafficking, and organised crime; protecting civilians in war-affected contexts, with emphasis on the threat of landmines, the plight of war-affected children and the internally displaced, and *in extremis* military deployments to halt atrocities and war crimes; conflict prevention, with particular attention to addressing the proliferation

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<sup>3</sup> For an excellent summary and critique, see Grayson 2004, and also the various contributions to Hampson, Hillmer and Molot 2001.

of small arms and light weapons (SALW) and the economic dimensions of civil wars; governance and accountability, from the global (International Criminal Court) to the national and local (security sector reform) levels; and support for more sophisticated, multi-dimensional and effective Peace Support Operations (DFAIT 2002). While as implied above, the recent International Policy Statement has downplayed the *explicit* framing of these priorities as part of a coherent Human Security Agenda, substantively they have been largely retained and indeed reinforced in this document.<sup>4</sup>

From a policy perspective, several points about this shift are worth emphasising. First, the move to focus and narrow the Human Security Agenda in this manner was and is entirely understandable in pragmatic policy-making terms. Indeed, despite these efforts to render the Agenda more 'actionable', it remains a vast, ambitious, and in some respects highly intrusive (and therefore controversial) agenda from the perspective of practitioners of diplomatic statecraft. Moreover, it has been associated with some high profile diplomatic initiatives and achievements, however partial and fragile – notably the Landmines Convention; the creation of the International Criminal Court; the sponsorship of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS 2001) and the championing of its conception of 'the Responsibility to Protect' as a basis for more timely and effective responses to egregious human suffering; and the Kimberley Process to roll back the trade in 'blood diamonds', among others.

This raises a number of more or less immediate concerns. First, are Canadian resource commitments sufficient to meaningfully influence even the more focused 'freedom from fear agenda sketched above? Certainly, prior to the IPS, the *explicit* resource commitments of \$0 million over five years for Foreign Affairs' Human Security Programme, beginning in June 2000, even when supplemented by the \$0 million annual Canadian Peacebuilding Fund administered by CIDA, was strikingly limited in relation to the magnitude of the stated aspirations and priorities of the Human Security Agenda. While these resource commitments have been enhanced through the creation of a 5-year, \$00 million Global Peace and Security Fund in 2005, they remain quite minimal in relation to the expansive aspirations and demands of global human security. If, on the other hand, one regards much of the spending on Development Assistance and at least some of the resources deployed to National Defence as crucial supports to a Human Security Agenda – a contentious but plausible claim – Canadian resource availability grows considerably (though still not sufficiently according to the government's many critics, as discussed in the next section of the chapter). However, another set of concerns arises about the ability of government agencies to effectively coordinate and concert their human security-oriented activities, through the 'whole-of-government' approaches that have become a policy watchword in Ottawa and other national capitals. There are also neglected questions to be posed about what *risks* may be associated with the urge to harmonise – what may be lost in the process? – as well as how this governmentally

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the discussions of 'Building a More Secure World' and 'Promoting a New Multilateralism' in the Diplomacy Document – DFAIT 2005, pp. 9–21.

centred process of concertation affects the activities of, and relationships with, non-governmental actors?

A related concern is whether the widely-decried decline of 'problem-solving' resources – notably aid and defence capabilities (for example, Welsh 2004, pp. 224–234; Nossal 1998) – even if partially reversed through the plans set out in the IPS, effectively compromises Canadian ability to credibly promote the broader processes of normative change it has championed? What, for example, are the implications for promoting the principles associated with the Responsibility to Protect of Canada's tardy and limited response to the crisis in Darfur, and the parallel neglect of equally urgent human security imperatives in, for example, the Democratic Republic of the Congo?

Third, do the priorities set out in Canada's 'freedom from fear' agenda constitute an effective basis for common action among the governments in the Human Security Network and others sympathetic to the concept, as well as between these governments and fellow traveling non-state actors? There is a tension here between the essentially statist desire to deploy a *distinctive* 'Canadian' approach to human security as a means of 'branding' this country with a positive image of enlightened cosmopolitanism,<sup>5</sup> and the unavoidable conclusion that the urgent and wide-ranging imperatives highlighted by the notion of human security can only be effectively addressed through robust and determined collective (multilateral) action. Leadership in this domain must, therefore, be sensitive to the demands of building a broadly based normative and practical coalition across boundaries of region, culture, history, and wealth – an imperative that may be contradicted by impulses of self-promotion and celebration.

For those *within* the Canadian government bureaucracy (and, it might be speculated, other state-based bureaucracies) who have championed the Human Security Agenda, it is probably fair to say that there has been a strong sense of moral purpose and pride taken in what has been achieved. There is a palpable sense that they are engaged in an enterprise that is fundamentally worthwhile and, within the parameters of diplomatic practice, quite radical.<sup>6</sup> Given this sense that they are pushing the boundaries of acceptable diplomatic conduct, as well as the deeply embedded assumption within diplomatic services that their proper role is to advance a relatively narrowly constructed 'national interest', human security advocates have felt a concomitant sense of intra-organisational vulnerability and a desire to minimise their differences with more traditional foreign policy priorities – for example, by stressing the essential complementarity between human and state security (DFAIT 2002, pp. 1–3). This ambiguous sense of both mission and vulnerability helps to explain some of the criticisms of the human security policy agenda from within the academic community, as well as the impatience and frustration expressed by human

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<sup>5</sup> An image which does not necessarily withstand closer scrutiny – see Grayson 2004.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, the essays in McRae and Hubert, 2001. These observations are also based, in part, on my 'participant observation' in the Annual Peacebuilding and Human Security Consultations in Ottawa since 2002.

security policymakers towards their academic critics particularly on the left, who policymakers regard as potentially undermining a cause that they *should be* actively promoting and supporting.

## Scholarly Responses

Scholarly reactions to the rise of the human security agenda in Canadian foreign policy can be loosely categorised into critics on the right; supporters, mostly of liberal/constructivist orientations; and critics on the left. Collectively, these perspectives reflect diverse viewpoints concerning the nature of world politics and the potentialities for change in line with the problem solving-critical theory distinction noted above, as well as varied commitments concerning the potential for the idea of human security to contribute to deep and normatively desirable change.

### *Conservative Critics*

One, more theoretical line of criticism takes seriously the radically transformative and cosmopolitan potential of human security, and argues that such a development is imprudent or even dangerous in a highly pluralistic world. This ‘Grotian’ or ‘International Society’ perspective cautions that it is unwise, at best, to destabilise long-established norms of sovereign autonomy and self-determination, by potentially legitimising intrusions of external actors in the name of the universalistic ideal of human security and thus giving license to ‘crusading’. According to William Bain, ‘(t)he ethic of human security challenges and possibly undermines the moral foundation of international society as it has existed for nearly four-hundred years’, and ‘a foreign policy which is guided, at least in part, by a universal doctrine such as human security is difficult to reconcile with the practical realities and fundamentally pluralist nature of international society’ (Bain 1999, pp. 85–86). This critique finds resonance among many in the developing world, who pointedly question the target selection and motivations of the predominantly rich, western ‘interveners’ in situations of profound human insecurity (see Ayoob 2001). In the final analysis, this critique overstates the degree of universalistic coherence associated with the idea of human security. It also overestimates the continuing force of the traditional norms of state-centric international society in a globalising world context, and underestimates the adaptability of state-based authorities and prerogatives. It is important, however, in highlighting key tensions and dangers associated with the normative changes that human security promotes.

The critique of excessive and unseemly crusading is also a core feature of a second line of conservative criticism. From the perspective of some of the leading ‘mainstream’ scholars of Canadian foreign policy, there is nothing inherently wrong with devoting public resources to the amelioration of suffering in the name of human security where prudent and feasible (what Kim Nossal might characterise as voluntaristic acts of ‘good international citizenship’; see Nossal 1998, pp. 98–

105). They do, however, stress the continued centrality of states in world politics and the privileged status of inter-state security interests in the hierarchy of world issues, in line with problem solving theory assumptions. They also stress that states are fundamentally and appropriately accountable, first and foremost, to their own citizens; and they decry the excessive moralising and hypocrisy which they see in a Human Security Agenda that promises much but can deliver very little, given the egregious neglect of traditional instruments of statecraft (see, for example, Stairs 2001; Hampson and Oliver 1998; Welsh 2004, pp. 183–186). This, they imply, has the ultimate effect of diminishing the Canadian state, both intrinsically and in its ability to operate effectively in the forums of international affairs.

A third, related type of worry, emanating from some scholars of international law, is that human security, by ‘securitising’ a wide range of global dangers, opens the door to their being constructed as ‘threats’ and thereby gives license to a much more permissive approach to the application of force by those in a position to use it. ‘The human security agenda is being perverted’, write Toope and Bruneau, ‘so that the stress is on “security” and not on humanitarian concerns’ (Bruneau and Toope 2004, p. 258). States and other advocates of human security have been too cavalier about the importance of traditional legal prohibitions on the use of force and the dangers of their erosion, with the result that many people may be rendered *less* rather than more secure. They have in mind, of course, the human costs associated with the war in Iraq and other excesses associated with the ‘War on Terror’.

Interestingly, in light of this concern, there has been at least one contribution to the debate from the security studies ‘mainstream’ that has argued *for* the human security doctrine in Canadian foreign policy, on the grounds that it ‘has paved the way for nothing short of the rescuing of Canadian defence policy from military irrelevance and strategic sterility’. Jockel and Sokolsky (2000/1, p. 1) argue that the rise of the human security agenda, with its much more frequent demands for robust interventions in situations of instability and conflict, has provided a far more compelling strategic rationale for upgrading the Canadian armed forces than the Cold War context did, and for enhancing their interoperability with allies – particularly the United States. They also argue that the human security agenda has the *realpolitik* virtue of being fundamentally discretionary: policymakers can ‘pick and choose’ which human security causes they wish to pursue. Whether Canadian public opinion and transnational mobilisation allow as much political discretion as the authors suggest is debatable, but critics on the left would share the overall view that these interventions have been treated as fundamentally discretionary and have therefore been far less timely and generous than the real needs of the people affected would warrant.

Notwithstanding Jockel and Sokolsky’s dissent, however, the dominant view of critics in this broad ‘problem solving’ category is that human security may be excessively destabilising as an ideal, leads to false and inflated expectations, provides little or no basis on which to set priorities among competing claims on government attention and resources, and breeds unseemly and counter-productive crusading and sanctimony. The more muted tone of discussions of human security in

the IPS suggests that these criticisms have been telling among foreign policymakers, even if much of the *substance* of the 'freedom from fear' agenda has been retained and reinforced.

### *Supportive Perspectives*

Among the intellectual supporters of the human security agenda are many analysts associated with development and disarmament NGOs, frequently affiliated with the Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee (see [www.peacebuild.ca](http://www.peacebuild.ca); also NSI 2005; Regehr and Whelan 2004). Their approach is substantially based on informed ethical commitments and policy advocacy. They would certainly agree that the resources devoted to human security endeavours have been insufficient – often grossly so. Nevertheless, they see this agenda as a valuable innovation insofar as it compels a response to urgent humanitarian imperatives. They also see it as paving the way, potentially at least, towards deeper processes of change and innovation aimed at enhanced prevention of deadly conflicts and the building of 'deep' and sustainable peace. In this sense, their approach straddles the problem solving-critical theory divide. These researcher/activist/practitioners have a delicate strategic relationship with government supporters of human security inside government – as more or less dependent allies, and at the same time as 'civil society actors' who must sustain a degree of critical distance to be legitimate and effective.

More theoretically, scholars from a liberal/constructivist perspective have emphasised the importance of long-term global social change in creating the basis for a more just and secure global order. Through processes of normative change and institutional innovation, states *can be* increasingly compelled and constrained to embrace more ethically oriented policies, underpinning enhanced human security. Of course, this is a long-term process, and states will always have mixed motives. Scholars from this perspective argue, however, that rather than being simply dismissive of states' professed commitments, critics should 'hold them accountable to such standards, demand consistency, and remain vigilant against the manipulation of moral norms for self-serving and short-sighted purposes' (Franceschet and Knight 2001, p. 61). From this perspective, Canada's (and Lloyd Axworthy's) human security agenda looks much more promising, even if this promise remains fragile and uncertain. Initiatives such as the Landmines Convention, effective support for the creation of the Rome Statute establishing the International Criminal Court, sponsorship of the ICISS and promotion of the 'Responsibility to Protect', and the campaign to create legal and institutional prohibitions on the trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons are all potential advances towards greater human security. Moreover, Canada's role – through 'soft power, moral suasion, and norm entrepreneurship', or as a 'tipping agent' in constructing and popularising new international norms through a process of 'cascade' (Franceschet and Knight 2001; Howard and Neufeldt 2000) – has been highly significant.

Whether the diminution of 'hard power resources' (military and developmental) decried by the mainstream critics, as discussed above, significantly compromises

these efforts to promote normative and institutional innovation is an important though elusive question. Does Canada still have the standing and influence to play a leading role in such processes? How is this standing and influence created and sustained? At a deeper level, critical scholars question how much these high-level, reformist processes of normative and institutional politics change the underlying power structures of the global order, or simply create the *illusion* of change, thereby deflecting and demobilising sources of potent and justified dissent.

### *Critical/Transformative Perspectives*

From this perspective, DFAIT's retreat from the more holistic and structural vision embodied in early human security pronouncements towards the more limited freedom from fear agenda robs the concept of its transformative potential. Indeed from the outset, Lloyd Axworthy's argument that the path to economic development (and hence human security) lies through 'rules based trade' – and hence the promotion of economic and trade liberalisation along neo-liberal lines at national, regional, and global levels – was seen as fundamentally compromising the promotion of human security (see Denholm Crosby 2004, pp. 94–96). On this analysis, the freedom from fear approach ends up addressing the worst manifestations of human insecurity, while neglecting a deeper analysis of both their links to structures of inequality, and Canadians' own complicity (as a government and a society) in those structures – notably through the neo-liberal trade and development policies we propagate. Canada's human security agenda also discursively constructs human insecurity as something emanating from the global South – thereby reinforcing the widely-held view of the South as a source of *threat* to our own security, while deflecting attention from manifestations of human insecurity in Canada and elsewhere in the global North (see Hooley 1998).

In its freedom from fear variation, therefore, human security becomes a conservative, problem-solving approach – a palliative for and deflection from the deeper causes and manifestations of human *insecurity*. Indeed, by masquerading as something radically new and transformative, this idea actually becomes 'retrogressive'. In Kyle Grayson's provocative and compelling analysis, '(n)ot only is there the illusion of change, but it is presented as a real and ultimate solution to the problem at hand. This, of course, greatly augments the hegemonic interests of particular actors, as existing asymmetrical power relations remain in place' (Grayson 2004, p. 49).

This kind of deep critique is likely to be greeted with impatience and even hostility by many officials and practitioners who are doing the 'heavy lifting' on human security within government, and in various international and non-governmental organisations. Surely, by intellectualising and criticising the efforts of those attempting to ameliorate human suffering – both through immediate responses and through efforts to build the foundations for long-term normative change – such critical approaches are bound to be resented by those on the 'front lines'. As postconflict situations relapse into renewed violence with alarming frequency, however, and as diverse global threats

– ecological, economic, and cultural – mount, such deep critiques need to be taken seriously if the more transformative and emancipatory potential of human security is to be approached.

## **Conclusion**

Can the differences between those championing and acting upon problem solving *versus* critical visions of human security be bridged? Can the need for an ‘actionable’ response to immediate and pressing threats of physical violence and armed conflict – freedom from fear – be reconciled and harmonised with the more expansive, deeper and longer term demands of alleviating poverty and reducing inequalities – freedom from want?

Not entirely. The cultures, demands, and world views of these different communities and perspectives are too disparate to be fully accommodated. Nevertheless, the tension and debate between them, if approached respectfully and open-mindedly, can advance both the cause and analysis of human security through processes of communication, contestation, and dialogic learning (Busumtwi-Sam 2002, p. 270). Moreover, through the evolving practices (including failures) of core human security initiatives such as those concerning conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and child protection, it is possible that the need for deeper and more expansive change may come to be appreciated. In this way, it remains possible that the continued vitality of human security as a foreign policy idea and ideal may yet create spaces for, and pave the way towards, normatively desirable long-term change.

## Chapter 6

# Human Security in the National Interest? Canada, POGG and the 'New' Multilateralism

George A. MacLean

### **Introduction**

This chapter is an assessment of the principle and practice of human security in Canadian foreign policy. The argument comes in two parts. First, the principle of human security is embedded in Canada's national interest, and best symbolised by 'peace, order, and good government', or POGG (Department of Justice 1867), which frames the domestic source of humanitarian impulses in Canadian foreign policy. Human security policy is an evolution of these impulses. It is also quite robust, and part of the '3D' approach (diplomacy, defence, development) to foreign affairs being undertaken by the Canadian government. Second, the practice of human security is entrenched in multilateralism, which has been evolving due to conditions of global turbulence.

There are four positions taken in this chapter. First, the Canadian interpretation of human security is not radical. It is part of an evolution of Canadian foreign policy premised on a tradition of humanitarian interventionism. Second, Canadian human security policy is grounded firmly in the national interest. This is despite the fact that Canadians do not always care to admit the national interest, and the confusion surrounding what it is. But it makes no sense not to admit the national interest, since it is the basis of the 'grand strategy' of Canada's foreign relations. Third, peace, order and good government (POGG) is the source of Canada's connection between the foundations of basic law domestically, and the national interest in its foreign policy. Fourth, POGG as the basis of Canada's human security policy is best projected multilaterally. Multilateralism, like foreign policy itself, is evolving.

### **Human Security in Principle**

The principle of human security is multifaceted, rooted in both the objectives and capacity of Canada's foreign policy. This section brings together some concepts that are interdependent: the national interest, POGG and humanitarian impulses, and human security and the 3D approach in contemporary Canadian foreign policy. This

section does not deal extensively with the concept of human security itself. Other chapters in this volume consider the conceptual aspects of human security; as well, there are other studies that scrutinise the concept (MacLean 2000).

### *The National Interest in Canadian Foreign Policy*

The 'national interest' is often criticised – especially by academics – as nothing but a catchall term based on a woolly and imprecise measurement of interests. This is unavoidable, since the core interests of a nation are influenced by the intangible element of perception by decision-makers in a process necessarily informed by the normative opinion of the policymakers involved. Thus, measuring the national interest in a way that would satisfy everyone is simply impossible, but this does not mean that we should ignore it altogether.

Despite its ambiguity, the national interest is fundamental for any government's foreign policy, revealing the 'guiding principles of its foreign policy and how it coordinates means and ends' (Schloming 1991, p. 412). The national interest is not just another variable affecting decisions; it is a highly nuanced determinant, and one that brings to bear the underlying sentiment of the decision-makers who employ it. Of particular interest is the manner in which the national interest is defined and projected by governments. Foreign policy determination relies on how a government articulates its perception of the national interest, and the degree to which governments and citizens acquiesce.

Briefly, a country's national interest is that which contributes to its self-preservation, national security, sufficiency, and prestige (Osgood 1953). More substantively, the interests of a nation are both subjective and objective. A nation's objective interests are those it seeks to protect through its foreign policy: the preservation of its territorial integrity, the maintenance of political administration, and the defence of its resources, values and identity, for example. Subjective interests include normative values and political considerations, which change according to the evaluation of the individuals involved, and the environment in which the decisions are made. In other words, the national interest incorporates an objective rationale, along with the relative importance of political interests.

Canadians are uneasy about the national interest. This is not to suggest that Canada has no foreign policy tradition or role to play in the international arena, but rather that the 'interest' is generally avoided in discussions of what frames Canadian foreign policy. David Haglund suggests that Canadians are not so much concerned with the national interest as they are with whether Canada should 'even stoop to admit' to having one (Haglund 2000, p. 10). Perhaps Canadians see the national interest as more suitable for the United States and other great powers, not a middle power. Or maybe a parallel is drawn to military strategy. In any case, the national interest assumes a certain self-interest or egoism unfamiliar or repugnant to Canadians; it is somehow 'un-Canadian'.

But Canadian foreign policy has always been about self-interest. Any other basis for a foreign policy makes no sense. The real problem, as Haglund suggests,

is *admitting* that such interests exist at all. How can they not? To ignore the national interest would be to pretend that Canadians are unaffected by events in the world. This is clearly not the case, and there is an irony here. The same Canadian who denies the national interest would likely strenuously defend Canada's internationalist tradition. Yet one cannot exist without the other. Michael Adams' analysis of polling data shows a strong feeling among Canadians regarding their global role (Adams 2003). Other analyses have similar conclusions (Martin and Fortmann 2000). As Allan Gottlieb notes, 'Canadians are now far more conscious than even before of the encroachment of the international environment on our daily lives' (Gottlieb 2005, p. 17). There is a crucial link between Canadians' view of their global role and the interest of the nation as a whole. Canadians are not disinterested when it comes to foreign policy. As Jennifer Welsh argues, Canadians believe they 'should take part in defining and implementing the country's international agenda' (Welsh 2005, p. 59).

There is more to this, however. As previously described, interest in foreign policy emerges from both objective and subjective causes. Foreign policy decision-making and objective interests form something of a tautology: the objective interests exist and inform policy, which in turn seeks to maintain and strengthen the interests. There is, then, a universal core to these objective interests because they are necessary for the preservation of the state itself. Yet, subjective interests – changeable normative values and political considerations – are also involved. To grasp the national interest, a balance must be struck between the objective and immediate concerns of a nation and its political values. The national interest incorporates an objective rationale, and the relative importance of political interests. It follows, then, that values underscore foreign policy. In the Canadian context, the foundation of these values can be located in the principle of POGG.

### **POGG and Humanitarian Impulses**

POGG is important for a variety of reasons. First, POGG represents an early constitutional differentiation from the United States. It is distinct from the individualism and rights of citizens which framed state-society relations in the United States, depicted as 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Though a less-catchy phrase, 'peace, order, and good government' reflected a political and social order in Canada that was premised on hierarchy, institutionalism, and deference to authority.

Second, POGG also reflects the Canadian version of the division of powers. POGG is a constitutional 'residual' clause, meaning that authority not specified for a level of government would be left for the federal government. Here we see the function in the principle. Though later employed as an 'emergency power' clause in the 1920s, POGG was intended to deal with problems of authority in basic law.

Third, POGG represents core Canadian national values. Rule of law, equality, diversity, tolerance, freedom, and democracy are all predicated on POGG. It is a *sui generis* definition of the package of rights and responsibilities of a society, and is about more than 'government', it is also about 'governance'. It is more than an ideal

for setting up institutions of authority; it is also an active concept (governance), and set of standards. POGG represents a core interest in Canadian foreign policy.

POGG, then, is more than a functional principle, or a mere constitutional clause. It is also a description of order within civil society, particularly regarding the allocation of power. Often depicted as the Canadian 'ideal' (perhaps in lieu of something with a better ring to it), POGG points toward the Canadian emphasis on legitimacy in civil society. While it may be too one-dimensional to portray Canada's identity wholly as POGG, there is a wide literature that spells out a fundamental Canadian distinction. For example, Seymour Martin Lipset's *Continental Divide* ascertained Canadians as more collective than individual, more law abiding, and more societally bound than Americans (Lipset 1990). Adams argues that these national characteristics extend to foreign policy as well. His analysis suggests the domestic interpretations of Lipset are correct; but furthermore, Adams finds among Canadians a greater connection to the global system of politics (Adams 2003).

The values inherent in POGG have framed Canadian foreign policy for a very long time. Six decades ago, Secretary of State for External Affairs Louis St. Laurent commented on the 'values which lay emphasis on the importance of the individual, on the place of moral principles in the conduct of human relations, on standards of judgment which transcend mere material well-being.' Canadians, he said, had a responsibility to 'protect and nurture' these values (Blanchette 2000, p. 5). In *Right and Wrong in Canadian Foreign Policy*, James Eayrs spoke of the value-laden idealist tradition in foreign policy. Liberal idealism in foreign policy, he said, is about improving the standards of life through moral progress, decency, and principles of behaviour (Eayrs 1966). The ideals, standards, and functions of POGG are the humanitarian impulses and tradition of values in Canadian foreign policy. And they have been around for some time.

Though not always overtly declared, the normative foundation of POGG traditionally has been at the heart of Canadian foreign policy. In a similar fashion, human security has a long tradition, though also not always explicitly referenced that way. Human security is not such a revolution in Canadian foreign policy; rather, as the next section argues, human security is based on a long-standing impulse in Canadian foreign policy. That impulse, however, has been rebranded.

### *Human Security and the 3D Approach*

Security has no single and agreed-upon definition. This is an important starting point. Security, like other social conventions, has evolved in multiple meanings and outcomes. Security is the protection of dominant ideology and government organisations, and the physical protection of citizens, the state, and resources. Security comprises welfare goals, access to markets and capital, and financial stability. Security is the conservation of natural ecosystems.

Security is social, political, military, civil, economic, and environmental. *Human security* reflects the basic unit of analysis in all of these categories – the person. This is not such a stretch from the traditional concept(s) of security. Instead, given the human thread that winds its way through the social, political, military, civil,

economic, and environmental interpretations of security (all of them legitimate), it is only logical that 'human' security would emerge.

Human security stresses the individual's personal protection, rather than simply the safeguarding of the state as a political unit. But it is not an 'either-or' situation. Just as traditional notions of territorial security involve structured threats that come with state warfare, human security comprises unstructured threats, such as those emanating from environmental scarcity, human rights abuses, or mass migration. In the context of human security concerns, these threats often emerge as the result of a mix of structured (usual state-initiated) and non-structured (usually non-state initiated) threats. Human security, in short, involves the security of individuals in their personal surroundings, their community, and in their environment.

The opportunity for human security came from what Andrew Cooper termed 'an expanded debate about the form and focus of security.' This debate, he suggests, is two sided: on the one hand, security is viewed 'officially' in the context of statist terms, yet on the other hand, security is more broadly defined along value-oriented viewpoints 'encompassing the economic, legal and environmental spheres', best exemplified by human security (Cooper 1997, p. 111). Security policy for Canada always has been a balancing act between geopolitical interests and collective values and norms. But the differences between the two outlooks ought not to be overstated. There is a balance. Human security is rooted in the well-established precedent of an ever-expanding definition of security itself. It is ideally related to the security objectives of the state, and is ultimately connected to threats, both structured and unstructured. Any attempt to highlight the perceived 'gap' between traditional statist and universal interpretations of security, therefore, exaggerates the discrepancy between the two.

Despite claims – even emerging from the government itself – that human security was a 'shift', Ottawa never held the position that human security would supplant national security. As other chapters explain, Canadian foreign policy *reflected* the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) criteria regarding human security – economic, food, health, environment, personal, community, and political. But these criteria made the policy 'unwieldy as a policy instrument' (DFAIT 1999, p. 3). Human security reflects, but does not reproduce, the UNDP criteria. Rather, Canada's position has been that people are a point of reference: their protection is to be secured, just as protection of the state, the economy, or access to resources contribute to national security, economic security, and security of resources (MacLean 2004).

All of this is fairly straightforward, and does not deviate from the tradition of Canadian foreign policy. Far from divergence, human security represents the progression of Canada's national interest. But there have been bumps along the way. One of the most serious was the fixation on human security's 'newness'.

In the Canadian milieu, human security's greatest liability was the emphasis supporters placed on its inventiveness and originality. Like most nations, Canada is comprised of people generally uncomfortable with radical change or revolutionary ideas. Free trade, ballistic missile defence, even same-sex marriage, caused difficulties for Ottawa in large part due to the changes that Canadians expected would come.

But this did not stop some supporters of human security from trimming it out as something completely innovative.

'Paradigm shift' became a popular description of human security, though all social scientists know the peril that awaits those who use this term. Even the Canadian government used such language. Canadian policy development chapters termed human security 'transitory policy, a paradigm shift ... a new lens which profoundly transforms the foreign policy landscape' (CCFPD 1999, p. 2). Former Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy wrote, 'Canada began using the language of human security when it became clear that, in the aftermath of the Cold War, a new foreign policy paradigm was needed' (Axworthy, in McRae and Hubert 2001, p. 3).

In fact, there was no paradigm shift and little more than terminology and emphasis had changed in Canadian foreign policy. Canadian foreign policy has always been known for its emphasis on rights, humanitarianism, and the protection of people. The basis of its policy, both on paper and in practice, displays these impulses. Human security was an 'evolution' of policy, not a 'shift'. In a frantic effort to imprint Canada's foreign policy in a fresh and innovative way, practitioners and academics alike created the basis for rejection, instead of appealing to the constants in Canada's policy. The language of 'transformation' (Grayson 2004), 'shifting focus' (Acharya 2001), 'new directions,' 'paradigm shifts' (McRae 2001, Owens and Arneil 1999), and basic unadorned 'change' raised the ire of some academics, and uncertainty among the attentive public.

Moreover, there is a connection between human security and the emerging emphasis on the '3D' approach in Canadian foreign policy. The '3D' approach is a comprehensive strategy by the Canadian government to coordinate departmental and agency cooperation in its foreign policy. 3D – diplomacy, defence, and development – formally combines the efforts of Foreign Affairs Canada, the Department of National Defence, and the Canadian International Development Agency.

The 3D approach might be thought of as a management tool for Canadian foreign policy. It is interagency based, and an effective model for the multilateral implementation of foreign policy. It had a core place in the Liberal Party's 2004 election platform, although it is arguable that in that document 3D became 3D+T, with the inclusion of 'trade'.

Recent developments show the relationship between 3D and the principles of POGG. The Liberal Party's 2004 election platform overview of foreign policy read in part: 'There is no more important responsibility for the federal government than the protection and safety of Canadians, best reflected in the constitutional responsibility of the Government of Canada to provide for "Peace, Order, and Good Government"' (Liberal Party of Canada 2004). Former Prime Minister Paul Martin has remarked on the need to 'protect our values and our interests' and the 'importance of national will in defining Canada's place in the world' (Prime Minister's Office 2004). And draft versions of the long-awaited foreign and security policy reviews have referenced the basis of values in Canada's foreign relations (Blanchfield 2005). 'Good governance' has been bandied about in relation to Canada's policy with the developing world,

and there has even been talk of creating a new ‘Office of International Peace, Order, and Good Government’.

There is a strong lineage of humanitarian interventionism in Canadian foreign policy. Human security was a progression of Canadian foreign policy, not abandonment of its historic traditions. Furthermore, the progression responded to systemic changes in global politics.

### **Human Security in Practice**

Ideas matter for foreign policy. But they need a mechanism, or they are just ideas. This section shifts focus from the principles of Canadian foreign policy and human security to the mechanism of multilateralism, exploring its changing nature, the effects of global turbulence, and the emergence of the ‘new’ multilateralism.

#### *Canada and Multilateralism*

Multilateralism is the integration of a decision making process with three or more independent political actors (Keohane 1993; Ruggie 1993). It is premised on the logic of collective action since multilateralism is supposed to bring benefits that could not be achieved independently (Caporaso 1992). Multilateralism is more than just interaction; it assumes shared benefits, reciprocity among participants, and a regulated environment. Robert Keohane and Miles Kahler, among others, see multilateralism as a decision-making instrument for foreign policy adjustment and co-ordination (Keohane 1993; Kahler 1992). It is relational, involving integrated decision making, policy co-ordination and alignment, and at its most intense level, policy integration. The outcome is ‘diffuse reciprocity’ in co-ordinated and mutually beneficial relations, and reciprocal behaviour from partners (Ruggie 1993). Benefits are not always equal, given the variety of actors involved, but multilateralism is not a zero-sum gain – all parties benefit; yet some may benefit more than others when a hierarchy exists. Major powers must play the major roles, and the commitment of major powers to multilateralism must be believable for other players to want to participate (Gourevitch 1986; Cowhey, in Ruggie 1993).

Multilateralism is a familiar theme in the Canadian foreign policy literature, an ‘article of faith,’ according to Tom Keating (Keating 2002, p. 1). It has been the most effective way for Canada to influence the policies of its friends and allies, even great powers. States that are able either to determine the structure of the international system, or have close access to states that do, are in a position to shape and influence the alignment of allies’ policies. States that maintain favourable multilateral memberships are likely to affect the process of international affairs in a manner that would be impossible through individual action. Multilateralism, then, gives Canada greater co-ordinated decision making and policy implementation, and consequently greater authority and influence in the international system.

Multilateralism served an important task for Canadian foreign and security policy immediately following World War II. Multilateralism permitted Canada to rise above the status of observer, and become a more active participant in global affairs. It gave Canada a functional role that distinguished it from other non-great powers, largely due to the close bilateral relationship it shared with the United States.

Multilateralism and human security share underlying dominant attitudes and dispositions, as 'moral multilateralism became part of the definition of modern Canadianism' (Hillmer 2005, p. 33). Practice and principle joined together, presenting a potential for an independent voice, as well as projecting the national interest. As Rosalind Irwin suggests, multilateralism allows Canada to respond to interdependence in the international system with a commitment to the 'values of democracy, peacekeeping, and human rights' (Irwin 2001, p. 5).

### *Global Turbulence and the 'New' Multilateralism*

James Rosenau sees contemporary international relations as a 'historical breakpoint' in international relations, as at a 'historic breakpoint', as important for our theorizing as the post-World War II order itself. He terms it global turbulence: 'a world-wide state of affairs in which the interconnections which sustain the primary parameters of world politics are marked by extensive complexity and variability' (Rosenau 1990, p. 4, p. 78). Turbulence suggests a shift in the nature of international politics, where traditional modes of state-to-state relations, with defined rules and norms of behaviour, are affected by unpredictable and irregular conditions. New issues and new modalities affect the capacity of states to provide satisfactory solutions, and require other means of response. Additionally, the increasing relevance of sub-system actors, such as regional entities, groups, and individuals, presents another multivariate dimension to the problem.

Rosenau's turbulence reflects the entanglement of domestic and international politics. He suggests that the probing of interactions among states is 'outdated' and that a 'post-international politics' is needed to include non-state action as well as state/non-state interaction. A post-international politics needs re-examined parameters in the system and its constituent units – the ties between individuals (the orientational level), collectivities (the structural level), and the mix of the two (the connection between individuals and their structures).

Our analysis ought to begin with the assumption that international and domestic phenomena are intertwined (Singer 1961, p. 28). If Rosenau is correct, and the field of international relations is truly marked by what he terms 'parametric' change, then the levels of national and systemic politics are increasingly blurred. The sources of these changes, furthermore, are both domestic and 'exogenous.' The implications are widespread, since foreign policy relies on decision-making and core national interests. It follows that multilateralism is affected by turbulence, as well.

Although the 'new' multilateralism is of relatively recent design, talk of systemic change and new modalities is not new. Over twenty years ago David Dewitt and John Kirton noted global changes affecting Canadian foreign policy, including the erosion

of international and domestic distinctions. This, they wrote, would spell a greater role for non-states actors (Dewitt and Kirton 1983). 'New' multilateralism/'new internationalism', or 'new diplomacy' (in the parlance of government officials), moves away from state-centric norms, and is pushed by forces such as democratisation, environmental protection, human rights, and justice. It is premised on concerns of global governance and linked to ... a movement towards establishing a post-Cold War global agenda that concentrates on 'demilitarisation, democratization, sustainable development, environmental protection, cultural pluralism and other civilisational issues, human rights and justice, and generally bottom-up multilateralisms' (Knight 1998, p. 10).

At the end of the Cold War, Roman Washuk argues, multilateralism 'was showing its age.' The 'new' multilateralism envelopes a more multivariate network of actors, global governance issues, and is generally accepting of the entanglement of domestic and systemic levels. Canadian foreign policy, including the 3D approach, reflects this: 'Canada's championing of the new multilateralism at the turn of the millennium has thus taken the form of non-traditional coalition-building, both with states and transnational networks, and of grafting the issues driving these coalitions, notably human security' (Washuk, in McRae and Hubert 2001, p. 213, p. 221).

According to one official, Canada responded to the 'new diplomacy' by working 'outside traditional forums ... creat[ing] coalitions of the willing to move difficult issues forward more quickly, while building international support ... with a new style of leadership, an inclusive approach to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and engaged citizens' (McRae 2001, 254). Listening to former Foreign Affairs Minister Pierre Pettigrew, who believes Canada 'long ago rejected the nation-state model' (Foreign Affairs Canada (FAC) 2004a), one sees the opportunity inherent in the 'new' multilateralism.

To draw this together, Canadian foreign policy has a strong tradition of humanitarianism. Human security is an evolution of this tradition. It is an expansion of a more traditional definition of security, and it necessarily draws in subsystemic concerns. Human security, therefore, reflects an expansion of not just security, but also multilateralism. Security and multilateralism have transformed, resulting in human security, and the 'new' multilateralism.

## **Conclusion**

Lester Pearson said that foreign policy is 'merely domestic policy with its hat on' (Gordon 1966, p. 195). This is not so facetious. What is foreign policy if not a reflection of domestic interests projected beyond borders? Minister Pettigrew calls it 'taking advantage of our international personality' (FAC 2005h). Domestic interests emerge from what citizens attach importance to – political and territorial integrity, national resources, values and identity. Interests evolve, and policy must evolve with it.

Principle and practice go hand in hand for human security. Both have undergone an evolution in Canadian foreign policy. Part of the problem is branding. Like the

national interest, concepts and titles tend to bog us down. But in the real world of Canadian foreign policy, there is also consistency and convention.

Perhaps human security as a brand will lose its appeal, and be replaced outright by something else. This is not likely, but possible. Certainly the emphasis on the brand has been downplayed with successive post-Axworthy foreign affairs ministers, yet, but *eppur si muove* ('yet it moves'). The principle is still there, apparent in the 3D approach. Human security will not simply morph into 3D; rather, multilateralism has adapted to a multivariate turbulent environment, and so has Canadian foreign policy.

In an era of turbulent change, Canada's human security displays the ideological principles of POGG that underpin Canada's functional practice of multilateral behaviour. The nexus of principle and practice help explain the basis of the national interest in Canada's foreign affairs: POGG is the defining national value for Canada; multilateralism is the defining foreign policy mechanism. Successful multilateralism means reciprocal action by allies. This is the essence of the 'grand strategy' and national interest. Human security is in the national interest, projecting a foundation of domestic values beyond borders.

## Chapter 7

# Diminishing Human Security: The Canadian Case<sup>1</sup>

Heather A. Smith

### Introduction

Where is human security in Canadian foreign policy? In the mid-1990s human security seemed alive and well (at least rhetorically) in the declarations of Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy, and yet by 2005 one is hard pressed to find the same rhetorical embrace of the concept in a host of international policy related speeches and documents. There is the occasional reference to human security, and some may go so far as to argue that human security continues to exist in a mutated form in the 'responsibilities agenda' and in the acceptance of broad notions of security adopted in the speeches of former Prime Minister Martin. Foreign Affairs Canada (FAC) continues to be committed to the promotion of human security through the Human Security Program and Canada remains a member of the Human Security Network.

Human security does appear to have fallen on the Canadian agenda. Human security appears to be squeezed out of the government discourse or at least marginalised. This loss of status, however, should not be seen as a cause for the ringing of hands because human security even as an aspiration, has been and continues to be promoted by a state in such a way that the state remains privileged, the inside is not considered and the holistic potential of the concept is constrained to meet the needs of elite articulation. Consistent with David Black's analysis of critical/transformational perspectives, I believe that lacking in the Canadian government discourse is any sense of complicity in the creation of human insecurity. The idea of human security has merit, but the articulation of the concept over time in the Canadian case also provides some important lessons about the smoke and mirrors that can be used to obfuscate and warp the genuine value of the concept.

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter was originally presented to the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, March 2005, Honolulu and earlier versions of some sections of this chapter also appear in 'Of Faultlines and Homefronts: A Letter to the Prime Minister' in *Canadian Foreign Policy*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2005, pp. 3–18.

## **The Evolution of Human Security**

As is well documented, human security was championed by the former Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy (Black, this volume; Grayson 2004; Smith 2000; Smith 2000/01). Human security was an evolving concept and one can identify shifts in language and emphasis over time. In some of his earlier speeches Axworthy adopted an expansive and holistic concept of human security which included multiple referent threats and the elevation of the individual in the conception of human security.

By 1999 the language had changed. In a concept paper produced by the Department of Foreign Affairs in April 1999 (See DFAIT 1999), some of the breadth of issues remained but the state was back in and the definition of human security had changed. It is argued that 'security between states remains a necessary condition for the security of people ... [but] at the same time, national security is insufficient to guarantee people's security' (Ibid., p. 2). We need to focus on human security which is understood to be 'safety from both violent and non-violent threats' (Ibid., p. 3).

By September 2002 (DFAIT 2002, p. 4) we were presented with yet another iteration of human security. Human security is indicated as placing 'a focus on the security of people' while also being complementary to national security. Human security was defined as 'freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives' (Ibid.). The document then goes on to list a set of five priority areas, thus narrowing the scope of human security from earlier versions. The five priorities were: 'protection of civilians; peace support operations; conflict prevention; governance and accountability; public safety' (Ibid., pp. 4–5). These remain the present priorities (See FAC 2005a).

The appointment of John Manley as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2000 was marked 'by the turn away from the Axworthy human security agenda towards an emphasis on economic foreign policy and Canadian-American relationships' (Hillmer and Molot 2002, p. 3). Bill Graham, appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2001, was observed to be more like Axworthy than Manley. Under his leadership the *Dialogue on Foreign Policy* (FAC 2003a) was produced. This pseudo-white paper contained reference to human security. The promotion of human security was urged by the participants in the *Dialogue on Foreign Policy: Report to Canadians* (FAC 2003b) but there is also a tension between human security and more traditional notions of military security that did not exist to the same degree in previous incarnations of the human security discourse. The document, however, was also the a product of the post-9-11 era, thus reflecting what some felt were the new realities of living in an era marked by a war on terror. This document appears to give security precedence over other foreign policy pillars and while security is still understood to include non-military security issues, the terrorist threat is foregrounded. Human security is seen as a means by which to combat global instability.

Pierre Pettigrew, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs until the change in government in January 2006, made some references to human security in his public statements. The most extensive reference to human security can be found

in a statement to the Kimberley Process Plenary Meeting held in October 2004. Pettigrew noted Canada's consistent support of the concept of human security and also noted the new threats of: 'terrorism, international crime and trafficking in small arms, drugs, women and children' (FAC 2004b, p. 2). He defined human security as follows: 'human security is a condition or state of being characterised by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or even their lives. Our human security agenda is ultimately aimed at developing new concepts, adapting diplomatic practices, and updating institutions upon which the international system is based, with a view to enhancing the security of all people' (Ibid., p. 2).

Pettigrew's variation of human security is generally consistent with earlier iterations but a scan of several of his speeches suggests that 'human' does not have the privileged status in the Canadian foreign policy discourse it once had. For example, fleeting reference is made to human security discussions of failed and fragile states (FAC 2005c, p. 2; FAC 2005d, p. 6), consistent with the *International Policy Statement*, considered below. There is reference to renewal of the human security program (FAC 2005e, p. 2), human security is related to Axworthy era initiatives such as the northern dimension of Canada's foreign policy (FAC 2005f, p. 2) and there is a linkage made between gender, peace and security (FAC 2005g). Human security, however, is not presented as a part of the Canadian brand (Grayson 2004). Instead, terms such as the 'responsibilities agenda' (FAC 2005h, p. 6; 2005i; 2005j) or 'Canada's international personality' (FAC 2005h and 2005d) seem to have as much weight as the once dominant 'human security'.

In spite of the decline of the use of the concept of human security in statements by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, FAC, as noted earlier, has been active in a host of projects designated as 'human security'. For example, human security activities undertaken by Canada and related to the UN include the following:

- ∞ In April 2004, Canada made a written submission on the *Responsibility to Protect* to the UN High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, handing over the final report of the Canadian sponsored International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) entitled *The Responsibility to Protect* (December 2001);
- ∞ submitting a report to the UN on what Canada is doing to combat terrorism (November 2001);
- ∞ at the UN Conference on Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, tabling a report on the impact of small arms on children, and encouraging a broader and more people-centred approach to the Program of Action insisting that governments could not solve this problem alone (July 2001);
- ∞ being the first country to sign the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (June 2000) (FAC, 2005b).

In addition to the promotion of the human security agenda through international institutions, FAC has been active in a wide range of projects all around the world, specifically tied to the five key themes noted above. For example, under the aegis of governance and accountability, FAC, working with Peace Action, Training and Research Institute of Romania, contributed to a Peace Festival for Youth in Romania in 2002 (FAC 2005k). In the same year, partnered with National Defence, FAC (at that time DFAIT) sponsored a three day course on gender in the context of peace support operations (See FAC 2005l). Human security is also a persistent and high profile theme related to the annual peace building consultations.

So we can see that human security is an evolving concept and there are numerous activities noted by FAC as being part of the promotion of the human security agenda. Beyond Foreign Affairs, however, human security seems to have little currency. For example, human security is not found in Canada's 2004 National Security Policy. The policy includes six areas of concern: 'intelligence, emergency management, public health, transportation, border security, and international security' and thus there was a degree of breadth that one might not otherwise expect from a national security policy. Yet, national security is clearly the priority. 'The Government is determined to pursue our national security interests and to be relentless in the protection of our sovereignty and our society in the face of these new threats' (Privy Council Office (PCO) 2004, p. 1). It is further noted that 'national security is closely linked to both personal security and international security' (Ibid. p. 3).<sup>2</sup>

The National Security Policy identifies three core Canadian interests: 'protecting Canada and the safety and security of Canadians at home and abroad; ensuring that Canada is not a base for threats to our allies; contributing to international security' (Ibid. p. 5). Threats identified as arising from the international environment include: 'terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, failed and failing states, foreign espionage, natural disasters, critical infrastructure vulnerability, organized crime and pandemics' (Ibid., pp. 6–8). The threats are treated as significant, 'out there', and 'foreign'. There may be reference to personal security, but it is the personal security of Canadians that matters.

The most recent document that articulates the government's vision of Canada and the world is the *International Policy Statement (IPS)*. The *IPS* is a set of documents which includes an overview document (Government of Canada (GoC) 2005a) which provides a general framework in which four area specific documents are embedded. The four specific documents are: diplomacy (GoC 2005b), development (GoC

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<sup>2</sup> The document is very clear that the emphasis is on 'national' security. Personal security, at least in terms of how it plays out in this document is about the security of Canadians from physical threats such as pandemics, but also threats to Canadian values and sovereignty. This is different from human security insofar as human security was crafted as a foreign policy framework with an external focus. Edna Keeble (2005) has argued that the turn in national security policy is a domestic extension of human security, but human security as promoted externally was never integrated into domestic policy.

2005c), commerce (GoC 2005d) and defence (GoC 2005d) – each sponsored by their corresponding federal government departments.

The tone of the IPS is one of a world in the midst of rapid change marked by a multitude of threats, and the Canada-US relationship is highlighted as paramount. ‘Our security, our prosperity, our quality of life – these are all dependent on the success with which we help to manage the North American continent’ (GoC 2005a). References to human security are scant.

There is no reference to human security in the defence-specific document, or in the document on commerce sponsored by International Trade Canada. The contribution focusing on development is concerned with human development but not human security. Reference to human security is made in the diplomacy document under the umbrella of ‘building a more secure world’ (GoC 2005b, p. 9) and it is included as one of four areas related to Foreign Affairs’ leadership on international security, along with failing and failed states, countering terrorism and countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (Ibid.). It is claimed that ‘Canada has provided international leadership in the development of the human security agenda’ (Ibid., p. 14) and successes in the areas of landmines, child soldiers and the International Criminal Court are highlighted. These successes, of course, correspond to the Axworthy era. Canadian activity related to the Kimberley Process is also noted and one area for further work is targeted: small arms (Ibid.). Beyond these references one would be forced to infer the existence of human security in the text. Human security has become an ‘add-on’ where in the past it seemed to be the framework.

The reduced salience of human security in international policy should be no surprise as the IPS expresses a vision consistent with the foreign policy related speeches of then-Prime Minister Martin. The world in which we live is one, in his view, marked by ‘frontlines and faultlines’ (See Smith 2005). In comments made while President Bush was visiting Canada he stated: ‘Today, the frontlines of war extend from nightclubs in Bali to the schoolyards of Russia, through the trains of Spain and onto the avenues of Manhattan and the everyday lives of North Americans. This is not a conventional war and the ocean is no longer a buffer. We do not see the enemy. He does not wear a uniform. He seeks only to kill. And thus, we must be steadfast and unrelenting in our vigilance’ (Office of the Prime Minister (PMO) 2004a, p. 2). The world in which we live is one where ‘there is no home front. The conflict is not “over there”’. Our approach to security must reflect this reality’ (PMO 2004b, p. 1). While there is no home front, there are ‘tectonic shifts underway beneath the global economic terrain’ (PMO 2004c, p. 1) and the Canadian ‘economy depends on global stability’ (PMO 2004d, p. 2). The world he paints is one of instability and anxiety (PMO 2004e, p. 6).

In his speeches, Prime Minister Martin appears to promote both a broad holistic version of security (PMO, 2005d) and a national security agenda. For example, harkening back to a sort of Axworthy-like human security, he has regularly observed the multiple sources of insecurity in the world and the interconnected nature of the world. In a speech to the UN in September 2004 he promoted the ‘responsibilities’

agenda highlighting the responsibility we all had for the future and thus highlighted the need for intergenerational equality. These themes are not inconsistent with the broad vision of human security. Responsibility to Protect was central to his speech to the UN in September 2005, where he also included references that seemed to have an internationalist tinge: 'In today's world ... we cannot serve our own countries well unless we rise above narrow national interests. If we fail to act responsibly on the world stage, we will fail our own people at home' (PMO 2005b, p. 3). At the same time, audiences are routinely reminded that the 'primary obligation of governments is to look after their own people' (PMO 2004f, p. 1). As stated in the Reply to the Speech from the Throne (PMO 2004e, p. 7): 'Our priorities as a government serve our goals as a nation: prosperity, opportunity and security for the Canada of now, for the Canada to come'.

So where is human security in the statements and speeches of Canada's present political leaders? One could make the case that human security still exists, and still informs Canadian foreign policy, at least at the level of declaratory policy. The concept itself may not be named in the National Security document and may not be named in the speeches of the Prime Minister, yet the principle still plays through the Canadian understanding of 'security'. One can also point to the activities related to human security undertaken by FAC as evidence of the enduring nature of the concept. One could, however, also argue that human security does not have the caché it once had and that it matters how security is framed.

### **Explaining the Place and Meaning of Human Security**

How do we understand the present location of human security (rhetorical or real) in Canadian foreign policy? Where did it go and why? There are several explanations for the reduced profile of the language of human security.

First, human security, in the Canadian context, is very much associated with Lloyd Axworthy. Indeed, personalities and personal visions do matter in the articulation of Canadian foreign policy. While we can criticise him for being driven in a quest for a Nobel Prize, there is little denying that Axworthy energised Canadian foreign policy and put his personal stamp on foreign policy. Subsequent ministers of foreign affairs, thus far, have not stepped out of the box so substantially and have not functioned as lightning rods in the same way. It is not unexpected that new ministers would seek to put their own personal stamp on Canadian foreign policy, even if it is a little blander than the Axworthy version. Moreover, one should not be surprised that former Prime Minister Martin<sup>3</sup> eschewed the language of human security given that

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<sup>3</sup> The Liberal government of Paul Martin was defeated in the January 2006 election. At the time of writing, it is not yet clear how the new Conservative government headed by Stephen Harper will respond to the human security agenda. Given the tendency of new governments to seek to define their own foreign policy, one should not expect human security to underpin the new government's foreign policy. Moreover, human security will not become transformative during the tenure of the Harper government, if ever.

it was associated with the term of his political predecessor, Jean Chrétien. Relations were sufficiently tense between these two men that Martin would be expected to craft his own vision – or at least present Chrétien era initiatives as his own (such as R2P) and to repackage Canadian foreign policy. Personalities and politics are an important variable in this equation.

Second, beyond personalities, we need to also consider what Denis Stairs frequently refers to as circumstance. Circumstance may well have supported the emergence of human security in Canada in the mid-1990s. It was a time when many felt peace dividends of some variety were still possible. September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 represented, at least to some, a new security climate and a new era of the war on terrorism. With the emergence of the US ‘empire’, Canadian leaders struggled to find their way. Chrétien and Axworthy were both regarded as ‘tweaking the eagle’s feathers’ and there was concern expressed in many quarters that Canada was becoming increasingly irrelevant to the United States. Even though Canada’s irrelevance may have predated 9-11 or may be overstated, post 9-11, a concern for the state of the Canadian-American relationship arose and calls for repair of that relationship were common. Paul Martin prided himself on his differences from Jean Chrétien and, at least initially in his tenure as Prime Minister, made refurbishing the Canadian American relationship a priority. The reconciliation was challenged in December 2005 when Prime Minister Martin engaged in a sparring match with the American Ambassador to Canada, David Wilkens, over US commitments to climate change. There is room to speculate that Prime Minister Martin’s tangle with the Americans was designed to score points with the electorate. Regardless, this was not a return to the framework of human security nor was it a sudden embrace of a new alternative vision of security. Overall, and in spite of the flurry of Martin’s anti-American rhetoric towards the end of his tenure, his speeches reflected a renewed interest in national security – an interest reflected in the production of the National Security Policy – and not a focus on human security. Moreover, the apparent increase in emphasis on national security may be regarded as a means by which to placate American concerns related to Canadian border control, intelligence and military capacity. These efforts were sustained, again regardless of the end of term rhetoric noted above. Human security appears to have been marginalised, except in Foreign Affairs. Yet, even in Foreign Affairs, human security is linked to Canadian national security and the development of FAC’s counter-terrorist capacity (Treasury Board of Canada 2004, p. 30).

If we focus on foreign policy, as opposed to international policy that is designed by a number of different departments, it is clear that the language of human security does not seem to have translated into the international orientations of other departments. This is obvious in the lack of reference to human security in the IPS documents sponsored by departments other than foreign affairs. Human security was not and is not a ‘whole of government’ approach. And as noted above, one could argue that human security is being manipulated to meet national security priorities, losing its breadth and transformative potential.

No doubt there are other viable interpretations of the place of human security in Canadian foreign policy but ultimately, it seems imperative to ask does any of this matter? To worry about the place of human security assumes that it matters whether or not the phrase is being used in various government declarations. To some extent it does matter – language does matter and who speaks matters. Yet, it also matters whether or not human security has ever been more than a rhetorical device. Human security as articulated in the Canadian context has been and continues to be rife with contradictions and problems. Human security may give hope to some, but has not been practised in Canadian foreign policy in such a way as to be, to use Kyle Grayson's (2004) language, transformative.

First, we need to ask, for whom is human security? Although writing on environmental security, the observations of Ken Conca (1998, p. 2) seem apt. Through human security one can see an attempt to control the 'wild zones' and as such this 'plays to the foreign policy establishment's fears about mounting disorder in the politically turbulent and economically polarised second and third worlds'. Human security is about 'them as the threat' over 'there'. This construction, then, has two related implications. First, 'by starting with the geographic location of visible symptoms rather than the social location of underlying causes, the security framework draws attention away from the roots of problem' (Ibid., p. 43). The state based orientation of the Canadian variant of human security starts with the fears and fantasies of those constructing the concept (O'Tuathail, 1996). In many ways, human security is about national security, in spite of pretenses to the contrary.

And while human security may be about us – that is Canadians – I would argue that it has never reflected the reality of people on the margins of Canadian society because to do so would challenge the exportability of the concept. As I have argued elsewhere (Smith 2005), former Prime Minister Martin, using language not inconsistent with human security has stated, 'True security is much more than simply defence against attack. It is a conviction that we will be more secure when citizens in all countries are able to participate fully in national life, when they can see clearly that their own well-being and freedom require a functioning state that listens to them and, ultimately, is accountable to them' (PMO 2004b, p. 3). Who deserves this true security? Amnesty International (AI) (2004, p. 2) has recently reported that 'despite assurances to the contrary, police in Canada have often failed to provide Indigenous women with an adequate standard of protection'. In the same report AI includes excerpts from the journal of Sarah de Vries. In December 1995 she wrote 'Am I next? Is he watching me now? Stalking me like a predator and its prey. Waiting, waiting for some perfect spot, time or my stupid mistake. How does one choose a victim? Good question, isn't it? If I knew that, I would never get snuffed' (AI 2004, p. 53). Sarah de Vries went missing from the mean streets of Vancouver's east side in 1998. 'On August 6, 2002, the family was informed by the Task Force that Sarah de Vries' DNA had been found on the Port Coquitlam farm which has been the centre of the joint Vancouver Police Department/RCMP Missing Women's Task Force investigation' (AI 2004, p. 54). Human security remains an aspiration for too

many First Nations people in Canada. First Nations women, in particular, are on the bottom of all Canadian social indicators.

The promotion of human security, and now the new responsibilities agenda, serves to obfuscate Canadian complicity in global processes that do harm to Canadian citizens and those beyond our borders. If there was a genuine commitment to human security in the past or 'responsibility for the future' (GoC 2005b, p. 20) the Canadian government would have actively engaged in the fight against climate change. Shaming of the US in the context of pre-election furor, as noted above, does not count as action when Canada has routinely been labeled a laggard on climate change. Our behavior, both government and citizens, undermines our own personal and environmental security. The peoples of Canada's north and the challenges they presently face provide ample evidence of how we are undermining their and our well-being. And if human security was not disconnected from trade (Grayson 2004) we might be forced to consider everyday implications of trade agreements. Is Canada complicit in fostering and promoting neo-liberal restructuring in Mexico? If the answer is yes, then perhaps Canadian behavior must be linked to the atrocities in Ciudad Juarez. Marianne Marchand (2004, pp. 1–2) argues: 'Mexico's modernization project of neoliberal disciplining has entailed, and still entails, a profound and violent restructuring of state-society relations. The many dimensions, such as violence, in particular the interface between disciplining and outright physical violence, is reflected in the murders of young women in the border town of Ciudad Juarez'. It is estimated that between 300 and 400 women have been murdered in Ciudad Juarez since 1993 (Ibid., p. 90).

Beyond the theoretical questions, we can always look at the money trail. If human security is so important how is it funded? Kyle Grayson (2004, p. 58) notes that DFAIT allocated \$10 million to human security in 2002/3, but then points out 'in 2001–2002, DFAIT spent \$533 million on International Peace and Security, \$243 million on business development and \$134 million on chancery construction abroad'. According to the *International Policy Statement* (GoC 2005b, p. 11), the 2005 budget committed '\$100 million annually over five years to a Global Peace and Security Fund'. While this may be interpreted as a growing financial commitment to human security, it is still a relatively small amount and is expected to contribute to a plethora of initiatives. Former Minister Pettigrew, in September 2005, stated that the Global Peace and Security Fund was valued at \$500 million, but also indicated that all of the Stabilization and Reconstruction Taskforce Initiatives in countries such as Sudan, Haiti and Afghanistan were funded through the Global Peace and Security Fund. The monies appear increased but so do the demands for spending (FAC 2005i, p. 7). These initiatives must still be held in contrast to defence spending.

In terms of national security allocations: 'since Budget 2001, the GoC has announced in excess of \$8.3 billion in specific measures to enhance Canada's national security and address priority gaps in our system. Funding of \$690 million for new initiatives is being provided from the Security Reserve which includes significant new funding allocated in Budget 2004' (PCO 2004, p. 4). Human security is not funded in a

way that would indicate that it is a more significant than national security, and human security initiatives continue to be framed in a national security discourse.

Simply, and consistent with the argument made by Ann Denholm Crosby (2003), we are wise to remember that human security does not exist in a vacuum. As practiced in Canada it is embedded in a conditioning framework, one where economic progress and national security are intertwined.

As Anna Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling (2004, p. 533) have observed there is a blurring of 'national security with neoliberal wealth such that one comes to mean the other' and consequently, 'these constructions legitimate a particular mix of violence and desire'. We are confined by the dimensions of the discourse resulting in a deflection of 'attention to or dissent from an underlying political economy of exploitation and violence' (Ibid., p. 533). We will never have a conception of human security promoted by a state which does not serve the needs of the state. Moreover, human security will be isolated or marginalised when it no longer serves its purpose.

## **Conclusion**

There remain so many critical questions that need to be asked of human security – questions that can reveal the ways in which it was and is used by the Canadian government to distract from present and past practice. We need to ask whether or not human security has the potential to be ethnocentric. If it is part of a state-based vision designed to promote Canadian values, what values are we promoting and are they welcome elsewhere? Does this concept lend itself to the promotion of the dominant world order that violates sacred spaces and justifies a type of imperialism? Did Canada work on matters of human security before 1996? If so, what were they called? And why do we have to securitise issues such as SARS or the environment or poverty? Why can we not simply promote health, environmental integrity and appropriate development? What about peace? Why does it have to be framed as security? These questions are being asked by other scholars and they are significant to the broader debate on human security. Yet, we are still in the position of asking what is to be done given the Canadian case?

Human security as found in Canadian declaratory policy is rife with problems and I would be cautious of such state promoted concepts or concepts adapted to a state's interest. Indeed, some of the issues related to human security may not go away if we removed the state, but I'm not convinced we want to throw away the concept of human security, especially the variant that encourages us to have a compassionate approach to the world and one that promotes real and genuine social justice. This is not impossible because such interpretations can be found in the feminist literature. Moreover, human security reminds us of the power of ideas. Ideas can translate into practice and if we do not challenge the dominant discourse we become complicit in its maintenance. For all of its problems, human security could challenge the status quo and may provide a place from which to interrogate foreign policy practice. It is a concept with considerable normative potential but as manipulated by the Canadian state it has been used to obfuscate business as usual.

PART III  
The 'Freedom from Fear' Agenda:  
Operational Issues

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## Chapter 8

# Human Security and Corporate Governance: A Critical Assessment of Canada's Human Security Agenda

Elizabeth Blackwood

### Introduction

Although Canada has for some time been known on the international stage as a country committed to humanitarian efforts, the 'human security agenda' was not adopted as an official foreign policy goal until the 1990s, under the tenure of Lloyd Axworthy as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Axworthy (2001b, pp. 3–4) says of Canada's human security policy:

Canada began using the language of human security when it became clear that, in the aftermath of the cold war, a new foreign policy was needed ... it has become clear that in today's conflicts civilians are most often the victims, if not the primary targets of violence. It was obvious to us then that protecting individuals should be a major focus of our foreign policy .... In the past decade, more than 80 percent of casualties of conflict have been civilian. ... Many of these defenceless individuals have been targeted with intent: they rarely have adequate protection, and they certainly have little recourse to justice after their rights have been violated. Worse still, even after conflict has ended, many remain subject to indiscriminate violence. This has been amply demonstrated in the case of antipersonnel land mines, and the surplus of light weapons left over from the proxy battles of the cold war.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) (2003) similarly describes human security by saying:

As Canadians, we are committed to building a world where people can live in freedom from fear of threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking and the illicit trade of small arms. This new generation of threats shows no respect for national borders and inevitably becomes the source of our own insecurity. Human Security is a people-centered approach to foreign policy which recognizes that lasting stability cannot be achieved until people are protected from violent threats to their rights, safety or lives.

From these statements it becomes evident that Canada's human security policy emphasises the protection of civilians over the other six aspects of human security as defined by the UNDP (see below). This emphasis has been seen by some as a tendency to focus on international law, protection of human rights, and on 'aspects of the management of armed conflicts' (Busumtwi-Sam 2002, p. 269) rather than on prevention. Others have argued that a more restricted definition of human security, such as the one applied by Canada, is necessary in order to achieve analytical and practical utility and conceptual coherence. What has consequently emerged in scholarly circles is a debate between those who argue that human security should be limited to concerns of 'freedom from fear' and those who believe that 'freedom from want' should be an equal concern.<sup>1</sup>

Though conceptual and analytical precision and practical utility are worthy objectives they serve little purpose to the human security enterprise if they remove all aspects that distinguish human security as a novel concept and policy directive. Definitions limited to 'freedom from fear' may represent a change insofar as they shift the referent of analysis from the state to the individual, a key objective of human security, but it is unclear then how human security differs from an already established human rights agenda that has long challenged the notion of state sovereignty as paramount to the rights of individuals. If the human security agenda is to represent a new approach then the nexus between 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear' is its defining feature.

This more holistic approach does not mean, as critics have charged, that human security is meant to entail everything and/or anything that can threaten individuals (Paris 2001), or a 'shopping list' of 'bad things that can happen' (Krause 2004a, p. 367). Instead, the holism of the approach is meant to address what Peter Uvin (2004, p. 352) has referred to as a 'stovepipe' approach where 'humanitarian relief, development assistance, human rights advocacy, and conflict resolution' have been treated as separate issues. Moreover, human security attempts not only to address the interconnectedness of these traditionally separated fields but also to situate them in a globalised context characterised by new insecurities and non-state actors that readily transcend borders and escape governance. As Timothy Shaw (2002, p. 57) argues, 'human development/security require sustained attention to the roots of inequalities and conflicts. These will vary between regions and over time but they also display some commonalities, such as the inevitable roles of non-state actors as well as states.' Attention to the roles of non-state actors and the origins and causes of conflict necessarily requires a more holistic approach that incorporates analyses of the political economy of conflict.

Of course, it is difficult to imagine that conflict prevention and resolution, not merely protection from immediate violence, are not integral elements of achieving 'freedom from fear'. If this is the case, then even within the scope of this more limited definition of human security, analyses of the political economy of conflict become

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive survey of the competing notions of human security see *Security Dialogue*, vol. 35, no. 3, 2004.

necessary. Despite this, Canada has pursued a human security agenda that, despite its laudable achievements, takes a piecemeal or *ad hoc* approach to humanitarian issues and directs little attention to the political economy of conflict.

The ratifying of the Ottawa Convention, an international ban on landmines, is perhaps most symbolic of this agenda, and is seen as the 'first major accomplishment' of Canada's human security agenda (Axworthy 2001b, p. 5). Other initiatives that fall into a similar framework of protecting civilians from violent conflict include those surrounding child soldiers, protection for war-affected children, peacekeeping and the creation of the International Criminal Court (ICC). While there is little question regarding the significance of some of these endeavours, Canada's almost exclusive emphasis on protection from physical violence serves to preclude consideration of the political economy of the violence, as well as other crucial elements of human security. Questions surrounding the source of revenue for militarisation, as well as what foreign interests might be involved in such militarisation, are notably absent in Canada's human security discourse. Although Canada 'recognises' the UNDP's seven aspects of human security; those of economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security, as aspects of human security, it nonetheless has chosen to focus on protection or 'personal security', calling the UNDP's categories 'encompassing', but 'awkward as a policy framework' (Axworthy 2001b, p. 4).

While it seems likely that the implementation of a more comprehensive human security framework might be more challenging, not at least attempting to do so seems incongruent with Canada's prominent role in the promotion of human security. Instead, it appears that the protection of civilians is being viewed in isolation from issues of poverty, economic marginalisation, distribution of wealth and resources, and equality. In Canada's defence, Axworthy (2001b, p. 5) says: 'There can be no doubt that development assistance plays a vital role in preventing conflict or rebuilding societies after fighting has ended. But when the lives of hundreds of thousands of people are dominated by the dynamics of violent conflict, they cannot be ignored'. The commitment to assisting civilians already affected by conflict is unquestionably important, but if, as Axworthy says, official development assistance plays a vital role in preventing conflict, it would appear that Canada is indeed more concerned with the management than the prevention of armed conflicts. Throughout the period during which Canada's human security agenda was gaining pre-eminence, Canada was at the same time significantly reducing its official development assistance (ODA) to poorer countries. Even with the recent announcement of intentions to double ODA by 2010, Canada's ODA levels will likely fall far short of its 1992 commitment of 0.7 percent of Gross National Income (GNI).<sup>2</sup> Also notable in Canada's foreign aid trajectory is the fact that, during this period, there was increased funding for Export

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<sup>2</sup> This goal has been reaffirmed at subsequent summits and meetings, including the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, in Johannesburg, South Africa, and in the Monterrey Consensus agreed upon at the recent UN Finance for Development Conference. (See UNDP 2003: available at: <http://www.undp.org/hdr2003/>).

Development Canada (EDC) and the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) Industrial Cooperation Partnership Program, both of which provide assistance to Canadian firms wanting to do business in developing countries (CIDA 2003a, pp. 2–4). As official development assistance has decreased over the past decade and a half an emphasis on trade and investment has increased. This trajectory illuminates not only an unusually narrow approach to human security, but what appears to be a strong pro-business ethos in Canadian foreign policy that increasingly informs the formulation and implementation of development and human security policy.

What appears to be largely absent from Canada's foreign policy is recognition that the protection of civilians and the political economy of human security are inextricably linked. Given this foreign and development policy environment, the failure to incorporate corporate governance into a comprehensive human security framework perhaps comes as little surprise. But, as the case study of Talisman Energy Inc.'s operations in Sudan demonstrates, the Canadian government's inability or unwillingness to regulate its corporate nationals' overseas activities is significantly at odds with even its own limited conceptualisation of human security.

### **Talisman and Sudan**

The civil war in Sudan began in 1956 and only recently (and tenuously) ended with the signing of the 'Comprehensive Peace Agreement', on 9 January 2005. The signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Accord in 1972 brought relative peace to the country for ten years and granted limited autonomy to the south, but with the exception of this period the country had been embroiled in a protracted and fierce civil war.

The exploration and discovery of oil in southern Sudan in the late 1970s served to significantly intensify and entrench the state of war in Sudan in a number of ways. First, it provided the Government of Sudan with a specific reason to break the Addis Ababa Peace Accord and resume control over the southern territory. Second, it provided an economic imperative over which to fight. Third, to maintain its control over the contested land the government intensified its divide and rule strategy, arming tribal militias and faction forces against one another. Fourth, the infrastructure paid for and maintained by the consortium of oil companies greatly improved the Government of Sudan's access to the south. Finally, and arguably most significantly, oil revenues vastly improved the government's military capabilities, and by extension, its policy of forced displacement of inhabitants from the oil producing areas.

Since 1983, over two million people have died<sup>3</sup> as a result of the conflict in Sudan and over four million more have been internally displaced, driven from their families, homes and livelihoods (Harker 2002, p. 21). Many, including relief workers, international observers, and many southern Sudanese themselves, have

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<sup>3</sup> These figures do not include the current humanitarian disaster in Darfur.

argued that the contemporary<sup>4</sup> conflict in Sudan was largely over oil, or at the very least, that oil development served as an insurmountable obstacle to peace (Gagnon and Ryle 2001).

In 1999, despite recommendations against investment from the Canadian government, a significant lobby of Sudanese Canadians and NGOs, Talisman Energy entered into an oil producing arrangement with the Government of Sudan. Shortly thereafter, the Canadian Government commissioned a fact-finding mission to examine the human security situation in Sudan as well as allegations of human rights abuses. In its own words, the mission's mandate was two-fold:

- i) [to] independently investigate human rights violations, specifically in reference to allegations of slavery and slavery-like practices in Sudan, and;
- ii) to investigate and report on the alleged link between oil development and human rights violations, particularly in respect of the forced removal of populations around the oilfields and oil related development (Harker 2000, p. 1).

In a policy statement announcing the assessment mission, the Government of Canada stated that it 'may consider applying economic and trade restrictions' if the mission was to provide evidence 'that oil extraction is exacerbating the conflict in Sudan, or resulting in violations of human rights of humanitarian law' (quoted in Harker 2002, p. 2). The mission's report, commonly referred to as 'The Harker Report',<sup>5</sup> concluded exactly that: oil was, in fact, exacerbating the war in Sudan as it was one of the major sources of friction. The Report also found 'that there has been, and probably still is, major displacement of civilian populations related to oil extraction' (p. 15).

Its statement notwithstanding, the Canadian government chose not to apply economic or trade restrictions, opting instead to endorse a policy of 'constructive engagement' toward the Talisman-Sudan situation, a route adopted by Talisman itself. The company claimed that its presence in the war-torn country would improve the situation by bringing international attention to the region and by providing a 'positive western influence on its partners' (TCCR 2001).

While criticisms leveled against Talisman's operations in Sudan are many, the primary critiques fall into the following set of arguments. First, the company came under fire for not having conducted any kind of impact assessment in terms of the human rights and social implications for stakeholders prior to beginning operations in Sudan. Second, because the Government of Sudan had been internationally recognised as one of the most brutal contemporary regimes, Talisman's decision to enter into a formal business partnership with it drew considerable condemnation.

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<sup>4</sup> I refer to the conflict that occurred since the abrogation of the Addis Ababa Peace Accord as the 'contemporary conflict' to distinguish it from the sustained conflict beginning in 1956.

<sup>5</sup> This is called the *Harker Report* after its author and the mission leader, and will be so designated in this chapter.

Much of this condemnation focused on the claim that even if Talisman was not an active participant, the fact that it supplied the government with millions of dollars in investment that could be used for military purposes meant the company was indirectly, but knowingly, complicit in the war.

The last criticism can be taken further still, suggesting that Talisman was, in fact, *directly* complicit in the war. Certainly, the government's use of the oil concession's infrastructure for offensive military purposes with the knowledge of Talisman, suggests that this may be true. Additionally, Talisman's use of government security forces, while not necessarily indicative of direct complicity in the war, has raised serious concerns regarding the company's role in the conflict.

Nevertheless, despite having 'grave reservations' concerning private sector investment in Sudan, and despite the announcement by Axworthy prior to commissioning the Harker investigation, and the findings themselves, Axworthy announced that Canada would pursue constructive engagement as a policy instrument rather than impose any punitive or restrictive economic measures (Government of Canada 1999).

Constructive engagement, or the notion that through economic relations one state can positively influence another, serves a dual purpose in the context of security discourse and policy. As it is applied in the Canadian context there is little or no pretence surrounding the fact that constructive engagement is largely construed as an economic policy designed to bring states into step with a neoliberal political and economic order. For instance, constructive engagement was employed to defend the Canadian government's trade mission to China despite that country's record of human rights abuses. When questioned about the ethics surrounding the promotion of trade with China, then trade minister Pierre Pettigrew stated, 'I believe that trade leads to development and development leads to respect of human rights and leads to respect of democracy,' and that constructive engagement can be used for the purpose of 'exporting values' (CBC, 2001a).

The notion of using a corporation to engage a government in order to effect change by that regime is reflective of Duffield's observation regarding the radicalisation of development and security. Duffield (2001, p. 30) argues that alternatives to liberal economic organisation have been excluded from security discourse and that the demise of such alternatives has:

... radically altered the view of what development is, and how it should be achieved. Rather than requiring the reform of the international system, it has been redefined in terms of the radical transformation of Southern societies in order to make them fit into this system ... the notion that underdevelopment may be a function of the structural relationship between rich and poor countries has been more or less erased from policy discourse.

Constructive engagement operates with this transformative goal in mind. It proposes that through trade and investment we can change values by 'exporting' our own values to southern regimes with which we form trading partnerships. How this is actually achieved is not quite clear. The Canadian government does not expound on this process, but nevertheless adheres to it with some vigour. For its part, Talisman

cites various ways in which it claims to have engaged the Sudanese government, but admits that they were dealing with a sovereign government and that their influence was limited. Moreover, they claimed that:

[e]very major investment will have political repercussions, especially in countries with limited economic development. Companies cannot afford to alienate host governments. Equally, they cannot afford to be seen as partisan supporters either of oppressive regimes that may not last, or of their opponents (Bray quoted in Talisman, 2001).

Such candor casts doubt on the utility of Talisman's constructive engagement in Sudan, and questions the efficacy of constructive engagement in general. If companies cannot afford to alienate host governments how vociferously can they raise concerns over human rights abuses, or for instance, in Talisman's case, over the military use of their infrastructure for offensive purposes?

Critics of Talisman's presence in Sudan have argued that the Sudanese government is not one that can be constructively engaged. Stephen Lewis, who, in his capacity as Deputy Executive Director of UNICEF had many dealings with the regime in Khartoum, has said, 'I came to the conclusion over the last number of years, that, other than perhaps the government of Afghanistan, the government of Sudan is the most difficult, and in some ways the ugliest government in terms of human rights, to deal with on this planet' (Lewis 2001).

After several years operating in the country it was clear that even if Talisman was attempting to engage the Government of Sudan it was having little or no effect. In response, Talisman was quick to point out that it successfully obtained the Sudanese government's permission to disclose the amount of oil export revenue the GNPOC (Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company) provided the government in 2001. This kind of disclosure may tell us how much money the Government of Sudan received in oil revenue, but it says nothing about how the government spent that money, and did nothing to ensure that the revenue was not used militarily or was redistributed to any part of the south. Thus, it is not clear that this achievement had any impact on the actions of the Sudanese government at all.

Those who have argued that constructive engagement was not an appropriate policy choice in the case of Talisman-in-Sudan point to increases in military expenditures and the intensification of warfare concomitant with the beginning of oil development, to suggest that Talisman was either not willing, or unable, to change the behaviour of the regime. Perhaps both are true. If Talisman admits that a company cannot afford to alienate a host government, how forceful will they be in 'exporting their values?' Moreover, to the extent that they were willing, how successful will they be when dealing with a government as intractable as that of Sudan? Talisman, for example, conceded that although they had grave concerns over the military use of oil concession infrastructure, the infrastructure was in fact owned by the government and only leased by the oil companies (Talisman 2001, p. 18). Therefore, beyond stating their concerns, there was very little they could do.

There are some within the corporate social responsibility movement that believe Talisman could have used its position of economic and technological strength more

effectively and forcefully in the peace process and within its partnership with the government (see for example KAIROS, 2002). Critics charge that if this was not possible, then constructive engagement was not a viable policy option in Sudan and the company should not have begun or maintained its operations in the country. Lewis, for example, maintained that, 'this is a country with whom Canada should have absolutely nothing to do except by way of condemnation, and instead we [had] our national oil company fuelling the war' (CBC 2001b).

### **Corporate Regulation and Human Security: Gaps in governance**

Not only does Talisman's statement regarding a company's need to avoid alienating host governments raise questions surrounding their commitment to constructive engagement, but other statements by key officials shed light on the reality of Talisman's operating principals. For example, general manager for Talisman's Sudan concession, Ralph Capeling, suggested that the economic incentive provided by Sudan's oil reserves was just too great: 'It is just a huge amount of oil, an oil company anywhere in the world would die to get an opportunity like that...' He further noted that many of the places where oil is produced are unstable but, [w]e're a growth company, we have to keep growing ... we could go to Columbia, its got a nice little war on ... the places where you can go are tough and Talisman essentially being the largest independent oil company in Canada, has got to take the lead (CBC, March 27, 2001b).

These views were similarly reflected by Talisman CEO Jim Buckee. When asked about the company's partnership with the Sudanese Government, he argued that:

To maintain current production levels, oil companies will be increasingly forced to set up shop in global hot spots – maybe even to deal with the devil ... If you're gonna be an international player, you'll have to cope with those things somehow (quoted in *Business Edge* 3 January 2001).

While the idea of 'dealing with the devil' may not instil confidence in critics regarding corporate commitments to constructive engagement, it also raises issues surrounding the regulation of corporate activities abroad. If, as Capeling and Buckee indicate, extractive companies are prepared to enter 'hotspots' and 'deal with the devil' in order to achieve growth, should governments intercede to prevent investment by their nationals in situations they deem inappropriate? Can they?

Given that Talisman had been warned by DFAIT, and that the Canadian government did not, and still does not advise Canadian companies to operate in Sudan (ICCAF, 1999; DFAIT, 2005), why was constructive engagement and not sanctions the policy of choice? Part of the answer to this can be found in the discussion above. Constructive engagement fits well into the business ethos of Canadian foreign policy and of the government of the day. As Canadian official development assistance decreases, and an increased emphasis is placed on trade and investment in developing countries, constructive engagement provides a compelling rationale for conducting business

with unsavoury regimes. However, given the failure of constructive engagement, for example in the Talisman case, and the fact that companies themselves often engage practices, both indirectly and directly, that cause human *insecurity*, serious questions arise surrounding the legitimacy of the Canadian government's human security agenda in the absence of any effective regulatory regime for overseas investment.

The espousal of globalisation by governments, corporations and international organisations as a policy tool with which to foster economic growth rather than as a descriptor of current world trends, has led to a marked shift away from government intervention in economic activities. As a result, any call for mandatory regulation of corporate activities abroad is seen as contrary to the promotion of liberalised trade and finance.

Thomas D'Aquino (2003), President of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives embodies such a view of mandatory regulation:

... we have over two million corporations in Canada, and are there going to be two or three or four who perhaps don't act according to the goal standard? Perhaps so, but you don't bring in mandatory legislation that applies to everybody, you don't use an atomic bomb to kill a mouse, to put it another way.

But what happens when the mouse is responsible for grave human rights abuses? The evolving debate over linkages between trade, global markets and human rights is characterised by divergent opinion over voluntary versus mandatory regulation. In response to D'Aquino's claims, Ed Broadbent (2003), in his capacity as Co-chair of the Canadian Democracy and Corporate Accountability Commission argues:

... the reality is that ninety-nine percent of Canadians neither steal their neighbour's car nor murder someone down the street: they obey the law. But we still have criminal code for those serious exceptions. So, we should have strong enforcement abroad in terms of human rights, just as we have strong enforcement for similar forms of bad behaviour at home.

Broadbent points to the way in which Canadians have been charged under the *Criminal Code* for engaging in sexual activities with minors abroad, to demonstrate that Canadian corporations can and should also be subject to the principles of extra-territoriality. 'Furthermore', argued Broadbent in a follow-up personal interview (25 February 2003), where appropriate laws do not exist we need to create legislation that dictates that 'Canadian companies abroad must act in ways consistent with international human rights law'.

The extent to which Canada actually does have sufficient regulatory capacity is a matter of debate that came to the public fore when the government said that even if the Harker Report found Talisman complicit in human rights violations, the Special Economics Measures Act (SEMA) could not be used to sanction the company's activities in Sudan. While the ability of the government to use existing law for regulatory purposes is contested, the Canadian government does not at this time have any legal instruments *specifically* for the purposes of regulating overseas corporate

activities in terms of human rights, even when Canadian companies are benefiting from, or simply complicit in, human rights violations in another state (Gagnon *et al.* 2003, p. 61). Though some argue that existing laws could be effectively used for this purpose, the fact that they are not and that the government has claimed incapacity in this area suggests that a more effective regulatory regime is required.

The arguments provided against legal regulation are several. Foremost among them is the assertion that voluntary initiatives are more effective. The logic is that companies would be more likely to follow regulations that they have designed themselves (or have chosen to adhere to) than those that are imposed by heavy-handed government(s) (ICHRP 2002, p. 7). David Stewart-Patterson of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives suggests that legally enforceable mandatory regulation produces a 'rules-based approach' that is too 'black and white...once a government takes a step in law it leads to a situation where it says this is always right and this is always wrong' (Stewart-Patterson 2003). A principles-based approach, on the other hand, encourages innovation and increases the 'norms of actual behaviour beyond the legal minimum' (Stewart-Patterson 2003). In other words, mandatory regulation can lead to a situation where corporations only meet the lowest allowable standards, where the guiding principles may entail nothing more than 'if it's not against the rules it's ok' (Stewart-Patterson 2003). D'Aquino shares Stewart-Patterson's sentiment, arguing that 'Canadian companies operating abroad have set the goal standard for the world ... we may have the odd corporation that does not follow the rules, but by and large we can teach the world a few lessons about social responsibility' (D'Aquino 2003). While it may be true that most Canadian companies conduct their overseas ventures in an ethical way, there are enough instances to suspect that Canada has not set the 'goal standard' very high. For example, a study of North American corporation-created codes of conduct revealed that the majority of large Canadian corporations operating overseas did not 'have codes containing reference to even the most basic human rights standards, [and that] most codes lack the independent monitoring requirements viewed as essential by many code analysts' (Forcese 1997, p. 43).

So, the suggestion that Canadian companies are, by and large, above reproach when it comes to socially responsible behaviour is somewhat dubious. Even ignoring Talisman's behaviour, recent history is replete with examples of unethical practice by Canadian businesses.

Recently, five Canadian companies were named in a United Nations Security Council report examining the role of corporations in the illegal exploitation of natural resources in the DRC (United Nations Security Council, 2002). One of the Canadian companies named in the report is accused of offering a \$100 million 'down-payment' to the state – 'cash payments and shares held in trust for Government officials. The share offer to those officials was premised on a sharp rise in its share price once it was announced that it had secured some of the most valuable mineral concessions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo' (United Nations Security Council, 2002). This kind of activity clearly breaches the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Guidelines for multinational enterprises to

which Canada is a signatory, and, as the report discusses, can solidify the position of corrupt government and military officials, and facilitate the creation of illegal business networks. Moreover, payments such as these, as well as investment in general, serve to infuse significant revenue into a conflict economy.

In a similar instance, Petro-Canada International ceased its operations in Burma after facing fierce criticism for paying the Burmese government a CAD \$6 million 'signing bonus' for the right to conduct oil explorations (Forcese 1999, p. 9). Canada's Ivanhoe Mines Ltd. has come under similar fire for a partnership formed with the military government in Burma known for its 'massive human rights violations', including political imprisonment, 'political killings and forced labour' (Amnesty International 2002; see also Amnesty International 2005a). Often times, a company may not supply oppressive regimes directly with money, but their operations in the country may provide infrastructure, such as communications technology, roads, and oil refineries, that benefit the regime. This has been the case in Burma, where several telecommunications companies, including 'at least one Canadian firm,' supplied telephone equipment that was used by the military regime (Forcese 1999, p. 9).

In other cases, Canadian companies do, or have, sold military equipment to the Colombian military (Project Ploughshares 2001), invested in apartheid South Africa, and been responsible for chemical spills such as the one caused by Cameco Corp. of Canada in Kyrgyzstan which resulted in numerous fatalities and illnesses (*MiningWatch Canada*, 2002a). In the last incident, the corporation had been assisted financially by the Export Development Corporation of Canada (EDC). The same is true of Placer Dome, who was responsible for a 1996 mine-tailings spill into the Makulapnit and Boac rivers in the Philippines which lasted for approximately 5 days and is estimated to have dumped two to three million cubic meters of tailings into the rivers (United Nations Department of Human Affairs; Coumans 2002). Similarly, EDC has provided \$189 million in loans for Canadian-built equipment for the widely criticised Three Gorges dam project in China, including \$153-million to General Electric Canada for the construction of six turbines for the project (Whiteman 2001). The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has also funded Canadian corporations involved in contentious projects, including Tiomin Resources Inc.'s mining project in Kenya (Whiteman 2001) and numerous Canadian companies involved in the Chalio dam project on the Macal River in Belize (York 2003). The Canadian government has endorsed the European Union's Code of Conduct for International Arms Transfers of June 1998, and the UN Register of Conventional Arms (UNCAR), both of which aim to control the export of military equipment to countries that are either involved in conflict, known for human rights abuses, or choose whose military spending acts as an impediment to development. Despite this, Canadian arms manufacturers continued to export to countries that are among the lower half of the Human Development Index (HDI), that are known for human rights abuses, and that are engaged in conflict, including in some instances, wars fought against their own citizens (Epps 2002).

These examples imply that D'Aquino's belief that Canadian companies can 'teach the world a few lessons about social responsibility' may be somewhat optimistic.

Even if it were the case that an extremely limited number – ‘two, or three, or four’, as D’Aquino suggests – of Canadian companies were involved in unethical behaviour, the effects of such behaviour are often devastating to the surrounding peoples and environment; this alone warrants a mechanism for holding offenders accountable.

While the government has recognised the centrality of human rights protection in its human security agenda, it has not advanced specific policies to deal with the problem of Canadian business operations that contribute to human rights violations in conflict areas overseas, or whose operations contribute to insecurity in general. All government based CSR initiatives, such as the ‘International Code of Ethics for Canadian Business’, to which Talisman Energy is a signatory, are voluntary.

Neither CIDA nor EDC has mandatory corporate social responsibility frameworks regulating the corporations to which they provide financial assistance, so neither requires that companies conduct social impact assessments before investing abroad.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, both claim that corporate social responsibility is a central component of their operations. Such a commitment does not, however, appear to extend beyond the ‘promotion’ of corporate social responsibility principles. CIDA for instance, while actively promoting private investment through its Private Sector Development (PSD) plan claims that, ‘Canada supports the promotion of international standards and principles for responsible corporate behaviour. As an entity of the Government of Canada, CIDA is committed to supporting the implementation of the OECD’s *Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises*. As such, CIDA has a responsibility to promote the guidelines, and encourages all partners to become familiar with these and respect them’ (CIDA 2003b, p. 20). Given that the OECD guidelines are voluntary, that the government is committed only to ‘supporting’ their implementation, and that the guidelines themselves only encourage corporations to respect human rights ‘consistent with the host government’s international obligations and commitments’, (emphasis added) there is little reason to expect the standards to be held very high in oppressive states such as Sudan (OECD 2000, p. 19).

While EDC and CIDA at least claim to promote corporate social responsibility, the Canadian Pension Plan Investment Board (CPPIB) rejects it outright, viewing fiduciary duty to shareholders as paramount. At present, there are no requirements for disclosure regarding investments made by the CPP, nor are there any socially responsible criteria for fund investment. In fact, the Canadian Pension Plan Investment Board (CPPIB: 2004) states:

While social investing is easily applied by individuals and small groups of like-minded people, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement for an institutional investor representing over 16 million contributors and beneficiaries with a wide cross-section of personal beliefs. Our legislation specifically prohibits us from engaging in any investment activities other than maximizing investment returns without undue risk of loss.

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<sup>6</sup> CIDA does now stipulate that both ‘biophysical and social effects’ of projects be addressed in applications for funding under its environmental assessment requirements. However ‘social effects’ are not well defined and are subsumed under the broader category of environment rather than treated independently.

Consequently, we do not select or exclude investments through the application of positive or negative screens based upon religious, social, economic, political, or personal criteria, or any other non-investment criteria ....

This statement seems to indicate that the CCPIB does not assume that human rights are a value shared by all Canadians, or that even a minimum ethical standard could be achieved. The logical conclusion of such a statement is that only 'individuals and small groups of like-minded people' would agree that corporate complicity in human rights abuses constitutes unethical behaviour. Apparently, the CPPIB does not believe that Canadians would agree upon the propriety of, among other things, bribery, inhumane working conditions, child labour, and collusion with military and/ or mercenary security forces.

### **Conclusion: Lessons Learned?**

The case of Talisman-in-Sudan raises a number of important issues concerning the interplay of human security and investment, and the role of corporations in constructive engagement. Even if Talisman had the ability to more effectively engage the Sudanese government, the question that arises is: are corporations the appropriate medium for effecting such change? Is this asking corporations to assume important international diplomatic roles normally expected of governments? If so, are they sufficiently equipped with the expertise to do so? The activities of Talisman suggest not.

Although Talisman withdrew from Sudan in 2003, the example provided by this case of overseas investment and the inability and inaction of the Canadian government to address the problems associated with it, is as germane today as it was during the company's time in Sudan. Despite the intense public pressure and divestment campaign launched against the company, and the subsequent exposure of what appears to be a significant regulatory inadequacy at the governmental level, little or nothing has occurred from a governance approach to ensure that a similar situation does not occur again. Not only has the Talisman case brought attention to the debate over mandatory vs. voluntary corporate regulation and codes of conduct, but also it has brought into question the Canadian government's ability to simultaneously promote human security and unfettered commerce. Stephen Lewis (2001) maintains that the Talisman case was the 'best test case in the world for Lloyd Axworthy's human security policy,' but, 'when all is said and done we prefer[ed] to abandon the policy than Talisman ... In a choice between Talisman's balance sheet and the war in Sudan, the balance sheet comes first. That's what Lloyd Axworthy learned.'

Another lesson that might be taken from the Talisman experience is that constructive engagement, while perhaps a viable policy instrument in some situations, is not always appropriate. The idea that Talisman could be a moderating influence on President Omar al-Bashir's military dictatorship was misguided at best and disingenuous at worst. Regardless, even if Talisman is assumed to have been sincere in pursuing constructive engagement, the fact remains that it entered into a

lucrative business partnership with a government accused of serious human rights abuses and engaged in a violent war against its own civilian population. According to an IMF report, military expenditure in Sudan more than doubled shortly after the production and export of oil (IMF 2000). The increase in government military expenditure was, not surprisingly, accompanied by an intensification of the war by the Government of Sudan. Perhaps not coincidentally, at the time of Talisman's operations the Government of Sudan received approximately US \$1 million a day from oil revenues, which was the same amount that it spent waging civil war (Christian Aid 2001, p. 18).

Meanwhile, as the current human security situation in Sudan demonstrates, particularly in the province of Darfur, there is no evidence to suggest that the policy of constructive engagement employed by the Canadian government and Talisman has had any positive effect on the Government of Sudan. The recent death of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) founder and leader John Garang only weeks after his instalment as First Vice-President has left the insecure Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on even more perilous grounds. The agreement's implementation was proceeding slowly even prior to Garang's death and now has been further delayed in many key areas. A recent report issued by Kofi Annan to the UN Security Council (UN 2005) raises a number of concerns surrounding Khartoum's sincerity toward compliance in major areas of the agreement. Prospects for the oil/wealth sharing agreement, perhaps one of the most crucial components of the CPA, do not look good for the south. Control of two prominent cabinet positions, Minister of Energy and Mining and Ministry of Finance, have been assigned to the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) (formally the National Islamic Front (NIF)) in Khartoum, despite the former being heavily vied for by the SPLM. The exclusion of southerners from these two key positions may affect the transparency of the oil-revenue sharing process, which stipulates that the Government of Southern Sudan receive 50 percent of net oil revenue (CPA, article 5.6). Khartoum's unwillingness to relinquish power in these areas, combined with its rejection of the findings of a recent commission<sup>7</sup> examining disputed borders in oil producing regions (see UN 2005), suggests that oil may yet be too tempting a prospect for Bashir's NCP. Record world oil prices and a projected increase of Sudan's annual production from 300,000 to 500,000 barrels a day over the next year (EIA 2005) are not likely to minimise this prospect.

The unclear progress of the CPA notwithstanding, forced relocation of mostly southern internally displaced persons (IDPs) from squatter camps near Khartoum and recent restrictions imposed on the media, NGOs and humanitarian groups, all occurring in the post-CPA setting, provide further reason to doubt Khartoum's commitment to peace. Continued violations of the ceasefire in Darfur and a refusal to take action against government allied/backed militia in the area provide even more serious reasons for scepticism.

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<sup>7</sup> Abyei Boundary Commission.

Despite continued evidence of Khartoum's intractability the Canadian government seems unwilling to view its position on Talisman-in-Sudan as a mistake. In fact, the Canadian government recently attempted to prevent a US lawsuit against the company from proceeding, arguing that it might have an adverse effect on other Canadian companies wanting to trade with Sudan and that it was an 'infringement in the conduct of foreign relations by the government of Canada' (Nuemeister 2005; Hamblett 2005). For its part, Talisman argued that the case interferes with Canada's policy of 'constructive engagement' (Hamblett 2005). The judge presiding over the case, which accuses Talisman of collaborating with the Sudanese government in ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity in order to facilitate oil operations, disagreed with the Canadian government and Talisman and allowed the case to proceed.

So, while Talisman's Sudan operations and thus indirectly Canada's policy of constructive engagement will be scrutinised in a foreign court, the Canadian government itself appears unwilling to re-examine its trade and investment policies vis-à-vis its human security agenda. Nevertheless, the unfolding crisis in Darfur and the precarious state of the CPA indicate that it may be necessary to ask tough questions about what role Canadian investment activities have played in contributing to the Government of Sudan's military capabilities, and what greater role Canada could have played in condemning rather than unsuccessfully attempting to engage this regime. Such questions, if answered honestly, obligate the government to incorporate legal instruments for overseas corporate governance into a comprehensive human security agenda.

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## Chapter 9

# Two Africas? Two Ugandas? An African ‘Democratic Developmental State’? Or Another ‘Failed State’?<sup>1</sup>

Timothy M. Shaw

Fragile states are the hardest countries in the world to help develop. Working with them is difficult and costly and carries significant risks ... Since the mid-1990s, a stronger donor emphasis on rewarding countries with relatively effective governments and stable macroeconomic policies has led to further neglect of fragile states (DFID 2005, p. 5).

For Uganda, the future looks too ghastly to contemplate. The elections have not only confirmed the traditional divide between the south and the north but, more critically, opened another internal divide within the NRM. These are very sensitive issues which will require delicate handling if Uganda is to avoid a return to the lawlessness of the 1970s and 1980s. The wild card in this whole question remains the generals returning from the DRC (Ajulu 2001).

For all practical purposes, the conflict in the region has split Uganda into two countries – the one, the southern Uganda of economic development and growth, and the other, stretching north of Lake Kyoga, a theatre of war for the past two decades (Ajulu 2004, p. 274).

Africa has actually grown more peaceful in recent years ... What to expect in 2005? ... Africa will be less bloody than news footage suggests, but bloodier than Africans would wish (*The Economist* 2004, p. 87).

### Introduction

This chapter seeks to juxtapose two contemporary debates: one generic, the other specific, yet interrelated. These are focused on Sub-Saharan Africa, especially the Great Lakes Region, the Horn and West Africa, but they have resonance wherever

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier and shorter versions of the first part of this essay appeared in Graham Harrison (ed.) (2005) *Global Encounters: International Political Economy, Development and Globalisation*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 63–73, and Pamela Mbabazi and Ian Taylor (eds) (2005) *The Potentiality of ‘Developmental States’ in Africa: Botswana and Uganda Compared*, Dakar: CODESRIA, pp. 33–43.

conflict impacts development or *vice versa*, including the roles of donors and diasporas, companies and militias.

The generic discourse is about the relationship between conflict/security and development, including the policy-oriented discussion about the 'ODAbility' of peacemaking assistance. And the specific challenge, for analysts and activists, alike is how to explain, in cases like Uganda, rapid growth in one part of a country and persistent violence in another? Clearly, these two debates are interrelated and both pose fundamental challenges to assumptions and directions of a range of academic fields and policy sectors (Mychajlyszyn and Shaw 2005): development and security studies, international relations and political economy. They reflect the profound set of existential and conceptual changes, post-bipolarity and -9/11. And they are inseparable from broader concerns about the revival of unilateralism threatening novel forms of multilateralisms, such as the Ottawa and Kimberley Processes over landmines and conflict diamonds, respectively. The latter has been encouraged by the innovative late-2004 UN 'High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change' (HLP), whose report on 'A More Secure World: Our shared responsibility' (UN 2004) builds on the pre-9/11 ICISS (2001), whereas the former is represented by US interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

This juxtaposition means bringing together and contrasting two genres of primarily donor and NGO bi- and multi-lateral policy analyses and proposals (as in Uganda: see following section); increasingly, it is consultants, donors, NGOs and think tanks who initiate and define these debates not the traditional academy supposedly still stuck in its 'ivory tower'!). The generic debate includes contributions from the United Kingdom (UK) Department for International Development (DFID) on fragile states, difficult environments, Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit ([www.postconflict.gov.uk](http://www.postconflict.gov.uk)) and security and development; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) on Low Income Countries under Stress (LICUS); Partnership Africa Canada (PAC) on conflict diamonds; the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) on security sector reform; UNU/WIDER (United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research); and the HLP from the UN. And the case study has been advanced by Christian Aid, Global Crisis Group, Human Rights Watch (HRW), Netherlands Institute of International Relations/Clingendael, Uganda Debt Network *inter alia*. Finally, in more narrow 'academic' terms, this analysis is informed by Gavin Cawthra and Robin Luckham (2003); Mark Duffield (2001); Douglas Lemke (2003) and my own work with Morten Bøås (2004); Kevin Dunn (2001); Sandra MacLean (2001); Pamela Mbabazi (2000, 2002, 2004); Fredrik Söderbaum (2003), amongst others.

Definitions of, and relations among states, economies and civil societies are everywhere in flux given globalisations, regionalisms, migrations ([www.forcedmigration.org](http://www.forcedmigration.org)), and neo-liberalism (Maignushca 2003). Yet, as indicated in the third section, below, contemporary texts on government, international relations and/or political science rarely so appreciate (Lemke 2003; Shaw 2004c). Likewise, the post-bipolar 'world community' now consists of some 200 mainly poor, small, weak countries, but most orthodox studies of 'foreign policy' fail to recognise their

tenuousness or vulnerability (Khadiagala and Lyons 2001; World Bank 2002) unlike the state of analysis in the less ominous/global 'world' of the 1960s. However, DFID identifies 50 such 'fragile' states (not including Uganda!): another 'Fourth World' in the twenty-first century? Today, only a minority of 'critical' analysts focus on the 'other' side of globalisations: 'resistance' as well as global 'governance' (Maignushca 2003, p. 5) as well as the regional and global networks of informal/illegal trade in people and products, mafias/militias, drugs and guns, *et cetera*. (www.forcedmigration.org). Yet the formal governmental regimes of up to half the members of the UN and World Bank exert at best a tenuous control over their territories, economies and civil societies.

This chapter draws from a variety of interrelated disciplines and debates – from political science/economy and international relations to African development (Shaw 2004a) (see popular definition and advocacy in DFID's free 'Rough Guide to a Better World' distributed in Post Offices throughout the UK before Xmas 2004) (DFID 2004), and security studies – to which I return at the end. It seeks to juxtapose generic concepts like 'civil society' and 'governance' with cases drawn from Africa. While it concentrates on the Great Lakes Region (GLR), it reflects analyses and debates from Sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (Villalón and Huxtable 1998). In particular, I juxtapose notions drawn from the overlapping HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries), African developmental state and NEPAD (New Partnership for African Development) genres. I also bring in notions of human development/security given their salience in the contemporary continent (Hampson, Hillmer and Molot 2001; UNDP 1994 and 1999). And I particularly reflect on peacebuilding and reconstruction in today's Uganda – the roles of NGOs and think tanks – given my continuing position as visiting professor in the burgeoning Faculty of Development Studies, with it new, wired, building, at the new Mbarara University of Science and Technology (MUST) in Western Uganda (www.must.ac.ug).

The following section starts with the not unproblematic case study of Uganda as a segue into comparative dimensions: how reflective of a divided continent/globe?

## **Two Ugandas? Two Africas?**

Even more than in previous decades, 'Uganda' now consists of two distinct yet interconnected 'states'. This first part suggests that the 'developmental state' apparent in the South of Uganda (Shaw 2005) needs to be juxtaposed with the continuing alienation and violence in the North; the latter surely constitutes an instance of the regional and global 'responsibility to protect' (ICISS 2001) given the Museveni regime's great reluctance, if not unwillingness, to negotiate peace despite its own transition from conflict to reconstruction in the mid-1980s (Barya 2004).

As suggested by the opening quotations from Rok Ajulu, today's Uganda(s) constitute(s) a challenging case of a divided society with profound implications for comparative analysis, policy and practice in Africa and elsewhere (Crook 2001; Nhema 2004; Osaghae 2001). Uganda can be characterised as an 'African

democratic developmental state' in the 'South', following a harrowing quarter-century of 'independence', and a 'divided society' in the 'North'. But both conceptual frameworks and existential relationships are interconnected in reality, albeit in complex ways. The two Ugandas always coexisted in a tenuous manner, but in the new century the division has become wider with profound implications for prospects of development and democracy, human rights and human security in both parts. In part, this paper constitutes an experimental attempt to understand and interrelate both of today's Ugandas in the hope that this case study will throw light on the complexities of conflict escalation and reduction elsewhere on the continent (Field 2004; Nhema 2004); that is, to the generic conflict and development debate.

In the case of Uganda, the no- (or one-) party regime of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) changes the context of both developmentalism and conflict. In the former, the catalytic state role is relatively unencumbered by opposition other than some MPs in parliament, some elements in the media and some institutions in civil society. And in the latter, similarly, the response of the state is relatively unhindered other than by some regional pressures from the North, especially religious leaders in civil society in the early-twenty-first century. In terms of developmentalism, the Museveni regime has been determinedly pro-market whereas in terms of responding to persistent violence it has been resolutely coercive: no negotiations or amnesty until the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) lays down its arms even where child abductees and soldiers are concerned (Christian Aid 2004; HRW 2003a and b).

The reluctance of the Museveni regime to consider talking peace contrasts with its own accession to power: a liberation army from the bush. Its own extensive, inclusive coalition on seizing power in the mid-1980s<sup>2</sup> can be contrasted to its exclusion of Northern demands and opponents as the LRA violence continued into the new century and spread towards the South and East. Why would the Museveni regime deny its own experience with peacebuilding over the previous decade-and-a-half? And does such reluctance in response to the impoverishment and alienation of the North compromise its embryonic status as a democratic developmental state? Furthermore, if the Ugandan state is still unwilling to open peace talks at the Track One level, then Tracks Two/Three may become imperatives, with any preliminary understandings then brought back to the official milieu?

The Museveni regime is particularly under pressure because of parallel 'peace talks' in the Sudan and Congo. The talks sponsored by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) about the Southern Sudan in Naivasha, Kenya have led to a problematic peace accord for the South even as Darfur continues to be very volatile. And the Great Lakes Region was the focus of further attention in the November 2004 international conference in Tanzania, which was preceded by national consultations in the seven participating countries, including Uganda. This ongoing initiative is intended to advance and reinforce the national process of preparing for elections in Congo in 2006 and is supported by 28 state and 10 inter-

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<sup>2</sup> See ICISS (2001, Volume II, pp. 61–63) on Tanzania's support for the overthrow of Amin in 1979. This was perhaps an early 'responsibility to protect' initiative.

state 'Group of Friends of the Great Lakes Region' which is co-chaired by Canada and the Netherlands, who are already connected in the Human Security Network ([www.humansecurity.gc.ca](http://www.humansecurity.gc.ca)).

Given the resilience of violence in the North of Uganda, then, can we really characterise it as a 'developmental state'? But, likewise, given the character of conflict in the North, can we really characterise it as a 'civil war'? And can the two halves of the territory exist without the other, especially if we recognise the broader regional dimensions of the conflicts in the Great Lakes/Horn? Moreover, given the particularly horrific character of LRA attacks – child abductees/soldiers, mass rapes and use of drugs/girls as incentives – public relations/diplomacy dimensions are quite problematic: 'new security' features. Furthermore, can any Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) under HIPC take such violence into account in terms of moderating and reversing alienation? And are HIPC and NEPAD compatible, leading to an original framework for an innovative form of local to continental African developmental governance (Parpart and Shaw 2002)?

I now turn to the global-local dimensions of Uganda as an emerging but fraught (HRW 2003a and b) 'democratic developmental state', before turning to an analysis of its current HIPC governance and continuing conflict (Shaw 2005). Certainly there are limitations to democratisation in Uganda, in both state and non-state sectors. Conversely, it is more developmental as well as democratic than ever, notwithstanding violence in the North (Tangri and Mwenda 2003).

Given decentralisation and urbanisation, the local level of governance – city and community – is of growing importance for human development/security and reveals similar patterns of partnership to the other levels. In general, local governance in both South and North of the divided country offers a variety of advantages over centralised government but accountability and transparency need to be continually demanded/monitored: onto democratic decentralisation (Crook 2001)? And governance at the local level may require a continually changing mix of state and non-state resources and relationships (Kasfir 2000). As in the case of Mbarara municipality and county, subcontracting to local companies for education or to local NGOs for AIDS hospices, for example, has become commonplace (Mbabazi and Shaw 2000; Mbabazi, MacLean and Shaw 2002). Over the last decade there has been +/-10% growth in Western Uganda, albeit from a very weak base post-Amin/Obote II regimes. This has advanced both human development and human security. The former is defined by the UNDP (1994, p. 13) as expanding human capabilities and choices whilst minimising vulnerabilities and the latter (UNDP 1994, p. 24) as '*freedom from fear and freedom from want*': *human security is not a concern with weapons – it is a concern with human life and dignity*' (emphasis added) (UNDP 1994, p. 22).

The next two sub-sections parallel those in the final section, below: the burgeoning roles of non-state actors at national and global, local and regional levels.

*Civil Societies*

One side of the governance ‘triangle’ (Commonwealth Foundation 1999) – that between the state and civil society – is focused on democratisation or ‘political liberalisation’. By contrast, the other side – that between the state and private sector – is preoccupied with ‘economic liberalisation’ or privatisation. How compatible are these two forms of ‘liberalisation’? Furthermore, both impact the bottom, horizontal axis of the triangle, that between the two non-state elements: that is, civil society and private companies. In short, there appears to be something of a stand-off (contradiction?) between global competitiveness and a democratic deficit: which is primary for local and global interests/institutions?

In such a fluid context, the roles of ‘think tanks’ as well as NGOs<sup>3</sup> are in flux, as indicated in the broad-based (winning?) coalition supporting the PRSP process. Symbolically, a new project of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations’ Conflict Research Unit on ‘Democratic Transition in Post-Conflict Societies: building local institutions’, which has Uganda as one of its eight case studies, is collaborating with CBR ([www.clingendael.nl/cru/project](http://www.clingendael.nl/cru/project)).

HIV/AIDS has also led to innovative civil society-state/corporate relations in Uganda as elsewhere on the continent. NGOs have been active in financing such initiatives as hospices for the dying, prevention campaigns and orphanages for children without parents, and multinational corporations (MNCs) are increasingly active in terms of infected workers ([www.businessfightsaids.org](http://www.businessfightsaids.org)). The stand-off between civil society and the state over HIV/AIDS in South Africa is not replicated in Uganda ([www.tac.org.za](http://www.tac.org.za)) as the Museveni regime has been in the vanguard of straightforward communication/education, leading to the regional Great Lakes Initiative for AIDS.

*Private Companies*

‘African capitalism’ in contemporary Uganda is quite distinctive and different from that elsewhere. It includes not only traditional and contemporary ‘colonial’ commodities and supply chains but also informal (and illegal?) and formal regional exchanges. It thus now includes fruit, horticultural and vegetable exports (some meeting corporate social responsibility/fair trade criteria (Pegg and Wilson 2003) as well as coffee and tea; and to the region it includes electricity, Coca Cola, Mukwano soap products and UHT milk. It also includes the burgeoning remittance economy of foreign exchange being sent home either for subsistence or investment by diasporas in Britain, Canada, South Africa and elsewhere, typically via Western Union. And in addition to serving as an entrepot for Central African resources, it also serves

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<sup>3</sup> The spectrum in Uganda ranges from the Private Sector Foundation and Economic Policy Research Centre (see more below) to Centre for Basic Research (CBR) and the Uganda Development Network (UDN) versus ‘old’, established research institutions like the Makerere Institute for Social Research (MISR) at Makerere University.

as a conduit for informal coltan, diamonds and gold out and guns and other basic needs in. The mix of legal and illegal is problematic and controversial, with the UN contributing to the debates in the late-1990s. But clearly, the Ugandan economy as a whole gains from the Congolese conflict/expeditionary force.

In addition, the termination of apartheid has enabled South African capital, franchises, links, technologies, *et cetera* to enter Uganda, so competing with local (African and Asia), British/European and Asian capitals: Century Bottlers' Coca Cola franchise, MTN cell-phones ([www.mtn.co.za](http://www.mtn.co.za)), MNet cable and satellite TV ([www.multichoice.co.za](http://www.multichoice.co.za)), Nandos and Steer fastfood franchises, Woolworths' upmarket shopping (two branches in the 'new' Kampala) ([www.woolworths.co.za](http://www.woolworths.co.za)), Shoprite supermarket ([www.shoprite.co.za](http://www.shoprite.co.za)) and Metro Cash-and Carry wholesaling and South African Breweries.

Such alternatives lead towards new opportunities and to new regionalisms: beyond established inter-state East African Community (EAC), now augmented by East African Legislature and onto new security provisions, and GLR to flexible non-state forms of regionalisms defined by ecologies, ethnicities, infrastructures, technologies, viruses, *et cetera*.

### *New Insecurities*

The notion of 'national development' in Uganda remains problematic when the 'gap' between, say, Kitgum to Kabale is rather wide (Baker 2001; UNDP 2000) as indicated in the continued tensions and violence spreading over 18 years, now involving over 20 000 child abductions and over one million internally displaced people, increasingly guarded by army-backed (ethnic?) militia (Erhart and Ayoo 2000; UNDP 2000).

The apparent failure of the regime's heavy-handed attacks – Operation Iron Fist – on the LRA in Southern Sudan in 2003–2004 led to the latter extending its operations south and east of Acholi and Gulu towards Lira and Soroti (HRW 2003b), leading to an awful massacre in February 2004 followed by the army's killing of several post-massacre protestors. In association with global NGOs, a delegation of Northern Ugandan leaders headed by the Archbishop of Gulu – associated with the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) – asked for international attention and intervention in the spring of 2003 in London and New York particularly given the terrible toll on children on both sides (HRW 2003a).

In turn, the Museveni regime in early-2004 asked the International Criminal Court (ICC) to investigate the conflict in the north, which many international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) have welcomed, including Amnesty International and HRW. But, despite apparently agreeing in mid-April to so negotiate, the government remains very reluctant to enter into any meaningful dialogue despite the above informed, concerned opinion-leaders? Potentially the cost of such a stand-off could be significant for citizens and leaders alike. Similarly, apparent understandings between LRA and the Uganda Peoples Defence Force (UPDF) at the start of 2005 came to nought. Meanwhile, ethnicities, brands, religions, sports, *et cetera* advance

a variety of causes/identities/images (Parpart and Shaw 2002). These claims may extend legitimacy to new African developmental states and their compatible NEPAD ideology (Taylor and Nel 2001). Diverse forms/levels of governance may advance development, yet if they can be arbitrarily reversed, they are not sustainable and so do not generate confidence, otherwise known as human security.

So patterns of ‘governance’ in Africa – increasingly inseparable from the notion of a democratic developmental state – are in flux at all levels – local to continental – and all sectors – from state and corporate to non-governmental organisations (NGOs); that is, the three ‘corners’ of the governance ‘triangle’. Contemporary notions of governance have a variety of conceptual, ideological, institutional, political and theoretical sources and correlates. Governance on this continent as others varies over time and between regions. And it reveals similarities and dissimilarities with other continents: how democratic is Uganda as elsewhere given tensions amongst state and non-state actors. As elsewhere, notions of comparative politics/development have evolved profoundly over the last decade as the mix of ‘globalisations’ and ‘liberalisations’ have impacted in cumulative ways. The focus on state has been superseded by recognition of diverse and changeable patterns of governance reflected in concepts like public-private partnerships, networks, coalitions etc. (see, for example, [www.copenhagencentre.org](http://www.copenhagencentre.org); [www.unglobalcompact.org](http://www.unglobalcompact.org); Mbabazi, MacLean and Shaw 2002).

Meanwhile, in reality both Uganda and East Africa are divided at least into two: the souths of economic growth and norths of conflict and decline. In turn, such divisions imply an expansion of civil-military relations: increasingly, the former includes NGOs as well as parliaments/parties and the latter embraces private security companies, let alone informal and illegal, as well as official state structures (Cawthra and Luckham 2003; IPU 2003). In the next section, I turn to such dichotomies at the global rather than local/national/regional/continental levels.

## **Two Sectors? Two Worlds?**

The fragile states framework identifies approximately 50 ‘Fourth World’ states. In turn, the continuing debate continues over whether ‘globalisation’ does offer some opportunities for some African states, civil societies and companies at all levels, with the more optimistic ‘liberals’ insisting that it does, despite all the negative evidence and press over the last two decades. Nevertheless, if structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) generated much scepticism even defeatism on the continent, then their *de facto* successor, offering a distinctive form of globalisation – negotiated debt relief for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) (Anena 2001; Gariyo 2001; [www.udn.or.ug](http://www.udn.or.ug)) – is leading to a novel form of governance. As Callaghy (2001, pp. 138, 142) suggests:

... all HIPC debt relief is now to be tied directly to poverty reduction. This is to be ensured by the creation of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) put together by debtor countries in consultation with civil society groups. ... If seriously implemented,

this new process could be an important change in international governance on debt, aid and development more generally and may have major implications for the unfolding of democratization processes in Africa and elsewhere.

In the next two sub-sections, as in section, I turn briefly to parallel debates about the character of the primary pair of non-state actors – that is, civil societies and private companies – but this time at the global rather than regional or lower levels.

### *Civil Society*

'Global civil society' is very heterogeneous (Glasius, Kaldor and Anheier 2002) with global social movements coming to play increasingly salient yet quite incompatible roles. On the one hand, many contemporary INGOs have been the sources of new global issues, such as ecology, genetic engineering, gender, global warming, International Criminal Court, landmines, ozone-depletion, small arms etc. and now 'blood diamonds'. These have led to major global coalitions such as the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) which resulted in the 'Ottawa Process' (Hubert 2000), now replicated in the 'Kimberley Process'. But they have also advanced 'anti-globalisation' sentiments as reflected in the 'battle of Seattle' against the MAI and subsequent alternative summits and counter-demonstrations at major global and regional summits ([www.attac.org](http://www.attac.org); [www.nologo.org](http://www.nologo.org)).

### *Private Companies*

In turn, major global corporations increasingly seek to insulate themselves from popular pressures/boycotts through a variety of strategies (Blowfield 1999; Pegg and Wilson 2003): from association with the UN Global Compact to corporate codes of conduct, ethical as well as fair trade initiatives, strategic alliances with certain international organisations (IOs) or NGOs (Shaw and van der Westhuizen 2004). Thus many of the MNCs which feature in Naomi Klein's *No Logo* (2000), in terms of being targets of anti-corporate campaigns – for example, McDonald's, Nestle, Nike, Shell, *et cetera* – are most active in the UN Global Compact ([www.unglobalcompact.org](http://www.unglobalcompact.org); Parpart and Shaw 2002)! Meanwhile, given its HIPC and anti-terrorist credentials, Uganda is becoming a major beneficiary of the US African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) ([www.agoa.gov](http://www.agoa.gov)): some US\$ 6 million investment in the early-2000s leading to the revival of the Jinja textile industry and rapid rise in cotton (and processed coffee for the first time ever ex-Uganda) exports in 2003: from US\$32 000 in 2002 to \$1.5 million in 2003.

One novel aspect of South-North trade in the new global political economy is 'supply chains' which link local producers to global markets in novel ways in a variety of sectors, including 'new' horticulture, in a novel form of 'partnership'. Typically these link producers of fresh flowers (Asea and Kaija 2000) and fruits and vegetables to major supermarket chains and use international technology (IT) for communication and airfreight/containers for transportation. These in turn are open to

pressure from advocacy groups over ecology, gender, labour etc., leading to Ethical Trade Initiative ([www.eti.org.uk](http://www.eti.org.uk)) and Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI) ([www.publishwhatyoupay.org](http://www.publishwhatyoupay.org)), as well as Fair Trade, conditionalities over gender, housing and labour practices, etc., as is apparent in thumb-print sketches of sources of specialised coffee beans in Aroma, Costa, Second Cup, Starbucks: 'chain governance' ([www.gapresearch.org](http://www.gapresearch.org)).

In the following, somewhat speculative, final part, I bring some of the several analytic and prescriptive strands together.

### **Lessons from/for Security and Development in Uganda/Africa at the Start of the twenty-first century?**

The official, optimistic scenario presented by Uganda in the early-twenty-first century in terms of African or HIPC governance is that of a continuous negotiation among corporations, NGOs/networks, state and partnerships involving new capital/franchises/technologies and commodity/supply chains, etc.; that is, a view reflective of the 'South' of the country (Shaw 2004b). By contrast, the critical, pessimistic preview suggests arbitrary decision-making, exponential corruption and state violence, as reflected in growing concerns regarding accountability and transparency; that is, another view reflective of the 'North' (Lewis and Wallace 2000; Shaw 2003). Thus, given Uganda's comeback in the 1990s and setbacks in the new century, are there lessons to be learned for local to global decision-makers? (Shaw 2005).

Here, I look briefly into possible lessons for established disciplines such as political science, international relations and political economy as well as for interdisciplinary fields such as African/Development/Security Studies (Duffield 2001; Haynes 2003; Lemke 2003; Payne 1999; Shaw 2004a and c). In terms of orthodox canons, case studies like contemporary Uganda suggest the imperative of going beyond the state and formal economy and examining myriad links between these and the non-state/-formal: real triangular forms of mixed actor governance? And in terms of more recent interdisciplinary perspectives, there is a need to reflect on new issues/relations around developing countries and communities, so questions of traditional and 'new' security cannot be separated from security and development issues such as those experienced in the GLR (Lemke 2003, Osaghae 2001). Indeed, Uganda in the twenty-first century as in the nineteenth and twentieth suggests the imperative of situating 'external' challenges and opportunities in the context of state-society relations...what we now know as 'globalisation' (Dunn and Shaw 2001). The place of new, poor, small, weak states in a globalising, let alone turbulent, world is crucial for analysts and citizens alike (DFID 2005; Lemke 2003; Shaw 2004c; World Bank 2002).

Finally, to conclude, Kevin Dunn (2001, pp. 46, 49) has chided orthodox analysts about their increasingly outdated and inappropriate analytic approaches which reveal a lack of nuanced understanding of distinctive patterns of dynamic, mixed-actor governance on the continent:

Just a few of the labels attached to the African state over the past decade or so include 'failed', 'lame', 'fictive', 'weak', 'collapsing', 'quasi', 'invented' and 'imposed', 'shadow', 'overdeveloped' and 'centralized', 'swollen', 'soft', 'extractive' and 'parasitic', 'premodern', and 'post-state' ... What needs to be recognized is that the African state is not failing as much as is our understanding of the state.

Alas, such a lament could also be made about much of the established academic analysis on development and security studies, international relations and political economy.

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## Chapter 10

# A True Measure of Success? The Discourse and Practice of Human Security in Haiti<sup>1</sup>

Robert Muggah and Keith Krause

### Introduction

The concept of ‘human security’, today widely used by a diverse array of governments, international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), is the latest attempt to challenge state-centred conceptions of security (Palme Commission 1982; Carter, Perry & Steinbrunner 1992; Dewitt 1994, pp. 1–15; Buzan 1991; Waever 1995). More than ten years have passed since it was widely disseminated in the 1994 UNDP *Human Development Report* (1994) and more than five years since its adoption as an explicit foreign policy theme by Canada and other ‘middle powers’ in Western Europe and elsewhere (Paris 2001, pp. 87–102; Hampson *et al.*, 2001). While the international agenda on ‘human security’ has its own momentum and dynamic – the work of the Human Security Network or the Commission on Human Security (2003) are but two examples of this – the concept has also served as a useful fulcrum for an otherwise disparate set of actors and interests, providing leverage in policy debates.<sup>2</sup> Human security has also proven to be a wedge for opening sensitive debates on humanitarian intervention and the ‘responsibility’ of sovereign states (or, if they fail, the international community) to protect their citizens – a debate in which Canada has played a leading role (ICISS 2001).

There are, as is well recognized, broad and narrow interpretations of ‘human security,’ divided between the narrow vision of Canada and its partners in the Human Security Network, and the broader vision promoted by Japan, the Human Security Commission, and development actors in general (Commission on Human Security

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter draws upon previous work on human security by Keith Krause (2002, pp. 73–98), and field work in Haiti by Robert Muggah, during which time he worked on projects for the Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs and then as MINUSTAH DDR advisor.

<sup>2</sup> Note also the large-scale regional project on peace and human security run by UNESCO, with conferences and/or publications already resulting in Latin America, East Asia and the Middle East. See <http://www.unesco.org/securipax/>.

2003; Krause 2005, pp. 1–6).<sup>3</sup> While institutional and conceptual differences persist, there is wide agreement that the safety and well-being of the individual is the central referent for a human security framework. There is also agreement that security from the imminent threat of violence forms part of human security, even if there is disagreement over how far to go beyond this conception. More importantly, however, there are significant practical obstacles to advancing the concept at the declaratory (discursive or normative) level: American, Chinese, Russian, Iranian, Egyptian or Indonesian (*inter alia*) unease with the concept, which is seen as encroaching on their sovereignty or freedom of action, are important factors limiting the widespread declaratory use of the concept.<sup>4</sup>

The human security approach nevertheless remains significant because policymakers in a variety of states and international organizations have adopted the language of human security to generate interesting foreign and security policy initiatives.<sup>5</sup> So how are we to ‘measure’ the influence of an idea such as human security? Widespread use of a label or slogan by itself is insufficient; similarly, the failure of major actors to take up an idea does not necessarily testify to its irrelevance.<sup>6</sup> As John Ruggie (1998) pointed out in a different context, what matters is the fusion of ‘social purpose’ – here represented by the idea of human security – and power, especially institutional power.<sup>7</sup> For our purposes, it is thus important to assess the extent to which the idea of human security been mainstreamed into policy-making, and into institutional practices, at the multilateral level.

This chapter attempts to tease out whether or not human security has been mainstreamed into institutional discourses and practices, beyond its obviously limited currency in UN Security Council debates and Resolutions. It starts from the observation that the underlying priorities of a human security approach – promoting physical safety, violence reduction, human rights, control of the instruments of violence, use of child soldiers, and so forth, are increasingly showing up in these forums, even when the label of human security is eschewed. In fact, the Canadian government – together with others within and outside of the Security Council – has worked hard to advance a parallel agenda to operationalise human security through

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<sup>3</sup> The narrow version of human security is often championed because it is feasible, tangible, coherent, and realistic. The broad version is often criticised for attempting to do too much: by advancing seven clusters of ‘insecurities’, it becomes analytically and practically unhelpful.

<sup>4</sup> For an argument that human security warrants attention within the US military see Henk (2005). Chinese diplomats, in Geneva and Beijing, have also publicly endorsed the concept. Personal communication, 2005.

<sup>5</sup> More than 492,000 google.com references (August 2005), compared to about 50,000 for ‘cooperative security’ and about 5,000 for ‘societal security’.

<sup>6</sup> For example, one would not gauge the significance or diffusion of the idea of human rights with reference solely to the reactions of major powers to it. (Risse, Ropp and Sikink, (eds), 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Ruggie was referring to the outward projection of the American (and European) ‘New Deal welfare’ state in the construction of post-1945 multilateral institutions.

the 'protection of civilians' (POC) agenda. In the past five years, POC has made some important progress. While the expression 'human security' itself may not have therefore successfully entered the lexicon of a great many member states, human security priorities manifestly have.

This paper will try to demonstrate this through a critical examination of a particular case: two UN missions in Haiti spaced roughly ten years apart, both before and after the human security agenda emerged. Haiti is an excellent case study because it is a priority engagement of Canadian foreign policy,<sup>8</sup> because it is a country – and a people – that are manifestly insecure, and because it is a prism through which many similar peace support operations can also implicitly be examined or compared.

There are three dimensions to this question that will be examined in this chapter. The first is *discursive* – looking for how the concept of 'human security' has been invoked and used in multilateral statements, submissions and declarations. This is not just a matter of finding references to human security, as a organising or framing concept. Rather one must examine also the way in which the concept of human security is distinguished from other concepts, how it is linked to particular normative claims (about its desirability or not), how it is used to unite subordinate concepts or ideas, and how it is used to delimit a *discursive field* in which specific policy initiatives can be pursued in a coherent way.<sup>9</sup>

This leads to the second benchmark of whether a norm on 'human security' is emerging: whether it has been *practically* translated into action. The influence of any idea is not measured by its discursive presence alone, rather, a concept must be linked to practices in such a way that new initiatives are undertaken, new modes of acting are engaged in, or new actors or coalitions of actors are empowered. In academic terms, one needs to know if discourses and practices are linked in a meaningful way.<sup>10</sup> Or, to put it in more prosaic terms: are policy statements converted into operational practice?

One way to look at this is to see if, for all the theorising and rhetoric, the concept of human security has been mainstreamed into the operational practices of relevant agencies or organisations. In this translation from discourse to practice, the concept of human security becomes a framing tool for the development of particular strategies and for the furthering of specific interests. It allows foreign ministries

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<sup>8</sup> More than \$700million has been invested in Haiti by CIDA between 1968 and 2004, not including police and military support. The Canadian government has indicated that 'Haiti is now Canada's most important long-term development assistance beneficiary in the Americas' and appointed a Special Advisor in 2004. See Muggah 2006.

<sup>9</sup> This is a dramatic simplification of a more complex discussion of discourse analysis that we will defer here. See Milliken 1999, pp. 225–254; Fairclough 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Arguably, most constructivist/critical International Relations fail on this count, and treats discourses as significant themselves, without examining the link to actual practices. Two examples (among many) would be Bradley Klein's (1990) or Simon Dalby's (1990) analyses of American Cold War discourse, which relies heavily on a textual analysis of NSC-68 and other documents, rather than a fine-grained study of the practices these discourses were associated with.

and some international agencies to adopt entrepreneurial and dynamic approaches to advancing, among other things, security agendas that speak to their particular understandings of their interests and role in the world.

A third criteria and clearly the most important, is *internal* to the entire idea of human security: the extent to which the discourse and practices of human security have ultimately translated into *improved safety and security* for communities themselves. In principle, this is a measurable criterion, either through objective indicators such as crime or violence rates, armed conflicts, internal displacement, or other indicators of socio-economic wellbeing (including subjective ones). But in practice, this sort of information is difficult to gather, and as we shall see, does not always form an integral part of the agenda of promoting human security, an absence that can call into question the strength of the commitment to human security.

In order to analyse these three different dimensions of human security, this chapter first compares the extent to which human security concerns have been reflected in two UN missions – the first the UNMIH (1993–1995) and the second MINUSTAH (2003–2005).<sup>11</sup> Their (unfortunately) similar contexts allow us to argue (perhaps somewhat optimistically) that human security priorities have emerged as a governing discourse in UNSC/UNGA/multilateral statements over the past decade.

Second, the chapter examines in greater detail the situation on the ground, and the extent to which human security (or the protection of the civilian agenda) is being realised. In other words, if we accept that human security norms have become embedded as part of multilateral peace and security discourses in 2005, what does this mean on the ground in actual peace and security operations? Is human security being meaningfully incorporated into operations and institutional practices, and is the security of target populations being improved? Despite the noble (and sometimes less noble) intentions of the international community, we demonstrate that human security policies are some distance from achieving what they set out to do. But, like most observers of the discourse and practice of human security, it has to be acknowledged that it is too early to tell – at least in the case of Haiti – whether or not a demonstrable shift in discourses and practices has led to a durable improvement in the security of Haitians in their daily lives.

## **The Discourse of Human Security**

The arguments set forth in this chapter rely primarily on a small sample of UN Security Council, General Assembly and Secretary General Resolutions and reports

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<sup>11</sup> There have been five peacekeeping missions in Haiti since the early 1990s. These include: (1) UNMIH (Resolution 867) from September 1993-June 1996 (and suspended from October 1993-March 1995); (2) the U.S.-led Multinational Force (Resolution 940) between September 1994 and March 1995; (3) UNSMIH (Resolution 1063) from July 1996 to July 1997; (4) UNTMIH authorized to operate from August 1997-November 1997; and (5) MIF and MINUSTAH, March 2004 to June 2005.

since the early 1990s as well as field-research undertaken in 2004–2005.<sup>12</sup> It thus provides a short descriptive review of two international interventions in Haiti and the externally-derived discourses and policies that underpinned them. We argue that shifts in interpretation and policy prescriptions can be partly attributed to the introduction of a human security framework and attendant policy priorities mainly involving the ‘protection of civilians’ framework. In comparing the two UN missions we sought to determine whether human security concerns, priorities and approaches were given greater prominence in the more recent intervention. Recognising that the expression ‘human security’ *per se* would not likely emerge in such texts, we focused instead on whether its themes were mentioned prominently alongside traditional national security concerns.

One could argue that it is not a human security framework *per se* that has catalysed a shift in discourse (and emergence of new practices) over the past decade, but rather a combination of other, unrelated factors, ranging from the application of lessons learned to discrete lobbying or advocacy efforts from other sources. But there is near unanimous consensus amongst UN ambassadors, representatives of foreign ministries and practitioners that human security concerns are more present today in UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and statements on Haiti than they were a decade ago. A reading of these texts largely confirms this view. Moreover, given the reluctance among certain key governments to adopt many of the core features of the human security agenda, and the bargaining and concessions required to ensure that its prescriptions are acknowledged in key resolutions and texts, it is unlikely that these references emerged spontaneously or, conversely, have been retroactively shaped into a coherent framework, at least in the case of Haiti.

Although some of the circumstances of the two cases are different, the two UN missions in Haiti demonstrate consistent and at times quite startling parallels. By way of illustration, Table 1 provides a short narrative review of the sequence of events unfolding in Haiti between 1993 and 1996 and again from 2003 to 2005. Accepting that the two periods offer comparable situations for testing our first proposition, let us now examine each mission in more detail.

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<sup>12</sup> This includes a dozen or so UNSC resolutions, statements and reports on Haiti between 1993–1995 and 2003–2005, as well as DPKO (1996).

**Table 10:1 History Repeating Itself?: UNMIH and MINUSTAH**

UN Mission 1993–1996	UN Mission 2003–2005
<p>After a coup that witnessed the exile of President Aristide, and ineffective international economic/arms sanctions, the UNSC called for a chapter VII intervention,<sup>11</sup> with the express purpose of restoring democracy, holding Presidential and Legislative elections, reforming the military and police and safeguarding the security of civilians.</p> <p>More than 6,000 multinational troops were deployed (preceded by an advance mission of US marines and Canadians, among others).<sup>12</sup> Almost 1,000 police, under a Canadian Commissioner, were also deployed.<sup>13</sup> A new government was installed.</p> <p>During the deployment of UN troops, its slowness heavily criticised, a devastating hurricane struck northern Haiti (Gordon) leaving over 400 dead, 15,000 internally displaced and 55,000 families affected.</p> <p>A limited demobilisation of the factions took place, under some criticism.</p>	<p>In the context of increasing armed violence and after the ouster of the President, the UNSC called for chapter VII intervention, with the express purpose of establishing a secure and stable environment for democratic elections and constitutional reform, to reform the police and ensure comprehensive DDR, and to protect civilians from the eminent threat of violence.</p> <p>More than 6,000 multinational troops were deployed (after an advance mission of US marines and Canadians, among others).<sup>14</sup> Just over 1,000 police, under a Canadian Commissioner, were deployed. A transitional government was installed.</p> <p>During the deployment of the UN mission, its slow pace under intense criticism, floods kill more than 2,000 in the south and a hurricane struck northern Haiti (Jeanne), leaving over 2,000 dead and an estimated 33,000 internally displaced.</p> <p>A comprehensive demobilisation process of former army and factions is taking place, under some criticism.</p>
<p><i>Sources: S/1994/54 (Jan 1994); S/1994/593 (May 1994); S/1994/792 (June 1994); S/1994/871 (July 1994); S/1994/1012 (August 1994); S/1994/1143 (September 1994); S/1994/1180 (October 1994); S/1994/1322 (November 1994); S/1995/46 (January 1995); S/1995/305 (April 1995); S/1995/614 (July 1995); S/1995/922 (November 1995); S/1996/122 (February 1996).</i></p>	<p><i>Sources: S/RES/1529 (February 2004); S/2004/300 (April 2004); S/RES/1542 (April 2004); S/RES/1601 (May 2005); S/2004/698 (August 2004); S/PRST/2004/32 (September 2004); S/2004/908 (November 2004); S/RES/1576 (November 2004); S/PRST/2005/1 (January 2005); S/2005/313 (May 2005); S/RES/1608 (June 2005).</i></p>

<sup>11</sup> Chapter VII of the Charter empowers the Security Council to determine the existence of a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, and to take measures to maintain or restore international peace and security. Security Council decisions under Chapter VII are binding on all UN member states.

<sup>12</sup> The transition from the multinational force to UNMIH took place on 31 March 1995, in full compliance with an envisaged timetable. By 10 April 1995, UNMIH military component stood at 6,017.

<sup>13</sup> Chief Superintendent Neil Pouliot (Canada) was named CIVPOL commander, and some 791 international police were deployed by the end of April 1995.

<sup>14</sup> MINUSTAH authorised the deployment of some 6,700 peacekeepers and more than 1,200 police.

Facing a rapidly deteriorating situation, a UN-led mission was launched with the express purpose of reinforcing national security and restoring the legitimately elected President Jean Bertrand Aristide to power.<sup>13</sup> UNMIH was established by resolution 867 (1993) and 940 (1994) and focused on supporting and strengthening the institutions of the state – including civilian control over the armed forces,<sup>14</sup> reforming the national police,<sup>15</sup> and restoring of the rule of law.<sup>16</sup> These explicit objectives were advanced as part of the Chapter VII mandate ‘to maintain international peace and security’.<sup>17</sup> Thus, UNSC resolution 867 authorised a Chapter VII intervention on 23 September 1993 to ensure the ‘maintenance of international peace and security, permit the resumption of normal operations of government, including police and military functions’.<sup>18</sup> When UNMIH was finally in a position to deploy in earnest,

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<sup>13</sup> On 31 September 1991, newly-elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown in a coup d'état headed by Lieutenant-General Raoul Cédras. On 11 October 1991, the UN General Assembly adopted resolution 46/7, which condemned the illegal replacement of President Aristide. Following considerable engagement by the Organization of American States (OAS), an International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH) was approved in resolution 47/20B on 20 April 1993. The UNMIH was set up shortly thereafter by the UN Security Council (resolution 867), to begin reform of the police and army in September 1993. Because advance missions were unable to deploy effectively, the UNSC issued a statement on 11 October 2003, reiterating that serious and consistent non-compliance would lead to the reinstatement of previously established arms and oil embargoes. MICIVIH, UNMIH and other staff were evacuated in November 1993 and sanctions were re-imposed. By June 1994, the Security Council reported no progress on implementation of the so-called Governors Island Agreement. The UN adopted UNSC 940 on 31 July 1994 which authorized the use of ‘all necessary means’ to bring the legitimate government of President Aristide back to power in Haiti. Following the agreement between US representatives and then-President Cédras, on the ‘permissive entry of US forces’, 20,000 US troops participated in the military intervention in Haiti as part of the Multinational Force of Operation Uphold Democracy. President Aristide was reinstalled on 15 October 1994. All measures against Haiti pursuant to resolutions 841 (1993), 873 (1993) and 917 (1994) were lifted on the same day. By March 1995, UNMIH held a ceremony to transfer responsibilities back to the government of Haiti.

<sup>14</sup> The military was ultimately disbanded by a Presidential Decree. However, the security risks presented by the ineffectively demobilised FADH represent a tremendous challenge to the current MINUSTAH operations and the transitional government.

<sup>15</sup> The early deployment of a permanent and effective police force by the Haitian authorities was considered to be central to Haiti’s long-term stability. The Interim Public Security Force, consisting of some 3,300 screened and quickly retrained former military personnel, as well as 900 other trainees, was gradually being replaced by the new Haitian National Police. It was ultimately decided that the country would set up a police force consisting of some 5,000 officers.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, UNSG report S/1995/305.

<sup>17</sup> The ‘international’ dimension of the ‘threat to international peace and security’ involved reducing refugee flows to Miami and preventing Colombian cocaine – estimated at some 10-15 percent of total inflows into the US – from entering US markets.

<sup>18</sup> When an advance mission of UN-backed troops was prevented from landing in Haiti a few months later, UNSC resolution 1153 on 28 September 1994 called for a military

the UN (UNSC 940, 1994) called for ‘national reconciliation, the reinforcement of democratic institutions and the revitalisation of the Haitian economy, legislative and local elections’.

The priorities set out by the UN and implemented by UNMIH reflected best practices for transition operations at the time. The promotion of international and regional stability through good governance and the reinforcement and reform of public institutions – including the security sector – was regarded as a priority. Protection of civilians was not. While UN resolutions and reports devoted some attention to issues such as humanitarian assistance, negotiated access, the safety and security of aid workers and civilians, the collection and destruction of weapons, and sustained police retraining – the focus nevertheless remained on the restoration of *national* security, the promotion of the rule of law and macro-economic probity.<sup>19</sup> The means of achieving these state-centric goals relied heavily on the use of force and on re-building the institutions of the state. The primary motivation for intervening was premised not so much on the protection of civilians, as on preventing Haiti’s imminent collapse and the regional consequences that would likely result.

Almost exactly ten years after the launch of UNMIH, the UN Security Council once again authorised a chapter VII intervention in Haiti. Notwithstanding the eerie parallels with its predecessor, the rationale and objectives of the focus of the new UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) had subtly changed. To be sure, concerns with maintaining international peace and security and respect for sovereignty were etched into an array of Security Council Resolutions and Secretary General Reports. But reflections on *national* concerns were significantly watered down.<sup>20</sup> Rather, it appears more attention was devoted in these documents to ostensibly human security or POC concerns – including the preservation of human rights, civilian safety and wellbeing, and integrated approaches to disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR). Each of these thematic issues represents explicit human security priorities.

For example, immediately following the ouster of President Aristide, UN Security Council Resolution 1529 demanded that ‘all parties to the conflict in Haiti cease using violent means’ and reiterated that ‘all parties must respect *international law*, including with respect to *human rights*, and there will be *individual accountability* and *no impunity* for violators’ [italics added].<sup>21</sup> The Resolution called repeatedly for

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intervention as a means of ‘foster[ing] peace, promot[ing] freedom and democracy and avoid[ing] violence and bloodshed’.

<sup>19</sup> Part of the reason for this was the fact that the mission sought to depose an illegitimate leadership and reinforce constitutional rule with the return of President Aristide.

<sup>20</sup> Again, this could potentially be attributed to the fact that prior to the military intervention, President Aristide was considered to be increasingly illegitimate and following the set-up of the MINUSTAH, there was only a ‘transitional government’ and thus no legitimately elected leadership.

<sup>21</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1542 on 30 April 2004 urged the government ‘to take all necessary measures to put an end to impunity and to ensure that the continued promotion and protection of human rights and the establishment of a State based on the rule of law and an

the 'protection of civilians under imminent threat of physical violence, within its capabilities of deployment'.<sup>22</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1572, passed on 29 November 2004, resurrected more traditional state-centric concerns, but with a twist: requesting that MINUSTAH: 'explore actively all possible ways to include in the democratic and electoral process those who currently remain outside the transition process but have rejected violence'.<sup>23</sup> Thus, peacebuilding and peace-promotion became an explicit component of the mission's agenda. Accountability was thus extended from the state to specific individuals. Moreover, the onus for external intervention was premised not exclusively on the preservation of international peace and security, but instead on the responsibility of the international community to protect civilians. Such concerns were not so explicitly stated in the earlier resolutions mandating UNMIH.

Discursively, the UNSC Resolutions and statements between 2003 and 2005 ascribed more emphasis to themes advanced by proponents of human security and POC. What is more, in addition to ensuring national dialogue, national elections and police and judicial reform as in the previous mission, MINUSTAH was mandated with a comparatively narrow interpretation of human security. This was to focus on, *inter alia*, reducing the threats of physical violence and intimidation among civilians, ensuring the continued safety and security of UN and NGO staff, assisting vulnerable groups (especially women and children) and ending the forced recruitment of child soldiers.<sup>24</sup> The emphasis was less on preserving international peace and stability – though this remained a pressing concern – than with creating a secure domestic environment expressly for the purpose of enabling human rights, preventing 'the loss of human life', and restoring national 'peace and security'.<sup>25</sup> In other words – human security concerns constituted a new layer to the peacekeeping enterprise.

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independent judiciary are among its highest priorities,' thus placing human security priorities at the heart of the intervention.

<sup>22</sup> Note the words protection, imminent, and physical, all elements of the 'narrow' definition of human security.

<sup>23</sup> Operational approaches to achieving these objectives are made explicit in the last UN Sec Gen report which emphasised the importance of disarming armed groups who challenge the state, focusing on community-based DDR, and recognising that 'security is a necessary condition for the success of the transitional process but not sufficient ... [but that] the importance of parallel political involving all segments of society are vital' (UNSG 908 Nov 2004).

<sup>24</sup> It should be noted that various UN resolutions in 1993 and 1994, such as Resolution 867, observed the importance of ensuring the protection of UN staff. Article 6, for example, asks that the 'Gouvernement haïtien de prendre toutes les mesures voulues pour assurer la sécurité du personnel des Nations Unies et la liberté de mouvement et de communication de la Mission et des ses membres, de même que les autres droits nécessaires pour lui permettre de s'acquitter de sa tâche ...' But in MINUSTAH resolutions, the security of staff are not advanced as a *means* – (e.g. ensuring access), but also as an *end* (their safety) in itself.

<sup>25</sup> These concerns were flagged in UN Security Council Resolution 1529 a few days after Aristide ouster in late February 2004.

## Human Security in Practice

It is important to reflect not just on the international discourse of human security, but also on how it is manifest in practice. We argue here that the human security framework, while potentially contributing to a shift in multilateral discourse and practice, has not necessarily translated into radically new practical strategies, much less positive outcomes *in situ*. This is because in some ways, the human security agenda is well ahead of the realities on the ground. Indeed, the political, practical and financial constraints of applying a human security approach have in some cases not been adequately thought through. This gap between discourse and practice is well illustrated by a comparison of a few practical interventions launched by UNMIH and MINUSTAH.

In some areas, the UNMIH and MINUSTAH interventions proposed comparable programmes despite the rhetorical changes to their mandates. For example, they adopted virtually identical programmes for military and police deployment and restructuring, judicial and penitentiary reform and the promotion of good governance. Each mission also invested in strengthening the judiciary, introducing new systems of public sector accountability and improving the state of the prisons. Both missions also advanced Presidential and Legislative elections as core pillars of their programmes, primarily through provisional electoral councils and with support of the Organisation of American States.<sup>26</sup> In other areas, some of the programmes introduced by MINUSTAH included important adaptations from previous efforts carried out by UNMIH. Activities such as DDR and police reform are particularly instructive in this regard.

Because the UNMIH mission was not actually mandated by the Security Council to undertake DDR, disarmament was in this first intervention instead administered by the US army and a limited demobilisation programme was carried out by USAID and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) – a somewhat unlikely institutional partner for DDR (Muggah 2005).<sup>27</sup> The objectives of these two discrete interventions were political – to neutralise spoilers, reduce the number of weapons in society, promote national stability, bolster the security sector and create the conditions for development assistance to proceed. In all, more than 15,000 firearms, explosives and materials were collected, and more than 5,400 former soldiers demobilized. Despite the comparatively high number of weapons collected and former soldiers demobilised, the gains of these efforts were seen by many to have been modest, at least in terms of durable improvements in the security situation.

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<sup>26</sup> UN Resolution 940 (1994) requested that ‘UNMIH assist the legitimate constitutional authorities of Haiti in establishing an environment conducive to the organization of free and fair legislative elections to be called by those authorities and, when requested by them, monitored by the United Nations, in cooperation with the Organization of American States (OAS).

<sup>27</sup> Disarmament was undertaken by the 10<sup>th</sup> Mountain Division between 1994 and 1995. Demobilization and limited reintegration of the FADH was overseen by the USAID’s Office of Transitional Initiatives (OTI) and the IOM between 1994–1996.

Though lacking a formal peace agreement to guide the process or national consensus on the role of a future army, MINUSTAH, by comparison, was explicitly mandated to undertake a DDR programme as a pillar of the overall UN intervention (UNSC 2004/1542; 2004/1576).<sup>28</sup> In fact, DDR in Haiti was presented as a test case for 'integrated missions' more generally, linking DPKO and UNDP.<sup>29</sup> Drawing lessons from the previous disarmament and demobilisation efforts carried out elsewhere, MINUSTAH sought not only to neutralise spoilers, but also to focus on ensuring meaningful reintegration of former soldiers and gang members, mobilising and sensitising communities, drawing on a 'community-based approach' to ensure its sustainability and appropriate budgeting (UNSC 2004/1529, p. 5). Far from rewarding armed elements, DDR was conceived as means to ensure a modicum of protection for communities on the ground. The collection and destruction of weapons was treated as an important priority. Considerable emphasis was vested in UNSC resolutions on ensuring robust connections between DDR and sustainable security sector reform – linkages again reflecting declared human security priorities.<sup>30</sup> It almost seems that DDR was originally introduced precisely because it was considered the right thing to do from a human security perspective, even while many of the basic pre-conditions remained unfulfilled on the ground. Unfortunately, the DDR programme officially launched in late 2004 has, to date, generated few positive outcomes.

Back in 1993, the UNMIH mission also prioritised police and military reform. Following the dissolution of the Armed Forces (FADH) by Presidential Decree in 1994, the Haitian National Police (HNP) became the sole entity entrusted with providing national security. Police reform was carried out in parallel with the demobilization process, and by 1996 some 6,000 new HNP officers were reportedly trained and on duty (UNSG 1996/416; UNSG 1995/922). Specialised units addressing the judiciary, crowd control, criminal investigation and armed intervention were recruited and deployed. Considerable focus was placed on training, infrastructure and logistics, management and operations. The initial results were described as positive by many outside observers.

The MINUSTAH mission has adopted virtually identical benchmarks and targets, though also a host of additional human security priorities. Though the composition,

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<sup>28</sup> Moreover, as prescribed by the DPKO (2000), budgeting for DDR was supposed to be supplied from the assessed MINUSTAH budget, though this process was severely delayed for administrative reasons (Muggah 2005).

<sup>29</sup> It should be noted, however, that the concept of 'integrated missions' is itself not new. In fact, exactly 10 years before the deployment of MINUSTAH, A 1995 report of the Secretary General on Haiti (S/1995/305, 13 April 1995), observed in the case of Haiti that 'this is the first time that the United Nations has linked a peacekeeping mission to development activities in this manner. It will promote closer cooperation between all concerned and will facilitate the transition from UNMUH to continuing peace-building activities by the United Nations with the established procedures for the coordination of operational activities for development'.

<sup>30</sup> This remains something of a challenge for MINUSTAH and the DDR section. Though the importance of the issue is widely recognised, there is some confusion about how such linkages will be funded, implemented and, ultimately, measured.

reputation and behaviour of the HNP remains extremely controversial, MINUSTAH has explored new approaches to 'community policing' and to ensuring a sustained police presence in particularly violent areas of the capital, Port-au-Prince. Moreover, it has introduced more rigorous screening and human rights procedures for new entrants. The new national police recruits have also been mandated to respond immediately to 'cases of sexual violence ... awareness raising and preventive campaigns on *inter alia* HIV/AIDS, child protection and victims of sexual crimes' (UNSC 2004/1529, pp. 5–6). Though too early for a systematic evaluation, the police training programmes have been severely criticised and many new recruits, themselves former soldiers, have been implicated in systematic human rights violations (ICG, 2005/13; 2004a/10).

Though UNMIH and MINUSTAH are comparable in size and scale, the MINUSTAH intervention has adapted a number of the policy instruments championed by proponents of the human security framework despite – or perhaps precisely because – the reality on the ground has disconcerting echoes to ten years back. In other words, a *human-centred* framework has emerged in parallel with a *state-centred* framework. The true test of the value of this framework, of course, is whether all of this normative and practical transformation has translated into meaningful gains for Haitians on the ground. Unfortunately, on this score, the early signs are not positive.

### **Human Security for Haitians**

Though the human security framework is relatively recent, the positive dividends of a human security framework are nevertheless not yet apparent. As a July 2005 Amnesty International report made clear, after more than eighteen months, real and perceived security for Haitians remained elusive, perhaps more elusive under MINUSTAH than during a comparable period after the deployment of UNMIH (AMR/36/005/2005). For example, homicide and injury declined significantly in 1995 and 1996 following the aggressive operations undertaken by UNMIH, while they appear to have even perhaps become more pronounced since the arrival of MINUSTAH. Related, humanitarian and development efforts were able to resume, albeit haltingly, under UNMIH, while they have virtually collapsed despite the presence of MINUSTAH.

When examining trends in armed violence in Haiti, it appears that in spite of the early efforts of MINUSTAH, the security situation has in fact deteriorated since November 2004. It appears (since figures are incomplete) that at least as many people have been shot and killed following the arrival of MINUSTAH as before the intervention.<sup>31</sup> While the circumstances are of course very different, there actually appears to have been a considerable escalation of armed violence and rights violations

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<sup>31</sup> A review of media reports, records maintained by human rights organizations and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and private hospital registries, at least 700 individuals have been intentionally killed as a result of firearm-related violence between

directed against civilians throughout 2004 and early 2005 – and this is expected to continue in the lead-up to elections (UNSG 2004/300; 2004/908; ICG 2005). Since the departure of Aristide, power vacuums have emerged throughout the countryside – filled by armed gangs of various stripes and affiliations. Though UNMIH reports highlighted the persistent threat of criminal violence in the months and years following deployment in 1994, they are dwarfed by the crisis since February 2004. Almost all indicators of human insecurity, including kidnapping, rape, intimidation and harassment are on the rise.

Finally, both UNMIH and MINUSTAH experienced serious difficulties in ensuring the access of humanitarian and development agencies to civilians. Though this protection of aid workers and ensuring access of beneficiaries to basic needs is a core human security concern, the arrival of MINUSTAH has not yielded the anticipated outcomes (UNSG 2005/032; Muggah 2005). It is perhaps too early to say with certainty whether the MINUSTAH intervention has been a ‘success’ or a ‘failure’ in advancing genuine human security on the ground. But while MINUSTAH has registered some important gains, the work that remains is more notable than what has been accomplished.

## **Conclusion**

The mixed conclusions of this chapter are not meant to be an indictment of the human security framework or of the protection of civilians’ agenda. It is rather intended to ring a cautionary note: while the normative and practical existence of a human security framework is a *necessary*, it is not a *sufficient* condition for the achievement of improved safety and security on the ground. This chapter has argued therefore that the achievements of human security must be measured not just against the presence of human security discourses (and associated normative prescriptions), or against the subsequent implementation of specific practical policies and activities, but also by measurable improvements in the safety and security of vulnerable populations. Already, the move from discourse to practices – achieved in the case of MINUSTAH – is a good sign of success for the promotion of human security in diplomatic terms. But it should nevertheless be remembered that the true measure of human security – freedom from fear and improved safety and security – should be the ultimate measure of success.

The past decade of intervention in Haiti also calls for a measure of humility concerning what can realistically be achieved in any given situation. There are tremendous limitations in promoting stability – much less human security – in Haiti, due to a range of structural factors, including geo-political agendas, donor incoherence and economic conditionalities (Muggah 2006). Even so, it is worth noting that UNMIH – with its state-centric focus – achieved more in its short mission than MINUSTAH has over a comparable period of time. But it is important

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September 2003 and May 2005 and three to four times that number are estimated to have been non-fatally injured. See Muggah (2005).

to recall that the gains of UNMIH evaporated shortly after the mission ended in 1996. The endemic instability in Haiti leads one to expect that the conditions that led to the eruption of violence and collapse of the state in Haiti ten years ago still persist today.

PART IV  
Bringing in  
'Freedom from Want'

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## Chapter 11

# Toward a More Inclusive Global Governance and Enhanced Human Security

Catherine Schittecatte

### **Introduction**

The terms ‘human security’ and ‘global governance’ have gained increased usage in international policymaking over the past decade. Given their increased relevance and connections, an investigation of ‘A Decade of Human Security: Global Governance and New Multilateralisms’ begs an examination of the various meanings and applications that these two concepts have been given in theory and practice. This paper compares and contrasts various conceptualisations and applications of these terms and questions what implications such differences have for non-state actors who seek transformations in global economic governance. Such an examination is all the more necessary given the growing evidence that, in intergovernmental practices of global governance, the ‘freedom from want’ aspects of human security are given less priority than those related to ‘freedom from fear’. Likewise, while all who use the term ‘global governance’ recognise that non-state actors either are or should be involved in various aspects of global policy-making, non-state actors who focus on the ‘freedom from want’ aspects of human security have a much more difficult time getting their arguments and solutions heard in intergovernmental processes of global governance than those who focus on ‘freedom from fear’.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the debates around definitions of human security and global governance. In terms of human security, the discussion illustrates historical patterns where intergovernmental processes have consistently given less priority to global policies and legal frameworks that prioritise the ‘freedom from want’ view of human security and its focus on global inequalities and unmet basic human needs worldwide. Likewise, while the growing practice of global governance in intergovernmental settings increasingly includes non-state actors, such inclusions take place only in areas that do not challenge dominant economic world views and their attendant policies. Nevertheless, as the second section of the chapter illustrates, despite their marginalised status in intergovernmental global governance, civil society groups who focus on freedom from want aspects of human security have managed to have some impact on the global economic policies that they find undermine human

security. Examples of these groups' challenges to the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) illustrate such impacts. The main question raised in the conclusion of the chapter is whether the current level and types of activities are/should be considered a satisfactory and sufficient means of contributing to global governance.

### **Narrow Definitions and Practices of Human Security and Global Governance**

Human security and global governance are two related concepts that became increasingly significant points of reference in world politics over the 1990s. The two concepts are related in that they inform *how* (i.e. global governance) to address *what* are perceived to be the most important challenges to human survival and well-being (ie. human security) at the dawn of the twenty-first century. They emerge in the literature as attempts to describe changes that are taking place in international relations but also as prescriptions of desirable innovations in the way we might better address contemporary challenges. Given the momentum these concepts have gained in official circles and in multilateral practice, the fact that some aspects of human security are gaining more attention and resources from governments and multilateral institutions and that some non-state actors are being included to a greater degree than others in intergovernmental processes of global governance reflects ongoing priorities of the most powerful members and organisations of the international community.

#### *Human Security*

The concept of Human Security truly gained prominence in policy and academic circles as a result of the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) *Human Development Report 1994 (HDR)*. As expressed in that report, the end of the Cold War brought about the realisation that security should focus more on the many ways in which people's daily survival and well-being was threatened rather than on nuclear holocaust or threats to the state. Nevertheless, Hampson *et al.* (2002) distinguish three schools of thought that have each stressed a particular aspect of human security over time. Over the past decade, there has been a debate as to which conceptualisation should be adopted.

Hampson *et al.*'s (2002) first category of human security, 'the rights based approach to human security', relates to human rights and the attendant domestic and international legal frameworks required to secure such rights. The second, 'freedom from fear' category refers to threats from conflicts and the protection of non-combatants during war. The main instruments which are relied upon to secure such freedom are peace building, conflict prevention and humanitarian intervention. The third category, the one proposed in the *HDR 1994* as 'freedom from want' or sustainable human development, finds its challenges in global conditions such as, among others, socio-economic inequality and 'a lack of social justice in international relations' (Hampson *et al.* 2002, p. 18). One aspect of this new and

more comprehensive understanding of human security is the growing disparity between the rich and poor worldwide. Of these three conceptualisations, the first two are favoured by those in intergovernmental policy circles. As Hampson *et al.* (2002, pp. 170–171) observe, consensus ‘about which conception of security should prevail ... endorse[s] a narrower conception of human security with its corresponding emphasis on promoting human rights, the rule of law and the safety of peoples’. The sustainable human development approach has not had priority and the reasons for such lack of interest are both ideological and political. The ideological and political reasons for this choice become more evident when we look back at which types of rights have taken precedence over time. The question regarding which type of human security should be adopted rekindles old debates regarding which human rights come first: political and civil rights or economic and social rights. Indeed, it appears that the debate regarding which type of human insecurities come first echoes the laborious and controversial negotiations preceding the ratifications of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966–1976) and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (1974). The negotiations and ratifications of these international instruments were extremely difficult and the subject of East-West and North-South confrontations within the United Nations (Mingst and Karns 2000). As Vincent (1992, pp. 262–265) pointed out, the wealthy Northern states have always prioritised political and civil rights over economic, social and cultural rights as an agenda to be pursued by the international community and its agencies. The consensus on a narrow definition of human security indicates that today, as in the past, political and civil rights continue to take precedence over economic rights.

The preference accorded the ‘freedom from fear’ over the ‘freedom from want’ approach to human security sidelines the economic aspects of human insecurity. Indeed, the main distinction between these two categories of human security is that the latter ‘is cast in social/distributive as opposed to “just war” terms’ (Hampson *et al.* 2002, pp. 34–35) that belong to the former. Given the revolutionary shift away from the security of states that the concept of human security represents, it might be understandable that the ‘freedom from fear’ aspect of human security has gained more support. Furthermore, in the immediate post-Cold War period it was observed that millions of individuals’ security was threatened by their own state’s violence against them, by the noted increase in internal conflicts, by the proliferation of small arms, by the increasing numbers of child soldiers, by the numbers harmed by landmines left behind after conflicts, or by the growing number of refugees escaping violence only to end up living in precarious conditions. Ensuring the safety of peoples from such conflict-related harm represents a less significant shift away from traditional military and war-related notions of security that were at the centre of the traditional notion of national security.

Nevertheless, as one analyst reminds us, fifteen million people still die of hunger-related causes each year, thereby suggesting that if millions suffer from war-related human insecurity we should not dismiss the equally significant numbers who face life-threatening human insecurity due to economic deprivation. As Caroline Thomas

(2001), who espouses a 'freedom from want' understanding of human security, points out, 'the shift in focus [towards human security] .... highlights the importance of scrutinising global processes that may affect, even jeopardise security, and the global governance structures which drive them. A proper understanding of the process of global economic integration and of the distribution of associated costs and benefits is crucial'. Given the latter proposition, it is not surprising that multilateral fora have chosen to focus on the 'freedom from fear' aspects of human security. Indeed, as Hampson *et al.* (2002, p. 183) explain, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is reportedly 'unwilling to embrace human security agendas that challenge the philosophy of market liberalisation, which the OECD considers critical to long-term sustainable (human) development'.

Civil society groups who criticise 'corporate economic globalisation'<sup>1</sup> are at the forefront of such scrutiny.<sup>2</sup> From early critiques of the Southern debt and structural adjustment policies to the protests against the World Trade Organisation and the policies of the emergent global trade regime, civil society has pointed out ways in which current processes of global economic integration undermine sustainable human development. Not only do these critics explain such an understanding of the global economy to peoples around the globe, but they have also devised a number of strategies at the local and global levels that seek to palliate the negative impacts generated by current economic policies that foster global economic integration. Are such actions considered part of global governance? As we see in the next section this depends upon which conceptualisation of global governance one relies upon.

### *Global Governance*

The answer to the question just raised depends upon how one defines global governance and which ideological perspective one espouses. Indeed, the concept of global governance, like that of human security, has been the subject of much debate over the past decade. In the introduction to his anthology of writings on global governance, Rorden Wilkinson (2005, pp. 4–8) provides a classification of the literature on the concept. Among the four categories that he identifies, we find a mix of descriptive and prescriptive/normative views on the topic. One main distinction among various views on global governance, whether descriptive or normative, is the extent to which conceptualisations and practices of global governance recognise an existing or potential role for non-state actors. Given our interest in assessing whether

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<sup>1</sup> By 'economic globalisation' I mean the increased integration of domestic markets worldwide in terms of capital, goods and services, an integration which is partly facilitated by the three Bretton Woods institutions.

<sup>2</sup> Although controversial because these groups are not against globalisation *per se*, I use this term given that it is the most commonly used to refer to social justice, environmental and indigenous social movements, activists and NGOs who have, since the mid-1990s, been manifest in street protests against the major Bretton Woods institutions and their policies.

the actions and strategies of the opponents to economic globalisation are considered relevant to global governance, Wilkinson's classification provides a useful point of reference.

Wilkinson's two first categories mainly focus on states, intergovernmental processes and institutions. The first category includes literature on international regimes and institutions by authors such as Robert Keohane (2002), Oran Young (1997), and John Ruggie (1993). Writers in Wilkinson's (2005, pp. 5,6) second category place the United Nations and its various agencies at the centre of a global governance that is much more inclusive of a variety of actors than the first category. According to this view, a desirable global governance would be one where these international organisations would play a central role in coordinating other, mainly non-state actors such as transnational corporations, NGOs, and scientific communities in a number of activities ranging from agenda-setting to norm development and enforcement (Wilkinson 2005, p. 6). Among the most prominent writers of this category Wilkinson mentions Thomas Weiss (1998) and Peter Haas and Norichika Kanie (2004).

In fact, we can see that this latter vision of global governance is supported by a growing practice within the UN system where non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have played an increasingly prominent role over the past two decades. More specifically, however, it is NGOs that focus on the human rights and safety of peoples approaches to human security (i.e. 'freedom from fear') that have experienced a growing role in this type of global governance.

In the area of basic individual human rights – political and civil rights – this increased tolerance and even reliance on NGOs in global governance has been matched by a growth in their numbers. Thus Mingst and Karns (2000, p. 176) report that between 1973 and 1993 the number of international human rights NGOs has more than tripled 'growing from 41 to 168 organisations'. The policies and activities of global governance they are involved in have, over time, increasingly reflected their views and values. For example, NGOs were involved in 'setting normative standards and translating these into international policy agenda' such as the 1984 Convention against Torture (Armstrong *et al.* 2004, p. 253). As Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink's (1998) work illustrates, 'transnational advocacy networks' in human rights are important for the diffusion of international norms in human rights. Human rights NGOs are also credited with initiating the establishment of the International Criminal Court (Armstrong *et al.* 2004; Mingst and Karns 2000; Hampson *et al.* 2002). Likewise, Mingst and Karns (2000, p. 177) report that in 1994 civil society groups succeeded in convincing the Security Council to create the war crimes tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. On a day-to-day basis we can also see that human rights NGOs have a substantive role in global governance. For example, they enjoy consultative status and report to the International Commission on Human Rights (Weiss *et al.* 1994, p. 163). As such, they are trusted sources of information for governments and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). They are also entrusted with monitoring violations of human rights, and implementing human rights norms (Mingst and Karns 2000, p. 176).

We can observe a similar trend in the area of global governance that ensures the human security of peoples in terms of their safety, where the roles given to these non-state actors are quite substantive. Armstrong *et al.* (2004, p. 255) point out that ‘NGOs have also played even more direct parts in global governance, including sharing in the implementation of some programs ... having specific tasks effectively subcontracted to them by governments ... [and, b]y far the largest NGO role is in delivering development assistance ... particularly during humanitarian emergencies’. Here their activities range from working with governments to ensuring that prisoners of war receive fair treatment to the actual delivery of medical care, clothing, shelter and food (Mingst and Karns 2000, p. 177). Other aspects of human security that have seen a growing partnership with NGOs within the UN system include the establishment of rules aimed at limiting the sale and use of weapons such as small arms and anti-personal landmines. Krause (2004) points to the significant role of NGOs in the UN’s response to the ‘widespread proliferation and use of small arms’. As he (Ibid., p. 32) explains, ‘[w]ith respect to NGOs, the types of partnerships that are being developed go beyond traditional oppositional (or co-opted) NGO activism. Instead, NGOs are often themselves directly inserted into the policy process.’ Among the examples used to illustrate this role he mentions the NGO Small Arm Survey’s drafting of the ‘reporting guidelines for implementation of the 2001 [UN] *Program of Action* ... now being used within an informal group of like-minded states’ as well as the ‘Pretoria-based Institute for Security Studies drafting the Bamako Declaration, a ministerial-level document produced by the Organization for African Unity leading up to the 2001 UN conference’ (Krause 2004, p. 33).<sup>3</sup> Likewise, in terms of the Ottawa Process which culminated in 121 countries signing the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel Land Mines and on their Destruction, NGOs played a significant role in the intergovernmental process. As Lloyd Axworthy (2003, p. 153) commented: ‘The land-mine experience also showcased the potential for partnerships between governments, NGOs and international humanitarian organizations’.

These concrete experiences of NGOs included in intergovernmental and institutional processes of global governance within the UN system provide evidence that non-state actors have indeed been playing an increasingly important role in the governance of global issues. Nevertheless, such views and practices of global governance place states, intergovernmental processes and institutions at the centre of processes of global governance. As such, they have been criticised by others who either *describe* a different reality or *prescribe* an alternative to these top-down global governance models where power and authority still emanate from states and/or universal organisations.

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<sup>3</sup> The *Program of Action* is ‘the only authoritative international consensus on the problem [of small arms] and the proposed solutions’ produced by the 2001 UN conference on ‘The Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects’ (Krause 2004:, pp. 23, 24).

## Alternative Understandings of Human Security and Global Governance

This is where Wilkinson's (2005, pp. 6–8) third and fourth categories differ significantly from the two previous categories. Analysts who belong to these categories emphasise existing or desired changes in the location of power, authority and influence that might drive global governance. Among the most well known analysts in the third category we find James Rosenau (2005, p. 45) who argues that '[t]he United Nations system and national governments are surely central to the conduct of global governance, *but they are only part of the full picture*' (emphasis added). His definition of global governance encompasses 'other channels through which 'commands' flow in the form of goals framed, directives issued, and policies pursued' (Ibid., p. 46).<sup>4</sup> Analysts in Wilkinson's fourth category also envision a more inclusive form of global governance but they focus on what global governance should look like – including what it should look like as intergovernmental processes. Their writings consist of 'a critique of prevailing patterns of global governance' that practice a 'piecemeal inclusion of NGOs on the peripheries of the meetings of world organisations' as they 'explore the possibility for ... alternative forms' of global governance that are built from the bottom up (Wilkinson 2005, pp. 6,8). Among the authors in this category we find O'Brien *et al.* (2000) and Richard Falk (1995).

### *Exclusions in Intergovernmental Processes of Global Governance*

These two last categories provide useful lenses through which we can examine the role (or lack thereof) of anti-globalisation movements in global economic governance. The former provides room for an optimistic assessment of their role in global economic governance while the latter highlights their marginalisation. Of significance for the purpose of this paper are the observations made by O'Brien and his colleagues regarding the lack of response from multilateral economic institutions after encounters with global social movements who seek changes in the way the global economy is governed. Their critique stands in stark contrast with the previous reports on the inclusion of NGOs involved in the global governance of 'freedom from fear' and human rights aspects of human security.

These discrepancies within the UN system are not haphazard. As Jean-Philippe Thérien (2005) explains, the UN system as a whole is divided between the 'UN paradigm' and the 'Bretton Woods paradigm'. The latter does not see world poverty – human insecurity – as a systemic issue caused by current global economic governance. Since the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation are responsible for economic global governance, there is little chance that they will include non-state actors that blame human insecurities (the

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<sup>4</sup> Rosenau (2005, p. 46) stresses that the notion of 'command' does not necessarily refer to hierarchy or authoritative rule in that 'often the practices and institutions of governance can and do evolve in such a way as to be minimally dependent on hierarchical, command-based arrangements'.

'freedom from want' kind) on economic globalisation in the manner that other NGOs concerned about human security (the 'freedom from fear' kinds) have been in other agencies of the UN system.

NGOs that deal with 'freedom from fear' issues surrounding political and civil rights and the security of persons are much more easily accommodated given that they do not challenge the current direction of global economic governance. In fact, some have pointed out that civil society has filled the governance vacuum that exists in implementing those policies. As Armstrong *et al.* (2004, p. 255) explained, the reason for giving a more direct role in global governance to civil society groups that deliver humanitarian relief is that foreign aid diminished from 0.33 per cent of the combined GDP of developed countries in 1988 to 0.24 per cent in 1998. As Murphy (2005, p. 95) points out, 'NGOs provide these necessary international public services on the cheap' and he attributes this increased NGO role in global governance to the consequences of neoliberal marketisation. He explains that 'the shift to the public funding of private NGO relief and development efforts has allowed donor aid budgets to remain stagnant or even fall throughout the post-Cold War era, even though the number of humanitarian emergencies and the numbers of those in absolute poverty have grown'.

As far as global economic governance is concerned, non-state actors that seek to palliate human insecurities deemed to be caused by such governance practices are unlikely to see their views and policy changes espoused to the degree that NGOs involved in 'freedom from fear' or human rights have. Scholte (2005a, p. 273) observes that even if, under pressure from civic groups, 'the WTO has since 1996 added competition issues, development concerns, environmental problems, and labour standards to its agenda ... little has happened on these matters beyond occasional meetings of committees and working groups'. Even though O'Brien *et al.* (2000) suggest that civil society's continued efforts might result in a pluralisation of economic governance organisations, the differentiated conceptualisations and practices of human security and global governance in intergovernmental fora leave little optimism in terms of the actual and potential impact for some non-state actors. This does not mean that all analysts dismiss the impact that non-state actors concerned with 'freedom from want' have in global governance however.

### **Where the Global Governance of 'Freedom from Want' Takes Place**

Indeed, Rosenau's (2005) category of global governance provides a more optimistic recognition of the actions and impacts of anti-globalisation groups. Seen through such a lens, the local and global actions taken by anti-globalisation groups would indicate that these non-state actors have indeed been significant actors in global governance. They have managed to keep active South-North networks that analyse complex international economic policies and identify areas where they think these will affect human security (broadly defined). Based on these analyses, they have challenged such policies at the international and domestic levels. They inform

citizens, from large cities to small isolated villages, on the impact such policies will have on their everyday life, and empower them to take concrete actions to protect their human security. Non-state actors have also been involved in a number of other global economic governance areas such as Jubilee 2000 and the issue of Third World Debt or blocking the privatisation of water in the town of Cochabamba, Bolivia. These campaigns have all yielded some success.

The following examples focus specifically on campaigns against the World Trade Organisation's (WTO) Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). Indeed, among the most illustrative examples of their actions at the global and local levels, are the numerous actions found in the opposition to the TRIPS agreement under the WTO.<sup>5</sup> Anti-globalisation activists from the North and South were among the first to express concerns regarding the TRIPS. They argued early on that these rules would prevent access to cheap drugs to the millions of poor who suffer from HIV/AIDS in Africa thereby directly affecting their immediate security but also that of other generations as the disappearance of entire adult generations would impede any development effort. Another critique argued that the TRIPS would hurt the health and food security of the world's poorest people – small scale agricultural producers, subsistence farmers and indigenous peoples from the Global South.<sup>6</sup>

Based on Rosenau's (2005, p. 45) conceptualisation of global governance as including 'systems of rule at all levels of human activity ... in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions', we can see their impact on global governance in these policy areas.

With regard to the HIV/AIDS drugs issue, many observers have credited NGOs in the North and the South for changes to the TRIPS that were agreed to and voted upon during the 2001 Doha trade negotiations. This was achieved through political pressure in developed and developing countries prior to the Doha negotiations, as well as during the negotiations when NGOs directly pressured trade ministers to vote on a particular text within the TRIPS agreement. The text that was finally agreed to would enable countries 'to adopt patent policies that would allow greater and cheaper access to medicines' (Jawara and Kwa 2003, pp. 99–101). Thus, signatories of the Doha declaration 'reaffirm the right of WTO members to use, to the full, the

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<sup>5</sup> Briefly, intellectual property rights are ownership rights granted by a jurisdiction to an inventor. Once the inventor is granted such property right (for a limited time) she may charge other users a fee or royalty for their use of the invention. There are different groups of property rights such as patents (industrial) and copyrights (artistic or literary). The TRIPS harmonises various domestic and multilateral property rights to create a comprehensive global property rights regime that applies in all WTO members' jurisdictions.

<sup>6</sup> The Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) defines food security as a situation 'when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life' ([www.fao.org](http://www.fao.org)).

provisions in the TRIPs agreement, which provide flexibility [to deal with health crises]' (Vandoren 2002, p. 13).<sup>7</sup>

Another area where anti-globalisation groups have been active concerns property rights over agricultural and medicinal plants and seeds. Activists have argued that the TRIPs will enable the so-called life industries<sup>8</sup> to obtain exclusive commercial use of traditional agricultural and medicinal plants that Southern farming communities and indigenous peoples have developed over millennia and rely upon for their survival. The effects of the TRIPs are deemed to be threefold: the consumers will be deprived of cheap traditional medicines; local communities might not receive a share of the commercial gains; and farmers will no longer be able to use the products without paying royalties (Das 2000, p. 578). As a result, it is argued, the communities where such resources were developed will experience increased difficulty in accessing plants, seeds or by-products that are basic to their survival and that were previously available to all. The health benefits they derive from such plants and their future food security are therefore seriously compromised by the imposition of global intellectual property legislation at the domestic level.

Social movements and communities have taken a number of strategies and actions at the global and local levels to palliate such encroachments on human security. At the global level, there have been a number of successful challenges to patents. For example, NGO networks have successfully challenged a US patent granted the W. R. Grace Company for a pesticide extracted from the neem tree of India. They successfully argued against the granting of such a patent given that the neem tree has been used for centuries to produce home-made medicine, pesticides and fertilizers.<sup>9</sup> Likewise, following pressure from civil society, the Government of India filed a successful challenge against this patent in the United States Patent and Trademark Office.

A campaign was also waged by Peruvian farmers and indigenous peoples over the patenting of products derived from a traditional native plant grown in that country. The Maca plant is an Andean indigenous plant that has been used since before the conquest by indigenous communities for food and medicinal purposes. Some of its purported medicinal properties include enhanced sexual functions and fertility. Over a dozen local farmers' and indigenous organisations have pressured the International Potato Center (CIP – one of 16 public plant breeding research centres worldwide), the Peruvian government and the World Intellectual Property Organization to 'investigate and condemn monopoly claims related to maca that appropriate indigenous knowledge of farming communities' ([www.etcgroup.org](http://www.etcgroup.org)).

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<sup>7</sup> However, some have pointed out that this achievement is perhaps more symbolic than effective in terms of increasing poor countries' access to generic drugs, given that the country capable of producing and therefore exporting cheaper generic drugs must also experience an emergency situation (May 2005, p. 173).

<sup>8</sup> The term 'life industries' refers to a grouping of corporations involved in the production of 'bio-industrial products. See Shand 1998, p. 168.

<sup>9</sup> See Third World Network web site titled 'More than 200 organisations from 35 nations challenge US patent on neem' ([www.twinside.org](http://www.twinside.org), 2002, pp. 1–6).

The objectives of this campaign were not only to reverse existing patents but also to motivate CIP and the Peruvian government to begin to take action that aims at protecting local plants from privatisation.

In the meantime, actions of a preventative nature have been undertaken at the local and national levels. The aims have been to protect indigenous peoples and farmers in the South from predatory bioprospecting.<sup>10</sup> The multiple concerns raised by biopiracy have resulted in types of actions that seek legislative means of protecting the collective knowledge of local communities. This has taken place through two types of strategies. One consists of benefit-sharing schemes of bioprospecting for commercial purposes between outsiders and local communities. The other strategy consists of complete control over such resources by local communities.

The International Cooperative Biodiversity Group (ICBG) Maya project in Chiapas, Mexico, is an example of the first strategy (Belejack 2002). The project sought to solve the issue of biopiracy by providing a share of the profits generated from the sale of products based on indigenous plants and knowledge to the community that shared its knowledge with researchers. Provisions were built into the project for royalties derived from potential patents to be shared between the researchers and the Mayan communities. Nevertheless, the project began in 1999 before any framework intended to secure property rights for Mayans had been established. From June to November 1999 over 35,000 plants were collected. Eventually, the local Council of Indigenous Traditional Midwives and Healers of Chiapas (COMPITCH), who had initially questioned who would benefit from the project and how the interests of the local Mayans would be represented, launched a campaign to block ICBG Maya. The project was eventually terminated following campaigns abroad that were supported by organisations such as the Rural Advancement Foundation International (RAFI), a North Carolina-based NGO that undertakes work on agriculture and food security. The final blow was given by ECOSUR's (the Chiapas-based El Colegio del Frontera Sur) withdrawal given this major partner's role in the project. One of COMPITCH's arguments in opposing ICBG Maya was that 'Mexico lacks the legal framework for such projects' (Belejack 2002, p. 24). In fact, the Zapatista rebels active in the region had demanded, as part of their 1996 peace agreement with the Mexican government, that a legal framework in the form of an indigenous bill of rights be implemented. Nevertheless, it was determined that, while the Mexican Congress passed such a bill in 2001, it lacked 'provisions for communal ownership of natural resources' and was rejected by the Chiapas state legislature (Ibid.).

Another way of protecting indigenous communities' knowledge and related human security has been implemented in India. The Navdanya project, which was initiated

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<sup>10</sup> Bioprospecting refers to the methodical research and collection of information on agricultural and medicinal plants used in local communities. Such information is then used to develop industrial products based on traditional knowledge of these plants. For this reason, activists have been referring to such collection of knowledge for commercial ends as 'biopiracy' given that often the originators of the knowledge are not offered a share in the commercial rewards.

by Vandana Shiva's organisation, the Research Foundation for Science, Technology, and Ecology, provides a good example (see Alvares 1997, pp. 13–14). The project consisted of surveying, recording and developing legal means of owning the genetic resources found and used at the local level. It has been implemented, starting in 1995, by a group of villagers called Gramavedi (Village Forum). Gramavedi ensured that the survey and collection of data pertaining to the genetic material was undertaken by the villagers themselves. This served both an educational objective and a proprietary objective. The collection by villagers aimed not only at maintaining local knowledge of local plants and their traditional use (youths are important contributors to the project) but this method also aimed at preventing outsiders from accessing the information. Complementing this didactic objective was teaching villagers the related issues raised by the TRIPS agreement in the WTO.

The next step was to provide a legal institutional framework to ensure local authority over the resources. In December 1996 the survey was made into a register along with a declaration of ownership of all local plants and animals recorded. In April 1997, the register was handed to the village head along with a declaration 'placing controls over identified genetic resources available and utilised within the jurisdiction of the village' (Ibid., p. 11). The declaration and its delegation of authority over local resources to local authorities were based upon the 1992 and 1996 Indian Constitutional amendments that delegate power to village level institutions. The Navdanya project has evolved to create a similar type of institutional framework. Its spread to other villages through an institution called Jaiv Panchayat ensued as part of a broader movement. This institution consists of 'a decision-making body so far as the management and protection of biodiversity of the village is concerned. It will be the complete authority on IPRs [intellectual property rights] and decisions related to release of genetically engineered organisms (GMOs)' ([www.vshiva.net](http://www.vshiva.net)).

These examples all illustrate Rosenau's understanding of global governance with impressive multiple levels of action from the local to the global and some evidence of successful strategies. In that sense we could say that non-state actors who oppose economic globalisation that negatively impacts upon human security in developing countries are present and actively engaged in processes of global governance.

## **Conclusion**

What can be concluded regarding the inclusion of non-state actors who seek changes to aspects of global economic governance that challenge humanity's 'freedom from want'? Based upon the latter discussion, whether the glass is half-full or half-empty seems to be tied to how broad one's definition or description of global governance is.

If one conceives of global governance as an intergovernmental process, then the glass is half empty. This is especially so for those for those NGOs which work in the 'freedom from want' area (as compared with those in the 'freedom from fear' and human rights areas). Not only have the former experienced less

inclusive global governance processes but even when they have been included, few substantive changes have been noted subsequent to their inclusion in the policies that drive economic global governance. If, on the other hand, one conceives of global governance as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, then windows are opened onto a number of non-state actors' activities and tangible results that have had an impact at the local and global levels.

Nevertheless, given that, in all approaches, the 'global governance project' also entails a normative/prescriptive aspect we need to ask which types of actions/processes might be preferable, which strategies or types of participation are more sustainable than others, and depending upon the degree of inclusion/exclusion, which non-state actors have more impact than others?

Given these questions and a broader understanding of global governance the glass appears to be half-full. Even though non-state actors have implemented clever and successful strategies to palliate the impact of the TRIPS on the human security of the poor, these global rules are still effective in the jurisdictions of every WTO member. Although NGOs remain vigilant and continue to challenge patents at both the local and global level, and although these non-state actors continue to conduct a variety of strategies ranging from legal challenges to protests in the streets, the fact remains that after a decade of protests and actions these global intellectual property policies are still in effect and will continue to have damaging impacts on the human security of small, poor farming communities and indigenous peoples. Furthermore, legal challenges require sustained and expensive efforts. Most poor indigenous and farming communities have few resources available to keep up such challenges. Likewise, non-state actors who seek legal redress on behalf of these communities tend to have limited resources to challenge each of these, let alone track patents as they emerge globally. Thus, the sustainability and overall effectiveness of this strategy are weak. Piecemeal changes at such great expense of energy and scarce resources are far from satisfactory.

Furthermore, when compared with the inclusion of other non-state actors in global economic governance, one cannot but notice some significant discrepancy in the degree to which different actors participate. As Scholte (2005a, p. 323) points out, the World Economic Forum (WEF), a yearly gathering of global business and government elites, 'took the initiative in promoting the launch of the Uruguay Round of trade liberalization talks'. It has by now become common knowledge that the inclusion of the TRIPS in those negotiations is attributed to the influence of pharmaceutical corporations in the WEF and in the policy-making mechanisms throughout the negotiations period. The unequal access of the business lobby in global economic governance and its clout relative to that of social-action NGOs is more worrisome than if no non-state actors had access to these processes.

It is fair to assume that any person or group who becomes involved in an aspect of governance does so with the intention of seeing his/her/their views translate into action/change. Thus, when we speak of global governance and seek to understand the role of non-state actors who engage in various areas, it is also fair to assume that they do so with the expectation/hope of seeing their views translate into action

or change. Although measurement of influence has always been a challenge for analysts who seek to demonstrate the impact of non-state actors, one can agree that policy changes or creation of new policies that meets the objectives of such actors is a reliable indicator of influence. Thus, it has clearly been demonstrated that NGOs have succeeded in helping to achieve the ratification of a treaty to ban the use of anti-personnel land mines. Other similar substantive impacts mentioned earlier in the chapter have been documented in terms of non-state actors that seek to improve the human security of civilians in conflict situations.

Ultimately, then, we need to ask if there may be similar ways to address concerns regarding the impact of economic globalisation on human security. Constructivism both as a tool of analysis and praxis offers the most positive answer to that question. In terms of analysis, social constructivists who focus on International Relations seek to show how international reality is socially constructed. They have observed through a number of case studies how states and intergovernmental processes yield changes in policies as a result of socialisation. Such influence and consequent changes in policy take place through the communication and adoption of new and shared ideas and norms. Actors internalise norms and their behaviour emanates from the shared ideas of their particular society. In other words, 'principled ideas (beliefs about right and wrong held by individuals) become norms (collective expectations about proper behaviour for a given identity)' (Jepperson *et al.* 1996, p. 54). Seen through such a lens, official statements that recognise the uneven distribution of the benefits of economic globalisation and the need to make economic global governance work for everyone would indicate a process of socialisation in the direction of human security.

Constructivists have also documented the relevance of 'networks of professionals with recognised expertise' – epistemic communities – that influence policy decision-making (Haas 1992, p. 3). As such, the extent to which epistemic communities agree with the critiques of the opponents of economic globalisation will affect the latter's influence on policy change. It is therefore noteworthy to point out comments by renowned economists on the processes and policies of economic global governance. Nobel laureate in Economics, Joseph Stiglitz (2002, p. x), critiques the policies emanating from the IMF in that they are 'in part based on the outworn presumption that markets, by themselves, lead to efficient outcomes'. He also clearly argues from a normative standpoint when he recommends that:

One should not see unemployment as just a statistic, an economic 'body count', the unintended casualties in the fight against inflation or to ensure that Western banks get repaid. ... Modern economic management is similar [to modern high-tech warfare]: from one's luxury hotel, one can callously impose policies about which one would think twice if one knew the people whose lives one was destroying' (2002, p. 24).

Likewise, Jagdish Bhagwati (2004, p. 182), the prominent trade economist and Columbia University Professor (who is also a Senior Fellow in International Economics at the US Council on Foreign Relations) pointed out: 'We must consider the possibility that the multinationals have, through their interest-driven lobbying,

helped set rules in the world trading, intellectual property, aid, and other regimes that are occasionally harmful to the interests of the poor countries'. Further, he takes the position, also taken by certain anti-globalisation groups, that the TRIPS should not be in the WTO at all, that twenty-year patents at the WTO are excessive, and that access to generic drugs should be allowed through trade. At the very least, these statements validate some of the critiques expressed by anti-globalisation groups. Albeit slow, changes might flow from such statements of what is wrong in current processes of global economic governance.

In addition to such indirect influences through epistemic communities, and individual experts, non-state actors who oppose economic globalisation could use existing constructivist research to exercise direct influence in economic global governance. This, I have referred to elsewhere as 'norm paths' (2001, p. 227). Norm paths are inconsistencies that exist among internationally shared principled and causal beliefs and the norms that flow from them. Such inconsistencies provide opportunities for non-state actors that seek to influence world politics to challenge existing norms. Constructivists have documented the influence of non-state actors in a number of areas and these examples might serve practice. Thus, Jones (1992, p. 54) observed that there exists a tension 'between the principle of nonintervention and the principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.' These tensions provide windows of opportunity in terms of justifying interfering in a state's domestic affairs, as has happened in cases of human rights violations. Likewise, we can find tensions between the post-World War II shared principled belief that governments had the responsibility to protect their populations from the ills of international economic markets and the current rationales, as criticised by Stiglitz above, that markets by themselves can provide desired human security through efficiency.

Global governance can be conceived as intergovernmental processes, but also as other more fluid interactions at various levels of human activity. What counts is how the processes contribute to change in ways of thinking and behaving at various levels of human activity and in a manner that enhances the full spectrum of human security.

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## Chapter 12

# A Silent Killer: HIV/AIDS Metaphors and Human (In)Security in Southern Africa

Rebecca Tiessen

### **Introduction**

This chapter examines how people talk about HIV/AIDS, especially the discourses and metaphors they employ to understand and reflect on the disease and its impacts. I am particularly interested in the human security subtext of the metaphors as well as whether these metaphors reinforce and/or address human insecurity in the day-to-day lives of people living in Southern Africa. The research draws on interviews conducted in 2004 with 17 individuals (8 men and 9 women ranging in age from 19–49 years) from a peri-urban community in Malawi. Information was also collected from international news agencies, United Nations documents, and NGO websites.

Several themes emerged in the research and are discussed in this chapter including AIDS as a silent killer, AIDS as a development disaster, AIDS as a battle, and AIDS as a poor (African) man's disease. I elaborate on each of these themes with a discussion of their human security dimensions. The first part of this chapter lays the foundation for these arguments by introducing the growing body of literature linking HIV/AIDS to human insecurity. I also draw from several of the human security definitions and frameworks to elaborate on the discourse surrounding HIV/AIDS. In this chapter I argue that it is important to understand the metaphors surrounding AIDS because they can tell us a great deal about the challenges and opportunities for addressing human insecurity.

### **HIV/AIDS and Human Insecurity**

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is exacerbated by conditions of violence and instability, which increase the risk of exposure to the disease through large movements of people, widespread uncertainty over conditions, and reduced access to medical care .... If unchecked, the HIV/AIDS pandemic may pose a risk to stability and security (UNSC 2000/1308).

The spread of infectious disease and HIV/AIDS in particular, is as much a threat to global and national security as it is to the health and well-being of individuals (Anderson and Spek 2004). HIV/AIDS is therefore a significant health, development and human security issue around the world. In many countries, HIV rates continue to soar. According to the most recent UNAIDS figures for 2003, South Africa's HIV prevalence rate is estimated at 21.5 per cent of the population aged 15–49. The total number of people in South Africa who are believed to be HIV positive is 5.1 million. Swaziland has one of the highest prevalence rates of HIV with an estimated 38.8 per cent of the population aged 15–49 believed to be HIV positive. Other parts of the world do not have comparable rates of HIV infection. India, for example, does not have an especially high rate of HIV (the prevalence rate was estimated to be between 0.4 per cent and 1.3 per cent in 2003). However, it does have a large population overall and this translates into estimates of between 2.2 and 7.3 million people living with HIV/AIDS in 2003 in India alone (UNAIDS, 2004).

The sheer number of people affected by HIV around the world, combined with the challenges this health issue poses, makes HIV/AIDS a pressing human security concern. The destabilising impacts of HIV/AIDS are felt in all sectors of society. Two key dimensions of HIV/AIDS as a human security concern include the threat to socio-economic development and the threat to human survival (Kristofferson 2000). HIV/AIDS as a human security matter is increasingly recognised – and written about – in policy documents. The United Nations Security Council resolution 1308, quoted above, is an important example of the growing recognition of the links between human insecurity and HIV/AIDS. This UN resolution addresses health as a security concern for the first time but also specifically connects the spread of HIV/AIDS to the maintenance of global peace and security (Kristofferson 2000).

One of the ways in which HIV/AIDS manifests itself as a human security issue is by lowering life expectancy. AIDS is reducing life expectancy in many African countries to little more than 30 years. In Malawi, for example, life expectancy has dropped from an average age of 46 years to just 36 years (Tenthani 2003) between 1993 and 2003. While life expectancy is an important measure of personal human security, it has wider impacts as well, especially because the majority of people dying of AIDS are the economically active members of the family. The death of adult family members can result in the dissolution of the family structure and therefore has ramifications for cultural security, and for economic security through losses to household income.

Several authors have defined and conceptualised human security around key components. The UNDP, in 1994, for example, identified eight components to human security including economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political (UNDP 1994). Jorge Nef's conception of human security is one in which human dignity and human rights are synonymous with human security. Nef's dimensions of human security include five elements: environmental security, personal and physical security, economic security, social security, political security, and cultural security (Nef 1999). Many of these dimensions overlap with the UNDP

components; however, the attention to cultural and social security sets this framework apart as one that more fully embraces the human element of the security analysis.

Another framework developed by Elhadj Sy (2001) identifies 6 core elements of human security including survival, safety, opportunity, dignity, agency and autonomy. Sy's framework takes the cultural and social security elements to another level by articulating more specifically those elements of power/powerlessness that are linked to HIV/AIDS – especially opportunity, dignity and agency. Sy refers to these elements as preconditions for human security and as essential to 'reducing vulnerability to HIV infection and its impact' (Sy 2001, np). Sy's analysis also highlights the ways in which these elements of human security are crucial to understanding power dynamics through a gender lens. Sy notes that 'gender differences and inequalities affect the extent to which men and women, boys and girls are able to enjoy these basic security needs. Those most deprived of these needs are themselves most highly vulnerable to HIV infection and most disadvantaged in coping with its impact' (Sy 2001). The components of human security noted above enable a more nuanced analysis of HIV/AIDS and will be used throughout the chapter to contextualise how HIV/AIDS threatens security.

Conflicts and violence further exacerbate the HIV/AIDS problem. The spread of HIV/AIDS is a security crisis with the potential to affect peoples, states and the international community in a similar fashion to traditional forms of conflict (UNAIDS Humanitarian Unit 2003). Conflict helps spread HIV through movements of populations and soldiers both within countries and across borders. In many conflict zones in Africa, people are reporting an alarming increase in the use of rape as a war-crime. In some instances, soldiers involved in conflicts in Great Lakes Region of Africa confessed to raping of 'the enemy side' with the explicit intention of infecting them with HIV (UNAIDS 2000).

The potential to transmit AIDS through violent rape is high. The problem is further compounded by the fact that military forces in Africa tend to have high rates of HIV infection. John Harker's 2002 report on HIV/AIDS and security highlighted information from the United States National Intelligence agency which estimates the HIV prevalence rate in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) military at between 40–60 per cent of all soldiers (Harker 2002b). A high rate of HIV among soldiers will have clear implications for a country's ability to defend itself. Moreover, the health of a country (in terms of its economic capacity, security, and social strength) depends on healthy individuals.

These aggressive acts threaten survival as well as the safety and dignity of civilians in general, and women in particular. However, militarised rape in the name of national security can take place in countries not engaged in open warfare (Enloe 2000). Therefore, the concept of human security provides a useful lens to examine the relationship between gender inequality and the transmission of HIV/AIDS in areas where open conflict is not an issue. I elaborate on this relationship in the analysis of the four HIV/AIDS metaphors.

As the Commission on Human Security announced in 2003, '[h]ealth security is at the vital core of human security – and illness, disability and avoidable death

are 'critical pervasive threats' to human security... good health is instrumental to human dignity and human security. It enables people to exercise choice, pursue social opportunities and plan for the future' (Commission on Human Security 2003, p. 96). Peter Piot (2001) and others have also provided important links between health, human security and HIV. I elaborate on these connections in this chapter by focusing on the ways in which the media and people reflect on HIV/AIDS and the narratives they use.

Human security is further compromised as a result of HIV/AIDS because of the sheer number of people infected and affected, combined with the specific populations most affected. It is important, therefore, to ask whose human security is most compromised and how does their human insecurity affect others. In this chapter, I focus on the impacts of HIV/AIDS on the educated, the economically productive, and women. The effects of HIV/AIDS on these groups have wider implications for the economic and social security of the region. High rates of HIV infection among the educated and economically productive have the potential to cripple economies and to produce 'fragile states'. High rates of HIV infection among women have significant implications for the social support systems of 'fragile states'. Women in Africa are the primary subsistence food providers and care-givers for children, the elderly and the sick. Therefore, they play a pivotal role in promoting human security at the family and community levels. However, the impact of this social support is also relevant to human security at the national and regional levels since the breakdown of traditional social support mechanisms results in growing food insecurity, migration and instability.

Several other important gender issues pertinent to HIV and human security are highlighted in the metaphors examined here. These gender issues are summarised as women's position in society in relation to men including their lack of decision-making power surrounding when and how sexual relations take place; societal norms and attitudes towards masculinity which reinforce behaviours and practices that perpetuate the spread of HIV; customary and traditional practices that increase risks of HIV transmission for girls and women; new practices (sex with virgins) introduced as a way to 'cure' men of disease; and strategies to cope with poverty including sex-trade work in exchange for basic necessities. All of these factors contribute to human insecurity and are discussed in greater detail below with examples from Southern Africa.

### **The Significance of Metaphors**

Metaphors can both enable and constrain the production of knowledge. They also facilitate certain ways of thinking about an issue by limiting the frameworks of analysis. AIDS, as one of the most widely discussed diseases in social and cultural studies, marks an important contribution to the study of language and how it shapes the impact of epidemic disease. AIDS metaphors and language possess what Sue Sherwin describes as 'a fluid, overtly politicised character largely absent from

other diseases, where metaphors tend to be more entrenched and less controversial' (Sherwin, 2001, p. 346).

One of the more popular metaphors used to understand and describe disease is the military metaphor. The military language used to talk about AIDS includes words such as battle, attack, war, invasion, and front lines (to name a few). In this chapter, I examine some of these metaphors and explain the potential implications of this particular language. The significance of metaphor is that it enables the selective use of language which can in turn give an event or issue new meanings. Cullen (2003) argues that metaphors can trivialise an event or render it important while marginalising some groups and empowering others. Metaphors have the power to describe an issue as an urgent problem or reduce it to a routine one and thereby affect the amount of attention, research and funds it receives. Furthermore, as Sontag (1989) argues, metaphors may not adequately encapsulate a situation because they are too simple, and often, too sensational. In the following section, I identify four major themes in the metaphors identified in daily discussions, interviews, news reports and development documents. Each of these metaphors has relevant human security dimensions. I examine each of these metaphors with reference to the ways in which the discourse may reinforce and/or address human insecurity.

### **AIDS as the Silent Killer**

A poster used by staff from a Danish organisation called MS (Mellemløkkeligt Samvirke) portrays an elephant sitting on a chair in a room with two people: a person who is lying in bed dying of AIDS and a family member providing care. The poster is a hand-drawn cartoon with the letters HIV written on the back of the elephant and a caption that reads: 'There's an elephant sitting in the room...but nobody talks about it'. The poster is used in AIDS education programs in Mozambique to open up dialogue about this 'silent killer'. The elephant takes up most of the room, yet despite its enormity, it is ignored or remains invisible to the people in the room. The poster is representative of the challenges of addressing AIDS in Africa where its impacts are felt everywhere, yet it remains invisible or silenced.

Other examples of the invisibility of AIDS were expressed in interviews in Malawi when respondents referred to AIDS as an 'internal injury' while others defined it as the 'silent killer'. As Piot and Pinstруп-Andersen (2002) argue, 'HIV is socially invisible, though the ravages of AIDS are everywhere apparent. The private nature of sex, and the complex cultural attitudes toward it, lead to silence, denial, stigma, and discrimination at many levels' (p. 5).

Several books, films and articles have picked up on this metaphor such as *AIDS: Silent Killer* by Don Boys and a film titled *The Silent Killer: AIDS in South Africa*. News and development agencies also use the term frequently. Similar imagery is apparent in the use of the language of AIDS as a silent plague. In a BBC news release on 17 September 2004, the journalist refers to HIV/AIDS as 'the silent plague of our times'.

The language of AIDS as a silent killer is poignant, encapsulating the diverse challenges of addressing HIV/AIDS.

Silence surrounding HIV can be exacerbated by the use of euphemisms. Several euphemisms are common throughout Africa when talking about AIDS such as the 'thinning disease', 'slim' or 'long illness'. Rather than talking about AIDS directly, many people use references to the disease's physical manifestations or appearances in people. In particular, many refer to AIDS as the 'thinning disease'. In Kenya, the disease is called 'slim' reflecting the severe weight loss that accompanies the illness. The use of such euphemisms for AIDS perpetuates denial and inactivity. These euphemisms, however, are connected to human dignity and the social stigma surrounding HIV. Dignity, Sy (2001) argues, is one of the core elements of human security. Without human dignity, people become disempowered and insecure.

The silence surrounding AIDS and the use of euphemisms and metaphors makes it difficult for people to talk about the issues they face. The lack of public discussion surrounding AIDS can further entrench women's subordinate position in society. Also, the privacy surrounding HIV/AIDS reinforces stigma and forces many people to seek out 'cures' including examples of men having sex with virgins, young girls and even babies. The perpetuation of the myth that men can be cured of AIDS by having sex with virgins reinforces women's subordinate status in society and reproduces negative attitudes towards women. Women's bodies are then societally constructed as vestibules for dumping disease. Women's health and their lives are so undervalued that they become 'trash cans' for men's illnesses. These examples highlight another relevant angle of the AIDS as silent killer metaphor. In the examples of rape and sex with virgins, the killers are the men who are murdering these women through the transmission of HIV and the silence is a poignant reminder of the challenges of speaking out against these practices.

While the language of a 'silent killer' is common in reference to HIV/AIDS, several other general references to AIDS as a killer are also common. The Zulu word 'UMabulabhuke' is widely used in South Africa and is translated as the 'Indiscriminate Killer'. Other expressions across Southern Africa include: 'UDubul'egeqa' which is an Xhosa term which translates into 'The One Who Shoots to Kill' (Xhosa); 'UGawulayo' also Xhosa meaning 'The One Who Chops down'; 'UQedisizwe' referring to the Zulu expression for 'The Finisher of the Nation'; and 'UMashayabhuke' another Zulu expression for 'The Beater-up of People' (African Voices, no date).

There is an important link between violence, gender inequality and HIV/AIDS in southern Africa. Together, these issues perpetuate human insecurity by reinforcing women's vulnerability and the perception of women as inferior or undervalued. Returning to Sy's (2001) preconditions for human security (survival, safety, opportunity, dignity, agency and autonomy), it is clear that a great deal of work needs to be done to tackle the societal norms and practices which prevent women and men from achieving human security. This work needs to begin with attention to attitudes towards women and toward open discussions about the ways HIV is spread.

The metaphor of AIDS as a silent killer refers both directly and indirectly to human insecurity. As a killer, AIDS threatens safety and survival; however, the silence surrounding it underscores the ongoing challenges of tackling this human security crisis.

The metaphor is a powerful one with the potential to raise awareness and address the silence and invisibility of AIDS. The posters are effective because the message can be understood by a wide audience with varying degrees of literacy. The symbolism of the elephant may need to be explained to some audiences; otherwise, the posters can be an important educational instrument. Furthermore, the posters can be used as an entry point for discussions of the discourse and metaphors surrounding AIDS and how this language translates into human (in)security. Development workers and AIDS educators can use tools such as posters and discussions about the metaphors of silence and invisibility to encourage people to begin to make HIV a public issue. Tackling the stigma associated with AIDS is central to addressing the elements of human insecurity, especially dignity and agency.

### **AIDS as a Development Disaster**

The London Guardian newspaper headline on 10 December 2004 reads 'The Greatest Catastrophe: AIDS worst disaster in History, says UN Chief'. The article cites the UNICEF Executive Director, Carol Bellamy, as saying 'We [UNICEF] believe AIDS is the worst catastrophe ever to hit the world ... ripping up systems, be it health or education. Our children's childhood is being robbed from them.' In a second example of the use of the metaphor of development disaster, a CBC news article on AIDS in Africa uses the following metaphors to describe AIDS: 'Africa is being ravaged by AIDS ...' and the 'numbers tell a catastrophic story'.

Development organisations such as international NGOs have also used the language of disaster in reference to AIDS. World Vision Canada's website in February 2005 has a headline article entitled: '7 Other Disasters to Remember'. Recent attention to the Tsunami disaster has meant reduced media coverage of other development issues around the world. The number one 'forgotten disaster' as identified in this article is HIV/AIDS. The use of a particular language, in this case, disasters, is crucial for getting people's attention and raising funds. Development organisations have, for a long time, used references to disasters and catastrophes to appeal to the humanitarian impulse. North Americans and Europeans are often quick to respond to these appeals with donations of money and second-hand goods.

International organisations including the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) also use the language of disasters. In a 2001 FAO document titled: 'AIDS epidemic as a disaster which requires a response of an emergency nature', the author writes: 'In many rural areas of sub-Saharan Africa, where food insecurity and livelihood vulnerability are endemic problems, the magnitude of the AIDS epidemic is resulting in a serious development crisis. Above a certain threshold, this epidemic can trigger or lead to emergency situations particularly in conditions of

high environmental risks and social vulnerability' (p. 2). The language adopted in this document is embedded in the human security framework drawing on elements of human security including food security. Words such as 'trigger' further reinforce a security dimension by using a military metaphor.

The UNDP (2004) also explores the relationship between HIV/AIDS and disaster in a report on *Reducing Disaster Risk*. In the report, the UNDP notes that 'HIV/AIDS and other diseases can exacerbate the disaster risks brought on by climate change, urbanisation, marginalisation and armed conflict. With HIV/AIDS, the able-bodied, adult workforce whom would normally engage in disaster-coping activities are too weak from the disease, or they are already dead' (p. 4).

The language of a development disaster invokes a specific kind of reaction. Early in a disaster, the media coverage can bring about wide-spread interest and donations. As the disaster loses popular interest, the language can reinforce sentiments of hopelessness and despair. These sentiments can then translate into a sense of powerlessness. Donor agencies, in an effort to foster ongoing support and fund-raising, often resort to the use of specific images that perpetuate stereotypes of the helpless victim, especially photographs of women and children. Using the term disaster to describe the spread of HIV and its impacts in Africa is especially problematic.

Nonetheless, the 'disaster' of AIDS has had far-reaching implications including accelerating poverty and inequality. Low income households have slipped into even deeper poverty causing people to resort to desperate measures for survival. For example, reports point to a growing number of women turning to sex-trade work in order to have money to buy basic necessities. This example highlights the challenges of achieving human security, especially those elements of safety and opportunity.

Read one way, the metaphors of disasters can reinforce stereotypes of Africa as 'a hopeless case' or 'lost cause'. The disaster of AIDS portrays African states as fragile and on the brink of collapse. However, this metaphor has the advantage of garnering widespread public attention and appealing to the humanitarian impulse to give in a time of crisis. The language of disaster instills a sense of urgency, immediacy, insecurity and vulnerability.

The metaphor of AIDS as a development disaster can also be educational when followed with information about the social and economic impacts it is having in countries in Africa. This information can make explicit connections to the 'mutual vulnerabilities' and insecurities arising from the growing poverty in the era of AIDS. Since health underlies development, human security is intimately linked to a healthy and productive population. Meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially the scaling up of public health investments, is necessary not only to improve health in the developing countries but also to foster stability around the world (Sachs 2004).

## **AIDS as a Battle**

A third theme in the metaphors surrounding HIV/AIDS is AIDS as a battle. Other military metaphors include references to war, fighting and violence. Military metaphors of HIV/AIDS abound in the media. In a BBC news release on 17 September 2004, the journalist writes: 'Europe Unites for New AIDS Battle'. The article goes on to explain how European health ministers have joined forces to 'combat' the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Military metaphors can be effective because they foster a sense of action.

The enemy analogy is also common in media coverage of HIV/AIDS. In a report for the United States Embassy in Tokyo, Japan, the headline reads: 'Africa Will Not Face AIDS Enemy Alone, Bush Pledges'. The report identifies AIDS as Africa's 'deadliest enemy'.

In an analysis of the use of military metaphors around HIV/AIDS, Alan Grieg (1996) argues that the use of combat metaphors is problematic. The impact of using a reference to AIDS as an enemy is that it exacerbates or further entrenches the stigma associated with being HIV positive. Testing for HIV then becomes a 'weapon' which marginalises those who do test positive and prevents others from voluntary testing. The stigma associated with AIDS entrenches those elements that foster human insecurity, namely loss of dignity.

Among the most prominent writings on the use of metaphor in health is the work of Susan Sontag. In her book entitled: *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and its Metaphors*, published in 1989, Sontag explored the metaphorisation of AIDS, with a special emphasis on the ways in which the medical establishment used metaphoric themes of war, conquering, and invasion. Her work set the stage for analysing the social construction of illness, especially how meanings surrounding illness are shaped by the social events of that time. This work draws on the ideas of Foucault who in 1973 argued that for every age we can find an illness that reflects the conditions of that time. Shefer (2004) argues that such an illness 'serves to capture some of the broader social issues and concerns, and play a political role in constructing dominant meanings of the time' (Shefer 2004, p. 4).

One of the dominant meanings in the field of health today can be found in the emphasis on scientific answers and technological solutions to fighting disease. Medical professionals understand disease as the 'invasion of alien organisms'. The body must respond through its own 'aggressive' means and immunological 'defenses'. If the body fails to 'counter-attack' and 'defeat' the disease, medicine provides other aggressive means such as chemotherapies in the case of cancer (Sontag, 1989). Disease is then projected from the individual level to a societal level whereby disease is described as invading society (Sontag, 1989).

The military metaphors reinforce Sy's (2001) emphasis on the safety element in his human security framework. The perception of insecurity and lack of safety is prevalent as people talk about HIV. Headlines and media coverage reinforce these insecurities and raise fears that those who are HIV positive (read: perpetrators) may infect others (read: victims).

Military metaphors can be found all around us. As Enloe (2000, pp. 2–3) argues, militarisation is a subtle process that ‘creeps into ordinary daily routines’. Enloe notes that almost anything can be militarised including laundry, girdles, marriage, town pride, and sneakers. The process of militarisation occurs through ‘the step-by-step process by which something becomes controlled by, dependent on, or derives its value from the military as an institution or militaristic criteria’ (Enloe 2000, p. 4). The ubiquitous nature of military culture in society therefore shapes language and norms. Norms surrounding what is considered appropriate (masculine) behaviour for men are then reinforced. Many of such norms reinforce the status quo and men’s privileged position relative to women.

Beyond the gender implications of this language is the connection between human security and national security. What would traditionally be the language of military security is now being transferred to discussions of human security. The challenge then becomes finding ways to think beyond traditional security discourses and to reflect on new and emerging security realities.

References to military metaphors surrounding HIV/AIDS are useful and informative. They demonstrate the violence associated with some current practices and norms including rape and ‘cleansing’ measures. The aggressive nature of the illness, itself, is well encapsulated in the military metaphors which, like the reference to development disasters, have the potential to appeal to the humanitarian impulse. Furthermore, the military language used in discussions of HIV/AIDS can encourage national security experts to begin to shift their focus from traditional security concerns to broader and day-to-day human security issues. The subtext of human (in)security is perhaps most blatant in the use of military metaphors. Threats to safety and stability are made more apparent through this language fostering a sense of urgency and international responsibility.

### **AIDS as a Poor (African) Man’s Disease**

The fourth and final metaphor analysed in this chapter is a loaded one. References to AIDS as a disease of poverty, as an African disease and as a ‘poor man’s disease’ are all common in daily discussions of AIDS, in the media and in scholarly reports. Each of these references, in turn, has implications for how we think about AIDS as a human security issue.

Metaphors surrounding HIV/AIDS as a disease of poverty are common and linked to stereotypes of the ‘poor African’. In a conference speech, Dr Gro Harlem Brundtland, former Director-General of the World Health Organisation, stated: ‘[t]he world needs to unite for a massive effort against diseases of poverty’ (Afrol 2000). There is a clear and distinct connection between HIV/AIDS and economic insecurity in this statement. However, to label AIDS as a disease of poverty is problematic. It enables wealthy individuals and those in positions of power to ignore their own HIV status or their potential to contract HIV. For example, 29 out of 177 Parliamentarians in Malawi are believed to have died from AIDS between 1994 and 1999 according

to a report by the former Speaker of the Malawi Parliament (Mpasu 2001). There are specific poverty-related concerns with regards to HIV/AIDS including turning to sex-trade work for food, lack of nutritious food which makes those who are HIV positive more likely to fall ill earlier than those who can afford high quality food, as well as limited means to access medicine including anti-retroviral medication. However, HIV and its relationship with human insecurity remains a problem for people in all socio-economic groups.

Human insecurity is exacerbated by the precariousness of economic opportunities. Many people are forced to find employment that comes with new risks including work in mines and along trucking routes. Casual sex with sex-trade workers or girlfriends is more common among men who spend a great deal of time away from their families migrating for employment or travelling long distances to sell goods. Throughout Southern Africa, many men travel to other countries for employment opportunities, especially to South Africa as mine labourers. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the South African government began random testing of miners for HIV. A high incidence of HIV was found among these mine workers.

In an effort to understand the correlation between high HIV rates and mine workers, Catherine Campbell carried out an extensive study in Summertown, South Africa. She interviewed mine workers who commented that low rates of condom use among mine workers who have sex with sex-trade workers may be best understood by the following observation: 'the risk of HIV/AIDS appears minimal compared with the risks of death underground' (Campbell, 2003, p. 31).

Mine work, like other forms of employment that take men away from their wives for extended periods of time, increase the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. This is also true for employment on estate farms where men live in barracks at night but work on plantations (such as tea or sugar cane) during the day. Sex-trade workers are frequently housed nearby to encourage the farm workers to stay. Truck driving corridors are also considered high risk locations. Dangerous road conditions make driving in Africa at night difficult. However, the rest stops along the trucking routes can also be dangerous as they are well stocked with beer and the availability of 'bar girls' or sex-trade workers. Mining, plantation work or the sex-trade are often last resorts for employment. However, escalating poverty in sub-Saharan Africa combined with food shortages make these forms of employment increasingly attractive.

As discussed earlier in this chapter the implications of high rates of HIV infection among the educated and most economically productive for human security are enormous. AIDS is affecting this group in a significant way and the impacts are felt in all sectors of the society. High rates of HIV infection among the educated and economically-productive will contribute to instability throughout Africa and weaken the already fragile states in this region. The elderly and the young will be left to pick-up the pieces but without the education, skills, and knowledge; thereby leaving significant gaps in information.

The majority of media reports and scholarly work on HIV/AIDS is in reference to its impacts in Africa, reinforcing the perception that AIDS is an 'African disease'. China, India, Ukraine and Latin American countries, as well as Canada and the

United States, are all facing problems of rising HIV rates. The spread of HIV in Africa, however, has been unprecedented and the percentage of the population infected with HIV is higher than anywhere else in the world. The high prevalence rates in Africa justify the disproportionate amount of media attention this region receives. However, the association of AIDS with Africa also comes with risks. In particular, this association fuels racial stereotypes and images of the helpless (and as some media images portray) the 'hopeless' African.

Linked to the construction of 'African AIDS' are racist representations and stereotypes of 'African sexuality' understood as 'uncontrollable' and 'promiscuous' (Shefer 2004). The discourse that has emerged around HIV/AIDS is problematic as it reproduces and justifies power inequalities and gendered norms, not to mention racist-based stereotypes. The discourse may also legitimate the practices of those who act irresponsibly by treating them as 'natural'.

Expectations about what it means to be 'a man' continue to reinforce specific societal and sexual norms. Therefore, perceptions of men's virility and peer pressure are important cultural and societal issues which need to be highlighted in HIV/AIDS prevention work. For example, a societal norm in many parts of Africa is the expectation that a man must have more than one sexual partner. Sex with multiple partners, as well as having several wives and/or girlfriends, carries a certain status for men and reinforces their masculinity. However, sex with multiple partners is known to increase the risk of HIV infection. Women are less likely to have more than one sexual partner and therefore less likely to contract HIV. Estimates suggest that 60–80 per cent of African women with HIV have had only one partner (Barnett and Whiteside 2002). These women are particularly vulnerable because they are not in a position to negotiate safe sex with their husbands or insist on the use of condoms.

An added dimension is the fact that many men often do not consider themselves at risk for contracting or spreading HIV. Research on young men between the age of 10 and 24, in particular, found that young men often do not see themselves at great risk from HIV/AIDS. For example, 64 per cent of young men between the ages of 15 and 24 thought they were not at risk of contracting AIDS compared to 53 per cent of young women. These figures are particularly high since unprotected sex with multiple partners is relatively common among youth in Zambia (Scalway 2001).

Both men and women are at great risk of contracting HIV through unprotected sex. However, women are at even greater risk. In a recent International Labour Organisation (ILO) study, research conducted globally found that 60 per cent of new HIV transmissions are to women (ILO 2004). This number is even greater for women in the age group of 15 to 24 in which women account for 66 per cent of those infected (UNAIDS 2001).

Biological differences are part of the reason for a higher incidence of HIV infection among women. However, biology offers one small explanation for the high rates of HIV among women. Societal norms and practices are especially important to consider as they determine gender relations. Patriarchal norms and perceptions of masculinity also perpetuate high rates of HIV. Both men and women are subject to ideas about what is normal behaviour for one or the other sex, what are 'typical'

feminine and masculine characteristics, and about how women and men should act in particular situations (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002).

Cultural attitudes toward suitable sexual behaviours and norms make it difficult for men to admit to gaps in their knowledge about sex and to the link between socialising and alcohol use (UNIFEM 2001). Society accepts multiple sex partners as an expression of male sexuality and masculinity. However, this acceptance limits behaviour change. Research conducted in Malawi by Forster (2001) reveals a pattern whereby men reinforce their positions of power in relation to women and are able to do so partly as a result of holding back income to be used for their own personal enjoyment. Usually, this money is spent on beer and casual sex with 'bar girls'. Both activities are considered an 'essential expression of masculine enjoyment' (Forster 2001, pp. 247–248). Men may also buy sex as an expression of wealth and/or power.

It is widely believed in some parts of southern Africa that women are responsible for seducing men into having sex and that men are unable to resist because of their inherently strong sexual desires. Men are therefore less likely to take responsibility for contracting sexually transmitted infections when societal norms place the blame on women.

Societal norms and practices surrounding gender relations and identities are central to human security. Widespread perceptions of women's inferiority limit a country's ability to protect the human rights of its citizens and contribute to human insecurity. These practices contradict the definition of human security as defined by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) (2001, p. 15) in their document 'The Responsibility to Protect'. Human security is defined as 'the security of people – their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms'.

Furthermore, knowledge about safe sexual practices and 'treatments' can be misguided. For example, many men are seeking new sexual partners as a way to rid themselves of the disease. Reports of men having sex with virgins and with young girls (even babies) are growing in numbers. Some of these practices build on traditions and cultural norms such as early marriages, wife inheritance, wife cleansing, and dry sex (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). These practices promote gender inequality and are used as ways to justify violent and abusive acts towards women. These 'social ills' (Muoso 1999) point to practices and customs which marginalise and subordinate women and enable us to reflect on the absence of the preconditions for human security, namely agency, dignity and opportunity.

Gender-based sexual violence remains an additional challenge in the efforts to stop the spread of HIV/AIDS throughout Africa. Several forms of sexual-based violence, including rape, marital rape, or coerced sex are known to lead to high rates of HIV (Commonwealth Secretariat 2002). One of the biggest challenges to addressing HIV risks posed through sexual-based violence is the perception that this issue is a 'private' matter and off-limits in public discussions. The perceived separation of public and private spaces is reinforced through behaviours and norms

which prevent women's issues from being taken seriously, thereby, reinforcing women's subordination. It is this subordinate position in society that makes women especially vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and human insecurity.

A final connection between gender inequality and the transmission of HIV discussed here is a concern with poverty, and the feminisation of poverty, in particular. Growing desperation and lack of resources to pay for food or medical bills has forced many women into the sex-trade. The growing number of people turning to the sex-trade for survival is not limited to women. Increasing poverty and food insecurity are forcing many young boys in Africa to turn to the sex-trade. Street children (in Africa there are at least 10 million) are especially vulnerable to HIV infection. Sex-trade along truck routes is part of the problem. In Nigeria, according to Scalway (2001), there have been reports of truck drivers forcing young boys to have sex with them, often without the use of condoms. Scalway also cites South Africa as a place where sex-trade involving young homeless boys is increasing. There is already a great deal of silence around rape and sex-trade. However, the sex-trade involving young boys is especially silenced because of denial surrounding homosexuality throughout Africa.

All of these factors help paint a picture of why and how HIV transmission is so prevalent in parts of sub-Saharan Africa today. The relationships among gender inequality, HIV/AIDS and human insecurity are therefore complex and require greater research and attention. In particular, researchers need to look more closely at the societal norms and attitudes which reinforce specific behaviours and fuel the spread of AIDS.

The 'loaded' metaphor of AIDS as a poor (African) man's disease can be both effective and misleading for reflecting on human security. The metaphor makes one question who is most impacted and how different groups in society are impacted differently. For states characterised as already 'fragile', the impact on the economically productive and educated sector requires further attention. In a region where food security is already tenuous, the impact of HIV on the subsistence food producers (primarily women) raises new questions about the prospects for human security in the region. The metaphor can also have a stigmatising effect whereby a specific group is portrayed as the culprits while others are represented as vulnerable victims lacking agency. An analysis of HIV/AIDS in Africa must therefore recognise the multiple human insecurities in a region where diverse groups of people are affected and the impact is felt across all socio-economic sectors.

## **Conclusion**

In an examination of international NGO activities, donor reports and media coverage of AIDS, as well as during interviews with 17 men and women in Malawi in 2004, several themes emerged in the use of metaphors. The predominant metaphors uncovered include AIDS as a silent killer, AIDS as a development disaster, AIDS as a battle, and AIDS as a poor (African) man's disease. Some of these metaphors have

more direct references to human security concerns while others are more subtle. Nonetheless, many of the metaphors highlight elements of human security including social security (safety and dignity), food security, personal security (especially dignity, opportunity, safety and agency), political security, and economic security.

References to food security were found in metaphors used to describe an HIV positive person's appearance (AIDS as 'thinning' or 'slim' disease). Access to nutritious food is essential for all people and especially for those who have weakened immune systems. Any threats to food security can therefore be seen as threats to health and human security.

Examples of references to personal security were pronounced in coverage of rape in the media. This threat to human security has the added dimension of having a gender component. Personal security and economic security are inter-related at the individual, household and community levels. The references to AIDS as a disease of poverty highlight the impact that this disease is having on economically vulnerable groups. For many people who live well below the poverty line, the impacts of AIDS have further diminished their potential to meet their needs and the needs of their families. The reference to AIDS as a disease of the poor, however, is misleading and problematic. AIDS affects the economic security of people from all socio-economic groups. The economic security of the nation is especially threatened by the impact that AIDS is having on the most highly educated groups in Africa.

In order to reduce the spread of HIV and to mitigate its effects, more attention needs to be directed at the ways in which the language surrounding HIV/AIDS is internalised and interpreted by individuals. Looking at the metaphors pertaining to HIV/AIDS gives us one way of analysing how norms are created and maintained. The analysis provided in this chapter conceptualises the metaphors surrounding AIDS in a human security framework highlighting the multiple vulnerabilities and insecurities brought about as a result of HIV/AIDS. Popular culture (such as music, radio programs, and dramas), media coverage (newspaper articles, radio shows, and TV programs) and development NGO programs all play a role in shaping, reinforcing and, at times, deconstructing the metaphors used to discuss AIDS.

As this chapter has demonstrated, high HIV infection rates and their impacts on communities throughout Africa are intimately linked to gender inequality. Furthermore, HIV/AIDS perpetuates human insecurity throughout Africa by reinforcing gender inequality. In order to achieve human security, HIV/AIDS initiatives need to acknowledge the necessary preconditions for human security including what Elhadj Sy (2001) identifies as the six core elements of human security (survival, safety, opportunity, dignity, agency and autonomy). The findings suggest that the ways in which HIV/AIDS gets talked about reinforce attitudes and stereotypes that perpetuate the spread of HIV while reinforcing gender inequality and contributing to ongoing human insecurity.

Metaphors about AIDS reveal the ways in which HIV/AIDS is talked about in the day-to-day lives of people and in media and government/NGO documents. Applying a human security lens to these metaphors revealed how they reinforce human insecurity by perpetuating norms and practices that perpetuate inequalities,

vulnerabilities and instability. At the same time, the metaphors provide an avenue to open up discussions and to begin to think critically about how people talk about AIDS.

All four of the metaphors discussed here add to our understanding of human security by highlighting the many facets of the term. Furthermore, these metaphors lend support for new policy directions beyond treating AIDS as a health policy issue. The real challenge is much greater than health policy creation or the introduction of anti-retroviral (ARV) drugs. New policy directions require closer attention to the role that culture plays in reinforcing inequality and human insecurity. Policies aimed at understanding the causes and consequences of high rates of HIV/AIDS and their human security dimensions must therefore take into consideration the range of related elements including human rights, dignity, agency, power, freedom from fear, freedom from want, and opportunity.

The metaphors discussed here have the potential to reinforce stereotypes and perpetuate high rates of HIV infection by justifying norms and behaviours. However, these metaphors can also be used as a development strategy to get people everywhere to think critically about their stereotypes, actions and attitudes surrounding HIV/AIDS.

## Chapter 13

# The ‘Securitisation’ of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Feminist Lens<sup>1</sup>

Colleen O’Manique

### Introduction

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is becoming ‘securitised’. Post-Cold War security threats are understood as emerging from rogue or failed states, from environmental catastrophe, from terrorist cells, from viral contagion, and from ‘underdevelopment’ – threats perceived to be originating largely in the global South. Mark Duffield (2001) argues that the lines between development and security have been blurring since the 1990s and that the politics of development reflect a new security framework within which the modalities of underdevelopment are now considered dangerous. What this new merging of development and security has accomplished, according to Duffield, is an erasure or suppression of a consideration of the historical underpinnings of inequalities within the global system – of the manner by which wealth is created in determining the extent and nature of global poverty. At a time of unprecedented capital expansion and the merging of key political, economic and security interests, the goal is now the establishment of a liberal peace, ‘to change whole societies and the behaviour and attitudes of people within them’, a process instigated (at least in part), through the cooperative partnership arrangements of international development (Duffield 2001, p. 42).

In what follows, I begin to map the foundations of the human security crisis of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa – the broader macro-economic and foreign policy environments that today, condition profound levels of human insecurity and vulnerability to AIDS and its effects on communities. I also explore the extent to which the ‘securitisation’ of HIV/AIDS might circumscribe the policy responses of national governments and the vast network of institutions shaping the response to HIV/AIDS on the ground. My overarching questions: what are the potential implications of the classification of HIV/AIDS as a ‘security threat’? What is the relationship between new and shifting conceptions of security – global, national and

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<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *Policy and Society*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2005, pp. 24–47.

human – and policy responses to HIV/AIDS? And to what extent does a particular set of neoliberal values, policies and practices nourish and sustain the security crisis of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and shape institutional responses to the pandemic? More specifically, how do we understand the relationship between various aspects of intensified globalisation and ‘crises of security’ in areas of high HIV/AIDS prevalence? My concern is whether, and to what extent, reigning policy frameworks contribute to the human security crisis of AIDS. *Why* is AIDS a crisis of security? And *whose* security are we talking about?

The African pandemic has been variously described as a security threat in pockets of the continent where ‘famine and AIDS’ are seen as vicious circles; where social and economic insecurities are fuelled by AIDS related losses of labour productivity; where peacekeeping and military operations are compromised, given high levels of HIV infection in some African militaries. HIV/AIDS has also been constructed as a potential threat to US ‘homeland security’ and to geo-strategic interests in the region. The consideration of viruses as security threats broadens the mainstream neo-realist security framework by expanding it beyond nation-state and military terms. But most analyses of the ‘securitisation’ of AIDS ignore the broader contributors to human insecurity located in the current global distribution of power and resources, and their relationship to disease distribution and impacts. I suggest that at the most basic level, HIV/AIDS can be seen as part and parcel of a broader systemic and global crisis of social reproduction, at a time when responsibility for coping with systemic crises is ever more the responsibility of the isolated, autonomous individual. HIV infects rich and poor alike. Yet its most serious manifestations are in pockets of the globe where the exercise of basic human rights – to bodily autonomy and integrity, to food, shelter and a secure environment, to knowledge and self-determination – the basic constituents of human health and flourishing, are continually violated. The effects and impacts of epidemics are felt most profoundly by the most vulnerable members of society, and disproportionately by women, who on the one hand, face specific difficulties protecting themselves from infection, and on the other, hold the main burden of daily household reproduction including care of the sick.

This chapter paints a broad brushstroke, raising questions rather than providing answers. The first section examines in a very general way, the context of the ‘security crisis’ of HIV/AIDS in SSA. The second part identifies the ways in which the HIV/AIDS pandemic is being ‘securitised’, and some of the potential implications of emerging security discourses for HIV/AIDS policy on the continent. It closes with an account of some of the more critical human security accounts on HIV/AIDS in SSA and finally, suggests how a critical feminist lens might broaden and deepen these perspectives.

### **The Context of SSAs ‘AIDS and Security’ Crisis**

More than two decades of neoliberal economic and social reforms have not resulted in economic or human advance for most people in Africa. Thirty of 34 countries

classified as 'low human development' are in SSA and of the 54 the countries that grew poorer over the last decade, 20 were on the African continent (UNDP 2003, p. 3). Others, showing marginal improvement in terms of standard economic and human development indicators, have deep pockets of entrenched poverty. The UN Development Report 2003 states that 'almost across the board, the story is one of stagnation. Economies have not grown, half of Africans live in extreme poverty and one-third in hunger, and about one-sixth of children die before the age of five – the same as a decade ago' (UNDP 2003, p. 37). The present decade appears to be turning into yet another 'lost decade' for Africa, the place on the globe where it is seemingly acceptable to ignore extraordinary levels of human suffering.

The roots of the seeming intractability of SSA's underdevelopment are complex: colonial legacies, the intensification of neoliberal globalisation, and local politics and power relations merge together to structure inequality and life chances. The effects are heterogeneous; the room to maneuver to create viable livelihoods varies within and among states; people participate, resist, and twist and bend the rules. Although not all of SSA's problems can be attributed to the current phase of global economic restructuring, exogenous and endogenous factors are difficult to untangle. The general structures of SSA's integration into the global political economy maintain the patterns of world trade established through colonialism. Africa's potential is understood as lying in the growth of investment opportunities in extractive industries such as oil, minerals and export agriculture; it is also seen as a field for debt recovery and arms sales (Saul 2004, p. 4). To this day, the terms of international trade continue to operate against African exports; OECD countries continue to hand out farm subsidies while insisting that African countries should withdraw theirs, largely ignoring the issue of the downward spiral on global commodity prices which account for three-quarters of Africa's exports. The 1995 WTO Agreement on Agriculture, which advocated universal reductions in trade protection, farm subsidies and government intervention, institutionalized the meaning of food security. States no longer have the right to food self-sufficiency as a national strategy, but the 'minimum market access rule' guarantees the 'right to export', consolidating a position of primacy to multinational agribusiness (McMichael 2003). According to Philip McMichael (2003, p. 177) 40 per cent of Kenya's six to 16 year olds work on plantations that export pineapple, coffee, tea and sugar to supply the European market while four million Kenyans experience food insecurity. International trade law also continues to enforce corporate interests in intellectual property in the pharmaceutical sector, reflecting the failure of the global market system at getting treatment to those who need it most. The overwhelming majority of HIV infected people in SSA have no access to treatment beyond the most basic palliative care (O'Manique 2004).

The roots of the seeming intractability of SSA's maldevelopment are complex; the effects of colonial legacies, current policies of neoliberal globalisation, and corrupt and appalling leadership are difficult to untangle. Specific processes linked to global economic and political restructuring have served to reinforce and nurture existing inequalities and power imbalances. Scholars have analyzed the connections between externally imposed privatisation policies and structural adjustment, the private

plunder of state wealth, and the rise of authoritarianism (Bayart *et al.* 1999; Craig 2000; Szeftel 2000; Ibhawoh 1999). In many cases, the establishment of competitive elections, understood as 'democratization', has only served to consolidate the rule of authoritarian groups already in control of state power; Bayart *et al.* (1999, p. 5) single out Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Cameroon, Gabon and Kenya; in other cases, elections have provided not even the veneer of democracy. Certain governments are little more than mafias – Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) are examples of cases where leaders have plundered their countries' resources and deposited them in Swiss bank accounts while debt repayment continues on the backs of the poor. Other governments are more benign, benefiting from control over the management of imports, which are overwhelmingly consumer rather than capital goods, as one of the few available avenues for the accumulation of wealth and power (Bayart 1993, p. 4). Ann Pettifor (2000) exposed the international complicity that made possible President Mobutu's plunder of Zaire through the 70s and 80s – his personal fortune estimated at between two and twelve billion when he died in 1998. As early as 1974 there were clear warnings that loans were being stolen, yet Zaire's western creditors continued lending, and he was kept in power with western military hardware.

Instead of the predicted market-based recovery, many of the countries on the continent have seen varying degrees of social, economic and environmental collapse, while others have experienced escalating levels of violence and civil war, supported by the legacy of three decades of militarization. In a continent flooded with light weapons, social and economic crises have fuelled the emergence of new forms of masculinity, expressed in young boys joining militaries and carrying sub-machine guns.<sup>2</sup> Economic stagnation has fostered 'ethnic' backlash and the normalization of sexual violence and rape against women, a common feature of war in all places and all times, and today, an important transmission route of HIV infection. Throughout these processes, social reproduction – women's labour in providing for the daily and generational security of their families and their communities – has been critically undermined.

The World Bank and the IMF have consistently attributed Africa's continued state of crisis to domestic policy issues, to such factors as overvalued exchange rates, inappropriate agricultural policies, excessive state intervention, import substitution, and corrupt and tyrannical leadership (that has either been actively nurtured and supported, or ignored by the West). By the end of the 1980s, there was an acknowledgement that an 'enabling state' was necessary for development, and the 'good governance' agenda was born, which contained a specific narrative about social change and the role of the state (World Bank 1989). The World Bank moved beyond its original mandate of economic reform to redefining the role of the African state as consisting of the creation of a policy environment favourable

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<sup>2</sup> A report prepared for the 4<sup>th</sup> UN Security Council Open Debate on Children and Armed Conflict prepared by the coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, can be retrieved from the Human Rights Watch site at: <http://hrw.org/reports/2004/childsoldiers0104/>.

to open economies and free markets, coupled with increased transparency and accountability to be secured through multi-party competition and free elections. The state's minimal role in wealth redistribution and the provision of basic services was conditional upon its capacity to carry out its primary economic function of growth stimulation (Moore 2000; Campbell 2001). Southern governments and 'project partners' now have to demonstrate that they can meet the normative standards of behaviour of institutions such as the World Bank: 'in the case of governments, this could mean following neoliberal economic prescriptions, adhering to international standards of good governance, or subscribing to donor approved poverty reduction strategies' (Duffield 2001, p. 8). Given the incapacity of most African states to stimulate growth and development, the task is in the hands of international aid agencies, local NGOs, the private sector, and communities, the 'partners' of public sector institutions. Underlying new governance frameworks is the consolidation of neoliberal capitalism; the ideologies of 'partnership', 'ownership' and 'self-help' acting as a form of impunity for the global architects and enforcers of the system – the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO. As Janine Brodie (2003, p. 60) observes, large segments of the local economic terrain are now governed at the transnational level while responsibility for the negative consequences is ever more localized. The newest policy framework to place Africa on a path of sustainable development, which emerged from 15 African heads of state and has been lauded by G8 leaders, is the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Aspects of NEPAD have been praised, particularly those relating to conflict resolution and the alleviation of poverty. But it has come under heavy criticism from African civil society organizations for a lack of democratic consultation in its formulation, and for fixing its vision uncritically on increased global integration and 'free' trade (Saul 2004, p. 4).

This is the very general context in which we hear, with increasing frequency and urgency, about the 'security crisis' of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. The region remains the most affected on the globe, with over 25 million people infected with HIV, close to two-thirds of all people living with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2004, p. 26). Prevalence has stabilized in some countries as a result of rising death rates, concealing continuing high rates of new infections, while in other countries it continues to rise (UNAIDS 2004, p. 31). In 2002, the United Nations mounted an appeal to the international community for immediate food and relief supplies to save the estimated 14 million who risk starvation in Southern Africa, as a result of what was labelled an HIV/AIDS induced famine. At the time Stephen Lewis, the Special Envoy on HIV/AIDS to the UN stated that 'there are no women left to till the land'. UNAIDS points to the 'feminization' of the epidemic in SSA, where 75 per cent of those infected are women and girls. Orchestrating this trend are complex and deeply rooted gender inequalities which place women and girls at risk; the tendency for males to have partners much younger than themselves, a pervasive ideology of male control of female labour and sexuality, and a high prevalence of sexual violence in some regions, particularly in pockets of endemic conflict. Women and girls bear the major burden of coping with the impacts of HIV infection within the household and

the broader community, given their socially ascribed roles as 'carers, wives, mothers and grandmothers' (UNAIDS 2004, p. 32).

### **The Response to HIV/AIDS**

Since the beginning of the pandemic in the mid 1980s, HIV/AIDS has principally been framed as a 'health crisis'. Its initial concentration amongst young gay men in urban North America and truck-drivers, migrant workers and sex workers in the Great Lakes Region of Africa meant that high risk sexual behaviour, (oftentimes with heavily moralistic overtones), was the initial focus of research and public health campaigns. On the treatment side, in Europe and North America, ever-more sophisticated anti-retroviral drug combinations to keep infection at bay in the context of monopoly pricing by the pharmaceutical industry contrasted with a near absence of even palliative treatment in Africa, where in most countries access to public health care was poor and where even the most basic drugs such as aspirin were often not available. Given the limited capacity of hospitals to cope with the influx of AIDS patients, the sick were cared for in their communities, which often meant little care at all. The burden of care fell on 'extended family systems', mostly women, many of whom were elderly and burdened with the care of both children coming home to die and the growing number of orphans. National governments in SSA displayed different levels of commitment to epidemics within their borders, some clearly denying the existence of AIDS, while others developed National AIDS Control Programs in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in close consultation with the WHO. Even in countries such as Uganda that mounted a strong response in the form of mass education campaigns, AIDS specific testing, treatment and counselling, and care for orphans, the impacts of AIDS beyond the health system took their toll. Field studies carried out in Uganda and elsewhere illuminated the local, and gendered impacts of HIV/AIDS in households in areas of concentrated infection. Researchers including Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (1991), Susan Hunter (1990), and Caroline Baylies (1999, 2002) described communities which were experiencing food scarcity with rising death rates, as labour was diverted away from food production and other income generating activities, to caring for the sick. Limited assets such as livestock and farm implements were often sold to pay for medicines and funerals. 'Community coping mechanisms', the reliance on 'traditional extended family systems' to cope with hardship and absorb orphans, were reaching the breaking point. Reports escalated of women chased off their land after their husband's death, or following their own positive HIV diagnosis (even when the source of infection was their spouse), and of being left destitute without the resources to meet their basic needs or the needs of their children. At a macro level, HIV/AIDS related mortality was having a negative impact on growth and productivity, and on the human resource capacity of public sector institutions. The understanding of AIDS broadened and deepened, moving outside of the boundaries of public health to frameworks that placed more emphasis on the 'multisectoral' nature of the manifestation of HIV/AIDS. UNAIDS,

the flagship partner organization bringing together UNICEF, UNESCO, UNDP, ILO, UNDCP<sup>3</sup> and the World Bank, was formed in 1995 to oversee the global institutional response.

The response within and amongst countries varies greatly, and I provide here, only a sketch of dominant trends today in the institutional response. The overarching policy response increasingly relies on Global Public-Private Partnerships with the evolution of different partnership arrangements between and among the World Bank, UN agencies, governments, foundations (The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is the most significant one in the public health field in SSA), NGOs, both local and international, and the private sector. The response is still largely biomedically focused, with major campaigns for extending anti-retroviral treatment (ART) underway. The major pharmaceutical companies have made commitments to preferential pricing of drugs on a country-by-country basis. Major philanthropic endeavours include product donations and programmes to foster capacity development in the delivery of drugs and support to research, programmes for afflicted families and orphans, and income generation and micro-credit projects to assist in the mitigation of impacts.

The Accelerated Access Initiative (AAI) is one example; this is a partnership of five UN organizations and six research-based pharmaceuticals formed in 2002 to 'scale up' treatment in SSA. By December 2003, 150 000 patients in SSA were being provided with anti-retroviral treatment (ART) and a December 2004 news release, rather inaccurately titled 'Encouraging Increase in Number of Patients Treated in Africa Continues', put the total at 157 500. The statement of intent of the AAI emphasizes the importance of the protection of Intellectual Property rights 'in compliance with international agreements, since society depends on them to stimulate innovation.' Pilot programs to administer a single dose of nevirapine to pregnant women to prevent mother-to-child transmission have also become a priority, with women participating in these programmes with the understanding that it is not deemed cost-effective to extend treatment to them. Concern is mounting for the very high rates of nevirapine resistance developing in mothers and infants who are treated with a single dose. UNICEF, a key player in implementing programs for the prevention of mother to child transmission (PMCT), has proposed PMCT Plus, an initiative to provide women and mothers with ongoing care that may include ART for the mother. International and North-based NGOs in partnership with local hospitals and hospices are extending treatment to mothers. But so far, these programmes are extremely thin on the ground.

In addition to extending ART, partnerships among various donors and 'stakeholders' aim to go beyond treatment, and to be 'relevant', based on 'community needs' 'locally driven', and 'empowering'. This kind of language can be found in the promotional material on most of the pharmaceutical giants' website links to

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<sup>3</sup> These are acronyms for the following UN agencies, respectively: United Nations Children's Fund, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; United Nations Development Programme; International Labour Organisation; United Nations International Drug Control Programme.

philanthropy. Bristol Myers Squibb's program 'Secure the Future: Care and Support for Children with HIV/AIDS', is a \$150 million five year program of medical research assistance to local scientists, community outreach and education grants, as well as support training in home-based care, participatory AIDS education, and income generation. Included is a 'memory box' programme for orphans, which allows children to collect and store memories of their parents who have died of AIDS (presumably a more cost-effective solution than extending life-saving treatment to infected mothers). Other companies have formed their own partnerships to broaden access to therapy and assist in other areas, such as testing, counselling and education. Women, because of their centrality to social reproduction, have become the favoured targets of micro-credit schemes, which, through the African Micro-Enterprise AIDS Initiative, have blossomed throughout SSA. The 'network of networks,' which consists of donors, micro-credit practitioners, financial institutions and NGOs was designed to 'empower women' to alleviate the financial burden of HIV/AIDS in individual households, as Katharine Rankin suggests, a mechanism that devolves responsibility for securing economic opportunity to individuals acting as responsible agents for their own well-being (Rankin 2001). In addition to the intensification of their unpaid labour in social reproduction resulting from HIV/AIDS, women are also to become successful micro-entrepreneurs.

The positive impacts of interventions that can alleviate the immediate suffering of people should be acknowledged. It also needs to be said that many innovative ways of addressing the mounting impacts of epidemics are being developed by local organizations, and often with the support of international donors. But the fact remains that these interventions are extremely limited in scope. Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) (2004) claims that national scale-up efforts are proceeding at a snail's pace; weak health infrastructures, critical shortages of medical personnel and specialist knowledge, and little capacity to procure safe and affordable ARVs continue to be serious impediments. The target of the joint UNAIDS/WHO '3 by 5' initiative is to provide ART to 3 million in the advanced stages of AIDS in developing countries by 2005. Estimates provided by the programme for those receiving ART in the African region as of December 2004 were between 270 000 and 350 000 out of an estimated 4 million requiring immediate treatment. Even at vastly discounted prices, one year's treatment is roughly equal to the annual per capita income in many African countries. Underlying the reliance on 'gift giving' and international philanthropy is the notion that western nations and international financial institutions bear no responsibility for the 'crisis' as it unfolds.

Furthermore, such programmes have a marginal impact on the human security crisis of HIV/AIDS – the crisis at the local level of human suffering, a crisis borne largely by poor rural women who are relegated to caring for the HIV infected in the context of the diversion of their labour away from other tasks necessary for human survival, and often in the context of their own deteriorating health. Unquestioned in the response is the notion that health and subsistence are largely private and individual responsibilities regardless of the social and economic conditions within which sick bodies find themselves. In effect, the material conditions which fuel

viral spread and women's particular vulnerability are not seen. The linguistics of neoliberal economics creeps into AIDS discourse – AIDS patients are clients; rural women struggling to hold together fragile communities are potential entrepreneurs in need only of micro-credit to facilitate their empowerment in the market, and in many contexts it is cost-effectiveness criteria that determines whose life is worthy of saving. The sphere of social reproduction, where an increasingly wide range of unpaid activities central to the survival and security of family members is carried out largely by women, and where the vast majority of HIV/AIDS patients are cared for, is seen as distinct from the public sphere and receives far less attention in analyses of the micro- and macroeconomic impacts falling outside of health impacts. Women's 'private' and care giving labour, the very basis of human security, is taken for granted, rendered invisible, viewed as 'natural'. Furthermore, gender relations are understood as fixed cultural practices, women's experience of rape and violence, for example, not understood in relation to broader social and cultural norms governing male-female relations – the masculine cultures of violence intrinsic to military training and permanent war economies, the unequal distribution of resources and community and political power between the sexes.

### **The Securitisation of HIV/AIDS**

The security discourse on AIDS has focused so far on a number of interrelated issues: migration and population movements, the focus of concern, soldiers and peace keepers, migrant labourers, refugees, tourists and sex workers; armed conflict and low intensity war and disease spread; HIV/AIDS and food and livelihood security; and the broader geo-strategic 'threats' resulting from high levels of HIV/AIDS related morbidity in 'unstable' or impoverished parts of the world. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG 2001), 'AIDS is an international security issue – both by its potential to contribute to international security challenges, and by its ability to undermine international capacity to resolve conflicts'. HIV spread threatens to destabilize national armies, to depress local and national economies, and to seriously compromise the next generation of skilled workers and government leaders. High levels of infection amongst soldiers in the military threaten to weaken national defences, and to facilitate viral spread between rural and urban areas. The growing number of AIDS orphans provides a potential recruiting ground for rebel armies looking for child soldiers. The events of 9/11 have reshaped many of the concerns in the debate about globalisation. The renewed focus on security is understood 'in an essentially militaristic and retrogressive sense, with reliance placed on the superiority of military firepower and the curtailment of civil liberties' (Oloka-Onyango and Udagama 2003). Responses to the pandemic are not immune to the new international security paradigm; one in which virtually all international problems are now viewed through the prism of security concerns.

The special session of the UN Security Council in January 2000 on AIDS and International Security represented the first time in the history of the Council that

the interpretation of a security threat fell outside of the domain of armed conflict. Shortly after, in May 2000, the Clinton Administration formally designated the spread of HIV/AIDS around the world as a threat to its national security. Today the twin threats of 'terrorism' and 'AIDS' are often uttered in the same breath. Richard Holbrooke, US Ambassador to the United Nations stated in July 2000 that 'AIDS is as destabilizing as any war... in the post-Cold War period, international security is about more than guns and bombs and the balance of power between sovereign states' (Holbrooke 2000). And in a speech of September 2002, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell (2000) said:

... one of the threats that troubles me perhaps more than any other does not come out of a barrel of a gun, it is not an army on the march, it is not an ideology on a march. It's called HIV/AIDS .... We've seen what this disease can do; not only does it kill an individual, it kills a family. It kills a society. It can kill hope for an entire generation ....

Like the global campaign against terrorism, the world's efforts to combat HIV/AIDS must be long-term, it must be comprehensive and it must be relentless. When the terrorists struck on September 11<sup>th</sup>, their target was not just the United States. Their target was the vision we have of a future – a future that we share with people all over the world, a future of increasing freedom, the rule of law, accountable governments, open markets and growth generating trade; a future of stability and peace. In short, a future in which no terrorist can survive.

Despite the discourse of compassionate conservatism within which public pronouncements are packaged, analyses of the 'AIDS and security' threat from the US State Department and aligned think tanks see it more as a direct security threat to US national and geopolitical interests than a threat to human beings in fragile communities directly experiencing epidemics. Viral spread now has the capacity to cause significant disruption to the imperatives of democracy, development, free markets and free trade, as stated in the U.S. National Security Strategy of 2002, 'moral' principles that are 'right and true for all people, everywhere'. The National Intelligence Council stated in 2000 that new and reemerging infectious diseases will complicate U.S. and global security over the next twenty years by endangering U.S. citizens at home and abroad, threatening U.S. armed forces deployed overseas, and exacerbating social and political instability in key countries and regions in which the United States has significant interests (National Intelligence Council 2000, p. 2). These concerns were raised specifically about HIV/AIDS in Nigeria and Ethiopia in a 2002 Intelligence Community Assessment from the National Intelligence Council; two states experiencing the 'next wave' of the pandemic, and considered key to regional stability. The concerns of rising infection rates include drags on economic growth and deterioration of weak government institutions as HIV/AIDS robs these countries of their key government and business elites, and discourages foreign investment. These processes, in turn, could potentially compromise state capacity to handle rising health care costs, in a context where deteriorating health care systems are already hard-pressed to provide even the most basic public services (NIC 2002, pp.17–20). Concern is expressed for the increasing financial and technical support

that will be asked of the United States as epidemics progress, and as tensions mount over how to disburse international funds to track and treat the disease. The report (NIC 2002, p. 25) states that 'Should resources be shifted away from Central and Southern Africa, Africans there will accuse the west of ignoring them and paying more attention to large countries that are more economically and strategically important'. AIDS mortality is seen to undermine peace, order and good governance and to dampen economic growth in regions of strategic importance; viral spread conjoins with military threats, representing a threat to US national interests.

The concern is less for the human security of individual women, men and children who find themselves infected with HIV or coping with its multiple manifestations and impacts in their local communities, but for the effects and impacts of the destabilizing features of HIV/AIDS on US geopolitical and strategic interests (understood as universal). It is too early to say how the new securitisation will influence policy responses in SSA. However, Nicolas Eberstadt argues in a recent article in *Foreign Affairs* that Africa's pandemic is largely insignificant as a national security issue for the United States, given the marginal military threat Africa poses outside of its own borders and its non-capacity to conduct overseas combat operations. The national security threat of AIDS emerges from elsewhere. He (Eberstadt 2002, p. 22) states:

Although this situation has exacerbated a terrible human cost, the rest of the world has been largely unaffected by Africa's tragedy. Things will be very different, however, in the next major area of HIV infection. Eurasia ... will likely be home to the largest number of HIV victims in the years ahead. Driven by the spread of the disease in the region's three largest countries – China, India, and Russia – the coming Eurasian pandemic threatens to derail the economic prospects of billions and alter the global military balance. And although the devastating costs of HIV/AIDS are clear, it is unclear that much will be done to head off the looming catastrophe.

As the pandemic spreads to 'next wave' countries, the national security threat posed by AIDS could be used to justify a reduction in the support of AIDS programmes in African countries that are not deemed critical to US national interests. The US does have significant oil and mineral interests in Africa, however. Today, Equatorial Guinea, one of the world's most repressive regimes and a country where 90 percent of the population live in misery, is being courted by the Bush Administration and the oil industry as a new investment hot spot for Exxon Mobil, Chevron, and other American oil companies who have invested a collective \$5 billion. Violations of the most basic human rights will likely continue as Equatorial Guinea's oil wealth is plundered and environment despoiled by foreign private interests. This is a country where upwards of half of the population have no access to clean water, basic sanitation and health care. According to UNAIDS, the influx of migrant labour for the booming oil industry coupled with poverty and inequality are favourable factors for the spread of HIV, which stood at 7.2 per cent in 1999, and where the response is in its 'initial stages' due to poor mechanisms for the allocation of funds

and insufficient human resources.<sup>4</sup> Several oil producing countries in Africa receive US arms under the Pentagon's Excess Defence Articles (EDA) Program; among them Angola, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville. Military security is key to encourage investment by foreign firms (Klare 2003, p. 177). What is the relationship, then, between western oil 'security' and human security in the oil rich African states?

The US Administration's concern for genuine human security is reflected in the fact that it ranks last at the bottom of all donor countries with only 1/100<sup>th</sup> of 1 per cent of the US budget spent on development assistance in SSA (Booker and Colgan 2004, p. 3). With regard to HIV/AIDS policy, the US government has largely bypassed the chronically cash-strapped Global AIDS and Health Fund in favour of its own bilateral program, The US Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, which is headed by former pharmaceutical executive Randall Tobias. HIV/AIDS programs reflect the new focus of the Bush Administration on stricter monitoring of US-funded NGOs whose activities are inimical to US strategic interests and free market principles. Bush's pledge of \$15 billion over five years for HIV/AIDS in Africa and the Caribbean has already been undermined by Bush's request of only about one-sixth of the promised contribution for 2004 (Booker and Colgan 2004, p. 2). Some view the programme as little more than a slush fund for US based pharmaceutical companies and the programme has been criticized for its promotion of abstinence in African and Caribbean communities; the 20 per cent earmarked for prevention is slated for abstinence only programs (Health Gap 2004). According to the International NGO Health Gap (2004, p. 4):

... the first round of grants favoured international NGOs, US government agencies, and US universities as the prime recipients and implementers of AIDS programs. These grantees are under no obligation to coordinate with national bodies, such as national government, CCMs and NAC's, or to integrate their vertical intervention-specific programs with public health systems, or implement programs in accordance with WHO guidelines for resource-poor settings.

Furthermore, the determination of the 'national security threat' of AIDS could potentially determine where donors target AIDS-related development assistance, and the kinds of interventions designed and implemented. It could be used to justify policy responses that focus on the vertical prevention of disease within militaries, and stepped-up behaviour-change interventions amongst soldiers, at the expense of other approaches that focus on general strengthening of health care systems, and assistance to others in critical need such as widows and orphans, this in the context of the continued wide-scale absence of treatment. The analysis of the military threat posed by HIV/AIDS needs to be extended to a consideration of a number of issues: what is the relationship between military spending and arms procurement and high levels of sexual violence? To what extent are armies providing genuine security

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<sup>4</sup> This was reported on the UNAIDS website, <http://www.unaids.org/en/geographical+area/by+country/equatorial+guinea.asp>, retrieved June 2005.

to their populations – whose security are armies protecting? (Elites? Patronage networks? Western mineral and oil interests?) How is the relationship between the deeply patriarchal cultures of masculinity that permeate armed forces and sexual violence understood? What other opportunities exist for young men? Some of these questions are addressed from a broader security perspective by Robert Ostergard (2002, p. 153), whose research begins to explore the tensions between human security and national security in an African context, naming specifically the indiscriminate sexual culture amongst soldiers, the deliberate spread of the virus through the rape of women as a weapon of war, and the seeming acceptance of these practices as 'boys being boys'.

### **Critical/Feminist Perspectives on HIV/AIDS and Security**

In addition to Ostergard, other scholars such as Andrew Price-Smith and John Daly (2004), have illuminated the effects of AIDS on state capacity, national security, the economy of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe and Uganda in a manner that begins to complicate the relationship between AIDS, human, and national/global security. Their detailed empirical case studies analyze AIDS as a 'stressor' that, in tandem with other factors and forces, such as low levels of state capacity, faltering economies, and the violation of human rights, threatens the security of communities and the nation-state. Price-Smith and Daly (2004) recommend policy responses to HIV/AIDS that include investments in education, the preservation of smallholder agriculture, wealth redistribution, the fostering of peace and debt relief. Their analyses resonate with perspectives on AIDS and human security emerging from civil society groups and NGOs engaged in responding to HIV/AIDS. OXFAM International, for example, understands the security crisis of HIV/AIDS as emerging from the articulation of viral spread with local crises in food security, pointing directly to unfair international trade regimes, failing agricultural policies, collapsing public services and crippling debt as contributing to the present crisis – a crisis of daily household reproduction made worse by HIV/AIDS related losses in productive capacity (OXFAM 2002).

The spread of virus is not seen as something that happens independently of these other factors. And the UNAIDS report on the Global HIV/AIDS epidemic 2002 picks up on a rights-based discourse articulating a position that sees HIV/AIDS as part and parcel of complex systems of power:

HIV/AIDS has burrowed deeper into the social and economic fault lines of communities and societies, and it is widening those fissures further. Around the world, the most affected by HIV/AIDS are people and communities who have unequal access to fundamental social and economic rights. The denial of basic rights limits people's options to defend their autonomy, develop viable livelihoods, and protect themselves, leaving them more vulnerable to both HIV infection and the impact of the epidemic on their lives (UNAIDS 2002, p. 62).

The more critical analyses of AIDS and insecurity have emerged out of the multisectoral understanding of HIV/AIDS, the security prism of the global pandemic emerging from the UN, for example, consistent with the conception of 'human security' initially introduced in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, *New Dimensions of Human Security* which focused on civilians living in contexts of poverty and marginalization. The concept of human security shifted the debate on security away from the exclusive focus of what a few states and their specialized security bodies were interested in or perceive, to a focus on the security of all people on the planet. Global economic crises that have left huge populations destitute, the human destruction of ecosystems critical to human life, gross human rights violations, massive refugee movements, and pandemic disease have called for a broader definition of 'security' and the rethinking of the basic conditions necessary for its achievement.

In the securitisation of HIV/AIDS, attention needs to be focused on the theoretical and very real contradictions between national and human security and how they contribute to the manner in which various epidemics, and the responses to them, unfold. Feminist International Relations scholars were among the first to demonstrate how national security policies have often led to the intensification of structural violence and harm to human beings, and that underpinning 'national security' was a specifically masculine ontology. The purpose of national security has rarely been to make all citizens secure but instead to maintain the power of ruling elites, and militarization itself has become one of the greatest threats to human security, particularly to the security of women and children (Tickner 2001, p. 42). The conception of human security that has emerged from the feminist appraisal of the realist tradition of security studies places the individual at the centre of conceptions of human security, proposing instead an 'emancipatory critical security' which would free people and communities from the social, physical, economic, and political constraints that prevent them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do (Tickner 2001, p. 47). The essence of human security is the absence of violence, whether sexual, military, environmental or economic; whether it originates from individual relationships within the privatized household, or from the global political economy.

In our current mode of globalisation, male domination has given way to the domination of a system of extreme masculine characteristics: competitive, rational, abstract, uncaring. These characteristics are reflected in the valorization and celebration of war and violent masculinity; the devalorization, or invisibility of the labour of social reproduction more typically performed by the female half of humanity; the naturalizing of socially ascribed gender roles; the primacy of self interest, autonomy, and competition as drivers of development. A gender lens 'invites us to notice gender power relations – to see how they shape institutions like the family, the military and the state; how they intersect with relations of class and ethnicity, how power, oppression and exploitation work in and through them' (Moser 2001, p. 28). I want to suggest that a critical feminist lens, guided by the insights of feminist political economy and international relations scholars, might broaden

and deepen the critical accounts and perspectives on HIV/AIDS and security. In Bakker and Gill's (2003b, p. 27) words: 'Critical (Feminist) analyses of the global political economy begin by denaturalizing global capitalism and making explicit its social construction for individuals, groups, nations and civilizations'. Feminist IPE and IR scholars have challenged the idea that human security can be realized within the context of neoliberal globalisation. They have demonstrated how social reproduction, the basis on which human security rests, has been undermined by key aspects of the current regime of global neoliberal restructuring. Structural adjustment policies have undermined and/or commodified basic health and social services and human needs, privatizing them in the market or re-privatizing them within the sphere of the individual household. The rights of private capital are granted and enforced, while they largely have impunity for their human rights abuses – the destruction of viable livelihoods and sustainable and secure environments upon which human security depends (Brysk 2005). While providing maximum security for the owners of capital, the 'new constitutionalism,' the evolution of new juridical frameworks – laws, rules, standards, trade agreements enforced through the WTO, states, and conditionality frameworks – has evacuated the state of the responsibility for the maintenance of the basic conditions for human security while undermining the basic conditions necessary for social reproduction and transferring responsibility to the individual (Bakker and Gill 2003a).

A feminist lens on the 'AIDS and security crisis' offers the possibility of broadening and deepening the understanding of the relationship between HIV/AIDS and insecurity by shifting the focus from a descriptive analysis of the ways in which HIV/AIDS poses threats to security at discrete and different levels – individual, household, national/military, global – to an analysis of how the current gendered distribution of power at interlocking levels, reflected in contemporary laws, policies, practices, and ideologies, conditions human security – people's access to the basic constituents of human development and flourishing. Women have always been involved in providing for their own security, and the security of their families and communities. In the context of HIV/AIDS epidemics in SSA, it is overwhelmingly of HIV/AIDS related mortality and morbidity. Genuine human security is conditional upon the women who continue to struggle for their security and the security of their families in the context exercise of basic human rights – to food and shelter, a non-threatening environment, bodily autonomy and integrity, knowledge, work, freedom of conscience and expression – the needs for human development, both physiological and transcendent that are common to all humans. The current 'security crisis' of AIDS for many women cannot not be separated from the violation of the exercise of their fundamental rights, experienced differently on the basis of gender as well as other hierarchical ordering principles in societies. When we begin to see the 'security crisis' of AIDS as conditioned in complex ways by the violation of the exercise of basic human rights on a planetary scale a number of questions emerge that require attention. What are the pathways between US (and G8) national security interests and human security on the African continent? How do we understand the relationship among cultures of hegemonic masculinity, continued structural and

sexual violence, and women's specific vulnerability to HIV infection? How do specific policies associated with global economic restructuring and Africa's integration into the global political economy circumscribe the exercise of basic human rights and shape both the spread of infection and the ability of communities to respond? Who determines whose rights are worthy of protection, and whose are expendable?

There is a concern that as genuine security becomes synonymous with basic human rights then it is emptied of its content. But in an increasingly complex world, our frameworks need to be judged not by their internal coherence or elegance, but by whether they provide heuristic models for understanding the world around us. The current hegemonic approaches to US national and global security are currently destroying ecosystems, draining resources away from the genuine priorities of human communities and rendering the world less stable and secure. The mainstream securitisation of HIV/AIDS, which views the virus and its spread as a 'threat' to US national security and its geopolitical interests around the globe, needs critical interrogation. Crucial to any understanding of the 'securitisation' of HIV/AIDS must be a consideration of how the global politics of coercion – in its economic, political, military, and ideological dimensions – is contributing to the current global 'security crisis' of HIV/AIDS. A feminist lens can contribute to this understanding.

PART V  
Research Advances and Objectives

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## Chapter 14

# Peacebuilding Research and North-South Research Relationships: Perspectives, Opportunities and Challenges<sup>1</sup>

Pamela Scholey

### Introduction

This chapter discusses the North-South divide in peacebuilding research. If we accept the characterization of human security as encompassing two basic dimensions – freedom from fear and freedom from want – then we can understand peacebuilding<sup>2</sup> as a field that broadly covers much of the former half of the human security field.<sup>3</sup> The importance of continued support to Southern peacebuilding research is underlined by armed violent conflict's persistent threat to human lives and livelihoods and its obstacle to political, economic and social development in every region in the South. Moreover, and most importantly, Southern actors are at the 'receiving end' of Northern peacebuilding policies. It is critical that Southern perspectives and analyses are at the centre of understandings of peace and conflict to enhance the chances of getting policy and practices right. Yet, this is not without serious challenge.

Indeed, very little peacebuilding research is generated out of partnerships between Northern and Southern researchers, despite the fact that most violent conflicts now occur in the global South and most peacebuilding policies are determined by

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<sup>1</sup> The views expressed in this publication do not reflect the views of IDRC and are entirely those of the author.

<sup>2</sup> See Paris (2001) for a review of the various meanings of 'human security' adopted by international and bilateral organizations and academics, and Uvin (2002) for an articulation of the peacebuilding paradigm. Both authors rightly argue that the terms 'peacebuilding' and 'human security' are imprecise and broad in their meanings.

<sup>3</sup> And in particular, one that the Canadian government uses as its primary definition of the field. See FAC's human security program website <http://www.humansecurity.gc.ca/psh-en.asp> and DFAIT n.d. [http://www.humansecurity.gc.ca/pdf/freedom\\_from\\_fear-en.pdf](http://www.humansecurity.gc.ca/pdf/freedom_from_fear-en.pdf), and CIDA's peacebuilding program website <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/peace> and CIDA (2002); [http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUI\\_mages/MultilateralPdf/\\$file/Missing\\_Peace.pdf](http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca/INET/IMAGES.NSF/vLUI_mages/MultilateralPdf/$file/Missing_Peace.pdf).

Northern-based organizations and donors. Consequently, the state of research in the peacebuilding field remains underdeveloped in important ways. Much of the applied and policy-relevant peacebuilding research is conducted and commissioned by Northern NGO, bilateral and multilateral agencies, and is preponderantly focused on monitoring of 'best practices' and 'lessons learned' approaches rather than based on analytical and methodological depth. Effective policymaker and advocate planning for, and use of, peacebuilding research remains underdeveloped. On the other hand, scholarly peace and conflict research can tend to be theoretical without obvious practical applications or policy recommendations. Moreover, peace and conflict researchers in the applied, policy and academic worlds in both the North and South rarely engage with each other's work. Scarcity of development funding for this research area (or research more generally) and the generally utilitarian approach to peacebuilding research as described above contribute to and exacerbate the field's underdevelopment. The best of peace and conflict research is both theoretically sophisticated and policy or programmatically useful, rigorous and contextually relevant.

International Development Research Centre's (IDRC) Peace, Conflict and Development (PCD) program initiative supports researchers from the South, including some North-South collaborative projects, to work on peacebuilding<sup>4</sup> issues in their own contexts or that also articulate with global peacebuilding agendas.<sup>5</sup> For IDRC, the primary challenge in regards to peacebuilding is related to the development of the field of peacebuilding research and capacity in the South. Recent and intensified critiques of peacebuilding practice reinforce the need to take on Southern perspectives on peace and conflict (see, for example, WSP-I/IPA 2004). IDRC's work with researchers living in conflict contexts provides the basis for my observations that follow on challenges in developing the peacebuilding research field, problems in defining the research agenda, methodological challenges, and challenges inherent to North-South research relationships.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The PCD program defines peacebuilding as 'the pursuit of policies, programs and initiatives that seek to create the conditions for war-affected societies to transform or manage conflicts without violence in order to address longer-term goals for peaceful co-existence, democratic governance and sustainable socio-economic development', *Prospectus for the Peace, Conflict and Development Program Initiative for 2005–2010*, Ottawa, IDRC, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> See PCD's 2005–2010 program prospectus on the IDRC website at <<http://idrc.ca/peace>>.

<sup>6</sup> Although my experience of working with IDRC's Peace, Conflict and Development program forms the basis for much of the discussion in this paper, the opinions and analysis expressed here do not reflect official IDRC opinions or positions, and are strictly mine alone. This chapter has greatly benefited from the discussions it generated when I presented it at the conference, 'A Decade of Human Security: mapping governance innovations and prospects', Simon Fraser University, Burnaby BC, 24–26 February 2005, as well as comments from and discussions with Colleen Duggan, Sarah Earl, Mudar Kassis, Navsharan Singh, Laura Stovel, Lisa Taraki, and comments given through the anonymous review.

Before turning to the main discussion in this chapter, some definition of 'Northern' and 'Southern' researchers is in order. In these 'globalized' days, the categories of 'North' and 'South' are problematic. For the purposes of this chapter, I refer to Northern-situated and Southern-situated researchers and institutions when I use the modifiers 'North' and 'South'. In particular, 'Southern' researchers refers to researchers situated in Southern war-torn contexts. This means that 'Southern' researchers includes those researchers located in the global South, even if they are Northern-trained and/or recipients of Northern funds. 'Northern' researchers in this paper includes those members of Southern diaspora communities based in the North, even if doing research in the South or on Southern-based issues. It is understood, however, that in some ways diaspora Southern researchers are situated in research relationships differently than non-diaspora researchers conducting research in the same contexts. Ethnographic methodological literature deals with some of the contradictions facing researchers 'doing' ethnography at home and 'insider-outsider' researcher subject positions (Abu-Lughod, 1986; Altorki and el-Solh, 1988; Berik 1996), but is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate and analyze here.

In establishing this distinction between Northern and Southern researchers, I partially borrow from Bourdieu's (1977) notion of 'habitus' as embodied practice, where everyday ways of being and doing, rooted in structures of place and relationships therein, frame our understanding and rules of behaviour.<sup>7</sup> This means that the experience of living in a place shapes our behaviour, understanding and analysis, and actual and perceived opportunities<sup>8</sup> – all of which have important implications for framing research problems and questions, research methodologies, funding and dissemination. Ready access to literature and up-to-date research, quality of peer influence and mutual continued learning and development, practices in data-collection and management, relationships with donors and international organizations, and opportunities for policymaker engagement and public dissemination of research results all constitute and manifest embodied practice. In very fundamental ways these are framed by structures of place and relationships.<sup>9</sup>

Despite its obvious limitations and problems, I offer this way of understanding 'Northern' and 'Southern' researchers as a broad and purposefully dichotomized schema in order to highlight some of the North-South structural parameters of doing

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<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Bourdieu went on to apply habitus to an understanding of formal education and learning (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

<sup>8</sup> Bourdieu conducted his research amongst the Kabyle in rural Algeria, and poorly accounted for class and ethnic stratification in his notion of habitus.

<sup>9</sup> But this is not to say that citizenship and identity are insignificant when it comes to granting specific privileges or posing particular barriers when it comes to funding, access, credibility and professional relationship-building and networking. However, the bottom line is, for instance, that white, male, Canadian researchers working in a university in a war-torn Southern context usually have no better access to literature than their brown, female, local national colleagues.

research in or on Southern war-torn contexts, and how this can in turn shape North-South research partnerships.<sup>10</sup>

### **Development Challenges of the Peacebuilding Research Field**

One of the main challenges facing researchers in the peacebuilding and broader human security fields – North or South – is the incompatibility of research and policy timelines. On the one hand, research timelines are medium to long-term, and if done well, based on careful exploration of the issues and testing of research tools, triangulation of data, and so on. On the other hand, policy demands and timelines are short, sometimes or frequently unpredictable, and not always geared to taking on an evidence-based approach to their development (RAWOO 2000, p. 24; Smyth and Darby 2001, pp. 48–9). In fact, there is often a disconnect between policy formulation and research, except when research has been specially commissioned by foreign donors and/or policymakers (Osaghae 2001, p. 25). It is frequently difficult to get policymakers and researchers to speak in the same vocabulary and engage the same aspects of a problem. Researchers and scholars are interested in evidence-based case- and theory-building. Policymakers are interested in practical application and frequently make their decisions in response to domestic political frames. When it comes to Northern-based policymakers and Southern-based researchers engaging each other, the obstacles multiply.

However, the challenges go beyond those related to the policy-research interface. In order to understand the challenges facing North-South research ‘partnerships’,<sup>11</sup> one has to go right back to ground-level contexts, in both the North and South. For instance, Northern researchers face funding constraints, especially funds that allow independent researchers to conduct field-level research and support the numerous face-to-face meetings with Southern colleagues necessary to produce truly collaborative research.<sup>12</sup> Time constraints posed by teaching schedules and demands also act as serious impediments for Northern researchers to seriously engage with Southern research partners in conflict and peacebuilding research rooted in Southern war-torn contexts. Moreover, policy and policy-relevant research is often viewed disparagingly by academic colleagues and tenure review committees, and so

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<sup>10</sup> I should also say here that I make some generalizations below based on assumptions that Southern researchers will be more aligned with subaltern interests than Northern researchers. Of course, this is clearly not always the case, and researcher location is also cross-cut by class, gender, and ethnicity/race/religion/nationality, which also shapes analysis and research practice and access.

<sup>11</sup> My thanks to Ian Smillie for reminding me of the problems with the term ‘partnership’ when describing North-South relations which are structurally asymmetrical. Instead, he suggests the use of the term ‘relationship’. I use ‘relationship’ throughout the rest of the chapter to highlight this issue.

<sup>12</sup> See Mawdsley, Townsend and Porter (2005), for a discussion of the importance of face-to-face meetings for development project monitoring.

emerging researchers as well as their more seasoned mentors and supervisors tend to avoid taking on research with an explicit policy or practical bent, which frequently frames Southern research interests. Finally, university-based researchers in the North often find distasteful the utilitarian approach policymakers take to understanding the role of research and researchers, and so retreat to more academic and theoretical research endeavours. All of this leads to a Northern research community that is detached from Southern war-torn realities, as well as an absence of engagement between some of the North's most accomplished researchers and its policymakers. In a very fundamental way, Southern researchers live in war contexts; Northern researchers only visit them.

In many Southern contexts, research expertise and research institutions are underdeveloped – particularly those having to do with conflict and peacebuilding research (Osaghae 2001, p. 14; Olinisakin and Scholey 2005). In fact, most research on conflict contexts is still written by Northerners and not disseminated in Southern contexts, or even back in the context from which it is derived. Local actors from conflict contexts frequently need to go to Northern countries or sources to get published research and data on their own societies (Osaghae 2001, p. 15; Tabyshalieva 2001, p. 139; Nhema in this volume). Conflict and post-conflict areas are marked by challenges having to do with instability, poverty and inequities that deeply undermine institutional capacities in all sorts of ways, including planning, project implementation, human resources development, communication infrastructure, reliable access to reliable information, space for academic freedom and freedom of speech, and physical security of institutional personnel and material resources (Nhira 2000; Tabyshalieva 2001, p. 139; RAWOO 2001a, p. 9; Barakat *et al.* 2002; Baranyi, Reichrath and Pinkney 2002). Moreover, in general, the longer a conflict persists, the more likely a context is to suffer educated middle class flight,<sup>13</sup> including those in the intellectual, policy, NGO and public service communities. Once lost, it is difficult to rebuild these communities or attract them back for any sustained period of time. Finally, fractured politics also find reflection in fractured research, advocacy and policy communities – both within and between each category – that makes supporting peacebuilding policy research a distinct challenge (see Barakat and Chard 2002, p. 826 for a discussion of this). All of this adds up to communities of actors who are primarily – and rightly – absorbed by the immediacy and importance of the challenges in their own communities rather than putting priority on global knowledge exchange.

There are also development industry challenges to building a peacebuilding research field rooted in the South. Research funds in war-torn contexts are difficult to come by. For instance, Palestinian researchers have said on more than one occasion that IDRC is one of the few sources of funds available for strategic initiatives, including and especially research – and this is one of the most researched war-torn Southern

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<sup>13</sup> Nhema (2005b) makes the point that Africa in general suffers 'brain drain' at numbers of 20,000 annually, without taking into account how war-torn African contexts bear this phenomena in a specific, and most likely disproportionate, way.

contexts. Most overseas development assistance funds available to Southerners in conflict contexts are for humanitarian and relief aid. When research funds are made available, it is often to Northern-based researchers/consultants for research to assist donors in their own policy-making. Thus, donors exercise undue influence<sup>14</sup> on the choice of research priorities in the conflict and peacebuilding research field (Bell 2001, p. 187; RAWOO 2001a, pp. 7, 9; Olinisakin and Scholey 2005).<sup>15</sup> There is very little understanding of research and research capacity as development goods in and of themselves.

Layered on top of these contextual and structural challenges framing Northern and Southern capacities are the differing professional priorities and pressures facing Northern and Southern researchers. Where Southern researchers are frequently driven to formulate research projects to address problems posed by their own immediate contexts (also see Nhema, this volume),<sup>16</sup> Northern researchers are frequently motivated by pressures posed by tenure and peer review regimes that guarantee professional status and security to take on research that is more theoretical in nature (RAWOO 2001a, p. 7; Schnabel 2001, pp. 201–2). This is not to say that Southern researchers are not interested in more macro-level issues and peer-review publishing<sup>17</sup> and that Northern researchers do not possess genuine concern for war-torn societies and their people – only that respective context often plays a hand in determining priorities.

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<sup>14</sup> Southern researchers in the Middle East and Africa have recently and independently reported to me concerns about, and actual experiences of, the influence Northern donors wield in shaping findings and analysis produced from Northern funded Southern research (Private communication, Damascus, 5 December 2004; Private communication, Nairobi, 28–30 April 2005).

<sup>15</sup> Indeed, I am grateful to Laura Stovel for pointing out that war-torn contexts are also prioritized for attention, but not according to hierarchies of need. Rather, how the conflict ranks in terms of glamour, political importance to the North, and how readily Northerners relate to the context often play into how much attention and resources a particular conflict garners from Northern-based policymakers and independent researchers (Personal communication, 27 March 2005).

<sup>16</sup> One IDRC-commissioned review of its supported programming in Nepal (which at the time included no peacebuilding research) revealed that to the extent that a research project could be deemed directly useful to local poor people, the Maoists were more amenable – or even supportive – of its continuing (Poudyal 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Language can also pose a challenge to Southern researchers. Most peer-reviewed publication is in English, which tends not to be the mother tongue of most Southern researchers, and is frequently their third or fourth language.

### **Problems in defining the research agenda**

So, when it comes to selection of research questions and priorities – or how these are framed – there are often gaps between Southern and Northern researchers.<sup>18</sup> When IDRC operates on a purely responsive mode in peacebuilding programming, for instance, it almost never receives proposals from Southern researchers wanting to investigate ‘human security’,<sup>19</sup> ‘responsibility to protect’, UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, multilateral reform, and so on. Moreover, when Southern researchers do propose research on more globally understood themes – for instance, resource extraction, trade and conflict – then reference to academic literature, mostly written and published by Northern-based academics and journals, is limited.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, Northern-authored research proposals almost never reference Southern-authored research. Hence, there is a problem in defining and shaping a truly global agenda for research in peacebuilding, which also has implications for the viability of scaling up research and meaningful and useful North-South research networking.

This is not because Southern actors are unaware of global-level debates – although some Southern researchers face real institutional challenges in maintaining access to current literature. Instead, Southern researchers make careful calculations as to utility of effort in contexts where prioritization has real-life consequences.<sup>21</sup> IDRC-supported Southern researchers have expressed to me that global-level debates have no direct and immediate impact on making a difference in their own contexts, and that their priority is to devote time and energy to issues that are local/national and specific in nature. Indeed, to illustrate the point, the PCD program at IDRC normally receives requests to support proposals to research specific, ground-level concerns that are timely and closely related to the logic of particular conflicts or peacebuilding implementation in specific contexts.

These issues, then, also lead us to the question of ethics in peacebuilding research, where the ethical problematique of research that makes only an intellectual contribution to our understanding of peace and conflict is underlined (Smyth 2001). As already indicated, almost all of the researchers PCD works with are driven to make concrete, practical contributions to their immediate contexts in the short- to

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<sup>18</sup> I should make clear here that I do not believe there are singular ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern’ perspectives on peace and conflict issues. Northern and Southern researchers hold a myriad of perspectives and generate a variety of analyses, with some overlap or coherence between these two categories. I use ‘North’ and ‘South’ as discrete categories here to illustrate that geography and history can structure opportunities and perspectives that shape research choices, questions and capacities.

<sup>19</sup> Nhema (2005b) makes a similar point about the notion of ‘human security’ being mostly outside of the African research lexicon.

<sup>20</sup> Nhema (2005b) points out that Southern researchers will more often cite Northern research work than that of other Southerners due to the differing availability of such work.

<sup>21</sup> See Bell (2001, p. 186) for a discussion of this point when it comes to applied research for program development.

medium-term (which justifies programming 'close to the ground' with potential impact on ground-level policy). Global scaling up and international networking frequently does not hold out this promise, leading to a set of questions: Why and for whom is the research being supported? Whose needs are being met? Research networking, 'scaling up', and other modalities, vehicles or means towards building Southern capacity must not be pursued as ends in themselves, but should be developed according to Southern assessments of utility.<sup>22</sup> It comes down to the question of Southern ownership of a research agenda that most directly affects Southern citizens and their communities.

But then, what are the benefits of working with Southern researchers if they are not speaking the same substantive language, or do not have the same policy frame in mind, and if working with them means ceding sole control over the research project? Relevance and richness of research are just two of the more obvious reasons for North-South research relationships from a Northern perspective. Notwithstanding debates about partiality and objectivity of knowledge, Southern researchers have superior intelligence and knowledge of their contexts, which can lend richness to the analysis that foreign researchers may not be able to provide.<sup>23</sup> Also, being part of the intellectual elite in their countries can also often mean that Southern researchers have excellent access to national decision-makers, making it very advantageous to work with them if policy impact is an important goal. Southern researchers may also find it mutually advantageous to work with Northern-based researchers for the prestige and legitimacy it may cast on the research for domestic audiences, for the 'neutral' cloak it can lend to the research (Nhema 2005b),<sup>24</sup> and for Northern researchers' access to Northern-based policymakers.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, because of their position, location, and/or differential access to resources, Northern researchers are sometimes able to obtain information to which Southern researchers are barred from access, or have great difficulty in obtaining, that can make a significant contribution to the research project.<sup>26</sup>

Research according to Southern calculations of utility pose real opportunities for playing a concrete role in a peacebuilding process. The conclusion of a peace

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<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of the merits and limitations of networks, see IDRC (2003, pp. 5–6, 14), Stein (2003) and Wind (2004).

<sup>23</sup> This is not to discount significant biases on the part of Southern researchers and how this may colour choice of research issues and questions, as well as analysis. Both Southern and Northern researchers are equally subject to the perils of bias and partial knowledge, and are responsible for accounting for this in the course of doing research.

<sup>24</sup> Nhema (2005b) observes that Southern policymakers and decision-makers tend to see outsiders or Northern researchers as more 'neutral' or 'objective' than Southern national researchers.

<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, researchers also need to understand that gaining credentials in one half of a divided society can mean losing them in the other half (Smyth and Darby 2001, pp. 47–8).

<sup>26</sup> For project review that touches on many of these issues, see Olinisakin and Scholey (2005).

accord does not guarantee peace. Research can play an important role in bringing to light root or structural causes of conflict that may have been left out of consideration in the conclusion of a peace agreement, but for which address is critical if peace is to be sustained. Research along these lines can both assist the parties in reaching a comprehensive peace agreement and/or formulating policy and programmatic responses after a deal has been concluded and the hard work of implementation is at hand.

### Methodological challenges

While Southern researchers, and researchers working in conflict contexts, contend with significant challenges in their operating environment that raise noteworthy methodological issues (Barakat *et al.* 2002), these constraints and problems can also be the mother of methodological invention. For example, mobility constraints – which are often faced by researchers operating in conflict contexts – can prompt innovative sampling approaches and use of telecommunication and other technologies to gather data. It should also be noted that methodologies developed in the North for Northern contexts are sometimes or often inappropriate or inadequate for conflict and/or Southern contexts,<sup>27</sup> or conflict conditions may demand adaptations not normally considered optimal in order to suit the context (Bell 2001, p. 189). Moreover, demands of ethical review committees in Northern universities may actually be inappropriate for war-torn Southern research contexts. For instance, where signed parental consent forms for use with minors as research subjects are appropriate for Canada, the very definitions of ‘minor’ and ‘guardian’ is flexible and contextual in other locales, not to mention the actual significance of signed consent in contexts, or with populations, where literacy is uncommon. Alternatively, how meaningful or realistic is signed parental/guardian consent in contexts where interviews with armed child soldiers or trafficked children are requested?<sup>28</sup>

These are important points to take on board as questions of rigour hinge on methodological strength or validity, and where the issue of rigour can immunize research from ideological or political attacks, especially in conflict contexts.<sup>29</sup> However, this issue needs to be unpacked carefully to get at a real assessment of research quality. The Netherlands Development Research Assistance Council (RAWOO) also makes the point that judgements of quality or rigour cannot only be assessed by Northern peer review standards, but must also be judged on the basis

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<sup>27</sup> A good example is epidemiological studies of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), where trauma is culturally shaped and reviews of such studies are mostly focussed on studies in western contexts (Bell 2001, pp. 185–6).

<sup>28</sup> I want to thank Rita Giacaman and Dyan Mazurana for these insights, each of whom work with children in war-torn contexts in Palestine and Africa, respectively. This also reflects my own experience of conducting research on girls in Palestine (Scholey 1999).

<sup>29</sup> See Smyth and Darby (2001, pp. 38, 46–7) for specific examples of this point in Northern Ireland.

of the research process itself. For instance, was the research process participatory<sup>30</sup> and/or therefore relevant to and/or used by the researched population (RAWOO 2001a, pp. 15, 26–7, 30)? In other words, just as use-value<sup>31</sup> is a core consideration in assessing quality of research evaluation (Patton 1997, pp. 15–18), it should also be important for when considering research quality, especially in contexts where opportunity costs carry such critical implications.

Gender issues should also figure into considerations of research quality. In the first instance, gender can determine research priorities and relative importance of specific research questions. For instance, women researchers seem to be more comfortable with or interested in, and perhaps find it easier to gain more opportunities for, researching the relationship between violent conflict and sexual violence, and other related issues, if a number count of published pieces is any indication. Men and women may also have very different perspectives on the same research questions and issues. However, this analysis should not be carried too far. Men's research is also beginning to raise important gender-related issues in peace and conflict, particularly in its exploration of masculinity (e.g. Breines, Connell, Eide 2000; Goldstein 2001). Human security has been termed the 'feminization' of security studies,<sup>32</sup> but male researchers compose a significant number – if not the majority – of researchers in this field. It should also be said, however, that men dominate the academy overall, as well as the security sector and diplomatic circles – two arenas central to peacebuilding and conflict research, in both the North and South.

There are also very real impediments to women's participation in research, both as researchers and research subjects. Very often, social conventions do not allow

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<sup>30</sup> Participatory methodologies and transparency of motive and information can also go to ensuring the security of a research initiative – or perhaps even researchers – in conflict contexts. Participation and transparency facilitate buy-in and 'ownership' of local actors, especially if the research is seen to have immediate prospects for improving quality of life of local people and communities. Such broad-based local ownership and transparency can protect researchers from charges of espionage and political partiality. For a discussion of these issues specific to the Nepali context, see Poudyal (2003, pp. 12–15).

<sup>31</sup> I draw a distinction between 'use value' and 'utilitarianism', where use value refers to an open system of inquiry on a research question that is pertinent to context and which holds value for policy makers and/or programmers (but can, and frequently does, raise questions about and challenges to received wisdom and accepted practice). Utilitarianism is based on a closed system of inquiry, often lacks methodological and/or analytical depth, and generally serves decision-makers to justify or legitimize policy or programmatic approaches or decisions. Sometimes, utilitarian research can raise issues to fine-tune existing thinking or practice, or highlight glaring problems and make recommendations for their rectification. Frequently, utilitarian research conclusions are divorced from their context in order to generalize 'best practices' and 'lessons learned'. Also see Patton (2002) for an elaboration of these ideas.

<sup>32</sup> Discussion during 'Prospects for Human Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century' Canada-Norway Peace Prize Symposium, University of British Columbia, 3–5 February 2005. Such characterization refers to human security as bringing the 'softer', 'human-centered' elements of security to the fore, alongside other more traditional and 'harder' aspects of security studies.

women to do what men routinely do in terms of possessing free and wide mobility, talking to strangers, and so on. There is often a patronizing attitude towards women researchers on the part of officials, other researchers, and potential research subjects. Sometimes women are more physically vulnerable to attack, or more attuned to vulnerability, and make decisions about their mobility and access based on this (van Brabant 2000). Increased patriarchal rigidity in ethnic conflict contexts increases gender-related taboos, and in particular, does not allow for women to talk easily about gender-based violence (see, for example, Tabyshalieva 2001, pp. 143–4).

However, women researchers also have significant advantages, often related to these same patriarchal attitudes. Women are perceived as less of a threat than men by armed actors, and can sometimes pass through military checkpoints men cannot get through, and speak to such actors to gain information to which male researchers may not gain access. Women can speak to both male and female research subjects – foreign women in particular can often act as ‘honourary men’ in foreign contexts, but men can almost never play this role in reverse, and frequently have difficulty gaining access to women research subjects. Southern and Northern researchers also have different advantages in terms of access and mobility, which is well-documented in anthropological methodological literature, and can be adapted by extension to research in conflict areas (Whitehead and Conaway 1986; Altorki and el-Solh 1988).<sup>33</sup>

Despite these methodological challenges, Southern researchers and joint North-South research initiatives do engage classically rigorous, as well as innovative, methods. For instance, IDRC supports a range of political, sociological, anthropological, legal and socio-legal, and political economic analyses of conflict and peacebuilding questions, conceived of and led by Southern researchers, relying on a diverse set of methods, including: surveying and polling, interviews, document analyses, participant observation and so on. Innovative methods include and have included: GIS and photo-image mapping, use of research subjects as participant researchers, and use of non-state actors as primary researchers.

Comparative research that engages research teams from a collection of Southern contexts is useful for a variety of reasons, including that it helps break down isolation of researchers who are particularly engaged in their own context. This international engagement provides researchers with a more global view of their country issues, and can bring depth to their own research analysis. Finally, the comparative lens and opportunity provides researchers the political space and substantive ‘thickness’ to bring findings and analyses to light that are politically controversial or unpopular, or that run counter to powerful vested interests in their own countries.

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<sup>33</sup> There is also an increased attention in the anthropological literature to doing research in conflict areas (see for example, Lee 1995; Nordstrom and Robben 1995; Armakolas 2001; Finlay 2001; Rodgers 2001).

### **Challenges of North-South Research Relationships**

Despite IDRC's experience of, and success in, supporting fruitful joint North-South research initiatives, the Centre has also learned that the asymmetry inherent in North-South relations can negatively colour the research relationship. Much of this asymmetry is based on geography and culture, where Northern researchers are citizens of donor countries, sharing the same language and practices when it comes to writing and selling research proposals, having access to funding information, belonging to inter-connected professional networks, and so on. This goes a long way to consolidating Northern perspectives and decision-making on research priorities, questions and projects (RAWOO 2001a, pp. 8, 9).

In Northern policy and programming circles, Southerners are often thought of as 'consumers' of Northern peacebuilding and human security research, policies and interventions, and that enlightened Northern professionals should make efforts to ensure that research and policy are more responsive to Southern perspectives and needs. Yet this sentiment does not go far enough. Instead, Northern researchers and policymakers need to regard and involve Southern actors as generators of knowledge and analysis in research projects<sup>34</sup> and policy and decisionmaking. If concretely acted upon, this would fundamentally address North-South asymmetries in research and policymaking.

RAWOO poses a number of progressive parameters for North-South research relationships that can facilitate a re-shaping of this unequal relationship. Such relationships should be fully consultative and based on consensus decision-making through all phases of the project. Mutual trust needs to be continually developed along with continuous efforts to neutralize the asymmetry inherent in the relationship. There needs to be a genuine commitment to exchanging information (eg. not just about the South, but also about the North). Most challenging, perhaps, is that Southern researchers should have an autonomous role not just in decision-making, but also in partner-choosing, including the ability to decide not to partner with a Northerner without jeopardizing their access to funding (RAWOO 2001a, pp. 25–6, 29–30). Southerners need to take the lead in determining the research agenda towards fostering ownership and capacity-building. This shift is fundamental if we are to overturn the colonial legacy that still underpins most North-South exchange, and will lead to developing a 'demand-driven' – rather than 'supply-side' – model of peacebuilding and human security research (RAWOO 2001b, pp. 9–14).

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<sup>34</sup> Two projects I am aware of – one recently concluded and the other still ongoing – were designed with this explicitly in mind. See The Netherlands' Clingendael Institute's 'Democratic Transitions' project and Canada's North-South Institute's 'From War Termination to Sustainable Peacebuilding' project.

## **Towards a New Model of North-South Research Relationships**

To this point, this paper has focussed on problems and challenges associated with North-South research relationships and joint research projects. To conclude, I will put forward some points to consider for the development and substance of such relationships and research initiatives, rather than positing specific models for research methodology in conflict contexts (see, for example, Barakat *et al.* 2002).

While I earlier mentioned that Southern researchers are more likely than Northern researchers to investigate specific, ground-level realities, this does not mean that Northern and Southern researchers are not interested in the same sorts of issues (e.g. the impact of war on women, the dimensions and impact of outside intervention on conflict, livelihoods, safety and security, etc.). On the contrary, in many respects, Northern and Southern researchers often approach the same sets of issues, but from different sides of the same coin, or with different questions or sets of concerns, or for different objectives. My earlier points indicate an argument for inductive and comparative approaches to model- and theory-building when it comes to peacebuilding and human security research, where Northern and Southern actors each have specific strengths and contributions to make for mutual benefit. However, this should not suggest a division of labour between Northern and Southern researchers, where Southern researchers collect field data and Northern researchers theorize it. Instead, ways need to be found to equally involve Northern and Southern researchers in ground-level research and its analysis for both policy-making and theory-building.

Ways also need to be found to resource and reward joint North-South peacebuilding and human security research. Academic incentive structures need to change and accommodate such research, which requires a profound cultural change in the academy and consideration of such research proposals by scholarly granting councils. Donors need also to recognize research and research capacity as development goods, and become willing to resource such research without specific utilitarian purposes in mind, especially if it is proposed by Southern researchers and research centres or universities. Researchers need to learn how to write and translate research results in policy-friendly/policy-relevant language to enable policymakers to make full use of research findings. Finally, policymakers themselves need to learn how to read and use scholarly research, and research that is not specifically commissioned from their offices, or that challenges their own received wisdom, practices and/or political frames.

However, research is not a strictly technical matter<sup>35</sup> that only requires analytical, methodological and writing skills, resources and rewards for its successful implementation and completion. There are innumerable social negotiations that underpin decision-making through the course of designing and implementing any

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<sup>35</sup> The question of research and scientific neutrality and objectivity has been addressed elsewhere in philosophy of science, critical, post-modernist and feminist theory literature (Chalmers 1982; Harvey 1990; Rosenau 1992; Sperling 1997).

research project. I have only highlighted these issues as they relate to research in war-torn contexts and the North-South research relationship and its challenges, which specifically include methodological issues, gaps in capacities and resources, differences in perspectives, research and policy priorities, and so on. Northern researchers need to work with their Southern counterparts in an ‘ethos of solidarity’ (see Black in this volume) when embarking on research relationships in order to bridge these gaps and differences. The onus is on Northerners to work in solidarity with their Southern research partners because of the asymmetry that characterizes the relationship which is mostly skewed to privilege Northern actors, and because the peace and conflict problematique disproportionately (and negatively) affects Southern actors, including Northerners’ Southern research partners. But what does an ‘ethos of solidarity’ look like in practice? Structuring the administration and management of a research project to deliberately undermine Northern advantage is a critical approach, and several tools and practices can be used to operationalize this, including frequent face-to-face discussions between researchers, equal and joint conceptualization of research questions and research project design, complete and open information-sharing between research partners (including budgets), commitment to responsiveness to changing conditions, needs and priorities in the researched conflict context, consensus decision-making protocols and practices, equal decision-making power over project expenditures, transparent project financial accounting on the part of the administering institution, joint methodological training, and so forth.<sup>36</sup>

Equitable North-South research relationships are important not only for the production of research that benefits and suits all research partners. Research relationships structured along these lines are the foundation of a shared North-South research agenda that can contribute to the production of more methodologically rigorous, policy-relevant, and theoretically sound research. Such research has the potential to better interrogate the causes of conflict as well as illuminate the necessities for peace, and will all the better serve the progressive promise of the human security agenda.

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<sup>36</sup> Stephen Baranyi of North-South Institute in Ottawa, Canada, deliberately structured their global-comparative research project, ‘What Kind of Peace?’ along some of these lines with their six country partners: Omar Zakhilwal, Afghanistan Center for Policy and Development Studies, Afghanistan; Obede Baloi, Centre for the Study of Democracy and Development (CEDE), Mozambique; Herard Jadotte, Université de Notre Dame (UNDH), Haïti; Khalil Shikaki, Policy Survey Research Centre (PSR), Palestine; Gabriel Aguilera, Program for Participation and Democracy (PPD), Guatemala; Jayadeva Uyangoda, Social Scientists Association (SSA), Sri Lanka. See <<http://www.nsi-ins.ca/english/research/progress/p28.asp>> and <[http://www.idrc.ca/peace/ev-59544-201-1-DO\\_TOPIC.html](http://www.idrc.ca/peace/ev-59544-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html)> for details of the project. Also see Olinisakin and Scholey (2005) for an evaluation-based discussion of some of these principles.

## Chapter 15

# The Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa's Contribution to Human Security Research in Africa

Alfred G. Nhema

### Introduction

We are living in a world that is growing smaller, and in a period when the agenda of peace and human security is assuming increasing priority. Africa is one of the regions where the need for availing human security is being felt more acutely. In response to this demand and the universal quest for peace and security, the role of non-state actors, particularly research institutions, is indisputable.

The concept of human security has been a preoccupation of various scholars and groups, and has generated a great deal of debate. Although the emergence of the concept of human security dates as far back as the eighteenth century, and finds its origins in the writings of Rousseau, Montesquieu and Condorcet (Rothschild 1995), the concept has, along with the changing world, undergone successive transformations. In an attempt to come up with the 'exact' definition of the concept that embraces or pinpoints the 'core' elements, a wide-range of definitions have been formulated by proponents of different schools of thought and stakeholders (Taylor 2004).

Some conceptualise human security by classifying it into two categories. The first, more comprehensive one, covers all components that are generally taken as factors essential for the security and well-being of humans at both individual and societal level. These components include human, political, social and cultural rights, economic development, democracy, social justice and demographic factors, among others. The second ('narrower') definition primarily focuses on violent threats as core elements underlying human security.

Other approaches employ various parameters to delimit or expand the concept, or to include or exclude certain components. For some, the safety of the individual or communities – as opposed to the safety of boundaries, integrity of nations or state security – comes foremost, while for others, democracy and respect for human rights are of primary importance. Many others espouse more or less similar definitions with only some nuances that are at times almost too difficult to decipher.

In fact, the array of thoughts forwarded is literally dazzling, so that any attempt at covering all in a paper of this size will be quite futile.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the objective of the present article is not to engage in a lengthy theoretical or philosophical discourse on the concept of human security. It is intended as a brief review on the role and potential of non-state actors in the global concern for human security in Africa, and concurrently, to share the valuable lessons the Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) has gained through its twenty-five years experience in the field.

### **The Emergence of the Human Security Agenda in the Global Forum**

Beginning from the early decades of the post cold-war era, and more prominently since the fateful date of 9/11, the agenda of human security has assumed global proportions and pressing priority. The world appears to have been jolted into a sharp awareness of the fact that the problem of human security is no longer an agenda left to war-torn countries, fragile states, or linked to poverty alone. The fact that Africa is one of the top-most regions where human security concerns have reached an alarming stage is common knowledge. It is a continent beset by multiple problems of poverty, disease, inter and intra-state conflicts, which not only induce and exacerbate the problem of human security in the regions, but also have a spill-over effect impacting on other regions and continents as well.

The realisation of the fact that *no one, anywhere* is immune from imminent human security hazards of one form or another has brought about a marked change in the course of events and history world-wide. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2004, p. 322) notes, 'In this century of globalisation, it is impossible for any nation, including the developed West, to try to isolate itself from the complex web and framework of the international community of states'. As a result, numerous alternative strategies are being explored and measures taken; various regional and international institutions (both lateral and bilateral) are also being formed and initiatives launched by both states and non-state actors.

Research institutions, especially those involved in the identification of problems of human security and the search for viable alternative strategies, can be grouped in the category of non-state actors promoting similar agendas world-wide. Any mechanism or initiative intended as a remedy must be based on, and preceded by, an exhaustive and methodical research in the area. In the current global pursuit of human security, the prominent position of social scientists and research institutions is becoming increasingly evident. As I have written elsewhere (Nhema 2004), 'the issue of peace building in Africa requires related authentic conceptualised knowledge and skills for resolving conflicts. In this regard, one cannot underestimate the role of social science

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<sup>1</sup> Readers interested in more definitions and discussions of human security from various perspectives will find the following sources useful: Thakur 1997; Chen 1995; MacLean 1998; Galtung 1990.

and social scientists in addressing the issues...and processes of meaningful peace building through knowledge production and dissemination' (Nhema 2004, p. 19).

### **OSSREA's Place and Views**

The Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), as a leading research institution in Africa, has long been engaged in promoting research in peace and human security issues in the regions.

OSSREA is a regional research organization founded in 1980. Its main mission is to promote research excellence and capacity building in Africa through its various grant awards, training and research activities. In addition, OSSREA also promotes dialogue and interaction between social scientists and policymakers in Eastern and Southern Africa with a view to enhancing the impact of research on policy-making and development planning.

Currently, OSSREA's activities have grown to twelve major projects under its Grant Awards, Training and Specialized Programmes. The 'African Conflicts: Management, Resolution, Post-Conflict Recovery and Development' programme (hereafter referred to as the African Conflicts Programme) is one of its major programmes that has peace and human security at its forefront with ten projects running under it. The agenda of peace and security is, however, found interrelated in most of OSSREA's other projects as well. In this regard, research that focuses on topics of human security and related issues has been conducted, and reports stemming from the research have been published as monographs and edited books.<sup>2</sup> Since the launch of the African Conflicts Programme in 2002, issues of conflicts, conflict management and resolution as well as post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding, which all have human security at their core, have been enhanced remarkably.

In addition to the various types of support it has been providing for projects that address the issues of peace, stability and conflict prevention at local, national and regional levels, OSSREA has organized a number of successful workshops and conferences that address topical issues in the area. These workshops and conferences, in addition to being timely, are all in line with OSSREA's short and long-term objectives and very often the participation involves renowned social scientists, scholars, researchers and academics from all corners of the world. The diverse nature of participants in OSSREA-sponsored conferences and workshops is one of the hallmarks of OSSREA's modus operandi and a major asset that the organization has always benefited from.

In this regard the International conference on *African Conflicts: Management, Resolution, Post-conflict Recovery and Development*, held at the United Nations Conference Center (UNCC), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia from 29 November–1 December,

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<sup>2</sup> For full information that covers all important aspects of OSSREA, including number and types of programmes and publications, as well as workshops and conferences organised, please visit our website: <http://www.ossrea.net.et>.

2004; the regional workshop on *Sustainability of African Political Parties*, hosted by OSSREA in 2002 in Addis Ababa, and the conference on *Promoting Good Governance and Wider Civil Society Participation in Eastern and Southern Africa*, held on 6–8 November 2000 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia could be mentioned as cases in point.

OSSREA's Congresses, which convene every third year are another means that provides the opportunity and the forum for deliberating on important regional and global issues. OSSREA takes meticulous care in selecting the topic for each congress; and this is perhaps the reason why the number and diversity of participants at OSSREA's Congresses have been markedly oversubscribed.<sup>3</sup>

OSSREA also makes use of its national chapters in 21 countries and organizes numerous national workshops in the area of human security. The detailed reviews of the themes of the national workshops are appended in Annex 2. The major publications that have come out of these congresses, conferences and workshops include the following: Nhema 2005, 2004; Kasenally and Bunwaree 2005; Achola *et al.* 2004; Salih 2003; Assefa *et al.* 2001; Prah and Ahmed 2000.

OSSREA is also interested in making sure that research on human security is disseminated to a wider section of stake-holders. The recent international conference on *African Conflicts: Management, Resolution, Post-Conflict Recovery and Development* that OSSREA organized at the United Nations Conference Centre, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia held from 29 November – 1 December 2004 was a conference organized with that goal in mind. This conference, which was officially opened by His Excellency, Ato Girma Wolde-Giorgis, the President of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, was an event that brought together more than 180 participants from the four corners of the world. It was attended by distinguished personalities, including the head of state, members of the diplomatic community, MPs, state ministers, policy makers, renowned scholars and social scientists around the world, including prominent scholars from within and outside Africa, representatives of governmental, non-governmental, regional and international organizations and donors. Its uniqueness lay mainly in the fact that it managed to bring together social scientists and policy makers and provided the much-needed opportunity and the forum to exchange ideas on conflict, peace, and security issues in Africa.

From the sixty-two papers presented at the conference, some of which are already slated for publication in two volumes in the year 2006, almost 96 per cent were studies focusing directly on areas of conflict prevention, peace and security issues in various contexts and perspectives. Most of the presentations were also successful

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<sup>3</sup> OSSREA Congress topics for the past seven congresses are : *The Quest for Social Peace in Africa: Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy* (2002); Khartoum, Sudan; *Globalisation, Democracy and Development in Africa: Future Prospects* (2000) Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania; *Political and Economic Transformations and Socio-economic Development Responses in Africa* (1996), Cape Town, South Africa; *Global Nature of the Environmental Crisis and Its Interrelationship with Development: Africa's Plight* (1993), Debre Zeit, Ethiopia; *Regional Integration* (1990), Kampala, Uganda; *Critical Analysis of Development Policies in Eastern Africa* (1986), Eldoret, Kenya; *Alternative Development Strategies for Eastern Africa* (1983), Alemaya, Ethiopia.

in generating lively debates and scholarly exchange of ideas on issues of human security. In short, it was an event in which OSSREA successfully accomplished one of its main objectives: that of creating interface between researchers and policy makers and also establishing itself as the leading research institution in the area of human security in Africa.

Throughout its twenty-five years history, OSSREA has been dedicated to the promotion and development of social science research on issues that have relevance to the development challenges facing Africa. The funding of research projects that have human security is one element that runs through most of the major projects coordinated by OSSREA.

The organisation has faced many challenges in operationalising this mandate, however. In the ensuing discussion, we will first examine the challenges facing OSSREA and the social sciences in general, with relation to peace and human security issues, in particular.

### **Lessons Learnt**

In this section, I will discuss the status of research and the agenda of human security in connection with bilateral, multilateral, regional and international institutions. For any research on human security to be effective, it has to be comprehensive and anchored in actual, local contexts. This means: having narrowed-down and target-focused objectives incorporating all relevant data, including information that may not support the researcher's methodology; and following a responsible, holistic approach that examines *all* aspects that fall within the scope and objectives of the study. As a matter of fact, this has been one of the major drawbacks that OSSREA has noticed in a considerable number of studies dealing with peace and human security issues.

As Owen (2004, p. 11) highlights:

Human security assessment should use local-level, rather than national-level, data. The nature of human security is such that significant variance occurs not just between countries, but [also] within them. Disease, poverty, violence levels or the location of landmines vary dramatically throughout countries. A measure that fails to account for this nuance is simply using too coarse a resolution and blurs the human security picture.

Second is the issue of networking and coordination. Today, more than ever, there is a need for collaboration between researchers and research institutions both at the local, national and international levels. The absence of networking and coordinating mechanisms is hampering research activities and frustrating researchers and academicians at large. It does not take a nuclear scientist to figure out the benefits that could be derived if such mechanisms are put in place. At the very least, they help solve the problem of repetition of research with identical themes, scopes and objectives. Such frameworks will also provide a useful venue for disseminating research outputs.

The fact of the matter is, this problem is not limited to, or affecting only, researchers and research institutions. It is also manifested in many sectors and institutions from NGOs (operating both at regional and international levels) to donor institutions (such as the World Bank and IMF) and the United Nations itself. As Stewart Patrick (1998, p. 4) observes:

In general, poor coordination among donors, and between donors and other relevant actors such as NGOs, results in duplicated or contradictory efforts, poorly allocated resources, inappropriate projects, and unsustainable programs. In some cases, UN peace-building initiatives collide with World Bank and IMF structural adjustment programs. Impatient with slow progress towards recovery and preoccupied with domestic concerns, donors tend to tire of expensive commitments, particularly in distant lands that are no longer on the brink of catastrophic collapse or that promise little in the way of concrete returns. Yet unsustainable and unpredictable disbursements can wreak havoc on reconstruction and peace-building efforts.

OSSREA's position in this regard is clear. It always welcomes opportunities to work in collaboration with similar institutions of shared visions and missions. It is important to note that OSSREA has been steadfast in its support of multi-disciplinary research from all ideological perspectives. In that regard, the organization provides a forum through which divergent views of scholars, researchers and practitioners from the 'left' and 'right' ideological perspectives can be expressed freely.

Third, is the lack of sufficient support aimed at building capacity and providing funds for researchers engaged in human security and interrelated aspects. This is even more compounded, especially in many countries in Africa, by the shortage or unavailability of access to updated information (due to several factors); time and financial constraints; rarity of forums for exchange of views and experiences, and general indisposition or outright refusal by many governments in the continent to support or cooperate with researchers in the field. This calls for a concerted and sustained effort by all relevant stakeholders.

Although a lot of research has been conducted, and conferences held addressing the problems, the following appear to be persistent problems that undermine research in human security. The first of these hurdles is the general nonchalance many Western countries and donors exhibit towards human security issues in recipient countries and their reluctance to prioritise human security in their foreign policy agendas. Research work conducted in this area reveals that many influential regional and international institutions tend to give priority to other issues rather than to peace and human security. At most, they attach the agenda of human security as one of their conditionalities to aid, or incorporate it in their programmes as an afterthought.

Their justification for this practice is mainly that the agenda of human security is an intrinsic part of conditionalities (like democracy, good governance, respect for human rights, economic development etc.), and that it does not merit to be given key priority in its own right. But as experience in today's turbulent world reveals, it is high time that this trend is reviewed. At present, only a few countries (Japan and Canada, among others) have put the agenda of human security at the forefront of their

foreign policy and as pre-requisites for aid. As the realities in countries undergoing conflicts or emerging from conflicts indicate, human security is closely related to issues of conflicts and post-conflict peacebuilding. In view of these realities, any reluctance on the part of donors to prioritise human security agendas in their policies will only pose a serious obstacle in the quest for enduring human security in the continent. Donors and other concerned parties need to review their policies of aid not only in terms of prioritising human security but also in providing sufficient and sustainable support for post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

One, of course, cannot expect the attainment of peace in an atmosphere of corruption, excessive economic and political inequality, plunder of national resources by a small political elite, and the suppression of democratic rights and freedom of the people. These have to be addressed in the task of peacebuilding; they are vices against peace and development (Nhema 2004, p. 19).

Furthermore, there is donors' inconsistency in designing policies and prioritising issues. One typical example in this regard is the two sets of approaches practiced by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. While the conditionality attached by the IMF has economic stabilisation and structural adjustment as its primary and core component, the conditionality of the World Bank (and other financial institutions and donors as well) emphasises the achievement and consolidation of peace.

As many studies point out, maintaining human security or peacebuilding imperatives has stood opposite to economic concerns and other dictates of donors. This is mainly due to donors' failure or unwillingness to consider the realities existing in post-conflict contexts when drawing up their implicit and explicit conditionalities for aid. As I have argued previously (Nhema 2004, p. 19):

[Among] other critical elements Africa needs to consider in the process of peace building is first, to study and understand the context comprehensively before coming up with the instruments for solving the identified problems. All the root causes of conflicts must be identified and addressed coherently and holistically.

In most cases, various causes of conflicts are related and, therefore, solving one and ignoring the other could be an effort in futility. Related to this, it is imperative that all the players in the task and process of peace building be neatly coordinated, without ignoring or undermining the role of each.

This is one instance where the crucial importance of research can be clearly felt and demonstrated. One important component that is missing and needs inclusion in donors' policies is ensuring the integration and adoption of pertinent findings.

The last point, which is also supported by research, is the absence of mechanisms laid down for monitoring issues of human security in volatile regions. This is also closely related with existing uncoordinated strategies drawn by some regional and international institutions.

Since the UN Secretary General's reform elevated post-conflict peacebuilding to the top of the UN's global agenda in 1997, very little has been done to improve the coordination and follow up mechanisms, and many of the strategies devised

and institutions formed to this end still largely suffer from absence of systematic coordination of monitoring schemes. In short, there is an urgent need for establishing a uniform and more transparent system for reporting, tracking and monitoring post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding initiatives undertaken by lateral and multilateral donors and institutions. One way of doing this is by paying attention to pertinent researches and their recommendations.

## Chapter 16

# Postscriptum: Prospects for the Next Decade

Timothy M. Shaw, David R. Black and Sandra J. MacLean

A year has passed since our workshop at the downtown Vancouver campus of Simon Fraser University on the tenth anniversary of human security; in that year, debates about new or human security have continued to evolve as the threats to human dignity and human development proliferate: from HIV/AIDS to avian flu, from *tsunami* to terrorisms. This postscriptum (PS) attempts to build on our opening overview and preceding chapters by juxtaposing recent conceptual analyses with policy reports, contemporary events with emerging trends. It reflects on parallel presentations of the state of analytic and applied debates about the development and security nexus in the second half of the first decade of the twenty-first century such as the first 'Forum' edition of *Development and Change* (2005) that reflects on 'new and emerging trends', the tenth anniversary special issue of *New Political Economy* (2005) that highlights 'key debates in new political economy', the overview report from the UN Intellectual History Project (UNIHP) (Jolly, Emmerij and Weiss 2005), as well as the latest editions of the annual *Small Arms Survey 2004* and of *Global Civil Society 2005/6* (Glasius, Kaldor and Helmut Anheier 2006), and the initial edition of the *Human Security Report* (2005).

Reflections on events and trends since our project began suggest four emphases: i) on whether 2005 was a turning point for global development; ii) the growing security and development debate; iii) the emergence of a trio of distinctive 'worlds'; and iv) growing attention to diversities of identity, especially related to faiths, and the possibilities for communication and coexistence – and the role that diasporas may play – given these diversities. Regrettably, with recent trends, 'cosmopolitanism' and thus human security seem to be ever more elusive.

First, symbolic of the intensity of disagreement over global directions was the coincidence of the G8 in Gleneagles and the London bombings of 7/7 executed by British fundamentalists. The G8 had Africa as one of its foci: to receive and endorse the report of the year-long Commission for Africa (2005): *Our Common Interest*. Simultaneously, many NGOs and church groups broadly affiliated with the 'anti-globalisation' movement had mounted a global campaign to 'Make Poverty History.' Yet in response to the bombings, the G8 host, Tony Blair, had to leave the other seven leaders and their African, Asian and Latin American counterparts in Scotland to fly back to London, thus highlighting a very poignant juxtaposition of

economic and strategic imperatives. Meanwhile, as an extension of these concerns, DFID (2006) has since begun a consultation process on its development policy. In short, the events of 2005 in the UK and beyond highlighted the potential promise embodied in a diverse coalition for cosmopolitan change, but also the formidable impulses and imperatives that stand in its way.

Second, the security and development debate continues to evolve, although as the privatisation and globalisation of the former proceeds (Wulf 2005), the latter seems all too elusive, as was apparent at the disappointing UN MDG summit in fall 2005. From an initial post-bipolar concern for an agreeable and workable division of labour amongst blue berets and INGOs in peacekeeping, 'the debate has become more intense insoluble' as peacemaking has become more problematic and violent and as such partnerships increasingly involve private military companies as well as INGOs to provide infrastructures and services for victims of violence and parallel heterogeneous networks have been initiated such as the Diamond Development Initiative (DDI) around artisanal mining in Africa especially. Yet creeping militarisation, facilitated by reference to heightened security concerns because of global terrorist attacks, has served to further limit human rights. The trend, therefore, may be from fragile states to 'fragile democracies' despite continuing advocacy of formal multiparty constitutions.

Third, with the growing recognition of the burgeoning of the economies of China and India, there is increasing attention to a twenty-first century version of the 'three worlds' of the bygone bipolar era. But today, the 'second world' is not the 'socialist bloc' of the post-Cold War period; rather it is some variety of 'emerging economies', often captured in the acronyms BRICs or BRICSAM (Brazil, Russia, India, China and perhaps South Africa, ASEAN (especially Malaysia and Singapore) and Mexico. A special issue on emerging powers of *International Affairs* at the start of 2006 includes articles on Brazil, China, India and Russia. Clearly, this is a heterogeneous and disparate group of states or economies, but they do have some cohesion and coherence in groupings of subsets of states like the G20 and IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa). They also have reason for collective dissatisfaction with the world order preferences of the G8, and increasingly the capacity to challenge these preferences and promote alternatives.

Given the proliferation of states – now 200 – and the recognition that some 50 may be 'fragile' (DFID 2005a), the 20–25 emerging economies constitute the meat in the sandwich between OECD and fragile states.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the decade, there is now beginning to be attention directed at how to mediate amongst this new trio of unequal 'worlds' with their implications for and impact on global development and stability. The emerging economies also come to replace or supersede the attention directed at 'developmental states' – the erstwhile Newly Industrializing Countries

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<sup>1</sup> Whilst DFID (2005) coined the term 'fragile state' in its 2005 report on conflict and development, Christopher Clapham (1996, p. 3) had used it fleetingly in a chapter heading in his *magnum opus* on Africa and international relations in the mid-1990s, though he never defined or developed the concept.

(NICs) – in the 1980s, up to the Asian crash of the mid-1990s, with implications for development as well as security policies and analyses.

There is, then, growing contestation over who defines human development/ rights/security: South or North? States or non-state actors? Poor or rich? This is especially so in terms of MDG #8 on a global partnership for development: how is the partnership to be defined and effected? The recent edited text by Jeffrey Haynes (2005) *Palgrave Advances in Development Studies* as well as the *Development and Change* (2005) 'Forum' along with annuals like the Bank's *World Development Report* and UNDP's *Human Development Report* inform such ongoing debates.

Finally, fourth, the nexus of events/fallout from 7/7 as well as 9/11 have served to draw analytic and policy attention back to other aspects of globalisations like migrations and diasporas, with ambiguous implications for global human security. 2005 was notable not just for G8 and 7/7 but also for the World Bank's belated 'discovery' of migrations and remittances: at least some \$160 billion in 2004! *The Global Economic Prospects 2006* on 'Economic Implications for Remittances and Migration' (IBRD 2005) and related analyses and publications (for example, Schiff and Ozden 2006) insist that remittances are now larger and more reliable than the other major pair of global financial flows out of the OECD: direct foreign investment (DFI) and overseas development assistance (ODA). Thereby, they may enhance or salvage MDGs in countries like China, India, Mexico and the Philippines (top macro recipients) and Tonga, Moldova, Lesotho and Haiti (highest shares of GDP) characterised by high levels of migration.

At mid-decade, there is growing, albeit reluctant, recognition of the importance of communication between communities, including communities of faith. This may yet lead towards more informal venues for cross-cultural dialogue and a more prominent role for various lower profile agencies and more informal agencies. For example, inter- and non-state Commonwealths provide forums through which to explore the unique organic connections between its communities. Indeed, the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Valetta was distinctive because the Commonwealth Peoples Forum did host a special and unique one-day session on such issues and the communiqué did call on the Secretariat to consider ways to advance tolerance, respect and understanding in advance of the next summit in late-2007. This might entail augmenting current Harare Principles and precedents about non-democratic military regimes by treating regime fundamentalism as another catalyst or cause of suspension.

In short, this PS suggests that while our early-2005 deliberations reinforced the debate around human security, by the second decade of the new century, while the concept may be ever more salient, it may also become even more problematic in terms of definition and application: not an optimistic reflection or anticipation, alas.

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