

THIS EDITED BOOK IS AN EMINENTLY readable and understandable work on two very important subjects of national and international concern featuring solid contributions from productive practitioners. While we all may think we are knowledgeable about the necessity for corruption to be absent from private and institutional governance, this book explores the subject in such breadth and depth as to enlarge any future consideration. The oft-unrecognized and little-discussed interrelationship between intelligence (charmingly described in the book as “foresight”) and governance is outlined so well that intelligence, security and governance must henceforth be considered together as a seamless triangle. This is an excellent book which I highly recommend for university and advanced high school students.

— Alex Morrison, CD MSc MA  
Founding President, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre  
Former Director, School of Peace and Conflict Studies,  
Royal Roads University

THIS EDITED BOOK IS A NOVEL approach to examining the many dependencies and inter-dependencies of governance and security in a global context. The thesis introduces the need for a new approach and a new understanding that decision making on major issues relating not just to physical security but human, environmental, economic, resource and cultural security all need to find solutions within an agreed or common understanding of these interdependencies.

The groundwork for understanding the thesis is based on Royal Roads University – Roger Girouard’s Featured Essay based in part on his experiences as Commander of the Joint Canadian Contingent on the UN Integrated Mission in East Timor. He is followed by nineteen academics and practitioners, from around the world who write on widely diverse topics such as State-Caused Ethnic Conflict; Gender, State and Security; Adaptive Water Governance; Policing and Governance; Harmony and Order and Good Governance for a More Secure World. No matter what the topic, they all relate their articles back to Girouard’s introductory essay calling for a better understanding of Governance and Security.

This is an important new work for use by graduate and undergraduate students as well as national decision-makers alike.

— Vice Admiral (ret’d) Gary L. Garnett, CMM CD  
Former Vice Chief of the Canadian Defence Staff

THIS BOOK IS INDEED TIMELY AND interesting from both an academic and practitioner's view point.

I regret that I could not contribute as one of the authors.

- Adeolu Ade Adewumi  
Principal Consultant, 4Solutions Multi-Consult (4SM)  
Conflict and Security Management, Nigeria

ANYONE INTERESTED IN GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY issues will gain new insights when reading this edited volume. Scholars from a number of different contexts share their reflections and experiences of promoting and practicing governance. Scholars and practitioners of environmental security, gender security, food security and peacebuilding will read and re-read this book.

- Rebecca Spence, PhD  
Faculty, University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia  
Peaceworks Pty Ltd

THIS FASCINATING COLLECTION OF ARTICLES EXPLORES the transformative changes that would be needed if governance and security were to be defined in terms of the communities they affect rather than by Hobbesian rulers. It is an enlightening, thought-provoking set of papers, raising challenging questions.

- Hugh Miall, PhD  
Professor of International Relations at the University of Kent  
Previously, Director of the Richardson Institute for Peace Studies at Lancaster University  
Established author in Peace and Conflict Studies; his latest book is *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, with Oliver Ramsbottom and Ton Woodhouse.

THE CONTRIBUTORS TO *GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY AS A UNITARY CONCEPT*, and orchestra conductors Rippon and Kemp, have provided a compelling and interesting analysis of Girouard's "complex and murky" subject – governance and security as a unitary concept. As a senior police officer who has served in United Nations missions and as a current international private security practitioner, this work aided me to reconcile long-rooted ideas acquired through my own international service in public and private security. This book provides important information which causes one to reflect on the ethics associated with the current state of security in the world today. Hats off to the professionals who have contributed to this anthology; it makes a solid contribution to academia – future practitioners – and to those of us who are currently practicing in the field.

- Superintendent Len Babin, Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Ret'd)  
Canadian Government Envoy to the Presidential Police Reform  
Commission of Guatemala 2011–12  
President, Primoris Associates Inc., a foremost international corporate security consultancy

GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY  
as a Unitary Concept



**Dedicated to** those who have served and do serve  
the cause of peace, good governance, and global security



# GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY as a Unitary Concept

TOM RIPPON AND GRAHAM KEMP, editors

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# FOREWORD

TERRANCE POWER, PhD

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We live in dangerous times, times that require the adoption of new mental models for state governance and security.

Rippon and Kemp have produced and edited a remarkable collection of short readings spanning a wide range of geopolitical, economic, societal and historic reflections on state governance and security. The challenges examined include *inter alia* those faced by failing states; the need for resource security; a determination of the appropriate level of cooperation between states, and states within states, to include a brief look at British Columbia's First Nations' governance; identifying the benchmarks and the provision of a litmus test for good governance; examining concepts and notions relating to nation states in constant flux; a brief glance at two non-European perceptions of governance and security; and finally, an examination of state governance and security at the micro and macro levels in McLuhan's Global Village.

The authors frequently offer a way forward, grounded in lessons learned from history. Collectively, the readings provide interdisciplinary,

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multi-dimensional solutions. The beauty of their solutions is that, for the most part, governance and security are frequently treated as a merged and interrelated entity that demonstrates these subject areas' complementary dynamic interaction. In Section VIII, Gizewski calls for a comprehensive approach to the challenges, and provides the reader with a stimulating framework for consideration. One would hope that Canada's and other nations' decision makers will in due course gain awareness of Gizewski's findings.

There are eight sections from which the reader might choose to start. Whichever reading is selected, the reader will be correct. The reader will find a number of core ideas threaded throughout the topic's eight sections which, taken as a whole, reveal the governance and security mosaic.

This timely and comprehensive primer provides governance and security practitioners and students an excellent entrée to the field. The authors, each standing on a different terrain, provide wide-ranging, insightful, and richly diverse perspectives. This work should be on the library shelves of every undergraduate and graduate student and national decision maker who is deeply concerned about state governance and security. The reader will find the book's contents timely, relevant and profound.

*Professor Terrance Power, PhD*

*Wharton Fellow, Royal Roads University, Victoria, Canada*

# INTRODUCTION

## On Governance and Security as a Unitary Concept

TOM RIPPON, PhD

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Growing global insecurity and failing governance have prompted debates that continue to influence policy decisions including, more recently, positions on global warming at the Copenhagen Climate Summit. The proceedings of this gathering of representatives of nation-states reflect the insecurities and limited ability of leaders to establish a common forum for governance and security not just of their respective territories but also their interests in the context of the global community. The dialogue from this meeting exposed a diversity of views on governance and their relationship to a perceived sense of security, fortified by a collective awareness of resource scarcity.

The inability of the leaders to arrive at a consensus (other than to meet again at an unspecified time) brought to the forefront the reality that human security and civil society require an all-embracing framework for governance and security. One is reminded of the previous failures in international co-operation to establish the security of the human future, such as the Hague Peace Conventions of 1899 and 1907, the Treaty of Versailles of 1919, and the World Disarmament Conferences of 1932 and 1933, with such disastrous results.

The issues influencing governance and security in the global village are as diverse as the multi-national cultures; hence, any solutions require an inter-disciplinary, multi-dimensional approach. A sustainable solution to governance and security challenges cannot reflect an insular, silo

approach akin to Versailles. Instead, it must come from an examination of governance and security as a unitary concept. The concept should reflect the inter- and intra-relationships, an innovative approach not previously examined. The relationships should accommodate the existing political diversity of actors and the social, economic, resource and environmental dimensions intricately woven into the fabric of the phenomenon. For this to happen, there is an urgent need to establish a discourse on that framework and an equally urgent need to draw from a diversity of experiences and ideas. The strength of this innovative approach, as reflected in this book, is achieved by cross-referencing the overlapping of theories presented by the international array of authors.

In support of this approach, Kooiman asserts, “If governance is going to make an impression as a societal practice and a scholarly activity, it has to be multi-faceted. Scholarly discussion, supporting or criticising governance of whatever kind has to be multi- or interdisciplinary in nature.”<sup>1</sup> The scholarly collection of essays in this edited book has been collated to examine these multi-faceted issues and begin dialogue that goes beyond the Eurocentric perspective which has dominated much of the literature to date. The book is a single source that presents diverse issues affecting the inter-relationship of governance and security, and how these issues influence decision-making in a global context.

Governance and security have been examined previously as separate entities, yet through complementary dynamic interaction, one influences and is influenced by the other. Governance may create security but security feeds back into governance, which establishes the nature of good governance, re-enforcing and supporting its structure. By security, one does not mean just physical security, but also human, environmental, economic, resource and cultural security.

Having taught in disciplines of human security, business management, strategic studies and political science, the editors and authors have been challenged to create a single compilation of contemporary commentaries that would meet the learning outcomes. The book is designed to be a reference for undergraduate and graduate programs that examine comparative analysis as an andragogical learning methodology. Professors can use particular chapters and assign them for their lectures for the

standard twelve- to fourteen-week term. Instructors may select a series of chapters to lead discussions in comparative analysis seeking prognoses and positions through critical thinking and in-depth analysis, either face-to-face or in an online symmetrical or asymmetrical discourse forum.

The themed sections offer an overlap of ideas between the different chapters; this is the potency of its design. Chapters examine strengths and weaknesses of nation-states in their governance and security, reflecting on nation-states and institutions labelled as failed states and those regarded as sustainable.

The book begins with **Roger Girouard**'s article, whose call for a better understanding of both governance and security was premised upon experience with United Nations peacekeeping missions, such as the UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste and the subsequent UN Transitional Administration in Timor-Leste, *inter alia*. These and other multi-national interventions with failed and failing states spurred the inspiration for the book. Other contributors subsequently segue their discussions to Girouard's arguments.

The chapters present articles from authors embedded in and analysing states, with firsthand experience of the state's successes and failings. Each author proposes some theory with an in-depth analysis, theories for reflection in new contexts, and the interplay of theory and concepts. Thus, the book provides both emic and etic perspectives for comparative analysis in academic disciplines, and for reflection by those motivated by the challenges in grappling with issues of failed and failing states, and the interrelationship with governance and security.

In Section I, **Quassy Adjapawn**, from Ghana, discusses the need to restrict and re-structure educational policies for the North Region of Ghana, to establish better ethnic security. In the failing of Somalia as a nation-state and Serbia as a state resulting from internal strife and civil war, **Rosemary Cairns** discusses the means to re-establish governance and security in such situations. She asserts that one must look for solutions in that society's political and cultural traditions rather than imposing solutions from without. **Mary-Anne Neal** and **Moses Muthoki** provide a view of failing governance and security not from the perspective of the observer but from the person facing the experience, a youth from Kenya.

It is a reminder, if needed, that failing governance leads to cycles of inept security and concomitant corruption, and has a human price. The Honourable **Roy Cullen** discusses the latter in Section V.

In Section II, authors examine a breadth of issues reflecting multifaceted dimensions of security that leaders in nation-states often fail to perceive as a high priority. This failure restricts their forms of governance and thus limits their ability to deliver real security. Gender security is one such dimension overlooked almost worldwide. **Laura Balbuena González** from Peru raises this issue. Its lack of recognition has consequences that go beyond just female rights, as **María Eugenia Villarreal** reveals in her chapter on child sex-trafficking in Guatemala. In the same vein, **Tom Rippon** examines governance and security in a group within the state, outlawed motorcycle gangs. The governance and security of these outlier organizations reveal that there are always human issues (whether established formally or informally) and awareness that the state is not the sole source of governance and security for its citizens. Counter-cultures with their own forms of governance and security exist in society.

Section III presents perspectives on resource security. **Eric Abitbol** examines the issues of water security, a growing international problem affecting governance and security. It is necessary to be aware of the dynamic interaction between governance and security to ensure resource security. **Alan Breakspear** presents an innovative argument for open intelligence as a necessary resource for good governance and security. In the wake of WikiLeaks, intelligence security has become as important a resource issue as water security. **Les Chipperfield** and **Serge Vidalis** examine the role of police, military and private security agencies and their impact on the governance and security of resources in and outside the borders of nation-states.

Section IV reviews states within states and states of cooperation. Girouard focuses on nation states, but the world is more complex. Inter- and intra-national issues of governance and security occur. Several societies are colonized; the ruling elite is a different culture from its peoples. In this regard, issues of cultural or ethnic security arise. **Susanne Thiessen** examines the development of interaction between leaders of First Nations and the Nation-State of Canada, and with the Province of British



Columbia. She contemplates how governance can come into being to keep cultural security between these societies. From an international perspective, we have **Douglas Fry**'s chapter on the European experience of state co-operation in the European Union, an overarching structure with state-like jurisdictions. Today, the financial structure has come under forced review as states and financial institutions default on their fiscal responsibilities.

Section V looks at rules created to assure good governance and security and what happens when corruption overshadows such rules. In his chapter, the Honourable **Roy Cullen** asserts that sustainable governance and security can be achieved only when those who govern are not influenced by corruption. He argues that an accurate barometer of good governance in any society is the degree of corruption that permeates the security of that society, like a sickness causing havoc in its wake. **Dale Christenson** looks at good governance and security from the perspective of project governance. He concurs with Girouard's observation that governance is the complex and often murky construct of people, organizations and rules that exist to run the nation-state. This definition is relevant and consistent, and can be unilaterally applied to the definition of project governance. The successful governance of a nation is no less important than the success of a project. The implications of failed projects in a state's critical infrastructure are reflected in the story of the Kenyan youth growing up, written by Mary-Anne Neal and Moses Muthoki (in Section I).

Section VI examines the challenges faced by those mandated to assure security as defined by good governance in nation-states having to respond to constant flux. **Michael Canares** presents the Philippines as an example of a nation-state in constant flux between good and bad governance as mirrored in periods of peace or violence. National security problems in the country are met with the conventional solution of deploying the military to restore and maintain peace and order, rather than civil police. Militarization, he argues, is necessary but not sufficient for sustainable peace, a manifestation of good governance. Canares' thesis converges with that proposed by Chipperfield on policing and governance, and Vidalis on private security and military companies employed

to secure peace. Canares' theories overlap with concepts proposed by Rippon, who suggests that governance and security are issues of groups in society. The group issues demonstrate that as we attempt to form international constructs from diverse states, we realize that societies are themselves constructs of diverse smaller societies with their own governance and security issues. When the defence of core values of a nation-state is sub-contracted to external gladiators, security is compromised by corruption, as noted by the Honourable Roy Cullen.

Section VII presents two non-European traditions of governance and security, of the Aztecs and Native Americans of what is today the Eastern United States, as presented by **Graham Kemp** and **Barbara Mann**. These authors supply not only a new source of cultural ideas for good governance and security but they challenge our concepts of good and bad practices. Their respective theses call into question the prevailing Eurocentric viewpoints and examine, more objectively, their own cultural worldviews. Barbara Mann's discussion of Turtle Island First Nations complements positions presented by Susanne Thiessen in her discussion of First Nations leadership development in British Columbia.

The book finishes in Section VIII with **Peter Gizewski's** call for a Comprehensive Approach (CA) to governance and security, whose time has come. Gizewski emphasizes that our future depends on the establishment of the unitary concept for good and successful governance and security. CA is a framework that is needed to recognize the mechanics of the interaction and the forces affecting it. Above all, CA allows a set of dynamics to emerge with an awareness of the forces that will develop. As Girouard suggests, a simple set of static rules or laws will not create good governance or a more secure future for humanity. It is, as he notes, a murky and complex affair. To create clarity, we need to begin a thorough and extensive discourse.

**Graham Kemp** closes the book with a summary of our aspirations and the melding of positions postulated by all the contributing authors. We see this edited book as the beginning of a discourse on governance and security as a unitary concept rather than two complementary but separate entities. One hopes that it will promote consensus at the next Copenhagen Climate Summit, and influence discussions and decisions

regarding failed and failing states, societies, institutions and organizations in the inter- and intra-related matrix of the global village. The construct of the book is an innovative way of approaching the multi-dimensional attributes of governance and security. The strength and virtue of the book is the diversity and the overlapping perspectives of the authors, looking in, from within.

#### ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> J. Kooiman. *Governing as Governance* (London, UK: Sage, 2003), 6.



## CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

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**Eric Abitbol**, PhD (Cand.), is a Chevening Scholar, completing his doctorate (ABD) at the University of Bradford's Department of Peace Studies (UK). His FQRSC-funded research deconstructs discourses of water development in the Israel-Palestinian conflict, assessing hydropolitical practices and opportunities for building peace in the Middle East. A theorist-practitioner, Abitbol recently conducted a Conflict and Peace Effects Study for the Red Sea Dead Sea Conveyance (RSDSC) project led by the World Bank. He was the co-coordinator of the AVOW research project (Adaptive Visions of Water in the Middle East) housed at York University. He was the founding coordinator of the University of the Streets Café public conversation initiative (Institute in Community Development, Concordia University), and for many years published and edited *Cantilevers* peace and conflict resolution magazine. Abitbol is currently an international editorial advisor with the *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* based at the American University in Washington, DC. He has worked for International Alert (UK), the Minority Rights Group (UK), WaterAid (UK) and other INGOs. A researcher-practitioner, Abitbol maintains a peace research, publishing and consulting practice, Peacemedia-paixmédia. He teaches political science at Concordia University (Montreal) and publishes his work as an Associate Fellow of York University's Institute for Research and Innovation in Sustainability (IRIS).

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interests ranging from professional experiences in organizational management and development to strategic planning and marketing in peace and conflict studies. In line with his academic pursuits, his interests include peace and conflict, especially the ethnic conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. He is an adjunct lecturer at Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration (GIMPA). His articles have appeared in such learned journals as *Global Development Studies*, the *Australasian Review of African Studies*, the *Guild of Independent Scholars*, the *Journal of Alternate Perspectives in Social Science*.

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**Alan Breakspear**, BA, ndc, is a graduate of the University of Western Ontario, in English and French, and an alumnus of Canada's National Defence College. During his 30-year career in Canada's federal Public Service, he served as analyst and manager (to assistant deputy minister level) in intelligence, and in policy, program and resource management functions, in the Communications Security Establishment, Privy Council Office, Treasury Board Secretariat, Canadian Security Intelligence Service and the Solicitor General Secretariat. After leaving government,

Breakspear ran a consulting practice from 1994 providing professional services in competitive intelligence, knowledge management, strategic early warning and enterprise risk management to a range of client organizations. Since moving to Victoria in 2007, he has taught a course in intelligence and public policy at the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. He has taught competitive intelligence in many settings, including the University of Ottawa's EMBA program and the training programs of several federal departments and corporate clients. He served as chair of the Science, Technology & Environment Program Advisory Board of Royal Roads University (Victoria, BC) from 2001 to 2006, and assisted Royal Roads in developing its graduate programs in knowledge management. Breakspear has been a member of several professional societies. He is active in the Canadian Association for Security & Intelligence Studies (CASIS) and the International Association for Intelligence Education (IAFIE). He is past president of the Victoria Branch of the Canadian International Council (CIC), a national association devoted to improving the public debate on Canada's foreign policy.

**Rosemary Cairns**, MA, has been involved in community development work in northern Canada and Serbia, and election observation with the UN and OSCE in South Africa, Bosnia, Ukraine, Serbia and Georgia. She has a particular interest in locally driven peacebuilding and development in conflicted and "underdeveloped" parts of the world. She has researched how people built peace for themselves in Somaliland and the Brčko District in Bosnia. Cairns currently works with local peacebuilders in Sri Lanka, Zimbabwe, DRC and southern Sudan to develop local indicators for measuring their achievements, through UK-based Peace Direct. A former journalist, she maintains Hopebuilding wiki to distribute stories of local achievement from around the world. In 2009, she published *Islands of Achievement: How People are Rebuilding After War Ends* (Leipzig, GR: VDM-Verlag).

**Michael Canares**, MSc, is currently the monitoring and evaluation officer of the Provincial Road Management Facility Project, a project funded by the Australian Agency for International Development in the

Philippines. He previously taught for ten years at Holy Name University (Philippines) and served as research associate at the Centre for Research and Local Governance. He has an MSc in development studies from the London School of Economics and Political Science, with previous degrees in accountancy, business education, and law from Philippine universities. Canares's research interests are poverty, local governance, local development, peace and non-violence. He was trained in the evaluation of peace-building programs at the International Conflict Research Institute (UK), development and inequality at Brown University (US), and evaluation of sustainable development at the Research Institute for Managing Sustainability (Austria). His work has recently been published in the *Journal for Small Business and Entrepreneurship* and in an edited volume on urbanization and development by the Oxford University Press.

**Les Chipperfield**, BBA, joined the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in 1966. He spent the next 20 years in New Brunswick, five years in Manitoba and five years in Regina, retiring in 1996 with the rank of superintendent. He then became the deputy chief of police in Fredericton, NB for seven years followed by four years as executive director of the Atlantic Police Academy in Summerside, PEI. Over his 41 years in policing, he has been involved in a broad spectrum of operational and administrative duties with a concentration on adult education in a justice environment in later years. Chipperfield holds a BBA from UNB, graduating as the Outstanding Business Student, and is the recipient of various awards and decorations. He retired in 2007.

**Dale Christenson**, PhD, is the founder and president of the Project Management Centre of Excellence Inc. He is a certified management consultant and project management professional and specializes in project management consulting and training. Christenson is the former executive director of the Province of British Columbia's Project Management Centre of Excellence. He had been the acting assistant deputy minister of the Business Transformation and Learning Services Division as well as the Leadership Centre of BC. Prior to assuming this position, he worked as the director of project management for the Ministry of



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**The Honourable Roy Cullen**, PC, BA, MPA, qualified as a Canadian chartered accountant. He was initially elected to the House of Commons in Ottawa in a by-election in 1996 and was re-elected in 1997, 2000, 2004, and in the 2006 general elections. He retired from the Canadian House of Commons in 2008. Cullen served as chair of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance; as parliamentary secretary to the minister of finance; as parliamentary secretary to the deputy prime minister and the minister for public safety and emergency preparedness; and as chair of the Ontario Liberal caucus. He was sworn in as a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada in 2006. He also served as official opposition critic for natural resources. During his career, Cullen served as an assistant deputy minister in the British Columbia Ministry of Forests and as a vice-president in the Noranda Forest Group (now Norbord). During his tenure as parliamentary secretary to the minister of finance, Cullen was involved in designing and implementing Canada's anti-money-laundering regime. He has been active in the Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC) in the international fight against corruption and money laundering. He has spoken out about these scourges and has played a leadership role at several anti-corruption and anti-money-laundering workshops and conferences. Cullen currently serves as a director of GOPAC, and as team leader of the GOPAC Anti-Money Laundering Global Task Force. In 2008 he completed a book, *The Poverty of Corrupt Nations*, in which he examines the relationship

between corrupt leaders and poverty; as a result of the misappropriation of public assets by elected and senior officials, millions of citizens around the world are being deprived of the basic human right of the chance to move out of the ranks of the poor. He offers a Twenty-Point Plan as a way of attacking these vexing problems.

**Douglas Fry, PhD**, received his doctorate in anthropology from Indiana University in 1986 based on a combined ethological and ethnological field study of aggression among the Zapotec people of Oaxaca, Mexico. Fry is currently professor and docent in the Developmental Psychology Program at Åbo Akademi University in Vasa, Finland; concurrently, he is an adjunct research scientist in the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona. Fry has written on aggression, conflict, and conflict resolution from various theoretical perspectives. His articles have been published in journals such as the *American Anthropologist*, *Aggressive Behaviour*, *Child Development*, *Human Organization*, the *Journal of Aggression*, *Conflict Resolution and Peace Research*, and *Sex Roles*. Fry is the author of *The Human Potential for Peace* (Oxford University Press, 2006) and *Beyond War* (Oxford University Press, 2007). He is co-editor with Kaj Björkqvist of *Cultural Variation in Conflict Resolution: Alternatives to Violence* (Erlbaum, 1997) and with Graham Kemp of *Keeping the Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peaceful Societies around the World* (Routledge, 2004). He is an Associate Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*, Volumes 1-3, second edition (Elsevier/Academic Press, 2008). In 2005, Fry was awarded Åbo Akademi University's Harry Elvings Teaching Excellence Award.

**Roger Girouard, MA**, Rear Admiral (ret'd), served in the Canadian Navy for 34 years, following the command route to lead two Canadian missions overseas and head Canada's west coast navy. Experienced in offshore operations, joint and interagency missions, disaster management as well as the realm of HR management, he retired from the Canadian Forces in September 2007. Roger Girouard recently completed the Canadian Coast Guard Inquiry into the tragic sinking of the *l'Acadien*

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**Peter Gizewski**, PhD, is a senior defence scientist with the Centre for Operational Research and Analysis (DRDC-CORA), Department of National Defence, and currently serves as the strategic analyst to the Land Capabilities and Designs Operational Research Team (LCDORT) in Kingston, Ontario. He was educated at the University of Toronto (Trinity College) and Columbia University, where he was a Canadian Department of National Defence Fellow in Military and Strategic Studies and a MacArthur Fellow in Conflict, Peace and Security. Gizewski worked for over nine years as a foreign and defence policy analyst at the Canadian Institute of International Peace and Security (CIIPS), and the Canadian Centre for Global Security (CCGS) in Ottawa. He was also senior associate at the Peace and Conflict Studies Program, University of Toronto, and postdoctoral associate in Non-Proliferation Arms Control and Disarmament (NACD) at the York Centre for International and Security Studies, York University.

**Graham Kemp**, PhD, is a peace researcher and Director of Lentz Foundation for Peace Education and Research, Leeds Metropolitan University, UK. He was co-editor with Douglas Fry, *Keeping the Peace: Conflict Resolution and Peaceful Societies Around the World*. He is a regular contributor to the work of the International Peace Research Association (Nonviolent Study group) and the International Society for Research on Aggression.

**Barbara Mann**, PhD, is an Ohio Bear Clan Seneca, scholar and assistant professor at the University of Toledo, Ohio, USA. She has authored eleven books, the latest of which is *The Tainted Gift* (2009), on the deliberate spread of disease to Natives by settlers as a land-clearing tactic. Her internationally famous *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (2001, 2004, 2007) is in its third printing. She has written three other internationally known books, *George Washington's War on Native America* (2005, 2007), *Daughters of Mother Earth* (2006)—released in paperback

as *Make a Beautiful Way* (2008)—and *Native Americans, Archaeologists and the Mounds* (2003, 2006). In addition, Mann has recently published articles on the little-known connection between James Fenimore Cooper and Jane Austen; her book on the topic, *The Cooper Connection*, is due out from AMS Press in 2012. Mann is also the author of dozens of chapters and articles, especially including “*A Sign in the Sky: Dating the League of the Haudenosaunee*” (1997), today considered seminal. Her “*Where Are Your Women? Missing in Action*” (2006) has been anthologized, while her “*Greenville Treaty of 1795: Pen-and-Ink Witchcraft in the Struggle for the Old Northwest*” (2004) is highly referenced.

**Moses Muthoki**, BEd, a husband and father of two is a licensed teacher, a youth leader and a public servant. His concern with governance and ethnicity in Kenya motivated him to write a novel on tribalism. He is committed to building capacity in Kenyan youth and achieving peace among Kenyan communities. Muthoki is a facilitator and coordinator of youth activities in his home community.

**Mary-Anne Neal**, MEd, is a mother of four, teacher, writer, public servant, coach, consultant and community contributor. She recently returned from Kenya where she worked with a team of colleagues in Teachers Without Borders. She has earned awards for such varied accomplishments as: *Most Enthusiastic Teacher*, *Excellence in Written Communication*, *Public Speaking*, and *Outstanding Achievement*. Neal has facilitated workshops and delivered keynote addresses and presentations to more than 3,000 people in British Columbia. She is a passionate college instructor of leadership and communication skills.

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**Serge E. Vidalis**, PhD (Cand.), is a retired Canadian naval officer who served in Naval Special Operations and possesses expertise in maritime counter-terrorism, mine warfare and explosive ordnance disposal. His career included a five-year departure from the navy when he served as a police officer in British Columbia, Canada. Vidalis returned to active duty within weeks of September 11, 2001, and was deployed in March 2003 to the Arabian Sea in support of Operation Apollo and Operation Enduring Freedom where he led a special protection team. Vidalis holds a master of arts degree in conflict analysis and management with specialization in political, ethnic and security issues. He is currently a doctoral candidate at the University of British Columbia researching the impact of culture on western security strategies and terrorism. He is also the president of Blue Force Global, Special Services Group Ltd., a firm specializing in strategic security and emergency management services.

**María Eugenia Villarreal**, PhD, completed her doctoral studies at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México City. For 15 years, she has been working in Mexico and Central America researching child protection, the exploitation of children for sexual purposes, the trafficking of children, child pornography and sexual exploitation in tourism. Eugenia Villarreal has been a council member for the International Peace Research Association, convener of the International Commission of Human Rights (IPRA), and council member of the Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women. She has published and presented papers, and contributed to edited books, nationally and internationally.

# *FEATURED ESSAY*

## ON GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

ROGER GIROUARD, MA

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### INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPT

The great amorphous gyre of contemporary human interaction has been evolving since mankind emerged as the prime social beast to walk the Earth. Calculating, adaptive and communal, humans sought governance as a controlling and enabling model long before a national government or a United Nations was conceived. A social tenet inherited somehow from the great apes, humankind has made use of governance, structure and hierarchy, of custom and regulation, for a very long time.

Like the concept of family, the theme of governance is familiar to all cultures and regions. It surfaces in our youth through the games we play and pervades our social conduct as habit through to our burial rites. It may well be inevitable in modern life in one form or another. Even anarchists have a pecking order, revolutionaries and terrorists an alternative regime. “*The man*” is at once benevolent and oppressive. Most of all, he is necessary.

To consider governance is to ponder how humanity makes things work. It is the investigation of humankind’s successes and failures in simply being, as much as in progressing. It is the assessment of a culture’s societal mechanisms and ruling structure, and of the interfaces with the cultures that abut its sphere of influence. It is the study of the imperfect works and processes upon which the very survival of a society, a nation

or of humankind may depend. If, in the persistent global economic turmoil of 2012, economics is deservedly known as the dismal science, then governance, in this same complex and risky worldwide milieu, must be seen as the indispensable science. Governance in modern human affairs determines action or gridlock, wealth or penury, peace or conflict, health or illness, progress or arrested development.

At a fundamental human level, governance is how parents manage a home. Governance, traditional and familiar, is how a village elder oversees his or her small dominion. Governance, complex and imperfect as it is, is how the multi-faceted elements of modern society, including nation states, consider and choose. Like parenthood, it needs a standard of expertise and wisdom, which often falls far short of the needs. We make do, to be sure, but run our families, villages and nations better when governance is delivered by the experienced and the studious or at least the well read rather than the naïve, ambitious and the expeditious.

## DEFINITIONS

Governance, of course, comes in varying forms. Corporations and non-governmental organizations have governance elements, as do First Nations in Canada. The United Nations is an amalgam of governance institutions, primarily in the form represented by its member states but symbolized as much by its constituent segments, from the Security Council to UNICEF. Nation-states themselves, rooted in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), have governmental entities as varied as human culture, which serve to encompass, manage and exert the responsibilities and requirements of the state.

For the purpose of this discussion, governance is the complex and often murky construct of people, organizations and rules that exist to run the nation-state. Whether considering topics on the financial turmoil of the moment, defence and security issues or property and water rights, a recurring theme in each is that of *governance*. Concerns over Haiti, Afghanistan, North Korea, Iran and a host of other states remind us that security issues are embedded in any governance model. The subject matter can be bureaucratic and is often decidedly unglamorous, yet



governance is the crucible for choices for good or ill that touch virtually every part of our daily lives. It determines the success or failure of fragile and emerging states. It sets the conditions for deciding the quality of life of a nation and whether or not a population's human capital will achieve its potential or be left to wallow unfulfilled.

Governance is the means by which state will and power is exercised. It is the process by which every social action is effected, whether by code or word of mouth. It is the apparatus by which the disastrous tipping point is avoided and the positive change calculated and implemented. While most people perceive the threats to humanity posed by nuclear proliferation, climate change or the next pandemic, it is, in fact, the dearth of trusted and effective governance that permits these concerns to menace us at all. It is fair to argue that a governance gap can be apparent at many levels and in many jurisdictions. The challenges of failed and fragile states, of emerging nations dealing with a new spurt of commerce or industrialization of the consequences of newfound wealth and the distribution of this largesse, represent an unmet opportunity for understanding and mitigation. The consequences of these changes in parallel with their effect on the physical and social environment are profoundly in need of study, analysis and recommendations. In our own neighbourhood, British Columbia, Canada and Cascadia, we bear witness to challenges to society that derive from inadequate governance models, evident in near-field threat issues, whether they are related to homelessness, environmental degradation, economics or health-care. Good governance is the hope of every citizen, a result of both wisdom and service. Governance is the human interface between a nation's laws and its citizens. Applied with fairness, compassion and pragmatism, governance is limited only by the energy, knowledge and imagination of its practitioners. Greed, paranoia and intolerance deliver the opposite end of the spectrum.

It is commonly said that the prime function of the state and its apparatus is the protection of the borders and of the people. While acknowledging that in some regimes the emphasis is on the former rather than the latter, the predominant approach of the modern state emphasizes the security of the people in a fairly broad context. Indeed, the discussion of

what comprises *human security* in this age of rights, sustainability and transparency is, in itself, a complex theme.

Equally complex is the concept that the government *is* the citizenry. Even the Bolsheviks used this theme, so it is not an exclusively democratic concept. It refers to a system where the machinery of government and the body politic become co-influencers, where a moral contract emerges among the politician, the bureaucrat and the citizen. The totalitarian state takes a “trust me to do the thinking” approach and uses ideology and the security apparatchik to mitigate the next revolution. In the summer of 2009, it was impossible to reflect on the post-election turmoil in Iran when considering this approach to governance. The Führer and the Party have been replaced in the hierarchy by the Ayatollah in a theocracy, but the dictatorship remains. Democracies tend to be more engaging, at least in theory, seeking the electorate’s approval at each election cycle, giving the masses the option to “throw the bums out” should conditions require. Both democracies and totalitarian regimes at least touch on the aspect of civic engagement and the duties, if not rights, of citizenship. Both lament the efficacy of the two-way conversation, which the term “engagement” denotes. In a democracy, this lament can be expressed publicly.

What makes a state? What elements, physical or ethereal, combine to form an entity recognizable as a member of the international order we call nations? In *First Democracy*, Woodruff describes seven non-negotiable elements or “ideas” required of the democratic state:

1. Harmony;
2. Rule of law;
3. Freedom;
4. Natural equality;
5. Citizen wisdom;
6. Reasoning without knowledge; and
7. General education.

Most factors clearly place the emphasis on an enlightened and engaged populace rather than on the engine of government. This appears to be in contrast to the current experience in many modern democracies as exemplified by the voting trends of the last 50 years. This trend refers

all the more to the importance of the governance model, its capacity for satisfying citizen engagement, and the morals and values set in place for those charged with the role of governing.

In examining the responsibilities of the sovereign national body, Ghani, Lockhart and Carnahan discuss the ten functions of the state:

1. Legitimate monopoly on the means of violence;
2. Administrative control;
3. Management of public finances;
4. Investment in human capital;
5. Delineation of citizenship rights and duties;
6. Provision of infrastructure services;
7. Formation of the market;
8. Management of the state's assets (including the environment, natural resources and cultural assets);
9. International relations (including entering into international contracts and public borrowing); and
10. Rule of law.<sup>1</sup>

Overlaps with Woodruff are apparent, as is a divide regarding the prerogative of the sovereign entity and that of the citizenry. Well executed, we might conceive of separate, intertwined and complementary energies. Where benevolence is in lesser supply, the executions take a different form such as the Gulag, the torture chamber or the propensity for “disappearing.” Democratic or dictatorial, the functions are deployed and governance exists.

## POLITICAL IMPACT ON GOVERNANCE

Political expediency is a reality and it is worth exploring the idea of political impact on governance before looking at the structural elements of the governance machine. While governance is not politics, *per se*, it is clearly an enterprise often enmeshed in the political realities of the society in which it seeks to engage. It is subject to the scrutiny of politicians (elected or not) and exposed to the withering glare of the body politic, public opinion and an often indelicate, polarized and even raucous public

debate. Ideology, the rights agenda, political correctness, special interests, preventative theory and faith have all been ingredients in the public discourse of nations and in the crafting of the resultant legislation.

## THE ANASTAZI THEORY

In the American southwest were a people called the Anastazi. They were the precursors of the Pueblo society, a culture largely lost to the sands of time. Although traces of their presence exist in the archaeological record, the direct line to the Pueblo is lost. It is known that the Anastazi migrated from their established homeland in the 12th and 13th centuries but their reasons and their subsequent path are unknown. Many ascribe their disappearance to climate change, disease or an unrecorded cultural competitor. I have another theory.

The Anastazi were a developed and successful civilization. They succeeded in agriculture, architecture, engineering and law. In fact, they became the world's first aggressively litigious society, flirting with and flitting amongst a spectrum of legal styles. They established scripts that served as precedents and regulated family hierarchies and constructs (the Napoleonic Code). They developed conventions and tablets outlawing certain actions (English Common Law) and then expanded their regulatory regime to codify what was permitted, outlawing everything else (German Rule of Law). They experimented, combined and integrated the most complex legal framework known in pre-history while their society became so pre-occupied with legal frameworks and outcomes that daily living took on an increasingly inferior place in the people's energies and attentions.

So complex, so tightly constrained and so restrictive were the laws, oversight and enforcement by which the society was literally bound, that less and less commerce, agriculture or daily living took place. The people became so litigious and legalistic in their dealings between parties that less was being done, which had a profound and inexorable impact on the quality of life.

Indeed, people were starving because no one had time to tend the gardens or work the fields. Irrigation stopped for want of decisions on the

appeals in court and treaty pronouncements describing sharing regimes. Doctors had abandoned their practice for fear of lawsuits, which resulted in an increasing mortality rate. The civic discourse had disappeared completely because of incessant libel actions. Lifesaving products could not reach the market because of impossible standards for proving them safe. Government collapsed as every vote was mired in the courts, including that of electing the judges.

The rules that the Anastazi had once been so proud of, and the legal framework, once a symbol of their advanced status, had outsmarted them. Initiated to make the system work more efficiently, the litigious culture had become mired in regulatory and governance molasses. The Anastazi were dying of rules and knowing they were breaking the law, those who could went away and started again somewhere else.

It is evident that governance is not in and of itself *rules*. As illustrated in the Anastazi Theory above, rules are the enabler by which governance enacts and functions. Badly applied, like any tool poorly used, unintended and counter-productive consequences are spawned.

Returning to the meaning of governance, perhaps it is best to leave the definition loose. One-size-fits-all has not been a successful human approach historically. A more flexible perspective is that governance is what is required to implement the will and needs of the people. Analogies are often instructive, so think of the horseman and rider as an example of national aims embodied. Neither horse nor rider is governance; saddle, stirrups and bridle are useless alone but are powerful enablers, fitted on a strong and smart horse mounted by a skilful rider. And there it is. Effective governance is more about an amalgamated whole, just as the horse and rider are not individuals. They become a powerful team, each independent but co-dependent for success. Governance needs a seasoned rider who can give a horse its head but pull the reins in when needed and yet share in the results, happiness and satisfaction they build together. In this sense, governance verging on statesmanship seems a worthy aspiration.

## AN EXPLORATION OF THE ELEMENTS OF GOVERNANCE

Ancient Rome, the Ottoman Empire and the colonial expanse of the British Empire each functioned through bureaucracy and rules, the core elements of the engine we call governance. Whatever the age, the ideology or the result, it is fair to say that most of modern humanity hopes their governance model delivers security, stability and service. Still in use today in the signature of government correspondence, *Your Obedient Servant* describes, at least in mythology, the competent, fair and efficient civil servant upon which nations and their politicians so often depend.

If the first role of government is the security of the state, the prime role of the civil service is supporting government, traditionally through anonymous results. What should we make of the larger construct, cultural elements and systemic realities? Given a wealth of models and approaches, it is difficult to determine the boundaries of the engine of governance. Roots and tendrils reach into unintended and sometimes illegal segments of society and the state. However far they reach, the intent of governance is one of management and direction rather than of power and control. Even in the non-democratic context of the dictatorship, governance is a requirement. In the ideological model, history and culture appear to be the determining factors in forming the state's approach to governance; thus, North Korea, Indonesia, Chile and Iceland have each arrived at a different place in the early 21st century. The past notwithstanding, the morals and values of the day drive the conduct of politics and governance, presuming one accepts delineation between the two as related to the different roles of the politician and the unelected official.

Indeed, at the heart of the assessment of governance lie the bureaucrat, the functionary and the civil servant. A noble calling in pharaonic Egypt, ancient China, the Ottoman Empire and Victorian England, the modern stereotype is less kind. The reality is that good souls still hope to serve even in modern bureaucracy. A notion familiar to many Canadians is that of "peace, order and good government" as the prime deliverable

of any elected body and of the politicians we put into office. Although an imperfect theme, it remains an important and noble goal in the affairs of contemporary society. Security, stability and ethical leadership are key parts of the concept. The notion of peace, order and good governance, as rendered in the affairs of state, requires that security, stability and ethical service exist in that state. It is delivered by those who would rule in spite of the form of government and the model in place. Security, stability and ethical service require balance, a fact which demands judgment amongst those charged with meeting the expectations raised by the tenets of peace, order and good government.

Peace has historically been derived from security, a term once reserved largely for the military practitioner. With the escalating effects of globalization, the term now includes everything from the security of the state to the well-being of the people and their quality of life. It includes health, employment and access to resources, education and opportunity. The existence of a secure society is the foundation of effective governance and the two are required for the sustained improvement of the body politic and the quality of life. Governance and security are inextricably linked.

Order results from a mature society with a sense of public responsibility and openness to dialogue and discourse. Civics is related to the art and the act of citizenship, the domain of rights and responsibilities afforded an individual as a member of the state. It comprises issues of relationship, voice, access and obligation. It is a topic deeply and indelibly linked to culture and tradition, as much as statute and code. Embedded in the concept of order, the elements of a nation's security include the constabulary, guided and constrained by pertinent policies and laws, at least in theory. Again, the theme of balance and judgement arise.

Good government is a more nebulous concept. It sometimes concerns pomp and ceremony, often concerns the civil service and is invariably an unexciting image. This is where the heart of governance lies. It includes laws, policies, functionaries, statecraft and, of course, messaging or the art of effective communication. Each aspect is vital in building success for the nation. Whether considering a council of the elders or Westminster, the apparatus for pondering, deliberating, deciding and

executing those decisions is a human endeavour to be appreciated. The structure of government, the traditions and laws, and the mechanism for permitting the public voice on topics of concern are all essential elements of the effective governance model.

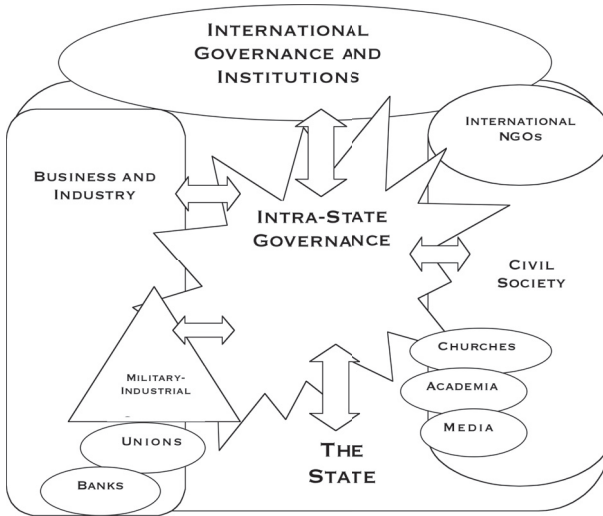
The tale of the Anastazi Theory should not be considered too jaundiced a view of the laws, the courts or the constabulary's value to the citizenry or to governance. The tale is allegorical, a cautionary tale, and is not intended to recommend that we eschew all for nothing. It refers rather to the need for balance, the very symbol that Lady Justice holds forth for us all to contemplate. Rule-sets and tradition provide structure and predictability for the social construct. One can argue its place on the political spectrum from libertarianism to socialism and back to the law-and-order agenda but few people want anarchy. While lawyers may poll only a slightly higher worth than a bank CEO in this post-fiscal-meltdown season, the need for a legal construct and the judiciary to interpret it are in the end unarguable.

Stepping back to consider how the ingredients form the whole, the themes of complexity, balance, layering and inter-connectedness become apparent. A systemic perspective is required to see the mass of activity contributing to the governance engine. In the same way, an eye for detail and the common touch are invaluable in reaching down into the trenches and gleaning the information necessary and sufficient to make it all work. Differentiation, the great art that entwines both leadership and management, is the means by which those who govern well, succeed.

As in horsemanship, the constituent parts of governance are complex, with many skill elements lingering unseen or indeed forgotten until circumstances demand. What is even more complex is the spectacular array of interrelationships upon which successful governance is dependant, through the dominant political model. Much of this relationship dynamic falls under the rubric of civil society and is vital to the health and effectiveness of the ship of state. Figure 1 illustrates a simplified representation of this intra-state network of communities, which is in fact the state, and with which its governance mechanisms must work.



Figure 1. Intra-state Governance



## CONTEXT OF THE FUNCTIONING OF GOVERNANCE

While much of our discussion about governance has been rooted in the perspective of democratic states, one must accept that even dictatorships have governance. Stalin, Hitler and Pol Pot had very effective systems that endured for a time at least. Many features of their regimes perfectly parallel elements found in democracies, reminding us that the tool of governance is, in fact, a politically creed-neutral entity, subject to the ideologies of the leadership and the state, and of the powerful bureaucracies that emerge to become decision-brokers in their own right. We must differentiate between the aim, the implement and the result. In the real world, all three are intertwined to be sure, guided and constrained by the checks and balances that are themselves a vital facet of the reality of governance.

Mao pondered the issue at length, motivated as he was by amalgamating the massive and complex crucible of China under his rule. He considered six key criteria to guide decisions and actions:

1. Words and actions should help unite and not divide the people of our various nationalities;

2. They should be beneficial and not harmful to socialist transformation and socialist construction;
3. They should help to consolidate and not undermine or weaken the people's democratic dictatorship;
4. They should help to consolidate and not undermine or weaken democratic centralism;
5. They should help to strengthen and not discard or weaken the leadership of the Communist Party; and
6. They should be beneficial and not harmful to international socialist unity and the unity of the peace-loving people of the world.

The use of the term “people’s democratic dictatorship” illustrates that blatant ideological or even politically correct terminology will often conspire to deliver Kafkaesque results in the discussion of rule and governance. Is this a political-science equivalent of *and then a miracle happens? Oz*, the *Mad Hatter, 1984* and the movie *Brazil*, perhaps one of the most haunting tales on film, all refer to the potential madness of power and control through politics and government. Of course, governance is not necessarily democracy. The caveman had governance, gleaned from the clan’s culture, size and strength. Governance by club, both the weapon and the social connotation, is a concept that is still familiar, sometimes even in democracies.

If governance does not deliver by default a freedom, service or democratic orientation, the history of the 20th century seems to suggest it should. In the modern context of human affairs and in the hopeful longing of those who want more, we seem forced to distinguish governance as deserving of a higher order of leadership and of effect. Whatever our position on the political spectrum, we seek less selfishness, fewer Swiss bank accounts and more tolerance, sustainability and a better, more broadly shared, quality of life. Most of all, we seek stewardship and servant leadership over self-interest and power for its own sake. It is perhaps more of an ideal than an ideology but one that can be found in the hearts and minds of the conservative, the libertarian and the socialist alike. Values and ethics not only matter but they ought to be at the core of the national personality, even in states of an eclectic

cultural mosaic. Where once Divine Right emanated from lineage and physical power, the modern legitimacy of the 21st-century state and its leaders is becoming increasingly rooted in the prospect of leadership as vocation for (and with) the people for the good of the nation, integrated with the neighbourhood of nations. Governance for good. Now there's a concept worth working towards.

Still today, many states fail the litmus test of good government. The North Korean police state, Iranian rigged elections, and the xenophobia of Myanmar all reflect regimes intent on survival where the people, through ideology or religious zeal, are seen as chattels. Even Mao's successors remain preoccupied with the survival of the Party as the embodiment of the state. Although their pragmatism has delivered considerable progress in terms of quality of life and even freedom, this often appears as a concern for legitimacy and a mechanism for fending off the counter-revolution, should the populace become too dissatisfied with Communist rule. It is better that the people be just slightly dissatisfied, it seems.

Rest assured that Western democracies too have their imperfections, with or without a relativistic perspective to tint the assessment. Dark days with minorities, freedom of speech, constraints on liberties and electoral impropriety fill the annals of living history, if only to confirm the fact that governance is hard and complex. It demands a principled approach as much as a deft hand, no matter what the "-ism" or "-ocracy" at play.

Failed, fragile and emergent states face the greatest challenge (from a historical, cultural and economic perspective) in arriving at an effective and survivable governance construct. Nevertheless, sizeable odds have not stopped the steady increase in the number of entities generally recognized as "countries," reaching some 195 national bodies. Nationhood remains a dream that captures the human imagination, even while the spread of religious ideology represents a unity of a different and sometimes competitive sort. These simultaneous themes refer in part to the internal tensions of scenarios such those in Haiti, Somalia, the Balkans or even Pakistan. Amplifying this domestic challenge is the dog-eat-dog reality of a crowded international community. The community

is at best subject to *realpolitik* and economic self-interest, and at worst is the field of play of malicious and deadly manipulation rooted in any of a thousand motivations and aspirations. Whether entrenched in nationalism or nihilism, we have only to ponder Chechnya, the Gaza Strip or Rwanda to acknowledge the quagmire that concurrent intra- and extra-territorial strife can create. No wonder the countries fashioned since the United Nations was formed have had such a hard go of it.

Post-colonial Africa remains, perhaps, the most tragic example of three generations of a depressing and incessant game of international snakes and ladders. The annals of the blame dialogue related to the continent could fill volumes. Billions of dollars, thousands of soldiers in combat, peacekeeping and peace-making missions, plus an infinity of international engagements have done too little for too few. The untapped human potential there waits in desperation and, frequently, violent despair. For those who subscribe to the theory that insanity means doing the same thing over and over while expecting different results, what happens in Africa seems to fit the formula.

Perhaps more than any human lesson, the living laboratory that is Africa cries out for governance models that integrate the need for security, embed the best of the anthropological and cultural foundations of the societies and, most importantly, popularize service to the whole over self-interest. As complex as the struggles of Africa are, they are not only about money, not all the result of badly drawn maps, not exclusively about resources and riches, not only about tensions between clans, and never about the weakness of the black races. Whatever the ills, they have all been exacerbated in Africa by a weakness in governance.

Whether property rights, micro-credit, resource sharing, combating corruption or managing tax revenues (every single one a governance issue) the recurring theme of the potential for beneficial change suggests that grass-roots and intra-state governance is first and foremost the leverage point for stepping away from the insanity of repeating the same thing over and over. Reflecting on the current insanity, and on the billions invested to date, some propose giving up on Africa, as if abandoning the population to the radicals, drug lords and pirates will somehow be cheaper in the long run. Until now, the governance effort

has yet to be tried; the possibility of breaking the repeated behaviour exists. Despite the seemingly intractable tribulation we see in Africa, an effective governance agenda represents real hope for the next right step. Perhaps the solution for Africa does not lie in the UN, the AU or the IMF and the top-down solutions of a hundred other acronyms. Perhaps for Africa, the solutions lie in the villages and the family groups. We return again to the power of governance. For Africa, the first step may lie in not giving up before the work begins or perceiving only a dark end that gives us the excuse to walk away.

### TO PONDER, TO MUSE, TO REFLECT

In 1965, Barry McGuire hit the radio waves with the powerful and enduring political lament and protest song called *Eve of Destruction*. As a rallying cry for action, it was superb. As a predictor of imminent conflagration, it was completely wrong. What we can dispassionately glean from this song is that Malthusian chants sell or that predicting doom helps mobilize change. But what happens when the dark clouds seem so dire and the end so imminent that the populace checks out? Fifty years on, we can see profound change for the good in America and across this planet, assuming we are willing to see it. It did not happen by accident but by an amalgam of work by governments, activists, power brokers, citizens and organizations. It wasn't easy or often elegant but much good has been done.

To state that governance is profoundly difficult is to offer a simplification that is elegant in the extreme. It is easier to kibitz, cajole or complain than to do. It *is*, in fact, easier to destroy ourselves than to heal the ugliness around us or fight the evil in the dark spaces where so many of us fear to tread. Apologists, cynics and anarchists would have us do just that but, despite the naysayers, mankind is not easily given to surrender. Certainly, good leadership entails tenacity as much as vision.

In simplistic terms, there are three types of people in the world: wolves, sheep and sheepdogs. The good men and women who fall into the latter category don't give up in their good works. Sadly, neither do the wolves with their agenda of self-interest and harm. Retrenchment

or isolationism is not what humanity or the planet on which we live are in need of today. The economic, societal and ecological complexities of the moment require engagement, engagement and engagement. To do less is to abdicate our responsibilities to ourselves, each other and our inheritors.

Determining to do something right is the first step. The second, deciding how, is the tougher challenge. The good intentions that pave the road to hell speak volumes and are more than anything the cause of hesitation, lest gold, blood, reputation or moral standing be the cost. Patton's statement "take no counsel of your fears" helps to reinforce the spine, especially in apparent no-win situations where only least-worst options remain. "It's the craftsman, not the tools" approach may be useful in harnessing energy, budgets and attention, as long as one can also accept that scenarios are affected as much by uncontrollable realities as by human foibles, which may in fact be mitigated some of the time.

The more fundamental question being considered is simply: Are we our brother's keeper? The self-interested corollary, which also begs an answer, especially in our connected global village is: Do we have the right to prevent the turmoil there from coming here? An absolute yes or no for either question is difficult to arrive at but with even a graduated "it depends," the implications are significant. It has traditionally been democracies that ponder the question of just or humanitarian intervention the most.

For those who rail about a 20th century of rampant Westernism and blame the ills and evils of the world on the USA or their Allies, there are three names: Hitler, Stalin, Mao. They are guilty of over a billion dead among them, and more hate and lasting resentment than all the sponsored-in-the-USA errors or alleged and assumed conspiracies the nations of the West, combined, have ever amassed. These three were totalitarians and totalitarianism, whether Fascism, Nazism, Communism or Radical Islamism, remains the gravest threat to both have and have-not populations. Notwithstanding what some may offer as rays of light inside these three evil regimes, their ills always outweigh their benevolent rhetoric. The Commonwealth, the Allies, NATO, the European Union, and la Francophonie may be imperfect but they have left more on the

positive side of the ledger over the last 100 years than the opposite style of regimes ever will. This is not an apologist's tale but a fair accounting of history.

Democracy has long admitted its foibles and imperfections. This admission is, in part, so that it may guard against losing its humility and, in turn, seek to take more than it gives to its community. In the larger context, democracies too must aim to survive through what is described as a clash of civilizations. Harshly put, we are perhaps facing the barbarians of the 21st century – people who have no love of life and luxuriate in the deaths of their own children, let alone the deaths of their enemy's child. This sad truth is what separates us and not finance, means or the rich-poor divide. Poverty has survived many centuries without this level of hate, driven by ideological absolutism or religious zeal entwined with a bloodlust for power and control. The world's Al Qaedas have no desire to improve the lot of the masses. The Taliban never worked to heal root causes but strove to dominate and subjugate, to dim their world into another Dark Age. Welcome to the 21st century, where things are hard again and *heavy lifting* is the only way. It is said that there are no atheists in a foxhole and it could fairly be said that there are no pacifists in a knife-fight. Taken further, in the new world order, there are no innocents in a suicide bombing – they are all combatants. Welcome to the new *total* war never envisaged by Bismarck.

The real issue we must come to grips with is whether intervention causes radicalism or self-isolation enables it? Neither political analysis nor social sciences have determined the answer and we may never know. Perhaps, instead of focusing on the 2% of humanity that is propounding the violent cancer of murderous radicalism, we should examine the more general malaise of the disenfranchised and the vulnerable. Even those who disavow the theory of “root cause” can at least support an examination of the quality of life on the bottom tier of humanity on humanitarian grounds. The business case is even stronger if one accepts that stability is good for business. Values, compassion, systemic thinking and inclusiveness, along with humility, openness and sensitivity all bear fruit. So too does decisive action, sometimes uncomfortable, but

required and effective in a balanced approach. The theme of reward and consequence, the carrot and the stick, is simplistic but human.

Perhaps the point is not about the delivery of democracy and the torpedoes be damned. As well intentioned as the Bush administration may have been, the “you’re with us or against us” message was counter-productive. So was the theme of injecting democracy to make the world better. The mad rush to that end has sometimes delivered sad unintended consequences. With patience as a premise and a prospect for the least wrong done over the longer term, the point is to deliver the fundamentals first. The herder, peasant, peon, serf in Somalia, Kurdistan, Guatemala or Myanmar has no interest in the Chablis diplomacy of Geneva or the technicolour dreams of the human rights agenda. She would be satisfied to eat a little more, to die a little less. You may recall Mackenzie King’s mid-World War II election platform vacillation of “conscription if necessary but not necessarily conscription.” We may now consider “perhaps democracy, but better democracy when ready.”

So what do we focus upon? The need for governance calls for integrated research, analysis and coherent effort. The following serves to temper the perspective taken on embarking on such a quest:

1. Address broad and integrated themes supportive to the intra-state governance domain, whatever the political construct in place;
2. Maximize quality of life initiatives and structures;
3. Integrate security, stability and economic concepts;
4. Differentiate the consequences of sharing and redistribution, of aid and dependence, of self-worth and self-determination; and
5. No matter the desire to assist, eschew ideological imperialism and the “we know better” conundrum.

In considering this list, a crucial perspective for assistance and intervention is that described by the term *anthropologically correct*. The term expresses the extreme opposite of political correctness, that notorious term describing a world of apolitical androgyny, where an artificial sameness aims to expunge, insult or offend. This is a domain where tolerance is a violent act.



The anthropologically correct viewer readily admits, celebrates and takes into account historical and cultural differences. With sincere curiosity, he or she seeks out the styles and strengths and aims to embed such elements into systems, even while existing in the complex modern world. Rather than denying cultural roots or eradicating perceived colonial mechanisms, the approach seeks to integrate, maximize and deploy the best of what works, while adapting and improving along the way. More than anything, it is a process that seeks the roots of servant leadership in every culture it perceives, with the goal of making service a sign of strength rather than weakness.

Depending on your place in the world order, hope can be a luxury, vision, mirage or a singular thread by which one clings to survival. It is not unfair to state that the only souls with a right to hope are those who depend upon it the most. For the rest of us, our relationship with hope is that of delivering it, not of holding onto it. Governance and security, as a unitary concept, is about those who have the will and the power and the vision to deliver on the hope of those around us who are in need. The string of activity that emerges follows the look, see, hear, scrutinize, plan and do sequencing. It is an iterative cycle with the aim of constant improvement. It is absolutely unoriginal in the realm of change management. It is worth starting now with a governance lens.

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## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> A. Ghani, C. Lockhart and M. Carnahan. *Closing the Sovereignty Gap: An Approach to State-Building*. Working Paper 253, Overseas Development Institute, London, 2005.