

SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

Human Dignity as Fundamental Premise



Front photo:

Troops from the African Union on patrol in Brikatouly village, Darfur, Sudan. May 2006

Photographer: Michael Kamber

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Pax Christi's Membership Council and IKV's Board contribute to developing their vision, watching over their mission and identity and cultivating contacts with those that support their joint IKV Pax Christi cooperation. This position paper seeks to contribute to our view of security and development and, in so doing, to be a source of inspiration for the actual peace work shaped within IKV Pax Christi.

The Membership Council welcomes comments on this position paper and invites everyone to suggest improvements for, and to contribute substance to, its exploration of the interrelationship between security and development.

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Introduction

Pax Christi takes its inspiration from the evangelical call for peace and justice. Pax Christi's sustained involvement in current peace issues requires reflection and study and not only political action. We must reflect on the moral cornerstones of peace work. And we must study the way in which peace organisations, working with allies, can contribute to fostering peace and justice.

Human dignity is a core value within Catholic social teaching. Human dignity must be respected and pursued; foreign policy and the field of security and development are no exception to this. The growing tension between this pursuit of human dignity and political reality is undeniable. Stubborn political reality appears to be dominated by inability and unwillingness to reach peace, to respect human rights and to guarantee the welfare of all. Pax Christi persists in considering it morally unacceptable that many people are deprived of part of their human dignity due to inhumane living conditions brought about by poverty, oppression, discrimination, inadequate education, social exclusion, medical neglect or by violence, terrorism and war.

Human dignity focuses on every person and the whole person: the person as physical being but also as an emotional, socio-political, cultural, moral, spiritual and indivisible being. These include his relations to others. Security based on human dignity takes as starting point the craving for peace felt by people and the communities of which they are a part. Development based on human dignity focuses on the opportunity for people to achieve what they consider valuable. Human security in its broadest sense means that people do not have to be afraid of the sudden and painful breakdown of daily life that results from the threat of violence and people do not have to fear that they will suffer want that results from the threat of hunger, illness, crime and oppression.

Freedom from fear and freedom from want call for an energetic movement for peace and development. That peace and development are two sides of the same coin is not a new discovery. From a moral perspective, development is another word for peace. Without security, development is impossible, and without justice there is no peace. In everyday politics, the way security relates to development depends in part on political and economic interests. The political arena is marked by a collision between different definitions of security in which the state's viewpoint and the human perspective vie for precedence.

Answering the question as to how security and development can strengthen one another is less simple when viewed against the background of daily life in countries where human security is imperilled. The answer to this question depends heavily on the circumstances in local contexts.

Consistent with Pax Christi's tradition of reflection, study and action, Pax Christi's Membership Council set up a task force to explore the ways in which security and development are related and to consider how Pax Christi can work with other parties to promote human security amid the many new challenges that Pax Christi faces. As is often the case, here again new understanding leads to more questions. Most in need of study is the question how peace and justice can be strengthened in the complex context of repressive and marginal states, states in conflict or states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction.

Pax Christi's Membership Council has approved the position paper entitled *Security and Development: Human Dignity as Fundamental Premise*. This paper will be discussed with political organisations and appropriate social organisations and will be distributed among Pax Christi's constituency.

On behalf of Pax Christi's Membership Council

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Chapter 1 Normative Orientation

Peace, Security and Development in Roman Catholic Tradition

A Brief History

The Roman Catholic Church has a long tradition of involvement in national and international social issues. Well known are the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), in which the church spoke in defence of the impoverished working class and the document *Dignitatis Humanae* (1965), in which the theme of human dignity was considered so crucial that the council fathers chose it as title for the Declaration on Religious Freedom.¹ The church's involvement has always made it a party to be taken seriously when discussing international political issues.

The Catholic Church was and is one of the most fervent advocates of a strong United Nations. This was stated, for instance, in the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963), which is still one of Pax Christi's foundation documents. Even today, more than forty years later, it is surprising how up-to-date the text in *Pacem in Terris* still is. It addresses many global problems, such as refugees, minorities, war and violence, and respect for human rights.

A few years later, Pope Paul VI published the encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (1967). It focussed primarily on the question of poverty. 'Today it is most important for people to understand and appreciate that the social question ties all men together, in every part of the world. (...)The hungry nations of the world cry out to the peoples blessed with abundance. And the Church, cut to the quick by this cry, asks each and every man to hear his brother's plea and answer it lovingly.' *Justitia et Pax* was established as a direct result of *Populorum Progressio*.

In more recent years, Pope John Paul II had great influence on international society. His pontificate is inseparably associated with the downfall of the communist system in Eastern Europe. Beside this, he often and correctly criticised the poverty and human rights violations found in many parts of the world. At the end of his pontificate, the pope surprised friend and foe with his vehement condemnation of the war against Iraq. The Dutch church province adopted the main features of the Vatican's viewpoint. During the build-up to the 2003 Iraq war, the Dutch bishops stated that "under the present circumstances a war against Iraq is neither morally self-evident nor politically inevitable".²

Seen against the current background of conflicts partly coloured by religious convictions, the Dutch Bishops' statement in their 1996 letter *Can the World Make Peace?* (well before 11 September 2001) is also relevant. 'Dialogue between religions, especially religions involved in conflicts, is urgently necessary to expand the power of religions to create peace and to prevent their going astray and provoking violence. "No world peace without religious peace; no religious peace without religious dialogue". Now more than ever in human history, religions have a moral obligation to engage in dialogue.'

If there is a heading under which the Roman Catholic Church's social teaching on political and social topics can be summarised, then it is the focus on human dignity. Human rights rest on the inalienable dignity of the human person, created by God in His image and likeness. The Commission of Bishops' Conferences of the European Union (COMECE) stated in its 2001 report entitled *Global Governance* that "Human dignity is the core value of Christian social teaching, which must be respected and pursued in all human activity".³ Human dignity and the human rights derived from it concern each person, without exception; all are equal in dignity. It is thus unacceptable that many lose this dignity partly

¹ Second Vatican Council, *Declaration on Religious Freedom - Dignitatis Humanae*, Vatican City, 1965. See: http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651207_dignitatis-humanae_en.html

² Statement by the Dutch Bishops on the Iraq Question, dated 21 January 2003

³ COMECE, *Global Governance. Our Responsibility to Make Globalisation an Opportunity for All*, Brussels 2001

because of inhuman living conditions such as poverty, oppression, discrimination, inadequate education, social exclusion, medical neglect or because of violence, terrorism and war.⁴

Human dignity not only applies to each person, it also applies to the whole person and encompasses not only his/her purpose and talents, but also his/her relation to other people and communities. These relations between people are what make life human.

The Roman Catholic Church's view of human dignity led the church to ally itself with the view of peace movements to reject and to campaign against wartime violence.

What tendencies in Catholic tradition and the tradition of Pax Christi, and church peace movements generally, are important in reflecting on reconciliation, peace, development and security in this day and age?

Reconciliation

Pax Christi's roots lie in the pursuit of reconciliation. The movement started as an effort to reconcile French and German Catholics. Directly after the liberation of France and before the end of the Second World War, there were plans to hold marches for prayer and peace to help heal relations in Europe. The initiators, like so many others in their day, were inspired by the thought, 'no more war'. The movement was propelled by the idea that reconciliation between people and nations brought about through prayer and practical action was the only way to bring about peace in Europe. The initiators considered it extremely important to spread this idea in Europe; their movement contributed to the start of European integration.

Reconciliation once again became the focus of attention in recent decade thanks to the truth and reconciliation commission chaired by Bishop Tutu in South Africa and similar initiatives in South America. In these cases, reconciliation was not a 'soft' process; it did not result in impunity. On the contrary, it was occasionally very painful when representatives of the former apartheid regime and other dictatorships had to render account for their past. Only after that could there be any question of reconciliation, of a new start in a new society.

The reconciliation effort is especially important in post-conflict situations. It is of essential importance that the peace movement and other actors who seek to help in post-conflict areas have a more detailed notion of the conditions for reconciliation. Pax Christi can draw on its own roots for this, but it can certainly also count on its involvement in the struggle against apartheid, against dictatorships in South America and against communist regimes in Eastern Europe.

Its current involvement in peace initiatives in such countries as Sudan, DR Congo and Northern Uganda provide insights that nourish reflection on the role of reconciliation in political peace processes. In some situations, there seems to be a tension between the urgent pursuit of peace and the trials of political and military leaders in the International Criminal Court. States that are a party to the Rome Statute give priority to a trial; local communities give priority to peace and are sometimes willing to waive the trial of those who committed crimes against humanity. These dilemmas require continuous reflection on the concept of reconciliation.

Peace

Peace (pax) is part of Pax Christi's name. The concept peace is commonly misused to legitimate political programmes and for that reason may be as controversial as the concept security. That was certainly the case during the Cold War when the concept 'peace' was seriously misused in Eastern European propaganda. The 'peace movements' in the communist block (Prague Peace Conference, World Peace Council, Berlin Conference) were actually cloaks for the regimes in power.

⁴ Bishop A.H. van Luyn SDB, *Het belang van metapolitiek. De diepere dimensie van de politiek*. [The Importance of Metapolitics: The Deeper Dimension of Politics] Address to Mayors, Den Haag, 4 December 2006

The question whether, and if so to what extent, the pursuit of peace must be equated with pacifism provokes an animated discussion. Pacifism – the rejection of every type of war and military force – is often contentious in the Netherlands (as well as in the rest of the Western world). The 1930s broken rifle movement is invoked as one of the reasons for the swift capitulation in 1940. This incorrectly equates pacifism with passivity.

Catholic tradition does not equate the pursuit of peace with pacifism. Ever since Augustine it has been recognised that war can be justified under certain circumstances. Such a war must always be to restore peace. It goes without saying that even today there are still heated discussions within the Catholic world and within Pax Christi on how this ‘Catholic’ view is to be applied in practice. For instance, the American section of Pax Christi has a more spiritual-pacifist orientation, while the Dutch section’s orientation is more toward pragmatic politics. This pragmatic orientation is the foundation underpinning the reasoning in the present paper. In it Pax Christi Netherlands sometimes accepts the use of military force (= war) under the strict conditions of a just war.

Development

Development is another word for peace; this has almost become a standard expression in recent decades. As was noted, the encyclical *Populorum Progressio* made a major contribution to the theory of development in Catholic tradition. It may not be forgotten that the missionary movement also played a role in this. Missionaries did much more than preach the faith. Their work in health care, education, agriculture, etcetera was invaluable. Although modern knowledge and views of faith can obviously have critical reservations, there is no denying that missionary orders and congregations are part of the foundation of Dutch development policy. This influence is still recognisable in organisations such as the Centraal Missiecommissariaat (CMC = Roman Catholic organisation for development cooperation) and Cordaid.

The view that development is another word for peace implies that peace can only be stable when combined with development. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of both emergency aid and systematic economic development in a post-conflict situation. If peacebuilding and reconciliation is to succeed, then an escape from poverty (often one of the sources of conflict) is a pressing need. Development aid organisations can be pivotal in this. In a post-conflict situation, these organisations often operate in areas under (partial) military control. That elicits the question whether, and to what extent, civil-military cooperation is possible and desirable. In principle, Pax Christi is not against this, but it keeps in mind the risks that this cooperation can entail, such as confusing the population about civil aid workers’ objectives and tasks and possibly also an improper use of military means.

Security

There was a time that the concept security had lower priority within the peace movement. Security was seen as the field for the proponents of (more) armaments and deterrence. Its main purpose was to protect established (capitalist) interests.

In this sense, it is intriguing to read what Pax Christi wrote about this in its 1977 Core Programme. There, security was counterposed to liberation. ‘The need for security seems to hold sway in societies with a high degree of “reasonably distributed” wealth, in other words, the highly industrialised societies. These have something to lose; they want guaranteed security as insurance for their possessions. On the other hand, the need for liberation seems to hold sway in societies where hunger, poverty, sickness and illiteracy are widespread.’

Even in the heyday of anti-nuclear weapons campaigns, there were perspectives in which security was a concept acceptable to the peace movement. The Palme Commission, of which our countryman

former prime minister Joop den Uyl was a member, developed the concept of shared security⁵. Palme argued that security had become interdependent in the nuclear age. Conflict resolution required cooperation not confrontation. He detailed several basic principles for achieving this shared security. It is also striking that the concept shared security is applied primarily to states.

In recent years there has been growing understanding for the need for human security and thus for the means that may be needed to guarantee this. The term human security is becoming more commonplace. It will be explained extensively further on in this paper. Put briefly, human security is a person-oriented principle according to which lasting security and stability cannot be achieved unless people are protected against all (violent) threats to their rights, safety or lives. Terrorist attacks in the United States, Spain and Great Britain have led to homeland security, not human security, being given priority in international security policy.

Pax Christi does not consider every type of security policy acceptable. The movement opposes the pre-emptive strategy set forth in the National Security Strategy of the United States. This strategy has served to justify the war against Iraq.

Internationalist Approach

Certainly since 1648 (Peace of Westphalia), the global order has been one in which sovereign states are – and according to many should be – the most important actors. Sovereignty is expressed in the authority of a (national) government; the most important characteristic of this authority is its monopoly on force: only the government carries the ‘power of the sword’. Neither individual citizens nor foreign powers may infringe this.

Perhaps it is because the Roman Catholic Church is a world-wide church, but the fact is that the church has downplayed sovereignty – in encyclicals like *Pacem in Terris* and *Populorum Progressio* – and favoured an internationalist approach and a strengthening of the international rule of law.

“The edifice which you have constructed must never fall. It must be perfected, and made equal to the needs that world history will present”. These were the words with which Pope Paul VI addressed the United Nations in 1965 when he, as first pope to visit the UN headquarters, spoke on the occasion of the organisation’s 20th anniversary. This statement is symbolic of the great value that the Roman Catholic Church ascribes to the United Nations as best approach to the international rule of law. On numerous occasions, Popes John XXIII, Paul VI, John Paul II and now Benedict XVI have called for a stronger international rule of law. They see the United Nations as an irrevocable step on the way to this.

Responsibility to Protect Civilians

In an address in 2004, the president of Pax Christi, Bishop Van Luyn, relying on the Catholic peace movement’s internationalist tradition, supported the international community’s responsibility for the protection of civilians. The basic idea is that the state is the primary body responsible for protecting civilians. If the state fails in this duty through disinclination or inability, the obligation to protect civilians and help people in need passes to the international community, which may use all available means including – if absolutely necessary and unavoidable – military force. Bishop Van Luyn also said, “Responsibility for the other also demands political regulation – of the nation, of nations and of the United Nations – that places national and international limits on the self-interest of people and the sovereignty of nations and that offers guarantees for an internationally just peace. This international responsibility finds itself sorely tested, in particular when the world is confronted with genocide, massive destruction and systematic rape. (...) Pax Christi considers it a duty to protect the fundamental right to life, not only in cases of genocide, but also when faced with large-scale human rights violations. However, there is

⁵ *Common Security. A Programme for Disarmament*. The Report by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues chaired by Olof Palme. London: Pan, 1982.

talk of growing tension between two principles governing the international organisation of states: between respect for the sovereignty of nations and the resulting prohibition of the use of military force by one state against another, on one side, and the duty to maintain and promote human rights throughout the world, on the other. Pax Christi believes that in cases of large-scale human rights violations, the international duty to protect human rights must prevail over the prohibition against military intervention.⁶

This view is also gaining wider recognition within the United Nations. The responsibility to protect is one of the few positive elements in the otherwise disappointing statement by heads of government on the occasion of the UN's 60th anniversary.

The preceding contains a survey of several essential concepts important for the Roman Catholic Church's and the Catholic peace movement's perspective on international society. Some of these are old, familiar concepts, yet they have not remained rigid. With tradition as aid, their meaning for today's problems is constantly being sought. That is why they are found once again in the considerations that Pax Christi presents here on the meaning of security and development today.

⁶ Msgr. A.H. van Luyn, SDB, *Responsibility for the Protection of Civilians. A New Paradigm in International Politics*. Address to the symposium on 'The Netherlands' Heaven – New Perspectives on Christianity in Society and Culture', organised to mark the 100th anniversary of the *Thijmgenootschap*. Tilburg, 9 October 2004. The Dutch version of the address was published in Mgr. A.H. van Luyn, SDB, *Waarden en Deugden*, Kampen: Kok, 2006.

Chapter 2 Development: Contexts and Concepts

Development

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 released a wave of optimism regarding the opportunities for world-wide development. A global village in which peace and development went hand in hand seemed within reach. Development objectives would no longer be subordinate to the geopolitical or ideological struggle between the capitalist West and the communist Eastern Block. Dictators like Mobutu in Zaire and Marcos in the Philippines had become rich in the shadow of the Cold War and bloody civil wars dragged on for decades with one of the superpowers supporting this side or the other.

When the Berlin wall fell, all that seemed over and finished. This would be the start of ethical foreign policy geared toward human rights and the elimination of poverty. It would lead to reduced military expenditures; the resulting peace dividend would be used for development. But this optimism was short-lived. The reality of the war in the Balkans and the genocide in Rwanda put a swift end to the dream of a peaceful global village.

The unexpected optimism came at a time when the concept development had lost most of its persuasion and attractiveness. Faith in development as a way to modernise in the West's footsteps stranded in stubborn reality. Development proved to be less easily arranged than the theories of modernisation had presupposed. In this chapter we will briefly examine the history of thinking on development since the end of the Second World War, from the theory of modernisation, which exerted great influence on this thinking, to the critical variants such as human development and sustainable development.

Modernisation

The notion development arose during and after the decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s. The industrialised West was portrayed as developed and the former colonies in Africa, Asia and South America as underdeveloped. The difference in development was seen as a deficiency to be eliminated. The ladder was often used as image. The emerging countries stood at the bottom of the ladder while the West stood on the highest rungs of the development ladder.

Soon after decolonisation and the disintegration of the Western empires, the Cold War dominated international relations. The Cold War greatly influenced thinking on development and the way development aid was distributed. The theory of modernisation was an ideologically driven theory modelled on the West. Rostow subtitled his *The Stages of Economic Growth*⁷, the most influential book in the 1960s, a 'Non-communist Manifesto'.

In practice, development aid proved to be a useful instrument for enticing emerging countries into one's own sphere of influence. Geopolitical reasons greatly influenced the distribution of development financing. Strategically important countries received more aid than other countries.

Western experiences served as models for the theory of modernisation. The contrast between traditional and modern societies was characteristic. According to this theory, the emerging countries were held captive by their traditional way of thinking and acting. Traditions were thought of as conservative and immobile and above all restrictive for economic growth. There was no room for market mechanisms and trade in traditional economic and social relations. Technological development was based on practical knowledge and craftsmanship and thus remained circumscribed within traditional societies. The economy did not grow because there was no incentive for it to grow. In short, traditional came to be associated with underdevelopment.

Modern society, by contrast, was dynamic and progressive. Technology was based on scientific research. Technological innovation, market mechanisms and specialisation propel the economy in a

⁷ W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.

modern society. It is assumed that modernisation would inevitably lead to a loss of traditional values and customs. If it were to develop, traditional society had to make room for a modern society. As countries developed, they would come to resemble the West more closely.

This theory of modernisation exerted considerable influence on the economic theory of development. Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth* was its most influential exponent. In his view, every country must pass through five stages to reach sustainable economic growth. The first stage is that of traditional society. The conditions for the take off are created in the second stage. These are a higher level of investment, the rise of a private sector and an institutional framework. The economy starts to grow in the take-off stage. After the take off, the poor also profit from economic growth due to a trickle-down effect. Growth leads to a mature economy (4th stage) and ultimately to high mass consumption (5th stage). Rostow essentially saw development as a linear and universal process.

Social and political sciences also had a classic theory of modernisation analogous to Rostow's growth stages. It assumed that a beneficial interplay between economic growth, state formation and democratisation would arise if the countries would accept modernisation. Political modernisation drew on the Western legal system and political institutions.

In practice, modernisation proved to be anything but a recipe for success. While initially the failure was ascribed to attraction of traditional societies, the theory of modernisation quickly drew criticism for being Eurocentric, a-historical and ideological. Alternative currents arose in thought on development.

Human development

The modernisation theory dominated government policy on development aid in Western countries. Dutch social and church organisations supported the alternative currents in the thinking on development. In the Netherlands, these organisations had their roots in the missions (e.g. *Mensen in Nood*, 1914, *Memisa*, 1925) and the protest movement (e.g. *Novib*, 1956). In his famous out-door sermons in the Netherlands, Fr. Simon Jelsma called for world peace, the elimination of poverty and an equal distribution of wealth. A focus on people distinguished social organisations from official modernisation theory. They held to the principle of human dignity that played a central role within Catholic social teaching.

The most important alternative current gave pride of place to human development. The Indian economist Amartya Sen describes poverty as a lack of opportunities. The most important factor in development is human freedom: the opportunity for people to achieve what they consider valuable. Freedom must be seen as the cause and not just the consequence of economic development.

In this view, development is not an abstract top-down concept, but is regarded from the people's perspective. Development is not achieved for people but by people. In 1986 Robert Chambers⁸ wrote a now well-known book sub-titled *Putting the Last First*. In it he argued that a bottom-up process is participative. Capacity building is the key to development; it gives people control over their own lives.

Liberation theology arose in the Catholic Church and became particularly popular in South America. Liberation theologians regarded development as the liberation of people from an oppressive structure of inequality.

In the 1970s, this theory led to the basic needs approach. This approach was noted for its focus on the needs of the poor and the marginalised. Poverty was to be alleviated by programmes aimed especially at target groups, not by a trickle-down effect.

Attention grew in the 1980s and 1990s for the independent role of civil society, whereas the other theories had focussed mainly on the role of the state and the market in development. A strong civil

⁸ Robert Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, Essex, 1983

society defends the interests of the weaker members in society and calls governments and companies to account for their conduct. Social development is an important part of state formation and democratisation.

Another variant of this human development current is the human rights approach; private development organisations gave this broad support. Its foundation was based on human rights such as the right to work and food, education and health care, security, political participation and an own identity.

Thanks to the growing influence of civil society, the human development approach has become part of mainstream development thinking. Attention for participation, capacity strengthening and human rights is now commonplace in development cooperation.

UN members also expressed criticism of the asymmetric economic approach to development that their colleagues at the World Bank applied. The criticism was aimed at using per capita income as measure for development. In 1990, the UNDP devised the Human Development Index (HDI) as alternative. It used a broad definition of development that incorporated social, political and cultural aspects of development. This Human Development Index is now a frequently consulted and authoritative measure for development.

Sustainable Development

The 1987 Brundtland report *Our Common Future*⁹ and the 1992 environment summit in Rio de Janeiro launched the new concept of sustainable development. Sustainable development is defined as a process 'that fulfils present human needs without endangering the opportunities of future generations to fulfil their needs'. Although attention for the natural limits to growth was not new – the Club of Rome published its first report in 1972 – the concept sustainable development swiftly gained broad acceptance.

Another important new element was attention for the connection between production and consumption patterns in the South and in the North. Deforestation in the Amazon rainforest was linked to the consumption of hamburgers in McDonald's. Twenty percent of the world's population is responsible for eighty percent of energy and resource consumption and environmental pollution. The West is leaving an ecological footprint on the rest of the world.

A New Version of the Modernisation Theory: The Washington Consensus

For some commentators, the fall of the Berlin wall marked the end of history. The Western model won. The combination of free market and parliamentary democracy had been proven the only correct path to prosperity. This message, disseminated by international financial institutions, became known as the Washington consensus.

This revived the modernisation theory. Outwardly it was changed. The faith in successive growth stages was abandoned. But the core, that following the West's example was the best strategy for development, rebounded. Market mechanisms, privatisation and deregulations are the golden straight-jacket for countries that want to integrate in the world economy.

Like the modernisation theory, the Washington consensus was also unable to live up to its promise. In 2000, the UN set the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in response to the failure to eliminate poverty. These were eight tangible results to be achieved by 2015. The MDGs vary from cutting extreme poverty by half and providing primary education for all to halting the spread of HIV/Aids. An

⁹ World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), *Our Common Future* (Brundtland Report), Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

action plan¹⁰ was drafted under the direction of Jeffrey Sachs to achieve the MDGs. The MDGs have been accepted internationally and form the framework within which the efforts of donor countries and beneficiary countries are assessed.

Development and Security

Before the fall of the Berlin wall, development and security were relatively distinct spheres. Both were permeated by Cold War thinking, but had little overlap in practice. Emergency help to war-torn areas was a relatively specialised activity not considered part of development.

The end of the Cold War and the new perspective on the non-intervention principle blurred the boundaries between security and development and the nature of the conflicts changed. During the Cold War, many regimes could continue their internal repression thanks to support from one party or the other. The end of East-West opposition initially led to a revival of democratisation efforts; Africa even thought in terms of 'winds of change'; but complex political emergencies also arose. These were conflicts between (factions within) population groups with a complex history and dynamic. During the Cold War years, these conflicts were often latently present; they surfaced when authoritative regimes lost their grip on the population as they lost the material support from the US or Soviet Union.

The development sector responded slowly to the changed context. In the years preceding the genocide in Rwanda, the development sector had a blind spot for security risks. The World Bank praised the Rwandan government for its macro-economic policy, which it held up as example for neighbouring countries. While ten percent of the population lived in refugee camps and violence escalated, Western donors sent identification missions, wrote reports and held workshops.

The international community's collective failure in Rwanda brought about a reversal in development thinking. Sensitivity to conflict became a permanent item on the development agenda. The World Bank established a conflict unit and, in 2004, published *Breaking the Conflict Trap*¹¹, in which a positive statistical link was made between the chance of conflict, a low per capital income, economic stagnation and dependence on the export of mineral resources.

The causes of continuing poverty and conflict are becoming increasingly interwoven. No development without security and no security without development. Structural inequalities lead to the marginalisation and exclusion of population groups. These groups can be an ethnic or religious minority, like the Acholis in Uganda and the Dayaks in Indonesia, or even a majority like the Aymara in Bolivia. Exclusion is the foundation of continuing poverty and the economic and political divisions that can lead to conflicts.

On an international level, the war against terrorism has become the new framework for interweaving development and security. Failing states are seen as a threat to Western security. Development aid is used as instrument to prevent the failure of states or to contribute to the reconstruction of failed states.

The concept development has evolved over the years, often in response to context-related political events such as decolonisation, the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin wall, the genocide in Rwanda, the attack on 11 September 2001. The concept development is thus often implicitly politically laden. Since the fall of the Berlin wall, the free market, deregulation and democratisation seem to form the basis for many states' and multi-lateral institutions' understanding of development.

Development aid and politics seem to have become interwoven once again in the struggle against international terrorism; governments are using development aid as means to increase their security.

¹⁰ Jeffrey D. Sachs (ed.). UN Millennium Project 2005. *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*. New York, 2005

¹¹ Collier, Paul e.a., *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, World Bank Report 2003, <http://econ.worldbank.org/prr/CivilWarPRR/>

Stubborn reality repeatedly provokes counter-movements in which people and the communities to which they belong, not the state perspective, predominate, and in which the principle of human dignity, not economic growth, comes first.

Chapter 3 Security: Context and Concepts

From State Security to Human Security and Back Again?

Security

'Security objectively expresses the absence of threat to acquired values and subjectively expresses the absence of a sense of fear that such values will be attacked.'¹² The traditional understanding of security stresses the defence of the state and its inhabitants against foreign aggression. Since time immemorial, ensuring security has been one of the state's primary tasks.¹³

In recent years, human security has gradually appeared on the security agenda beside state security. Human security focuses on the security of the human person. Since the war on terror started after the attacks in the US on 11 September 2001, homeland security and a strengthened state security have taken centre stage. One of the main questions during the 2005 UN summit was whose security deserved protection. The world's leaders did not answer this question, but did promise to discuss it further.

Human security

The concept human security dates from the early 1990s. The publication in 1992 of the *Agenda for Peace* by then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali is often mentioned as starting point. This document states that not all threats to security are military. 'A porous ozone shield could pose a greater threat to an exposed population than a hostile army. Drought and disease can decimate no less mercilessly than the weapons of war.'¹⁴

Although several conflicts in emerging countries were resolved after the Cold War ended, there was also room for smouldering or new, regional or local, violent conflicts to ignite. Jan Pronk, former Dutch minister for Development Cooperation, observed in his policy document entitled *Een Wereld in Geschil* [A World of Difference], 'Because of close links between new conflicts and the changed character of national and international development, the security issue, now more than ever, has more than just political or military aspects. Security also has economic, social, humanitarian, ecological and even religious and cultural facets. That makes the subject all the more relevant for development cooperation.'¹⁵

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) also devoted attention to the link between security and development noted in *Een Wereld in Geschil* [A World of Difference]. The 1994 *Human Development Report* divided the notion of human security into two elements:

- Protection against sudden and painful breakdown of daily life (freedom from fear)
- Protection against the constant threat of hunger, illness, crime and oppression (freedom from want).

In the UNDP report, human security encompasses nearly all aspects of development and security. This turns security into a catch-all concept, which makes it difficult to determine how the two concepts

¹² Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration, Essays on International Politics*, Baltimore, Md: John Hopkins University Press, 1968, p.150.

¹³ R.W. van Zuijlen, 'Veiligheid als begrip: fundering van de rechtsorde', in: E.R. Muller (ed.), *Veiligheid, Studies over inhoud, organisatie en maatregelen*, Kluwer, Alphen aan den Rijn, 2004, pp. 7-25

¹⁴ Report of the Secretary-General, United Nations, *An Agenda for Peace*, 31 January 1992, par. 12. <http://www.un.org/docs/SG/agpeace.html>

¹⁵ The Minister for Development Cooperation J.P. Pronk, *Een Wereld in Geschil*, September 1993, p. 33

are related and what can be done in practice to ensure that development and security reinforce one another.¹⁶

The Canadian Ministry of foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) uses a more restricted definition. 'Human security means freedom from violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state where people are free from persistent threats to their rights, safety or lives. (...) The way to determine whether it is useful to view a matter in terms of human security is to note the degree to which people's safety is at risk.' For Canada, human security is a people-centred approach to foreign policy based on the conviction that sustainable stability in the world cannot be reached as long as people's rights, safety and lives are threatened.¹⁷ The Netherlands, like Canada, is part of the Human Security Network.¹⁸

The definition of human security and the way in which development can promote it receive much attention in *Human Security Now*, a recommendation presented to the UN Secretary-General in 2003 by a committee chaired by Ogata and Sen.¹⁹ This commission recommended that the UN adopt a human security approach that goes further than the millennium goals. It proposed that a global initiative for human security be set up to place human security at the top of local, national, regional and global agendas. The goal of this is

- to integrate development concerns with the activities of human rights and humanitarian agencies;
- to complement the Millennium Development Goals by addressing conflicts and violations of human rights;
- to enhance official development and humanitarian assistance to accommodate these new directions, paying special attention to countries falling behind and to failed and abandoned states.

According to *Human Security Now*, the chief goals of human security are:

- to prevent conflict and promote human rights and development.
- to protect and empower people and communities and to give them control over their future.
- to deepen democratic principles and practices.²⁰

Common Characteristics

Despite the different definitions, interpretations and accents, the various understandings of human security share several common characteristics. Human security

- tends to start from individual citizens and the communities in which they live, rather than from states;
- approaches person-centred security as an integral element of international peace and security;
- recognises that the security of states is essential but not sufficient to guarantee person-centred security and wellbeing;
- focuses on threats to persons, whether their origin be military or non-military;
- considers security a continuum that starts with conflict prevention and extends over intervention to conflict resolution.²¹

¹⁶See also: Sabina Alkire, *A Conceptual Framework for Human Security*, Crise Working paper 2, s.d. (2004), pp. 13-14; <http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper2.pdf>.

¹⁷www.humansecurity.gc.ca/menu-en.asp.

¹⁸The network members are Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, the Netherlands, Norway, Mali, Austria, Thailand, Switzerland and South Africa (observer). See <http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org>

¹⁹<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/index.html>.

²⁰*Human Security Now*, Commission on Human Security 2003. pp. 131-132

²¹ Paul Heinbecker, 'The Concept of Human Security', in *RUSI Journal*, December 2000, Vol. 145 N° 6, pp. 27-32.

The notion human security is closely associated with the new international standards of law, the Geneva Protocol, the International Criminal Court, etcetera. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play an important role in the understanding of human security. One example of this is the Mine Ban Treaty (Ottawa) in which the Canadian government, NGOs and civil society organisations, including Pax Christi, acted as allies. Right now Pax Christi and others are carrying out a worldwide campaign to reach a treaty that restricts the proliferation of small arms (Control Arms Campaign) and a treaty against cluster bombs.

Collective Security and Human Security

Because of the developments in the way human rights and the right of nations to self-determination are regarded, the United Nations General Assembly – with the Security Council in its wake – has come to recognise that a state's refusal to put an end to a status quo considered intolerable (such as the state oppression of a population) can also threaten peace. The fact that the Security Council has appropriated the right to characterise flagrant human rights violations as threats to peace and thereby open the door for measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter is one of the most fundamental reversals of policy undertaken by the UN since 1945. In doing this, the Security Council implicitly recognises the importance of human security.

The advisory report that a panel of international experts presented to the UN Secretary General in 2005 argues for a new consensus on a definition of, and the responsibilities inherent in, collective security, one in which human security has a part.²² The panel argues for a concept of collective security founded on three basic pillars:

- Today's threats recognise no national boundaries, are connected and must be addressed at the global and regional as well as national levels.
- No state, no matter how powerful, can by its own efforts alone make itself invulnerable to today's threats.
- It cannot be assumed that every state will always be able, or willing, to meet its responsibility to protect its own peoples and not to harm its neighbours.

Use of Violence

The question of the legitimacy of the Security Council's decision to endorse the use of military force also arises. The international experts' report lists the following five basic criteria for the authorisation of force:

- Seriousness of threat. Is the threatened harm to state of human security of a kind, and sufficiently clear and serious, to justify *prima facie* the use of military force? In the case of international threats, does it involve genocide and other large-scale killing, ethnic cleansing or serious violations of international humanitarian law, actual or imminently apprehended?
- Proper purpose. Is it clear that the primary purpose of the proposed military action is to halt or avert the threat in question, whatever other purposes or motives may be involved?
- Last resort. Has every non-military option for meeting the threat in question been explored, with reasonable grounds for believing that other measures will not succeed?
- Proportional means. Are the scale, duration and intensity of the proposed military action the minimum necessary to meet the threat in question?

²² A More Secure World: *Our Shared Responsibility*, Report of the Secretary General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, United Nations, New York, 2004. <http://www.un.org/secureworld/report2.pdf> UN Secretary General Kofi Annan largely adopted the recommendations in his report entitled *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, United Nations, General Assembly, Fifty-ninth session, Agenda items 45 and 55, 21 March 2005

- Balance of consequences. Is there a reasonable chance of the military action being successful in meeting the threat in question, with the consequences of action not likely to be worse than the consequences of inaction?²³

However, the 2005 UN Summit did not include these criteria in its final document.

A Human Security Doctrine for Europe

The European Union is also looking at human security. At Javier Solana's request, a research group studied *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*.²⁴ The doctrine, aimed primarily at freedom from fear, comprises three elements:

- A set of seven principles²⁵ for operations in situations of severe insecurity. These include primacy of human rights and a bottom-up approach.
- A Human Security Response Force, composed of 15,000 men and women, of whom at least one third would be civilian (police, human rights monitors, development and humanitarian specialists, administrators, etc).
- A new legal framework to govern both the decision to intervene for reasons of human security and operations on the ground.

Intra-state Conflicts

The most prevalent type of conflict is the complex intra-state conflict. The *SIPRI Yearbook 2005* notes that all the 19 conflicts recorded as major armed conflicts in 2007 – those causing over 1000 battle-related deaths in any one year – were classified as intra-state conflicts.²⁶ These conflicts are commonly characterised by gross violation of human rights in which civilians were the victims of both state and non-state violence.

Range of Actors

The *Human Security Report 2005* stresses the importance of attention for the actors in these mainly intra-state violent conflicts. It shows that nature of armed conflict has changed radically over the last ten to fifteen years. The vast majority are low-intensity civil wars, almost all of which take place in the developing world. They are typically fought by relatively small, ill-trained, lightly armed forces. Such conflicts usually rely on child soldiers, paramilitary forces and private military companies.²⁷ These companies are also hired by transnational companies that export resources such as oil, minerals or wood.²⁸

A range of actors operates in failing and marginalised states with important economic resources. Attention should not be focussed exclusively on the state when it comes to protecting the security and wellbeing of the people in these countries. These actors are also found in our own society. They can be of critical importance for protecting the security of people in areas where resources are developed or extracted. This became evident in the 1990s in the discussion Pax Christi and Amnesty Interna-

²³ <http://www.un.org/secureworld/report2.pdf> p. 106

²⁴ *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe, The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities*, Barcelona, 15 September 2004

²⁵ These principles are: the primacy of human rights, clear political authority, multilateralism, a bottom-up approach, regional focus, the use of legal instruments, and the appropriate use of force.

²⁶ *SIPRI Yearbook 2005. Armaments, Disarmament and International Security*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 83. See also: <http://yearbook2005.sipri.org/ch2/ch2>

²⁷ *Human Security Report 2005*, Liu Institute for Global Issues, Vancouver, BC, Canada, p. 34-39 See also: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/content/view/28/63/>

²⁸ Michael T. Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001, p. 195.

tional held with Shell International regarding Shell's involvement in security issues in Nigeria, Sudan and elsewhere.

Terrorism and Security at Home First

Attention for non-state actors in a violent conflict has increased significantly since the war on terror started after 11 September 2001. Although statistical data can lead to a difference of opinion on whether the threat of terrorism has increased, from the perspective of political leaders and public opinion in the West it has grown enormously. The US security strategy links terrorism directly to failed states, where terrorist networks are thought to have free hand.

Yet the war on terror is aimed less at augmenting human security than it is at preventing the security of Western societies and economies from being put at risk.

Orientation toward home security and the fact that recent terrorist attacks tend to be made by Islam-inspired radical groups and networks reinforce a negative perception of Islam in Western public opinion. The way that the war on terror is being carried out and the primary attention for home security arouse a strong anti-Western sentiment in the Islamic world. This has drawn more attention in recent years to the role of religion and general group identity in conflicts. This also draws more attention to opportunities to contribute to preventing and resolving conflicts and to building a peaceful, stable and democratic order in which groups with different ethnic or religious identities cooperate in the interest of the security of all people and groups in society.

The 2005 UN Summit: Feeble Acknowledgement for Human Security

The UN Secretary General embraced the human security approach in his report to the world leaders attending the Summit in September 2005.²⁹ He argued for many measures to strengthen human security, or as he put it, to advance the three fundamental human rights: the rights to freedom from want, freedom from fear and freedom to live in dignity. These measures seek to shape the world community's obligation to guarantee human security.

The heads of government included only a few of them in their final statement. For the US, security at home and the right to protect it without regard for others was greater than the right of all the world's citizens to human security. The heads of government stated, "We therefore reaffirm our commitment to work towards a security consensus based on the recognition that many threats are interlinked, that development, peace, security and human rights, are mutually reinforcing, that no State can best protect itself by acting entirely alone and that all States need an effective and efficient collective security system pursuant to the purposes and principles of the Charter."³⁰ On human security, they get no further than, "We commit ourselves to discussing and defining the notion of human security in the General Assembly."³¹

With that the world leaders gave insufficient substance to their collective responsibility for the common good of all people.

In the debate on future security policy, the Secretary General and the others who want to focus on human security need not restrict themselves to emphasising the moral importance and desirability of this approach. They can also point to its feasibility and to the results of a series of measures and the interventions of numerous actors. The *Human Security Report 2005* shows that the number of civil wars and the number of their victims has fallen rapidly since 1992 and that this is partly due to an appreciable increase in international activism. 'Since the end of the 1980s, the UN has spearheaded a remarkable, if often inchoate, upsurge in conflict management, conflict prevention and post-conflict peacebuilding activities by the international community. The World Bank, donor states and a number

²⁹ *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, VN, A/59/2005. See also: <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/contents.htm>

³⁰ VN, A/60/L.1, n°. 72.

³¹ VN, A/60/L.1, n°. 143.

of regional security organizations, as well as literally thousands of NGOs, have both complemented UN activities and played independent prevention and peacebuilding roles of their own.³²

In conclusion, it can be observed that the concept security, like the concept development depends on political changes on world stage. The end of the Cold War and the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 are two important points of reference. There are also two perspectives within thinking on security, the state perspective and that of the people and the communities to which they belong. Although these perspectives rather than being mutually exclusive strengthen one another, the state perspective is usually dominant. Here too the alternative security concepts such as human security and the closely related responsibility to protect originate in the deficiency of states and classic security concepts.

³² *Human Security Report 2005*, Liu Institute for Global Issues, Vancouver, BC, Canada, p. 153. See also: <http://www.humansecurityreport.info/content/view/28/63/>

Chapter 4 Possible Interventions to Promote Human Security

Introduction

When the notion human security was introduced, no one could suspect that this new security concept would exert so much influence on the international political agenda. The international campaign to ban land mines³³, the Ottawa convention, and the establishment of the International Criminal Court can all be traced back to the new human security approach. Human security is currently the cornerstone of international policy in Canada and Japan. Both countries belong to the most prominent proponents for making human security the leading security concept in foreign policy.

As was indicated, human security is new security concept that is innovative and challenging because of the way it places the civilian's perspective on security beside the state's perspective as starting point. Civilians and communities are the main reference objects for human security. This change in perspective is closely associated with the insight that, in an increasingly global and interdependent world, an effective security policy must deal with the deeper causes of state and civilian insecurity. This original perspective has placed new security issues like anti-personnel mines and cluster bombs on the international political agenda. This has also given poverty and other development-related themes a place on the security agenda.

Pax Christi President Msgr. A.H. van Luyn described human security and responsibility to protect civilians inherently bound to it as the new paradigm in international politics.³⁴ In this paradigm, selective indignation makes room for disinterested involvement, in which the concept security is not restricted to states but is applied mainly to individual people, in which the meaning of the word security is not restricted to physical safety but broadened to include socio-economic wellbeing, respect for human dignity and the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. According to Bishop Van Luyn, this requires more than integrated capacities and tasks. It also requires new partnerships.

In elaborating its own responsibility for the protection of individuals, Pax Christi describes the human security that must be protected as the extent to which 'people's security is at risk' or the degree to which people 'are free of persistent threats to their human rights, security and lives'.³⁵

The world community's responsibility to safeguard this security applies to economic, cultural and other non-governmental actors and not just to governmental actors. Each of them can have a positive or negative influence on the degree of human security. That means that, when developing strategies, it is important to look at what various actors can do to increase human security and at the degree to which organisations like Pax Christi can help these actors to find the way to their responsibility.

In what contexts is human security under pressure?

The critical success factor is proper coordination of the intervention strategies to increase human security with the context where the security of civilians and their communities is at risk. Recent research³⁶ was used to classify contexts in which human security is most at risk. This classification can be useful in identifying the main threats to human security, in preparing intervention strategies to increase human security and in entering into partnerships for this purpose.

³³ Pax Christi Netherlands was an initiator participating in the international steering committee that ultimately led to the Mine Ban Treaty (Ottawa Convention).

³⁴ Msgr. A.H. van Luyn SDB, *Responsibility for the Protection of Civilians, New Paradigm in International Politics*. See also note 6.

³⁵ This is the definition that the Canadian government uses; www.humansecurity.gc.ca/menu-en.asp. See Chapter 3 of this paper.

³⁶ Notably: - *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil war and Development Policy*, World Bank, Washington 2003; <http://econ.worldbank.org>, consulted on 10-Nov-2006
- Political Instability Task Force; Phase IV Findings, November 18, 2003; <http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/pitfp4.htm>; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

Building on categories used in international research, Pax Christi³⁷ has identified the following four contexts:

- states in conflict;
- states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction;
- marginalised states;
- authoritarian states.

These descriptions are useful in reflecting on a reality that is far more complex. The categories cannot be strictly separated. In day-to-day practice they overlap.

States in conflict

At the end of 2006, there were 18 ongoing conflicts in 15 countries. In 7 of these countries, the conflicts were serious, with many victims and much damage. The other 8 had low-intensity conflicts.³⁸ There was open ethnic conflict in 8 countries; its origin was often a denial of the rights of cultural and/or religious minorities. There was a civil conflict in 6 countries; in these, control over natural resources and/or the state played a major role.

In most countries, the conflict or conflicts had an intra-state origin. However, the effects of these internal conflicts often stretch across borders. Sudan and the Democratic Republic Congo are clear examples. It is no surprise that the chance of conflict and political instability is greater in countries whose neighbours are undergoing major civil or ethnic conflicts.³⁹ The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan show clearly that wars between states have not been eliminated. These are examples of conflicts where furthering state security is part of the responsibility to increase human security.

Most (11 of the 15) countries in which violent conflicts are fought are failing or weak states. In such countries, the government is unwilling or unable to guarantee the human security of its own citizens and even consciously endangers them.⁴⁰ Almost without exception, these countries have a long history of conflict; the current conflicts in most countries have been raging for more than a decade. This makes it difficult to find a lasting solution for many of them. More economic aid would not help most countries in conflict. Indeed, only three of these countries are in the lowest segment of the Human Development Index (HDI)⁴¹ and belong to the least developed nations. Nine countries are in the mid-section of the Index. The relation between conflict and underdevelopment seems to be more complicated than had often been thought.

³⁷ This context classification was also a main focal point in IKV Pax Christi's 2007-2010 Strategic Long-range Plan.

³⁸ Source: Monthly. G. Marshall, Major Episodes of Political Violence 1946-2006, Centre for Systemic Peace; updated 14 October 2006. <http://members.aol.com/cspmgm/warlist.htm>; consulted on 10-Nov2006; the qualification serious and less serious was borrowed from Marshall. See table 1 for a list of the countries with ongoing conflicts.

³⁹ *Political Instability Task Force Report*, Phase IV Findings, op. cit. p. 33.

⁴⁰ See: Foreign Policy and the Fund for Peace, *The Failed States Index*, May/June 2006 <http://www.fundforpeace.org/programs/fsi/fsindex2006.php>; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

⁴¹ See *Human Development Report 2006*, Table 1 Human Development Index, p. 283-286. No scores could be calculated for Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. See <http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/pdfs/report/HDR06-complete.pdf>



	Country	Since	Intensity	Type	HDI	FSI
High intensity	Iraq ^b	2003	6	Inter-state	??	4
	Somalia ^b	1988	5	Civil	??	7
	DR-Congo ^{a b}	1996	5	Civil	167	2
	Sudan ^b	2003	5	Ethnic	141	1
	Sri Lanka ^b	1983	5	Ethnic	93	25
	Burma ^b	1948	4	Ethnic	130	18
	Colombia ^b	1984	4	Civil	70	27
Low intensity	Afghanistan ^b	2001	3	Inter-state	??	10
	India	1952	2	Ethnic and civil	126	93
	Thailand	2004	1	Ethnic	74	79
	Pakistan ^b	2001	1	Ethnic	134	9
	Haiti ^{a b}	2004	1	Civil	154	8
	Nigeria ^{a b}	1997	1	Ethnic	159	22
	Turkey	2004	1	Ethnic	92	82
Saudi Arabia	2003	1	Civil	76	73	

Table 1. States in conflict (source: Marshall 2006⁴², HDI 2006, FSI 2006)

- ^a Countries in the low human development category
- ^b Countries in the top category (top 28) of failing states
- ?? No data available

1. The important element in the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Failed States Index (FSI) is a country's ranking in the list. The higher the place on the HDI, the higher the human development. The higher the place on the FSI, the more characteristics it has of a failed state.

⁴² Monthly. G. Marshall, *Major Episodes of Political Violence 1946-2006*, Center for Systemic Peace; updated 14 October 2006. <http://members.aol.com/cspm/mgm/warlist.htm>

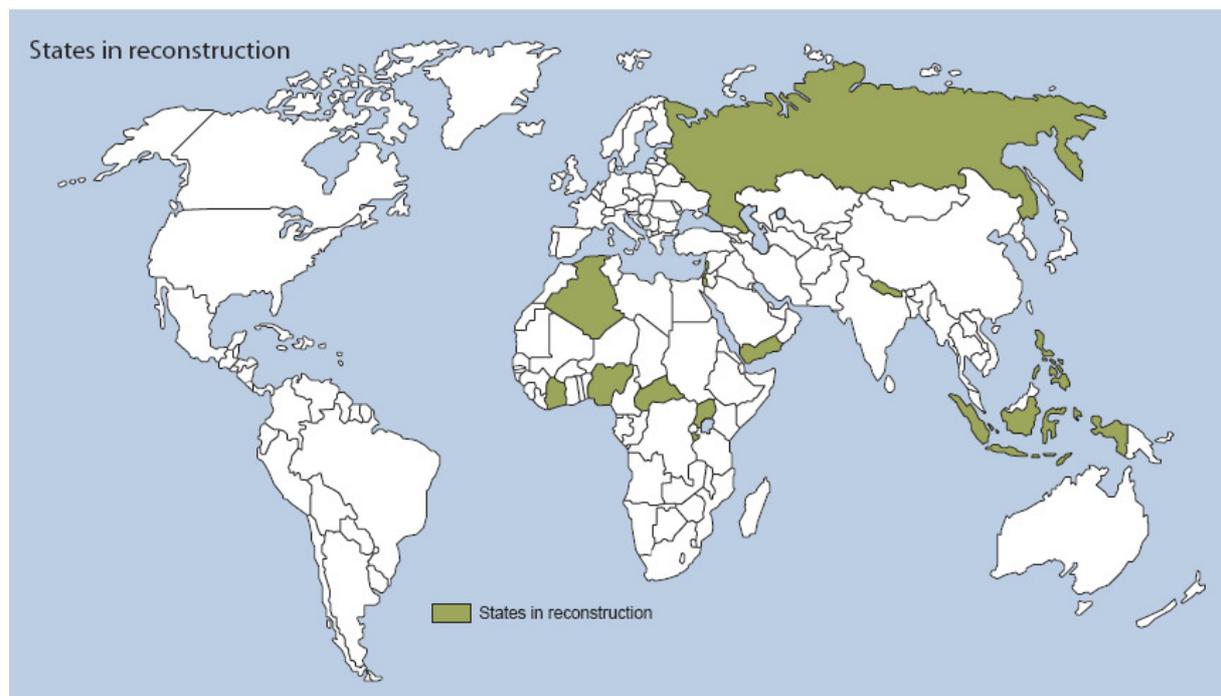
2. In different countries, like Sudan, there can be a variety of conflicts for decades. The year recorded in the second column shows the starting date of the ongoing conflict. For Sudan, this is Darfur.
3. In 2006 there were several conflicts between India and Pakistan. The second column shows the dates of the oldest conflicts. In India, this is the ethnic conflict around Assam that started in 1952. There has also been an ethnic conflict in Kashmir since 1990 and a civil conflict between Maoist rebels and the government since 2001. In Pakistan, the oldest ongoing conflict started around Ahmadis in 2001. The ethnic conflict with the Pashtuns started in 2004.

States in post-conflict reconstruction

Countries with more or less recently terminated conflicts run a high risk of reverting into conflict. These countries also easily become marginalised with few opportunities for development and a great chance of conflict. Only a few governments of states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction succeed in becoming developing countries and building a stable democratic state and thus in pursuing a policy that cares acceptably for the human security of its own population. In addition to demonstrating the failure of these governments, this also demonstrates the failure of the international community to provide them with adequate support.

Six countries where the intensity of conflict was markedly reduced up to mid-2006 and where the conflict will probably end and six countries where the conflict has been over since 2003 belong to the states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction.⁴³ In these twelve countries, there were three serious and nine less serious conflicts. The nature of the conflicts was comparable to those of the countries in conflict: six ethnic, five civil and one interstate (Israel – Lebanon/Hezbollah).

Half, six of the twelve, are weak, failing states. The majority (eight) belong to the middle section of the Human Development Index. Only four belong to the group of least developed countries. These four countries are poorly administered.⁴⁴ This combination sparks the fear that the conflict will reignite. By and large, the demarcation 'recently ended conflict' has limited value. Research shows that countries need ten to fifteen conflict-free years to minimise the chance of a relapse into violence.⁴⁵



⁴³ Marshall, op. cit.

⁴⁴ These countries are: Yemen, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic.

⁴⁵ *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, op. cit., pp. 167-169.

Country	Since	Intensity	Type	HDI	FSI
Russia Chechen Republic	1999	4	Ethnic	65	43
Philippines	1972	3	Ethnic	84	68
Uganda ^b	1986	2	Ethnic	145	21
Nepal ^b	1996	2	Civil	138	20
Israel – Palestinian Territories	1965	2	Ethnic	23	67
				100	??
Yemen ^{a b}	2004	1	Civil	150	16

Table 2. States in which the intensity of the conflict is subsiding (source: Marshall 2006, HDI 2006, FSI 2006)

Country	Since	End	Intensity	Type	HDI	FSI
Algeria	1991	2004	4	Civil	102	72
Burundi ^{a b}	1993	2005	4	Ethnic	169	15
Ivory Coast ^{a b}	2000	2005	2	Civil	164	3
Central African Republic ^{a b}	2001	2003	1	Civil	172	13
Indonesia (Atjeh)	1997	2005	1	Ethnic	108	32
Israel – Lebanon	2006	2006	1	Inter-state	23	67
					78	65

Table 3. Conflicts ended after October 2003. These have a heightened risk that the conflict will re-erupt. (source: Marshall 2006, HDI 2006, FSI 2006)

- ^a Countries in the low human development category
- ^b Countries in the top category (top 28) of failing states
- ?? No data available

Several ethnic conflicts ended in Nigeria in 2004, including the conflict between Christians and Muslims in the North. However, this country has been omitted from this list because the conflict in the South continues; Nigeria is included in the category of countries with an ongoing conflict.

Marginalised states

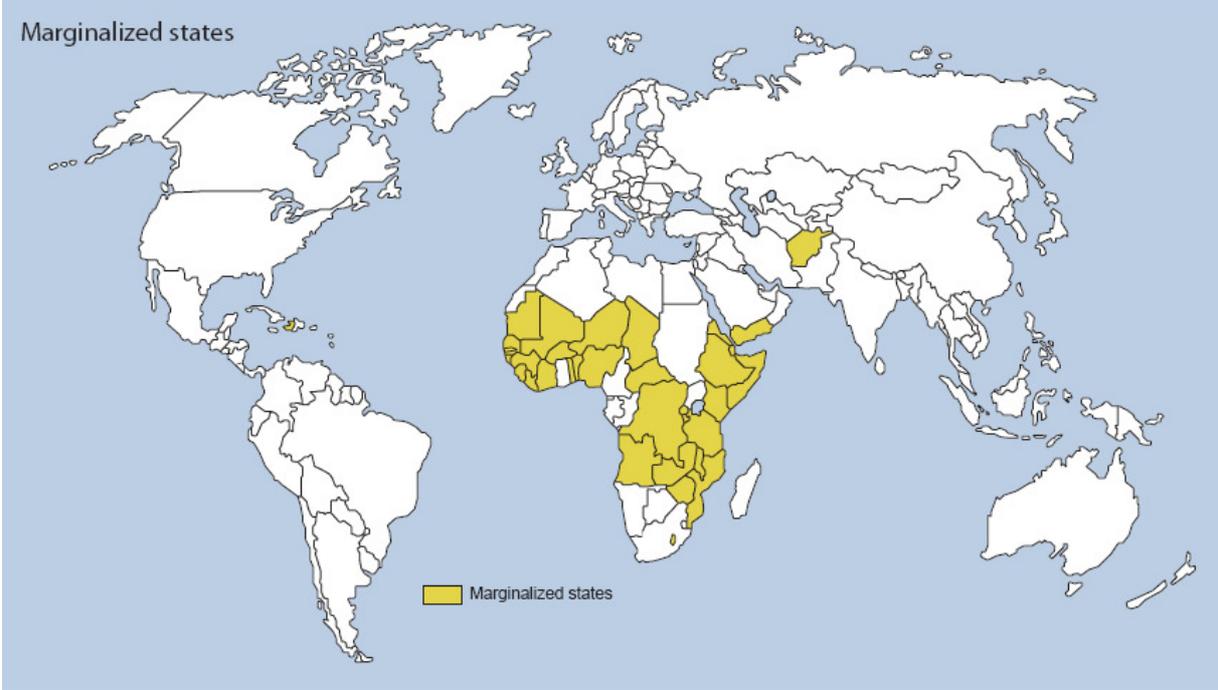
Marginalised countries, or countries at the bottom of the development ladder, follow on the heels of countries with a recent history of conflicts when it comes to having the highest risk of war.⁴⁶ The danger is evident when we look at the history of conflict in the 31 least developed countries in the low human development category of the *Human Development Report 2006*. Of these countries,⁴⁷ three had ongoing conflicts at the end of 2006 and eight were conflict-free for less than five years.

Marginalised countries are found less frequently among those with weak or failing government than are states in conflict or in post-conflict reconstruction. Where low development and poor governance coincide, there is a significant increase in susceptibility to conflict and a reduced prospect for good human security. Fourteen of the marginalised countries are categorised as weak, failing states.

⁴⁶ *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, op. cit., p. 109.

⁴⁷ See table 4 for a list of these countries, their history of conflict, place on the development ladder and on the Index of Failing States.

These fourteen all have a history of conflicts: three are at war, seven have been conflict-free for less than five years. In marginalised countries with somewhat better governance, the danger of conflict is substantially lower.⁴⁸ Working on improving the quality of governance helps marginalised countries to reduce the chance of conflict and to increase the quality of human security.



History of Conflict	Country	HDI	FSI
0 – 5 years without conflict	DR Congo ^a	167	2
	Nigeria ^a	159	22
	Yemen ^a	150	16
	Haiti ^a	154	8
	Guinea ^a	160	11
	Rwanda ^a	158	24
	Angola	161	37
	Ivory Coast ^a	164	3
	Burundi ^a	169	15
	C.A.R. ^a	172	13
5 – 10 years without conflict	Sierra Leone ^a	176	17
	Senegal	156	99
	Eritrea	157	54
	Ethiopia ^a	170	26
	Guinea-Bissau	173	46
	Mali	175	81
	Niger ^a	177	22
10 – 15 years without conflict	Lesotho	149	??
	Djibouti	148	??
	Kenya	152	34
	Chad ^a	171	6
	Mozambique	168	80

⁴⁸ The quality of governance in thirteen of these countries is somewhat better; but they are still at risk, according to the Failed States Index. Only one of these countries has been conflict-free for less than five years.

History of Conflict	Country	HDI	FSI
	Tanzania	162	71
	Zambia	165	66
	Mauritania	153	41
	Zimbabwe ^a	151	5
No history of conflict	Gambia	155	83
	Benin	163	90
	Malawi	166	29
	Burkina Faso	174	30
	Togo	147	38

Table 4. Marginalised states (source: Marshall 2006, HDI 2006, FSI 2006)

^a Marginalised countries in the top category of failing states

?? No data available

Afghanistan and Somalia may also belong to the category of least developed countries, but UNDP had no data and hence did not include them in the index.

Authoritarian states

One category where human security is endangered and violated often receives little attention in recent literature because there is no question of large-scale internal violence. This category encompasses the countries ruled by dictatorial or authoritarian regimes. In 2002, 37 countries had a severely authoritarian or autocratic regime in which there was no political competition at all.⁴⁹ The absence of large-scale violence in the vast majority of these countries is partly the result of repression and the government's large-scale violation of human rights and not the result of a deep concern for human security.

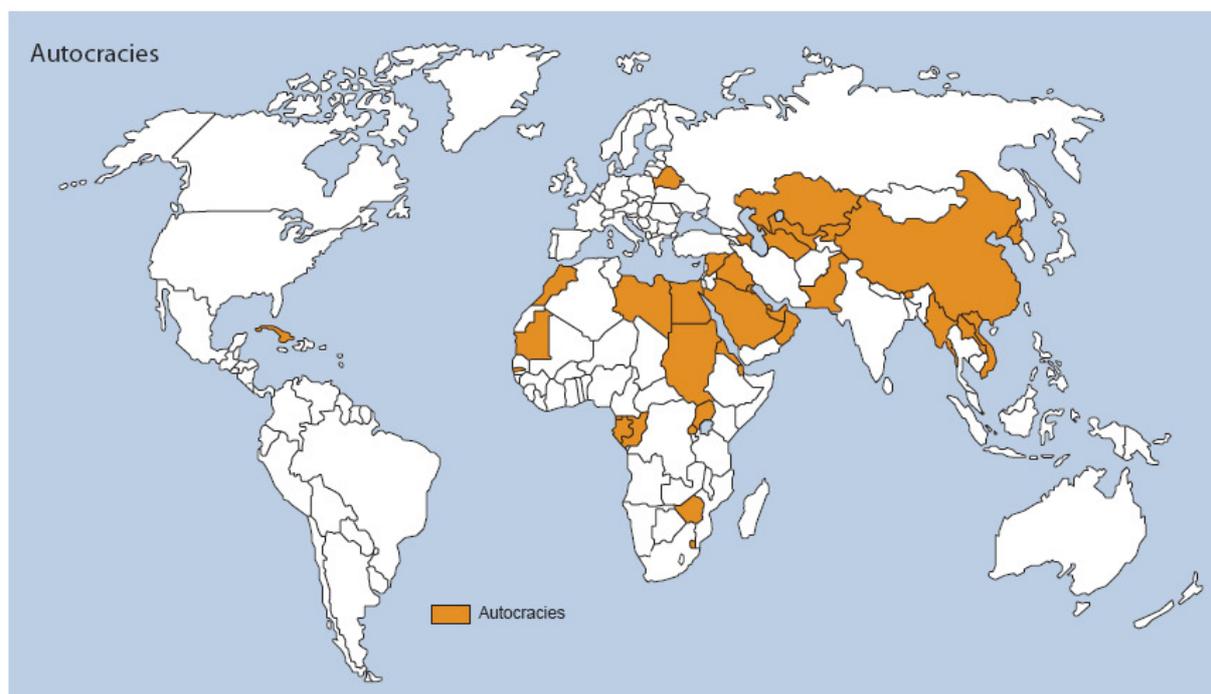
In highly developed authoritarian countries, the governments use money and amenities in addition to subjugation to repress violence. Repression is often the only means available to incumbent governments in low-income authoritarian countries. The lack of alternative and the repression contribute to only two of these five authoritarian states with a low income being categorised among the failing states.⁵⁰

In nearly half the cases (10 of 23), civilians in authoritarian states with a moderate level of development live in a failing state. Because of the higher level of development, there is something to divide in these countries, but the political system is not set up in a way that allows the various population groups to share in this. The five ongoing violent conflicts in authoritarian states occur (except for Saudi Arabia) in states with a moderate level of development but very poor, failing governments. The violence in these countries is often a response to protest by groups in society that the government excludes from prosperity and power. Violent conflicts in authoritarian states occur more frequently when discrimination against minorities is officially sanctioned, when the government applies an ideology of exclusion and when the elite originate from one specific ethnic or religious group.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Political Instability Task Force Report*, Phase IV Findings, op. cit. p. 48; see table 5 for a list of these countries.

⁵⁰ These are Rwanda and Zimbabwe.

⁵¹ *Political Instability Task Force Report*, Phase IV Findings, op. cit. p. 89-110.



Country	Autocracy score	HDI	FSI
Qatar^a	10	46	??
Saudi Arabia	10	76	73
Iraq^c	9	??	4
North Korea^c	9	??	14
Uzbekistan^c	9	113	23
Swaziland	9	146	??
Turkmenistan	9	105	45
Bhutan	8	135	39
Oman^a	8	56	??
United Arab Emirates^a	8	49	??
Azerbaijan	7	99	61
Bahrain^a	7	39	??
Burma^c	7	130	18
China	7	81	57
Cuba^a	7	50	62
Eritrea^b	7	157	54
Kuwait^a	7	33	105
Laos	7	133	40
Libya	7	64	95
Syria	7	107	33
Vietnam	7	109	70
Belarus	7	67	50
Zimbabwe^{b c}	7	151	5
Egypt	6	111	31
Kazakhstan	6	79	88
Mauritania^b	6	153	41
Morocco	6	123	76
Sudan^c	6	141	1
Equatorial Guinea	5	120	52

Country	Autocracy score	HDI	FSI
Gambia ^b	5	155	83
Pakistan ^c	5	134	9
Congo-Brazzaville	4	140	??
Gabon	4	124	84
Uganda ^c	4	145	21
Rwanda ^{b c}	4	158	24
Singapore ^a	4	25	133
Kyrgyzstan ^c	3	110	28

Table 5. Authoritarian states (source: Political Instability Taskforce 2003, HDI 2006, FSI 2006)

- ^a Countries with high human development
- ^a Countries with low human development
- ^c The ten countries in the highest category, failing states
- ?? No data available
- Autocracy score: 10 = most, 1 = least autocratic
- The ongoing conflicts in Burma, Iraq and Sudan are serious. In Pakistan and Saudi Arabia they are less severe, that in Uganda is ending.

<i>Types of Country Context</i>	<i>Human security dimensions</i>		
	Poor government	Intensity of violence	Economic development
	% in highest group of <i>Failed States Index 2006</i>	% with conflict in 2006	% in lowest group of <i>Human Development Index 2006</i>
States in conflict (n=15)	73	100	20
States in post-conflict reconstruction (n=13)	46	46	31
Marginalised states (n=31)	45	10	100
Authoritarian states (n=37)	27	14	14

Table 6. Diagram of the four contexts in which human security is in greatest danger

Interventions in Ethnic and Resource-related Conflicts

The threats to human security, and consequently the way various actors can respond, depend on more factors than whether they occur in authoritarian, marginalised, weak and failing states or in successfully emerging nations. They also depend on whether they are part of ethnic conflicts or conflicts about control over economic resources and especially (which is often the case) raw materials.

In ethnic wars, there is nearly always grave discrimination and exclusion of a population group. These wars occur in countries with a weak democracy, a significant ethnic diversity and government discrimination against ethnic minorities.⁵² Attention for the rights of minorities is thus one of the recom-

⁵² Political Instability Task Force, op. cit., p. 80.

recommendations for this type of conflict found in the International IDEA report on democratisation and human security.⁵³

Ethnic differences often coincide with religious differences. This means that religious organisations and institutions become involved both in legitimating violence or repression and in building bridges and promoting cooperation between the various population groups.

Many national and international, specifically Western, actors are usually involved in resource wars.⁵⁴ Oil and gas are two raw materials over which conflicts frequently arise. But diamonds, minerals – such as uranium, cobalt and bauxite – or wood and water can also be a source of conflict. In nearly all cases, major multinational companies and banks are involved in extracting and trading in these raw materials and are thus involved in the conflicts in the country from which these materials come. In addition, it is often not just the government that is involved in conflicts; armed guerrilla groups, criminal organisations, regional warlords and neighbouring countries also play a role.

In conflict areas, ethnic discrimination often coincides with access to profits derived from control over raw materials. Ethnic conflicts can turn into resource wars and resource wars can exacerbate ethnic antagonisms.

It is important to determine in the various contexts whether cultural and economic actors play a role in the threats to human security result from ethnic or resource conflicts. It must also be determined how these actors can be called to account for their responsibility to safeguard human security.

A More Detailed Examination of the Connection between Development, Democracy and Conflict in the Four Contexts

The synopsis shows that countries in conflict and countries recovering from recent conflict are more frequently marked by failing and poorly managed governments and less often by economic underdevelopment. Poor management is less frequent in marginalised and authoritarian countries. By definition, underdevelopment always occurs in marginalised countries, but it is also found in a few authoritarian countries.

It cannot be expected that a combination of socio-economic development and democracy building – two strategies for strengthening human security often mentioned in the same breath⁵⁵ – will be able to resolve or prevent conflicts, build peace or strengthen human security in all contexts.

Norwegian polemologist Hegre's research shows that the relation between conflict, development and democracy is complex.⁵⁶ He shows that the chance for conflict declines only in democratic countries with higher economic development and that strengthening democracy further reduces the risk of conflict only in moderately and highly developed countries.

⁵³ *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security*, op. cit. see esp. Chapter 3: 'Democratic Practice: Managing Power, Identity and Difference', pp. 77-110.

⁵⁴ Michael T. Klare, *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001, p. 213-226.

⁵⁵ See for instance: Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now*, New York: 2003, p. 58; <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/index.html>; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

In its 2005 report *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* (See chapter 12 'Strategies for Countries Affected by Conflict'), the UN Millennium Project put the emphasis on development. See: <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/reports/index.htm>; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

The Political Instability Task Force, op. cit., p. 3-4 stresses democratisation. *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security: Pursuing Peace in the 21st Century*, Stockholm, International IDEA, 2006, the recent report by International IDEA puts a heavy emphasis on building democracy. See: http://www.idea.int/publications/dchs/dchs_vol1.cfm; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

⁵⁶ Håvard Hegre, *Disentangling Democracy and Development as Determinants of Armed Conflict*, p. 35-37. http://www.prio.no/page/Publication_details/9429/40692.html?PHPSESSID=eec15bd2a642eb8551a71becc249bed5; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

These findings show that in marginalised countries, development – up to the mid-range – must first ensure that the risk of conflict is reduced. After that strengthened democracy must see to it that this becomes even less.

Most countries in conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction have long reached a moderate income; what is now needed is to strengthen democracy and the rule of law. This is evident from their place on the *Failed States Index*.

According to Hegre's study, there is no correlation between development and conflict in authoritarian countries.

The diagram also provides no uniform strategy for these countries.

Generally speaking, the chance of a successful transition from autocracy to democracy declines as the economy grows and increases when the economy shrinks. But when the economy declines, the nascent democracy risks reversal. Often ethnic tensions are another reason for backsliding into an authoritarian system.⁵⁷

The number of democratic countries has grown since the 1980 and the number of autocracies has fallen sharply.⁵⁸ The evolution toward democracy is ongoing; it is obvious that democracy, rule of law and respect for human and minority rights should be stressed in the category authoritarian states.⁵⁹

Is there an interrelationship between security, development and democracy building?

- In states in conflict: security is a precondition for building democracy and for sustained development.
- In states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction: security, development and democracy building reinforce one another in turn.
- In marginal states: development is a general precondition for sustainable peace, but democracy building is needed for security and development when these countries have a weak or failing government.
- In authoritarian states: security, democracy and development have an ambiguous relationship. In less developed countries, the chance for peaceful transition to democracy is rising, but the risk of less security arises at the first attempt to build democracy.

Strategies for Promoting Human Security: Modes for Intervening in the Four Contexts

What interventions Pax Christi undertake, with others if necessary, to promote human security? The intervention strategy to be used depends on the context. Obviously this exploration cannot be exhaustive. The exploration is aimed at the identification of dominant strategies, avenues for cooperation and ventures that can confront organisations like Pax Christi.

States in conflict

It is a familiar experience in the peace movement and in international politics that as soon as a violent conflict erupts, the modalities to contribute to peace are more remote than in the phase just preceding or just after the end of the conflict. As soon as violence erupts, two priorities becoming pressing: interventions aimed at ensuring the population's security and interventions aimed at ending the violence.

In states in conflict, Pax Christi puts first the human security of civilians and the communities of which they are a part. During armed conflicts peace organisations will do all they can to work with humanitarian organisations to protect civilians, especially refugees and displaced persons. The first step will be to call upon the parties to the conflict and any national governments involved to accept their responsibility. As long as the national government is unable or unwilling to protect its own people, an appeal based on the responsibility to protect will be made to the international community to offer security via political and military means of coercion applied under strict conditions.

⁵⁷ Political Instability Task Force, op. cit. , p. 161-170.

⁵⁸ Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr (eds.), *Peace and Conflict 2005*, CIDCM, University of Maryland, 2005, p.16; http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/peace_and_conflict.asp; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

⁵⁹ According to *Peace and Conflict 2005*, there is less government discrimination of ethnic minorities. It occurred in 45% of the states in 1950, and in 25% in 2003; op. cit. p. 31.

However, the complexity of intra-state conflicts also places restrictions on the ability to use external political and military means of coercion to impose security. Often civilians in conflict states are completely dependent on the parties to the conflict for their security. The diagram shows that 73% of the states in conflict are failing states. In these states, civilians are left to defend themselves. In various conflicts where the state fails to provide security, local communities try to provide their own security. These community-based security efforts deserve support.

In resource wars, rebel and criminal organisations are often active alongside governments. They are dependent on money from illegal trade in oil, coltan, drugs, diamonds, from extortion and kidnapping or from their friends in the diaspora. Peace organisations can help restrict or cut off the access of these groups to the market. One example of a successful campaign is the Kimberley process in which the UN, governments, private industry and NGOs worked together to use certification to end the illegal trade in diamonds thereby reducing the income of rebel groups. Similar certification efforts will be applied to wood and are perhaps also possible in the Niger Delta, where income from illegally tapped oil enriches criminals that maintain ties with separatist movements.⁶⁰

Ethnic conflicts require a totally different approach. Here campaigns will focus on the position of minorities. It is important that contacts within as well as between ethnic groups be encouraged. Studies by John Paul Lederach⁶¹ and others show that the borderlines of a conflict do not only run horizontally between various ethnic communities, but sometimes also run vertically within communities, between local communities, intermediary organisations and leaders at the top. Peace organisations can play a role when interfaces are created to promote contact and dialogue between antagonistic groups and provide access for minorities to international political forums and decision makers.

With their partners, peace organisations can ensure that modalities for a negotiated end to the conflict are explored. Diplomatic coercion is often needed to restrain or end violence. Peace organisations can contribute indirectly by inciting external governments to use these instruments. Pressure from public opinion and media attention is often necessary to achieve this. Moreover, peace forces active amid the conflict must be given a voice and those victimised by a lack of human security must be given a face. To achieve this, the forces for peace in the country in conflict must be able to communicate with one another. In times of open warfare, this communication is often extremely restricted because all belligerent parties seek approval and try to repress criticism. External peace organisations can contribute to communication between the often isolated peace groups in conflict areas and to communication within the society.

Peace organisations can join human rights organisations to ensure that violations of the laws of war and violations of humanitarian law and human rights by all belligerent parties are reported and that local peace and human rights activists have access to international forums such as the UN human rights commission. They can also help report war crimes to the International Criminal Court and, more generally, help eliminate the culture of impunity that surrounds crimes committed during conflicts.⁶²

Under special circumstances, organisations like Pax Christi can play a vigorous role in effectuating negotiations or achieving peace agreements. Chapter 3 drew attention to the many violent actors in intra-state conflicts. Governments are not always able to contact non-state actors. In Colombia, Pax Christi's mediation led to a peace agreement between the Columbian government and the guerrilla movement *Corriente Renovación Socialista*. In Uganda, the Juba peace process was set up as a result of Pax Christi's mediation. In this process the Ugandan government is negotiating with the Lord's Resistance Army under the chairmanship of the vice-president of Southern Sudan and with the support of a resource group that Pax Christi chairs. Peace organisations like Pax Christi can be energetic mediators if they have sufficient legitimacy and expertise.

⁶⁰ Paul Collier, *Development and Conflict*, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford University, 1 October, 2004, p. 7-8.

⁶¹ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997.

⁶² See also *Human Security Now*, op. cit., p. 33

States in post-conflict reconstruction

Countries in which a conflict has ended have a 50% chance of reverting to war within ten years.⁶³ The attainment of sustainable peace after armed conflicts end requires a long-term commitment⁶⁴ and efforts that cover the entire peacebuilding pallet.⁶⁵ That pallet consists of projects aimed at security, strengthening the socio-economic base for sustainable peace, improving the political infrastructure and aiding in reconciliation and justice.⁶⁶

Security-related interventions focus mainly on disarmament, demobilisation and rehabilitation (DDR) and security system reform (SSR). These include disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants and reform of security arrangements. State actors backed by specialised organisations will usually have to perform these tasks. These organisations will also be involved in activities like clearing mines so that refugees and displaced persons can safely resume agricultural work to generate their own income.

A temptation that must be resisted is to spend large budgets on building a strong(er) military force. Research shows that this substantially increases the chance of renewed violence.⁶⁷ Forcible disarmament of the population is also a thorny issue, certainly in situations in which the state cannot guarantee its citizens' security. Half of the states undergoing reconstruction score high on the Failed States Index. In these countries, the government is usually unable to guarantee the security of its citizens. Organisations like Pax Christi can join partner organisations in playing a role by designing strategies for voluntary disarmament. Civil society commitment to DDR and SSR processes increases the chance that a security policy will be developed in which the interests of people and their communities are the main concern.

Of course, investment in the socio-economic base is also necessary for sustainable peace. World Bank researchers argue for actions that would increase economic growth in these countries. That can be achieved through a combination of policy changes within the country, help from outside and greater access to the world market. However, in the first few post-conflict years the most important policy changes in these countries must be aimed more at political and social inclusion than on improving macro-economic conditions. Giving priority to political and social inclusion will show its own society and the outside world – including its own diaspora – that peace is not of ephemeral importance to a country. It is thus vitally important that infrastructure for health care and education become operational (once again) during this period. In short, human security must be visibly and enduringly strengthened.⁶⁸ At the same time, it appears that development aid in post-conflict countries has its strongest effect on economic growth 3 to 7 years after the conflict ceases. Needs are great in the first years after the conflict ends, but the capacity to absorb aid is usually lacking at that stage. In other words, development aid starts producing its best results just at the time that donors tend to phase it out.

Improvements to political infrastructure are extremely important in post-conflict situations. Peace organisations can contribute to this by supporting independent media and civil society organisations that work together to expand democratic space in society at large and strengthen the role of the rule of law and civil society. Human rights organisations play a crucial role in integrating and institutionalising the rule of law and human rights, especially after ethnic or identity-related conflicts.

⁶³ Paul Collier, *Development and Conflict*, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford University, 1 October, 2004.

⁶⁴ See also: *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, op. cit., pp. 150-166.

⁶⁵ See also: *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security*, op. cit. see esp. Chapter 5 'Democracy in War-torn Societies', pp. 153-191

⁶⁶ *Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting their Act Together*, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Oslo, 2004, p. 28; <http://www.dep.no/filarkiv/210673/rapp104.pdf>; consulted on 10-Nov-2006

⁶⁷ *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, op. cit., p. 152.

⁶⁸ The International IDEA study also included this among its recommendations for the successful introduction of democracy. See: *When Democracy Disappoints: 'The Failure to Deliver'*. p. 117-128.

Imposing democracy on states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction is certainly not without risk, especially when these are low-income countries. In his research, Paul Collier showed that imposing democracy on these low-income countries only increases the chance of war. Premature elections often imposed by outsiders carry the risk of political polarisation and encourage a winner-take-all situation.⁶⁹

Value-based organisations like Pax Christi can make a valuable contribution to reconciliation and justice. The peace that results from compulsion or negotiations is extremely fragile. There is often enormous antagonism among population groups or between former parties to a conflict and local population groups. Experience teaches that not all parties to a conflict are involved in peace arrangements reached on a national level. In such situations, there is a need for truth and reconciliation initiatives tailored to the culture and tradition of the specific population groups.

Marginalised states

Conflict prevention is the most important peacetime task in poor countries located at the bottom of the development ladder. In these countries, the risk of an open conflict is substantially greater than in more successful emerging countries. It is essential that this peace be preserved and made sustainable. Instruments to improve the socio-economic base and, after that, the political infrastructure can provide economic growth and a political and judicial structure in which everything possible is done to guarantee good governance, citizen and minority participation and the norms of the rule of law.⁷⁰

Three hazards in this category deserve special attention.⁷¹

First and foremost, research shows that trying to prevent the risk of rebellion and violence by strengthening the armed forces has a contrary effect.⁷²

Second, many countries in this category are dependent on natural resources. These can be a source of income for rebels, can encourage corruption in government, can prompt regional minorities to strive for independence and can lead to sudden shocks in national income. Interventions should focus on curbing, and preferably preventing, the dangers posed by dependence on natural resources.

This can be done directly by:

- Hampering the financing of rebels.
- Clamping down on raw material-related corruption and making the cash flows generated by trade in natural resources transparent, within the supplier country as well as in and from international companies and banks.
- Cash flow transparency also helps reduce the danger that raw material-rich regions within a country seek independence. Participation in national government reduces this risk still further.
- Controlling price shocks. This requires commitment from international financial institutions.

An indirect way to rein in and prevent these resource-dependence risks is for the country to become less dependent on one source of income, in other words by diversifying the economy. This can be encouraged by stimulating economic growth, improving socio-economic policy, international development aid and giving better access to international markets.

The third hazard that marginalised countries face in peacetime stems from one ethnic group dominating national government. This danger looms in around half of the marginalised countries where there

⁶⁹ Paul Collier, *Development and Conflict*, Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, Oxford University, 1 October, 2004, p. 8-9.

⁷⁰ See also: *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security*, op. cit. see esp. Chapter 4: 'When Democracy Falters', p. 113-151

⁷¹ See also: *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, op. cit., pp. 125-140.

⁷² See also: the International IDEA report which draws attention to the danger posed by 'securitization of development'. *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security*, op. cit. p. 195.

is no ongoing conflict. Improving the political infrastructure can result in respect for the rights of minorities and not just those of individuals.⁷³

This category of countries thus faces a multiplicity of dangers for which specific solutions are available, but they require effort from many different actors. Development aid organisations must take the lead when it comes to improving socio-economic infrastructure. The challenge is to reinforce the socio-economic base as a means for conflict prevention. The main tasks for organisations like Pax Christi are to improve the political infrastructure in the marginalised state and to prevent reinforcement of military power being elected as means of protection against dangers.

Repressive authoritarian states

Repression in authoritarian states can be so far-reaching that people dare not or cannot revolt against the massive violation of their right to security and their human rights. In such countries the main task is to improve the political infrastructure; a multiplicity of actors are called upon to work on this. Strategies aimed in particular at increasing political freedoms and the space reserved for collective action prove beneficial in the transition from authoritarian to democratic state.⁷⁴

Society's resistance against human rights violations and against the regime is usually forbidden in such countries and thus tends to be rare. International human rights and peace organisations defend the rights of local activists and try to call repressive and authoritarian governments to order by informing international public opinion and the UN Human Rights Commission of these governments' violations. They put pressure on Western governments so that they, in their turn, will put pressure on a repressive government, for instance, by imposing sanctions or halting economic support; they also call to account companies working with such regimes.⁷⁵

Through education and campaigns, supporters of international human rights and peace organisations and the societies in which they work become involved in the mobilisation to pressure Western governmental and economic actors to follow up on their responsibility for the human security of victims in these repressive states.

Research shows that the transition from autocracy to democracy is mainly the result of internal developments, especially the collective action of civil society.⁷⁶ That is why it is crucial to build cooperative networks with opposition that can count on support in their own society.

Strengthening International Rule of Law

Many interventions aimed at preventing conflicts and promoting human security are carried out in an international environment, not in the conflict area. International coalitions of NGOs have contributed to the establishment of the Mine Ban Treaty, to the prohibition against recruiting child soldiers, and to the operation of the International Criminal Court.

Thanks to NGOs, international norms for human rights and humanitarian law and the monitoring of these norms have improved substantially. That work must continue, because it lays the basis for successful intervention in local conflicts.

International-level work must also continue, because the international community lacks a satisfactory answer to certain questions even though its intervention is needed or desirable. As noted, that also applies to the questions of when a humanitarian intervention is desirable or permissible, of pre-

⁷³ See: *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security*, op. cit. see esp. Chapter 3: 'Democratic Practice: Managing Power, Identity and Difference', pp. 77-110.

⁷⁴ Jay Ulfelder, Mike Lustik, *Modelling Transitions to and from Democracy*, Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC), August 22, 2005

⁷⁵ See Thomas Risse e.a., *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge 1999.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

emptive interventions, of the international answer to international terrorism and of what will make the international community better able to take up its responsibility to protect the human security. Pax Christi is active in various such coalitions and also seeks better answers from the international community to outstanding questions and urgent problems.

Coordination and Cooperation is Needed and Must be Better

All interventions need action in several sub-areas. This requires cooperation and coordination among external governmental and non-governmental organisations at work in the affected regions. This is the conclusion that the commission chaired by Ogata and Sen reached in its recommendation to the UN Secretary General on the strengthening of human security.⁷⁷

The relation between security, development and democracy building is different in each context. That means that cooperation between peace movements and development, humanitarian and human rights organisations and governments is heavily dependent on the type of context.

In states in conflict, humanitarian aid alleviates the consequences of the lack of human security. In these states, peace is a precondition for sustainable development. However, humanitarian organisations often shy away from unmistakable calls to protect civilians or for the use of political or military coercion to resolve conflicts. Humanitarian organisations are especially concerned about losing their neutrality or ability to provide humanitarian help because of their dependence on permission from the parties to the conflict. In these situations, peace organisations that perform a more political role must take the lead in the political call for security and peace and, where possible must mobilise support among development organisations. International peace organisations and governments are better placed to facilitate negotiations. Cooperation in peace negotiations⁷⁸ between governments, peace organisations and development organisations has hardly begun.

In marginalised states, investments in the socio-economic base can prevent countries from sinking into conflict. In these states, development is a precondition for sustainable peace. Here development organisations take the lead. In these states, development and investment in the political infrastructure are the conditions for sustainable peace. Development organisations could do more to situate their development efforts in a conflict prevention context and could seek cooperation with peace organisations to strengthen political infrastructure. The work of governments and development organisations will usually be complementary.

Security-related and development-related activities must be well coordinated in states undergoing post-conflict reconstruction. Here security and development have a reciprocal relationship. Cooperation between peace organisations and development organisations should lead to a coordination of activities and, where desirable, to a global approach based on shared strategic frameworks. However, practice shows that this cooperation is far from self-evident. The work method and culture differ in the two sectors and competition on the grant and fundraising market is not always beneficial for cooperation.

The benefit to states undergoing reconstruction of cooperation among external civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations and external governments is universally recognised, but this cooperation is far from automatic. Here, again, the differences in work method and culture play an important role. In some situations, as in Iraq and Afghanistan, reconstruction is very politicised and has a dominant military dimension. That complicates cooperation between non-governmental and governmental actors. By and large, it often appears that the state perspective on security and development leads to political priorities and strategies that differ from those of the human perspective.

⁷⁷See: *Human Security Now*, op. cit., p. 60.

⁷⁸See: *Civil Society and Peacebuilding. Potential, Limitations and Critical Factors*. Social Development Department, Sustainable Development Network, World Bank, 20 December 2006.

There is no connection between security and development in authoritarian states. Research disproves the hypothesis of modernisation theorists that development will lead to democratisation. For countries with no recent experience of democracy, the chance of a peaceful transition from autocracy to democracy dwindles as the per capita income increases. Conversely, it appears that increasing the room for collective action aimed at respect for human rights organisations and advancement of citizen control benefits a peaceful transition to democracy. Cooperation and coordination between peace and human rights movements has produced good results in many such countries, although in some past and present situations the desired cooperation among governments and between governments and non-governmental organisations in supporting opposition forces within authoritarian states has sometimes proven to be practically impossible. There is no international consensus on how a peaceful transition to democracy can be bolstered. The struggle against international terrorism has aggravated that lack of consensus.

Chapter 5 Synthesis

“It is becoming increasingly clear that peace, security and development are inseparably intertwined.”⁷⁹ Such mantras echo persistently in the policy of governmental and non-governmental organisations. However, the interrelationship between security and development is rather more diversified and complex than it is clear.

Recognising human dignity as central value carries with it the demand to achieve a social, political and economic order that is based on each person’s dignity and freedom and that finds expression in peace, justice and solidarity. From a moral perspective, peace and justice – which are the result of security and development – are both the prerequisites for and the visible manifestation of human dignity. Or, as *Populorum Progressio* puts it, justice is simply another word for peace.

In everyday politics, however, the way security relates to development is dependent on political and economic interests and is thus dependent on current political developments. This makes the connection between security and development in everyday politics less transparent and less identifiable with values.

During the Cold War, political priorities, security priorities and development objectives were disconnected rather than coordinated. International politics focused primarily on maintaining international peace and security, that meant safeguarding states’ integrity, sovereignty and vital interests. Economic development and the well-being of individual people seemed subordinate to this and relegated to the responsibility of national governments supported by multilateral institutions.

After the Cold War, threats arose that could not be classified as inter-state conflicts. They were civil wars provoked and ignited by the outgrowth of globalisation, by poor government, ethnic or religious antagonism and structural inequality, in short by problems that fall within the ambit of development cooperation.

The Cold War’s classic peace and security strategies offer no answer to this broad scale of threats. That explains the need for a more integrated approach and a more normative and holistic security concept. That is why human security and peacebuilding have been placed on the international political agenda and why a growing consensus is developing to allow the use of military force to impose human security and peacebuilding objectives.

The primarily military struggle against international terrorism has crowded international attention and cooperation for human security and peacebuilding into the background. International peace and security policy relies on state security or homeland security more heavily than it did in the 1990s. This has made it more closely connected to national political and economic interests.

The way security relates to development in everyday politics is shifting. It is coming to depend heavily on the definition of security that is used. The state perspective – national security and economic growth – and the human approach – human security and human development – are not necessarily mutually exclusive but in daily politics they tend to lead to set different political priorities and to the use of different means.

When human security is the leading principle, development and security will be part of a global policy in which political priorities and the means used to achieve them are derived from the interests of people and the communities to which they belong. When homeland security is the leading principle, development is an instrument to increase one’s own security and national interests. Reconstruction work within military missions to Iraq and Afghanistan carried out under the auspices of homeland security

⁷⁹ Website of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.minbuza.nl/nl/themas,mensenrechten/vrede-en-veiligheid>, consulted on 26 January 2007.

obviously has humanitarian objectives, but these objectives are subordinated to geopolitical security interests and are intended, above all, to increase protection for the intervention forces. This reconstruction work has short-term priorities and is not by definition focussed on the security interests of people and the communities to which they belong.

The connection between security and development does not depend solely on political ideologies and international developments. Security and development also appear to interact within specific developments in a society. To all appearances, the connection between security and development is very context-specific. As we saw in Chapter 4, the connection between a lack of security and development is essentially different depending on whether a state is in conflict, is undergoing reconstruction, is marginal or is authoritarian.

These different types of connection require context-specific strategies. However, the Washington consensus on the need for deregulation, democratisation and a free market has a strong tendency to adopt a one-size-fits-all approach with a standard recipe for good government, security sector reform and strengthening the rule of law. The recipe based on the Washington consensus does not seem to work automatically in complex countries where security and development is most at risk. Researchers describe the flawed coordination between local context and external programmes and priorities as a strategy deficit.⁸⁰

A better view of the connection between security and development in states in conflict, states in post-conflict reconstruction and in marginal and authoritarian states is needed to eliminate this strategy deficit.

The present paper has drawn attention to several striking divergences from the presupposed connection between security and development:

- Most countries in conflict or post-conflict reconstruction have an average per capita income. These countries do not lack development; they lack security and good governance.
- Strengthening democracy and good government only lead to a reduced chance of conflict in moderately and highly developed countries.
- Greater development reduces the chance of conflict only in democratic countries.
- There is no connection between security and development in authoritarian states.
- The chance of successful transition from autocracy to democracy grows as the per capita income rises and when countries have made such a transition once before.
- For countries with no tradition of democracy, the chance of a peaceful transition from autocracy to democracy dwindles as the per capita income increases.
- The chance of successful democratisation in oil and gas producing countries is less than in other autocratic countries.

Insight in the context-specific connection between security and development is important for the development of successful intervention strategies for security and development. The context-specific character of the connection between security and development also requires that the policy theory applied by governments and civil society organisations be modified.

In the political arena, the notion of human security and the interests of peacebuilding seem to have been crowded into the background. The state perspective on security and development is dominant. However, it is predictable that the need for human security as supplement to state security will re-emerge in the coming years, partly as a result of the failure of the war in Iraq. The introduction of the notion human security springs from the insight that the failure of states and the lack of good governance pose a threat to peace and security. That highlights not only the stake of the state that ensures its own and its citizens' security but also the stake of over-all strategies based on human security; when these complement inadequate state security strategies, they provide a more effective answer to the scale of risks that the failure of states poses.

⁸⁰ *Towards a Strategic Framework for Peacebuilding: Getting Their Act Together*. Overview report of the Joint Utstein Study of Peace Building. Dan Smith. PRIO – International Peace Research Institute, Oslo 2004.

Given this, it is incomprehensible that the Dutch government has rejected the AIV/CAVV's⁸¹ recommendation to develop a precautionary policy aimed at keeping states from failing, preferring instead to concentrate on post-conflict reconstruction. The government accounts for this choice by referring to the effectiveness of aid, which seems more certain in countries with good governance and countries undergoing reconstruction. This, however, lacks foresight. The broad scale of threats to security and development that is partly the result of failed states cannot be ignored.

Current development policy focuses mainly on the connection between good governance and economic growth. Good governance is thus a precondition for bilateral development cooperation. Security policy is intent mainly on the connection between international security and failing states. Failing states are a policy priority. It is important to take the connection between security, development and failed states or democratisation as starting point for a more comprehensive development policy. Right now the Dutch comprehensive policy for security and development stumbles over the many restrictions imposed by a policy that places exclusive emphasis on good governance, focus countries and target figures for what the international community recognises as official development assistance (ODA).

The selection of partner countries with which the Netherlands maintains a development relationship should not be restricted to countries that have implemented or are willing to implement good governance, but should also include countries where preventative action can contribute to strengthening these countries' political infrastructure and economic base.

The issue of complementarity plays an important role in the relation between the Dutch government and civil society organisations such as IKV and Pax Christi. The Dutch government's tendency is to approach civil society organisations to contribute to achieving government objectives. The interpretation of complementarity is delicate because of the political independence from the government that civil society organisations wish to maintain. Civil society organisations' independence or neutrality also plays a role in political discourse on the connection between security and development. Development organisations do not wish to be regarded as government subcontractors, certainly not in a context when security is at stake.

At heart, the debate on complementarity revolves around the issue of the contributions made by governmental and non-governmental actors. The discussion on this role distribution should not be pursued solely in ideological terms but should also be nourished by insight in just what governments and civil society organisations can and cannot do. The context descriptions can be very useful here. The context largely determines the external parties' added value. A global policy is needed at the crossroads of development and security; governments and NGOs will have to seek cooperation or coordination with one another. It is, however, important that both sides understand which definitions of security and development are being used. Given this, it is incomprehensible that the Dutch Stability Fund set up to correlate security-related and development-related interventions should not be used to coordinate the policies of government and civil society organisations. The problems on which Pax Christi and IKV and their joint organisation IKV Pax Christi work cannot be completely grasped in terms of human security. In the Middle East, for instance, promoting human security is closely associated with promoting a sustainable solution for Israel's and the Palestinians' state security. This also applies to the reconstruction of Kosovo. It would also be difficult to eliminate threats to humanity such as possessing or developing weapons of mass destruction without taking (the benefit to) state security into account.

⁸¹ AIV/CAVV, *Falende staten, een wereldwijde verantwoordelijkheid*, Advies 34, Den Haag, Mei 2004

Chapter 6 Recommendations

This exploration of the nexus between security and development closes with several recommendations for peace and development organisations and governments.

Moral Orientation

To governments, especially the Dutch government, and non-governmental organisations

1. It is undeniable that since 11 September 2001 geopolitical and national interests have become very influential in matters concerning security and development policy. Security policy has long been politically laden and closely associated with political and economic interests. Development policy is also rapidly becoming politicised. This is unavoidable and not wrong a priori. However, different political and economic interests and state and human perspectives strive for precedence in everyday politics. That is why it is important to state more emphatically that human dignity is the moral starting point for security and development. Governments and NGOs working for peace and development will have to make clear which definitions of security and development they apply. Non-governmental organisations will have to strengthen the moral underpinning of their work.

Security

To governments, especially the Dutch government

2. The Dutch government underwrites the concept of human security, as is apparent from the Netherlands' participation in the Human Security Network. However, it is not at all clear which consequences the government attaches to this membership. Embracing human security must have consequences for the order of political priorities within and beyond defence policies and for the means allocated within this framework.

To peace organisations, especially IKV and Pax Christi and the IKV Pax Christi cooperation

3. The principle of the responsibility to protect has received substantial international support, but the international community has not yet accepted it as its leading paradigm. Organisations like IKV and Pax Christi can contribute significantly to this acceptance and to the application of the principle.

In the first place by contributing to the political debate on the conditions under which military means of coercion may be used in the context of the responsibility to protect. Without international consensus on the conditions under which the use of military means is morally, politically, legally and militarily acceptable, the principle of the responsibility to protect will have no meaning for civilians in the states in conflict who are threatened by large-scale human rights violations or ethnic cleansing.

Second it is important that peace organisations work to increase the military capacity to intervene when this is needed to protect civilians. It is striking that the capacity that national armed forces can make available for humanitarian actions is so limited when compared to the total size of the armed forces and the defence budget. Calls for an partly military and partly non-military (police, civil specialists, human rights monitors, etc.) EU Human Security Response Force and for participation in rapid response forces (as part of EU, NATO and UN) that can respond to threats to human security deserve broader political support.

Third, peace organisations will have to contribute to gathering sufficient political will to deploy political or military means of coercion.⁸² In reality, political or military means of coercion are usually not deployed, even when this is morally necessary (to prevent large-scale human rights violations as in Darfur) or politically desirable (to prevent political instability and an escalation of violence as in the Artemis operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo). Human security takes the interests of people and their communities rather than those of states as starting point. In the present political balance, the interests of states still determine the political priorities. That also explains the deployment of Dutch armed forces in Iraq and Afghanistan but not in DRC or Sudan. There should be a public debate on this subject.

4. More detailed field research could put IKV Pax Christi in a position to benefit the effectiveness of local civil peace initiatives for community-based security. But these civil efforts remain fragile in an armed conflict. That is why it is important to mobilise international attention for these efforts.
5. Among the ten countries that run the highest risk of genocide or targeted killing of political leaders, eight are autocracies.⁸³ The number of authoritarian regimes may be falling, but there are still 37. Attention for authoritarian regimes remains relevant for organisations that want to work for human security. That applies in particular to peace and human rights organisations. Organisations like IKV and Pax Christi should carry out more research on effective strategies that would allow them to support their partners' attempts to strengthen political rights and expand democratic space in authoritarian states.
6. Systematic consideration of the connection between context (classification), theories of change and strategies can give impetus to improving the effectiveness of interventions. This consideration will also have to reflect on the specific circumstances of resource wars and identity (especially ethnic) wars.

Development

To development organisations

7. The free market, deregulation and democratisation are the main pillars of development policy as presently formulated by governments and multilateral institutions. It is important that development organisations stress more emphatically their own value orientation and political perspective when qualifying or interpreting these pillars. Western countries' increasing use of development aid as instrument to increase their own security underscores this importance.

To governments, especially the Dutch government, and development organisations

8. The governments' integral policy at the crossroads of security and development encounter too many restrictions imposed by a policy that stresses good governance and focus countries. Bilateral development cooperation may not be restricted to countries with good governance. From the perspective of conflict prevention, it is also necessary to enter into development relationships with countries that risk becoming failed states. This places higher demands on the cooperation between governments and civil society organisations. The specific terms of complementary cooperation between governmental and civil actors in this context should be based primarily on the comparative advantages of the different actors.

⁸² Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Unfinished Business, Issues and Instruments*, G8 Summit 2006, July 2006.

⁸³ The top ten are: Rwanda, Burma, Algeria, Burundi, Rwanda, Ethiopia, DRC, Uganda, Afghanistan, Pakistan. According to Monty G. Marshall and Ted Robert Gurr in *Peace and Conflict 2005, A Global Survey of Armed Conflicts, Self-Determination Movements, and Democracy*, Centre for International Development & Conflict Management, 2005.

9. Development-oriented interventions can aid in preventing conflict in marginalised states. That applies in particular to countries with a failing government and a low per capita income. Development cooperation's contribution to conflict prevention should target reducing dependence on raw materials and other scarce resources (think of water), on preventing dominance by ethnic majorities and on safeguarding the rights of ethnic minorities. Equally important is an effort against corruption and for transparency in government finances.

Finally: a call for a security and development global policy

10. The nexus between security and development requires a global policy in which diplomatic, development-cooperation and peacebuilding strategies must be coordinated in accordance with the context classification. An integral policy requires complementary cooperation in which the government, development organisations and peace organisations, while retaining their own responsibilities, contribute comparatively to achieving the human dignity expressed in development and peace. Many areas in this cooperation are open to improvement: the cooperation between development organisation and peace organisations is one, another is cooperation between various departments (Foreign Affairs and Defence) a third, cooperation between government and civil cooperation organisations. The Dutch Stability Fund set up to finance global policy on the crossroads of security and development should not only encompass cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defence, but should also include civil society organisations that can make a comparative contribution.



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