Threats to Human Security in the Great Lakes Region

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Abstract

Threats to human security in the Great Lakes Region (GLR) are topical issues generating uncompromising heated debates on factors causing threats and the way out. The Great Lakes Region is defined to include Zambia, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Congo Republic, Angola, Sudan, Central Africa Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo. This article touches on unaddressed issues, or issues that have had no solution for a long time. Uncertainty about the root causes of threats and hesitations in the GLR has culminated into societies exhibiting insecure attitude, fear and insecurity among people and within states. Threats to human security in GLR are complex and entail a wide range of antagonistic approaches. One has to take into consideration, first, the great cultural diversity of GLR; second, the reflection of the varying opinions and positions held by different countries and their policy-making apparatus; and thirdly, the question of inclusiveness and leadership.

1.0 Introduction

Human security has been an item on the peace and security agenda of the Great Lakes Region (GLR). While human security in the GLR has evolved largely in the context of post-conflict reconstruction, it is clear that reform of the human security system is not only relevant for such contexts but has broader implications as well for development and democracy.

Non-accountable and poorly governed national institutions leading to threats of human security can have adverse effects on the investment climate, democratisation processes and the sense of security of the general public. Bad governance has been the source of the many human rights abuses and catastrophic conflicts. Changing political and economic circumstances have forced some governments to consider some degree of reform, designed to change the way human security institutions are operated, governed, funded, or related to the people. Some of such reforms have been characterised by piecemeal approaches rather than comprehensive and integrated planning and implementation frameworks. Some have differed very much in their depth and sustainability. They have also largely reflected external design and sponsorship.[2]

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1.1 Challenges facing the Great Lakes Region (GLR)

The Great Lakes Region, some members being Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, face some social, development, trade, economic, education, health, diplomatic, defence, security and political challenges. Some of these challenges cannot be tackled effectively by individual members. Animal diseases and organised crime gangs go beyond boundaries. War outcomes also spill from the affected countries to their neighbours thus damaging their socio-economic activities. Even trade is threatened by the existence of different product standards and tariff regimes, weak customs infrastructure and bad roads. The socio-economic, political and security cooperation of the GLR like the aims of SADC are equally wide-ranging, and intended to address the various common challenges (*http://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Southern_African_Development_Community*). SADC's aims, some of which even the GLR are applying, are set out in different sources. The sources include the treaty establishing the organisation (SADC Treaty) and various protocols including other SADC Treaties, such as the Corruption Protocol, Firearms Protocol, OPDS Protocol, Health Protocol and Education Protocol. There are also development and cooperation plans such as the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and the Strategic Indicative Plan of the Organ (SIPO). The list includes also declarations such as those on HIV/AIDS and food security. Not all of the treaties and plans have been harmonised with the more detailed and recent plans such as the RISDP and SIPO.

In some areas, mere coordination of national activities and policies is the aim of cooperation, while in others the member states aim at more far-reaching forms of cooperation. For example, the members largely aim to coordinate their foreign policies, but they aim to harmonise their trade and economic policies with a view to establishing a common market with common regulatory institutions.

However, one has to assess the unavoidable GLR re-assessment of security, the concept of human security and shift the focus or the direction of what an African really wants rather than what the governments and their specialised security bodies are interested in, or perceive as threats to human security in Africa. Sadako Ogata once said that human security was a term that could mean all and nothing; it was as elusive as it was appealing. As the most general observation, Sadaka Ogata observed that human security could be considered as freedom from death, poverty, pain, fear or whatever else makes people feel insecure. In this sense, Sadaka Ogata indicated that almost any matter concerning people's lives could fall within the scope of human security, rendering it conceptually vague and of little practical use (*www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/*).

In the GLR, there are such catchwords like economic empowerment at grassroots level, democracy and good governance. To catch up with those catchwords one has to travel beyond the political aspects of executive, legislative and judiciary, hence, looking at the actual practices prevailing in the GLR countries especially in those areas that cause threats among the civil society and the government. One might need to address the root causes of threats to human security before discussing the threats themselves.

1.2   Root causes of threats to human security

The three root causes of threats to human security are corruption, impunity and exclusivity. Corruption is seen as an enemy of justice and a major root cause of threats to human security in the GLR. Where there is no justice there is bound to be threat to human security. From the onset, one has to address the role of civil society and the mechanism to help the leadership in the GLR to root out root causes of threats to human security. Impunity is seen as the behaviour of doing wrong repeatedly, just because there is nobody who could make one account for one's wrongs. Exclusivity is when the general public is still excluded from the governance system. Any governance is seen as a two-way process between the governed and the governors. When governance is good then it is a contract between the governed and the governors. In a situation where people are virtually not represented in their governance, it is then bad governance regardless of elections and other democratic manoeuvres.

In some GLR countries, constitutional and institutional structures in themselves are not enough to ensure economic empowerment, democracy and good governance. What is needed is active involvement of the civil society in local and national affairs. In 2007, in Washington, D.C., U.S. there was a joint initiative meeting of the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the African Union (AU) entitled *Democracy Bridge: Multilateral Regional Efforts for the Promotion and Defence of Democracy in Africa and America*. As suggested by its name, the objective of the event was to revise challenges on the consolidation of democracy in Africa and in the Americas, and particularly to analyse the role of the regional political bodies in both continents (the African Union and the OAS) in the promotion and improvement of democracy. The revision of mandates and activities of both multilateral organisations included a comparative analysis of their work on protecting and promoting democracy, paying particular attention to the newly approved African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance and the Inter-American Democratic Charter.

Discussions delved on themes including the strengthening of democratic institutions, promotion of democratic values, electoral observation, political dialogue and conflict prevention, protection and promotion of human rights and civil society and multilateral organisations. It was an opportunity to exchange ideas among civil society organisations from Africa and the Americas. The debate and deliberations generated by civil society organisations in these forums were at the centre of the agenda of governance and human rights, and contributed to the achievement of the objectives proposed by the OAS General Assembly and the Summits of the Americas Process.

At the joint initiative in Washington, D.C. it was revealed that strong and dependable economic and democratic governance institutions enable frameworks where the civil society could work together towards a positive common future. From that joint initiative it was believed that strong institutional frameworks in social and economic governance could provide an enabling environment for development. This was due to the fact that these could foresee strategies and implementation roadmaps to meet the challenges of national and regional situations as well as the global economy.

Economic empowerment, democracy and good governance in a democratic society are taken to entail openness, transparency, accountability and compliance with the

rule of law. The civil society has to respect the principles so as to enforce the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs. The collective endeavours of the citizens are the basis of the society. Citizens as individuals or in groups do act voluntarily to improve their communities, hence, the term 'civil society'. The civil society growth and expanded partnership with the government and private sector help the nations to boost their productivity.

The First Summit of the Great Lakes Region Heads of State and Government took place in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania from 19th to 20th November 2004. This was an international Conference on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region. The summit came out with the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region. The summit was aware of the need to respect democracy and good governance, the fundamental principles enshrined in the UN Charter, and the Constitutive Act of the OAU. These principles included territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-interference and non-aggression, prohibition of any member state from allowing the use of its territory as a base for aggression and subversion against another member state. This underscored the need for effective and sustained political will to jointly seek peaceful solutions and especially to honour the Heads of State and government commitments in a spirit of mutual trust.

The Heads of State and Government committed themselves to promote in their states in the region, policies and strategies based on respect of values, principles and norms of democracy and good governance, as well as observance of human rights. They committed themselves to combat all discriminatory ideologies, policies and practices; develop common policies and programmes in civic education; and promote policies of national unity.

The Dar es Salaam Declaration of the Heads of State and Government of the GLR agreed to seal a *Pact on Security, Stability and Development*, which materialised into their determination to transform the Great Lakes Region into a space of:

- sustainable peace and security for states and their peoples;
- political and social stability;
- shared growth and development;
- cooperation based on convergent strategies; and
- policies driven by a common destiny.

The Dar es Salaam Declaration recognised accumulated deficits in governance and the failure of the democratisation processes as the main factors or threats to human security.

2.0 Threats to human security in the GLR

2.1 *Poverty*

Poverty in the GLR can be seen to exhibit more often lack of basic human needs, such as clean water, nutrition, health care, education, clothing and shelter. This is due to the inability to afford them (*http://encarta.msn.com/encarta/features/dictionary/DictionaryResults.aspx?*). Poverty is the state of being poor, which culminates into the state of not having enough money to take care of basic needs.

At the same time, poverty can be taken to impinge on the infertility of soil, that is lack of soil fertility or nutrients. This is also referred to as absolute poverty or destitution. Relative poverty is the condition of having fewer resources or less income than others within a society or country, or compared to worldwide averages. Under non-industrialised modes of economic production, widespread poverty had been accepted as inevitable. The total output of goods and services, even if equally distributed, would still have been insufficient to give the entire population a comfortable standard of living by prevailing standards. Such a situation culminates into a threat to human peace. With the economic productivity that resulted from industrialisation however this ceased to be the case in the industrialised countries (Krugman, *et al.*, 2009).

Analysis of social aspects of poverty links conditions of scarcity to aspects of the distribution of resources and power in a society. It recognises that poverty may be a function of the diminished capability of people to live the kind of life they value (Amartya, 1985). The social aspects of poverty may include lack of access to information, education, health care or political power (*http://www.journalofpoverty.org /JOPPURP/JOPPURP.HTM*). Poverty is also understood as an aspect of unequal social status and inequitable social relationships. It is experienced as social exclusion, dependency and diminished capacity to participate, or to develop meaningful connections with other people (Silver, 1994).

2.1.1 Causes of poverty leading to threats to human security
(a) Scarcity of basic needs
Rise in the cost of living makes poor people less able to afford items. Poor people spend a greater portion of their budget on food than richer people. As a result, poor households and those near the poverty threshold can be particularly vulnerable to increase in food prices. Intensive farming often leads to a vicious cycle of exhaustion of soil fertility and decline of agricultural yields. Overpopulation and lack of access to birth control methods drive poverty; at the same time, poverty causes overpopulation as it gives women little power to control giving birth, or to have educational attainment or a career (http://www.henrygeorge.org/popsup.htm).

(b) Barriers to opportunities
The unwillingness of governments and feudal elites to give full-fledged property rights in land to their tenants is cited as the chief obstacle to development (Fareed, 2008). This lack of economic freedom inhibits entrepreneurship among the poor. New enterprises and foreign investment can be driven away by the results of inefficient institutions, notably corruption, weak rule of law and excessive bureaucratic burdens (Krugman *et al.*, 2009). Lack of financial services as a result of restrictive regulations such as the requirements for banking licenses, makes it hard for even smaller micro savings programmes to reach the poor.

2.1.2 *Effects of poverty*

(a) Health

Hunger, disease, and little or no education describe a person in poverty. Those living in poverty suffer disproportionately from hunger or even starvation, disease, and lower life expectancy. According to the World Health Organisation, hunger and malnutrition are the gravest threats to the world's public health, and malnutrition is by far the biggest contributor to child mortality, present in half of all cases (http://www.csmonitor.com/2007/0724/p01s01-wogi.html). Women who have born children into poverty may not be able to nourish them efficiently and provide adequate care in infancy. The children may also suffer from diseases that might have been passed down to them through birth.

(b) Education

Research has found that there is high risk of educational underachievement for children who are from low-income backgrounds than from financially-able families. This is often a process that begins in primary school for some less fortunate children. There is indeed varied explanation as to why students tend to drop out of school. For children with low resources, the risk factors are similar to excuses such as juvenile delinquency rates, higher levels of teenage pregnancy, and the economic dependency upon their low income parent or parents (Huston, 1991).

Society and/or families that submit low levels of investment in the education and development of less fortunate children, end up with less favourable results for the children who see a life of parental employment reduction and low wages. Higher rates of early childbearing with all the connected risks to family, health and well-being are important issues to address since education from pre-school to high school is both identifiably meaningful in one's life (*ibid.*).

Poverty often drastically affects children's success at school. A child's home activities, preferences, and mannerism must align with the world, and in the cases that they do not, these students are at a disadvantage at school and most importantly the classroom (Solley, 2005). Therefore, it is the case that children who live at or below the poverty level will have far less success educationally than children who live above the poverty line. Poor children have a great deal less healthcare and this ultimately results in frequent absenteeism in the academic year. Additionally, poor children are more likely to suffer from hunger, fatigue, irritability, headaches, ear infections, flu, and colds, (*ibid*). These illnesses could potentially restrict a child or student's focus and concentration.

(c) Housing

Slum-dwellers, who make up a third of the world's urban population, live in poverty no better, if not worse, than rural people, who are the traditional focus of the poverty in the developing world, according to a report by the United Nations. Most of the children living in institutions around the world have a surviving parent or close relative, and they most commonly entered orphanages because of poverty. Experts and child advocates maintain that orphanages are expensive and often harm children's development by separating them from their families. It is speculated that, flush with

money, orphanages are increasing and pushing for children to join even though demographic data show that even the poorest extended families usually take in children whose parents have died.

2.2 Violent socio-political conflicts

The biggest threat to human security exists in situations of armed conflict due to violent socio-political conflicts brought about by ethnic, religious, socio-economic and a variety of other complex dynamics. It involves victimisation of the civilians and non-combatants. Dag Hammarskjold, the late UN Secretary General together with 15 others and the entire crew died in a mysterious plane crash near Ndola, Zambia on 18th September 1961. Dag Hammarskjold was in his efforts to bring peace to the newly independent Belgian Congo (which at independence in 1960 had assumed the name of the Republic of the Congo) in terms of Article 99 of the UN Charter. The fateful flight to Ndola was to enable him negotiate a peaceful settlement with Moise Tshombe, self-appointed president of the mineral-rich Katanga Province, which had declared its unilateral succession from the rest of the Republic of the Congo.

The UN Country Team (UNCT) in Zambia, in collaboration with the Government of Zambia (GRZ), the Swedish Mission in Zambia and the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation (MEF), have since 1999 embarked upon the effective operation of the Dag Hammarskjold Living Memorial Initiative (DHLMI), as one of the areas for collaborative programming under the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). This has a specific objective of strengthening the capacity of Zambia to contribute to regional peace, stability and cooperation and the benefit therefrom.

The Great Lakes Region of Africa is an example of recent conflicts where both combatants and non-combatants have faced the most severe abuses of fundamental human rights. These abuses include genocide, forced displacement, war crimes, arbitrary execution, torture, rape, and sexual exploitation of women and children. Those lucky to escape the direct violence of war were forced to become refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs) and later killed or maimed by anti-personnel landmines. Also children were trained to kill as soldiers, suffering irreparable physical and psychological trauma.

Such threats deprive people not only of their individual potential, dignity and hope, but also their society's future. Other effects of violent socio-political conflicts include:

- massive violation of human rights and exclusion and marginalisation policies;
- impunity of crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and disparities between men and women;
- use of violence to serve political purposes and political systems characterised and dominated by the institutionalisation of non-democratic management methods (These include the absence of political diversity and of a consensus on the constitutional principles);
- non-separation of legislative and judicial powers and their control by the executive power; and

- manipulation of the judicial power and security services by the executive power. (At the end, there appears corruption of power through lack of separation of powers. In some African states there are no clear separation of powers in the legislative, executive and judiciary).

There is lack of domestic legitimisation of some leaders, who have no support from the grassroots. Also other leaders are accountable to invisible actors who are not known to the population. Powerful external actors hijack the economy management and democracy. To eradicate threat of this nature one has to prevent negative interference by the International Community (external power brokers) who should not interfere and choose leaders for a particular country in Africa, or give leverage to certain people to ascend to leadership/power. On the scene are weak and dysfunctional institutions. The institutional set-up is critical, because institutions can better respond to threats than individuals. A functional state needs functional institutions, especially institutions of national unity which are lacking in some African states. Also, one sees the national institutions defending local values such as electoral majority, ethnicity, co-existence and tolerance, land tenure, succession in leadership and so on. Such values can also have continental dimensions; hence, the question of identity is crucial. Conflict-prone states in Africa have a gap in values. National values should have regional and continental dimensions, so that there is a common set of values. For instance, if coup d'etats are not tolerated, then they should not be tolerated across the continent; the same applies to such issues as electoral majority, ethnic tolerance, land tenure, succession in leadership and so on. Citizens should be sensitised to enable them to make good decisions through civic education and economic autonomy.

Moreover, there is also talking around cycles without taking necessary action, that is implementing and monitoring decisions reached. The governance system tolerates impunity whereby people who have committed crimes (warlords) are still in government. When this is the reality, it is difficult to seriously talk about human security, because justice for everybody is supposed to eliminate the culture of impunity. Nobody should be above the law. The culture of collective silence and irresponsibility is manifested by silence on key matters, including serious crimes. Governments fail to condemn killings of democratically elected leaders, and massacre of people in the region; this manifests collective irresponsibility and impunity.

There is governance based on warlords and child soldiers as some governments in Africa draw their legitimacy from the gun. Child soldiers of the past are now adults and have no alternative outlook, other than remain in the 'trade' of killing. Also in the run-up to elections (campaigns), political leaders give all sorts of false promises to enable them come to power; there is also false access to power and forceful legitimisation of power. Some states are led by leaders who came to power through the barrel of the gun. Self-appointed leaders organise massacres and killings in their own countries and beyond; they deliberately distort facts to their advantage, and some of them are supported by external powers with strategic interests in the region (invisible interests). Killers of yesterday are leaders of tomorrow. Lastly, there is confusion of voting and elections; that is, voting does not necessarily mean elections. This is evident in Africa, where election rigging is widespread and many election regulations are not practicable, and have only "paper value".

2.3 Economic management and border zones

Border zones continue to constitute threats to human security in the GLR. The most serious threats include cross border attacks by armed groups and bands of cattle rustlers, smuggling, motor vehicle thefts, drug trafficking, flows of small arms and now threats of terror networks. The foregoing has transformed borders into crush points of conflicts because these borders have terrain, forests, and deserts that are difficult to watch over. They constitute ideal sanctuaries on either side of the frontiers. The net effect of this situation has been endemic conflicts that generate not only refugees but also refugee generating conflict. Africa has had to endure genocide, millions lost in post war related deaths, influx of small arms, and cross border pastoralist conflicts and extreme levels of poverty. It is notable that conflicts in the GLR revolve around contestation over the idea of the state (ideologies around which state politics are organised), physical base (population and resources) and institutional framework of the states. States face vulnerabilities and threats despite their endowments in natural resource points, resulting to failure to maximise what Hernando de Soto calls dead capital[3]. This is capital whose existence we may not be aware of, have forgotten or have never unravelled ways of adding value to it for effective use. This ranges from unexploited potential in pastoralist resources to huge eco-tourism, agriculture and human resources prevalent in Africa.

2.4 Globalisation

While social and economic globalisation offers great opportunities, at present their benefits are very unevenly shared, and globalisation costs are unevenly distributed. Globalisation has resulted in vulnerability, and one only needs to look at the African countries currency crisis. When massive financial capital moves instantly and electronically across borders, people lose the foundation of their lives overnight unless a secure social safety net is in place. In the same vein, the digital divide is also widening the already serious gap between the haves and have-nots, worsening poverty in the GLR.

The GLR countries face the threats of the dark side of globalisation, and transnational illegal activity is threatening governance and human security. The globalisation process allows the growth and responsiveness of markets and the free

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[3] The concept of dead capital is better captured by de Soto in his narrative of an Indian merchant who travels around the world in search of imaginary treasure only to return home old, sad, and defeated without it. His attempts to get water are constrained by his now silted well. Wearily, he decides to dig a fresh one only to instantly strike a golkonda, the world's largest diamond mine. The moral in the story is that African leaders need not wander the world's foreign ministries and international financial institutions seeking their fortune. In the midst of their own regional frontiers, poorest neighbourhoods and shanties, there are acres of diamonds, trillions of dollars, ready to be put to use if only they can unravel the mystery of how assets are transformed into live capital. Accordingly, dead capital exists because we have forgotten about it or have never unraveled ways of converting physical assets into capital such as using a house to borrow money to generate finance for an enterprise. See De Soto (2000:35). *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*, Black Swan. The same can be said of cattle among the pastoralists in the north-eastern and western Kenya and eastern Uganda.

movement of goods, people and capital on a positive note. Others are trafficking in humans (and especially women), and illegal drugs and engage in money laundering. There is also sexual exploitation of children including child pornography and child prostitution. On the list is hi-tech crime involving computer technologies, and terrorism which disrupt society and instil fear. These threats continue to spread and flourish through the Internet and other electronic communication systems, as well as through international criminal networks.

2.5 *The environment*

Environmental degradation represents both short- and long-term threats to human security in GLR. These threats include first, global warming that is already having a serious impact upon the entire eco-system of the earth, and rising sea levels are already devastating people's lives on small islands. Secondly, desertification and drought are taking away food and land for agriculture. Lastly, there is air pollution ruining the health of the young in many GLR countries.

All of the above result from human activity and it is essential to reassess the institutions and values that are used to manage the delicate eco-system in the interest of sustainability. Individuals and communities have the right to work, live, and raise children, without undermining the ability of future generations to do likewise.

2.6 *Socio-economic Inequality*

As one of the root causes of economic mismanagement, poverty and inequality become the order of the day. At one time the UN Secretary-General had said that extreme poverty was an affront to our common humanity. Poverty deprives people of their rights to access basic health services and education and they become exposed to insecurity and lack of opportunity; and here, too, complicated socio-economic factors prevent people from getting out of misery. HIV/AIDS is a threat to Africa, and its spread is due to lack of access to healthcare, information and education. This encourages HIV/AIDS to spread and makes it more difficult to address.

The conference entitled *Governance in Africa: Consolidating the Institutional Foundations* was convened in Addis Ababa from 2nd to 6th March 1998. The overall objective of this meeting was to provide a forum where participants could share views on how best to strengthen state institutions and derive implementable initiatives and to facilitate the consolidation of the institutional framework for good governance in African countries. There were 23 key recommendations made at the end of the Roundtable and Conference in Addis Ababa (See Box 1). The challenge of that meeting was how to ensure people become aware of those recommendations and ensure that governments and the people can discuss them adequately and establish implementation strategies, plans and mechanisms.

BOX 1

1. A consensus needs to be developed on the definition of good governance as a starting point for appropriate strategies for strengthening the institutional foundations of good governance of respective countries in Africa.

2. Institution building is essential to the consolidation of good governance. Although the process must begin with state institutions, the centrality of the state should not exclude other actors. Both the state and civil society actors must be included in the strategies for strengthening good governance.

3. Good governance and sustainable economic development are interrelated. Governments must create an enabling environment for economic growth and development, and this should include: (a) a well-educated and trained work force; (b) a strong private sector; (c) political stability; (d) the right investment environment with respect to legislation and the infrastructure; and (e) people's involvement in the developmental process.

4. Constitutions must not only reflect the wishes of the people, but also be made through a process of wide consultation with them. It is only through such involvement and/or through education that people can learn and retain respect for the constitution. To familiarise ordinary people with their constitutions, financial resources are needed to translate these constitutions into indigenous languages.

5. Constitutionalism and the rule of law also require a politically aware, tolerant and involved citizenry, one that can ensure the effective functioning and the legitimacy of state institutions. To achieve this goal, financial resources are also needed for nationwide campaigns of education for democracy, including the culture of peace, tolerance and respect for diversity.

6. Governments must make sure that minorities are not excluded from the political process nor discriminated against with respect to access to state resources and services.

7. Training programmes are needed to strengthen the institutional capacity of Parliament and its legislative committees, enabling them to play their checks and balances role effectively, and to enhance the skills of legislators and their technical staff in legislating, investigating wrongful behaviour by public officials and controlling government spending. Strong and well-equipped research units are also needed to provide parliamentarians with adequate, timely and current information necessary for decision-making.

8. Parliamentarians should work in close consultation with their constituencies. This should include regular meetings within their communities to listen to people's concerns and policy recommendations.

9. The independence of the judiciary should be enhanced by its financial autonomy. The judiciary should have its own budget, independently of the executive branch.

10. To ensure the independence of the judiciary, the executive should not have the power to remove judges from office. The most appropriate system of appointment is a three-tier system in which a Judicial Service Commission recommends names of prospective judges to the executive, which submits them for parliamentary approval before appointment.

11. Judges and all the staff in the judiciary need continuous training and good work environment in terms of equipment, logistics and a secure information storage and retrieval system.

12. Institutional development and capacity building in the judiciary is most needed at the lower level, where the credentials, remuneration and working conditions of magistrates must be improved. District and other lower court clerks also need training to enhance their skills.

13. Better linkages are needed between modern courts of law and traditional/customary courts, whose judges must be trained to respect human rights and to abandon arbitrary decisions. The latter courts should be fully integrated into the judicial system to allow people to have access to higher courts when they are not satisfied with the judgements of the traditional/customary courts.

14. Creating a lean, competent and effective public service implies the institutionalisation of meritocracy, the end of impunity, the establishment of anti-corruption mechanisms, greater promotion of professionalism and the enforcement of a rigorous code of ethics. These control measures should be complemented with better salaries and working conditions and this may be easier to attain once ghost or fictitious employees are removed from the payroll.

15. Financial management should be improved in order to enhance accountability in the executive branch of governance. Improved financial management is also essential for combating corruption in the public service.

16. The international community should refrain from recognising military governments established by soldiers who overthrow democratically elected governments.

17. The role of women in governance should be actively promoted at all levels of decision making and in all the institutions of the state, civil society and the private sector. Although constitutions and other legal instruments are now gender sensitive, there is a strong need for policy to implement gender recognition in decision-making bodies.

18. Capacity-building for electoral systems to enhance their ability to organise free, fair and transparent elections is essential for consolidating the institutional foundations of good governance in Africa.

19. Building Parliament and its committees as effective organs of legislative oversight as well as independent regulatory bodies like electoral commissions, the Office of the Auditor General, the Office of the Ombudsman and others also require the kind of financial resources that most African states cannot mobilise on their own. The contribution of the international community is indispensable in this respect.

20. The ruling and opposition parties should stop regarding each other as enemies. Workshops and meetings designed to narrow differences between them and other collaborative mechanisms designed to enhance the national interest should be actively promoted.

21. To enhance the media's educational role and its contribution to democratic values, training programmes with emphasis on fairness, responsibility and objectivity are needed.

22. Governments should be pro-active in removing obstacles to collaboration with civil society by taking measures to create genuine partnership between state institutions, including the public service, with civil society organisations. Regularly held meetings and consultations between the states, civil society and the private sector should be encouraged for frank and open discussion of all issues of concern to all parties.

23. Mechanisms should be created for measuring the performance of the public service and involving civil society organisations in monitoring this performance and that of other state institutions.

Source: Leadership in Africa – Challenges of the 21st Century

The objectives of Box 1 were to find answers to the following key questions:

- What does 'governance' mean (as distinct from government) and what should it look like in practice?
- What skills, knowledge and other capacities are needed for 'good governance' – among citizens, civil society organisations, and government institutions at all levels?
- What actions, policies and practices are needed to facilitate the development among citizens and civil society organisations of the capacities needed for effective participation in governance; and the development among the institutions of government of the capacities needed for better governance?
- What processes, systems and structures does 'good governance' require?
- How does citizen and civil society's participation in governance impact upon the meeting of people's basic needs and the reduction of poverty, marginalisation and discrimination; the health and strength of civil society; and the legitimacy and effectiveness of democratic institutions and processes?

3.0 Combating threats to human security in the GLR

Combating threats to human security in the GLR needs a multidisciplinary and comprehensive approach to welfare issues. Challenges and solutions cannot be addressed in isolation from each other; in fact, they are interconnected, and even sometimes interdependent. For example, AIDS is a severe threat to individuals and communities; at the same time it has impact upon underdevelopment in Africa. If that is the case, poverty, undermines effective education and healthcare that contribute to the spread of AIDS. This is a reminder that threats to Human Security must be approached in an inclusive and holistic manner - not only examining the symptoms or manifestations of human insecurity. One has to seek to produce recommendations that address root causes. To give another example, when power and resources are unequally distributed between groups that are divided by race, religion, or language – the so called 'horizontal inequalities' – this becomes a breeding ground for conflict. In demonstrating the inter-linkages between different types of threats to human security, one also sees the linkage between "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear". In addressing the root causes of threats of human security in Africa one will be seeking to address an agenda that includes political, social and economic issues. In this line of argument, even the Dar es Salaam Declaration reflected the will of states to rehabilitate the rule of law and entrench the values and principles of democracy and good governance. This was to be achieved through the transparent and accountable management of public resources; second, through effective functioning of public institutions and participation of all social players in political life and in the development process. This was to be realised through consolidate cooperation, a programme of action and specific memoranda of agreement dictated by the political options and guidelines.

Threats to human security can be controlled in many ways; what is needed is to institute programmes of action seeking to build a strong foundation for an African sphere of peace and political stability. This has to be characterised by the promotion of values, principles and norms of democracy and good governance, the respect for

human rights, as well as cooperation and solidarity between states and their people. Threats to human security can be eradicated by restoring the rule of law in Africa and especially through the restoration of the respect for the constitutional order, peoples' sovereignty and the separation of executive and legislative powers; and enhancement of the effectiveness of the judiciary, promotion and protection of human rights and the repression of discriminatory ideologies, eradication of war crimes, crimes against humanity and the crime of genocide and the fight against impunity.

The consolidation of the democratisation processes, especially by strengthening capacities of democratic institutions and the development of communication and information has to be done. On the list are also the promotion of political participation and the empowerment of women, the youth and other vulnerable groups. It will also be necessary to manage, in a rational manner, the resources of the region, through the fight against the illegal exploitation of natural resources and corruption; and promote principles of transparency and accountability.

3.1 Strategies to be adopted

To be able to eradicate threats and enhance human security by entrenching the values and principles of good governance and strengthening the democratisation processes in the GLR, the programmes of action have to use an integrated, participatory and multidimensional approach. The strategies have to include developing the GLR capable of strengthening the capacities of public institutions; and stimulating harmonisation of political and legal instruments in order to guarantee the successful fight against impunity of political and economic crimes in the region. This will eventually contribute to the restoration and consolidation of cooperation and solidarity in the GLR. For this purpose, the programmes have to be structured into projects and protocols dealing with the strengthening of leadership capacities and institutional capacities through:

- research and training in the areas of democracy, good governance, human rights, and civic education;
- strengthening of capacities for communication and information systems;
- promotion of frameworks for dialogue and consultation between the various political and social players, in particular, parliamentary institutions, civil society, women, youth, professionals of the media, and so on, in order to promote their effective participation in the democratisation process;
- restoration of peace and political stability;
- promotion of good governance; and
- adoption of effective legal frameworks capable of promoting the fight against impunity, the fight against economic crimes, the repression of crimes of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity.

3.2 Issues to be addressed

As far as issues to be addressed are concerned, there are already some economic empowerment and democratic governance activities in some countries in the GLR; what is needed is their consolidation and improvement. The fact is there is no perfect

democracy in the world because democracy is not a destination but a journey towards an ideal; the issues then are how best one could improve on economic empowerment and democratic governance in the GLR to eradicate threats of human security, the timeframe for doing this and the safeguards of economic empowerment and democratic governance. One of the requirements of economic empowerment and democratic governance is the clear definition of the roles and powers of the civil society and of the three traditional branches of the government, namely, legislature, judiciary and the executive. Economic empowerment and democratic governance demand putting to task the power that violates the rules. In line with the argument then the issues to be addressed, among others, are elaborated in the following sections.

3.2.1 Economic and democratic changes and the politics involved

GLR States have to promote popular participation at all levels of society by opening up the political space for women, the youth and other social groups, including the disadvantaged groups, so that through their engagement the GLR civil society can arrive at a national consensus on development priorities and devise appropriate strategies for their economic and social emancipation. One needs to check the extent to which checks and balances are respected in the real functioning of GLR states political institutions and the need to make the legislature more answerable to the electorate than to the wishes of the ruling party. It will be imperative to do away with the personality cult, nepotism, clientelism and the personal rule in the executive branch. Questions can be raised about the appropriateness of power sharing as a principle of democratic governance in a multiparty system and term limits for executive office holders.

The assumptions being made are that:

- stakeholders in Africa are committing themselves to the promotion of stability, gender equity and democratic governance;
- concerted measures and efforts exist at national and continental levels to promote stability and democratic governance within the framework of NEPAD's peer review mechanisms and other relevant protocols and conventions; and
- developments in the international system are in favour of, and support measures that may be contemplated to promote a development model that is integrated and people centred.

3.2.2 Popular participation, empowerment and people centered development

The priorities that African states have to aim at include the following:

- Mainstreaming gender in social, economic and political spheres;
- Undertaking efforts to remove social cultural barriers that inhibit people centred participatory development; and
- Promoting endogenous transformation of social and economic structures through an integrated programme of rural development for enhancing productivity and social advancement of rural populations in the region.

Assumptions for the priorities listed above are that:

- GLR states recognise the necessity of gender balance in promoting national development;
- religious and community leaders are willing to play a proactive role in changing the mindset of their followers that have been conditioned by custom and traditional values now rendered repugnant in the contemporary world;
- stakeholders recognise that the key to development is within Africa and through collective efforts within the continent as a whole;
- empowerment is recognised as a right that has to be fought for and defended in all its spheres – political, social and economic; and
- special windows for the weak are in place for them to acquire skills and means for effective participation.

3.2.3 *Law enforcement Institutions*

Law enforcement institutions are supposed to enhance the consolidation of economic empowerment and democratic governance. The question is whether they are obeying and enforcing the existing laws and rules that demonstrate responsive and responsible leadership, hence policy openness and the rule of law. Is the establishment of the Commission for Human Rights and Good Governance an answer to the complaints of the citizens? Civic education in the GLR is far from being satisfactory; therefore, in providing and disseminating civic education the governments could work in partnership with other stakeholders, such as political parties, NGOs, Faith Groups, CBOs and so on.

3.2.4 *Role of trade unions*

The role of trade unions is critical and unmistakable in economic empowerment and democratic governance. This is due to the economic reforms the GLR countries have embarked upon. The GLR is rapidly shifting economic activities, thus job-creation, from the public to the private sector, including multinational corporations. The trade unions need the capacity and experience to negotiate good working conditions and remuneration with the private sector.

3.2.5 *Mass media*

The former President of Tanzania H. E. Benjamin Mkapa once said that the print and electronic media are an important component in the consolidation of democracy and democratic governance. A free and objective mass media can act as another institution offering checks and balances against governments and other players in democratic political systems. The mass media has great responsibility which if executed would consolidate democratic governance and spread the inspirational momentum for development.

4.0 Conclusion

There have been attempts to cluster the threats to human security as well as recommendations into broad logical issues of concern. The article could be taken as guidance for further discussion. The article has attempted to define the role of civil

society in addressing the threats to human security; what the civil society entails; how to build the capacity of civil society organisations; key issues in the increasing role of civil society in governance; and civil society and the public service and strengthening the role of civil society organisations in the political transitions.

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