

**Keynote Lecture 1: “Global Order Adrift and
Challenges in Peacebuilding”
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I have just spent most my life in an actor of politics but the last two years I have been the president at the university.

What we talk about here is how we are drifting in the world. I came to Japan and picked up one of the media, “Foreign Policy Journals”, that happened to be put in my brief case. The July/ August edition of Foreign Policy carries the headline “How Summer Vacations Save Nations.” I actually read the article. They talked about how tourism helps to create welfare and the rest of world will get more productivity. But when I thought about the title, it would be a very hard sell to convince hundreds or thousands people around the world living in Beirut, Haifa, Darfur, Somalia, Northern Uganda, Eastern Congo, or Sri Lanka, I can name all kinds of places, who spent this summer of destruction, death and despair, probably like sometimes 30 or 40 years ago during the second World War.

International Crises Group, which is an NGO based in Europe, doing monthly studies about hot spots around the world, said they never had conflicts more than in Jun, July and August in this year, and in the month of August alone 8 potential conflict areas had gotten worse and 5 or 6 come on the radar screen. While you and I are enjoying summer vacations, studying and maybe having fun, a lot of civilians are killed and the lives of the countries are torn apart at the same time.

I thought it was good way, to prepare coming here and talk to this United Nations Seminar to escape from the noise. But I could not. I feel too guilty. I sneak back and watch the images on TV, bombings, riots, violations and children are killed and destroyed.

I was reminded of the observation of Susan Sontag. She was a beautiful writer from United States, and wrote essays about life. She died actually at the same day the Tsunami hit and on the very day her last book published called “Regarding the Pain of Others”. She wrote that we have become a “society of spectacles”, witnessing through photographs, television, cell phone and internet, and videos all the kind of suffering occurring in the distant parts of the world, while enjoying the comfort and our privileges. And if we do not want to see it we can just turn it off.

She said in the book I want to quote it. “Being a spectator of calamities taking place in another country is a quintessential modern experience.” I have just visited with one of your professors to the next door museum about Kobe earthquake. I saw how terrible it was, but those are natural disasters.

Susan Sontag says, “Still, it seems good itself to acknowledge, to have enlarged, one’s sense of how much suffering caused by human wickedness. There is the world we share with others. We cannot escape that responsibility. Let the atrocious images that daily haunt us. The images say: this is what human beings are capable of doing.....Do not forget.”

Do not forget those horrible images. Because we do forget the images brought to us. What I began to sense is that people are realizing that there is no life except being away from those images. This summer became a beginning to create public mind one by one. A consciousness. An understating. Force does not have to be the rule of the world. Application of military might not be only solution to deal with terrorists. Great values of market system and western democracy aren't necessary for the way of life for everyone. A kind of our world of view we had is running out of steam.

It is interesting that numbers of commentators begin to catch on. We are going to recreate the world. We are realizing the tools to use. Too bloody or too dangerous for people to use them. Highly superior technology for military power. David Runciman, who is a British commentator, wrote the book called "The Politics of Good Intentions" to talk about the world leaders, too many of them, liked to talk about good games and about how to save the rest of the world from our images. He says, "The turmoil in global politics over the last few years is the consequences of an exercise of political power in one of its most recognizable forms: the power of the determined leaders of well armed states to seek security through force." But, maybe in this summer we are beginning to recognize it is not working as well.

Francis Fukuyama, who is the original neo-conservative thinkers in the United States, wrote the very famous book "America at the Crossroads" and the book really denounces the negative effects of US domination. He is now saying it does not work anymore. He said the post 9/11 view promulgated by US administration and their allies has been brought to focus under a withering light because of the failures in Iraq and Afghanistan to create stable, secular and peaceful society, basically killing too many people for them to feel secure. We can't count the casualties killed by guns and rockets and so on.

People are smart. We are beginning to come to realization. Mr. Fukuyama says it is time for multi-lateral system to take charge. Because it seems that international community under present leadership is far more effective in creating failing states more than restoring them. Countries and people in difficulties. That is our hard reality. Now the world is at the end of last decade.

So, what is the multi-lateral system? That is what the United Nations University is one of the sponsors to promote. In the last couple of years I have finished several sessions concerning that Post Iraq war has clearly created the mature division in the United Nations to get involved with the people suffering and the genocides been committed. But we face to tough laws. National states make the decisions. We are in dilemma, blocks, which is to protect people and at the same time to live by the rules that the decisions are to be made by individual governments. As we see today, the government Sudan can tell entire United Nations Security Council not to bring United Nations to desert to stop killing in Western Darfur. Why? They are going to the Charter and they said "Here is the Article, national authority shall not come into my country unless I say so. We have to kill people and captives. Thank you very much, we are making decisions."

Also we are facing the paralyzing stalemate between North and South. For 30, maybe going up to 40 years, I have been a student of United Nations and I am a believer of United Nations. But nobody there building bridges anymore. Nobody there is taking across the great divide.

So, United Nations got real freeze. Who is building bridges across the divide? Who is

providing the conversation between those differences? The reality is this: a stable international society is required international oversight governance as well as national authority and independence. No one has worked out how can make it work.

The valiant effort last year at the institutional reform, I think you should look at this because it is important. We have now the Peace Building Commission and the new Human Rights Council by Security General. Nobody knows how it is going to work. It is time for new paradigm. The different way we are looking at. Basically we are not going to get serious response until we rethink to make decisions.

I was in politics for past 30 years. I thought myself basically as a plumber fixing leaks, going up fixing up problems. I came to realization. If you got too many leaks springing, there is something wrong with the structure. There is something wrong with the basic structure by which the houses were built. You are going to need new architect and a different idea. That is a big issue.

We have to overcome the fundamental thing that human beings always look behind answers. A German philosopher, Hegel talked about Greek myth called Minerva's owl. Minerva was a Greek Goddess, who only releases her owl at dusk. As Hegel says it means by time you look owls going, it is always too dark and it is too late to rethink about it. It is too late to take actions. We are always behind the curve and not in front of it. As a result, we fall back on old answers, conventional wisdoms and textbooks written before twenty years. They become the standard we use. That is the result we make serious mistakes.

In more scientific way Thomas Kuhn, an American scientist, described in his book, "The Structure of Scientific Revolution". It gives us an interesting example how long it took Galileo to convince people. The earth moves around the sun. He had churches against him, governments against him and people against him. But, finally people became realizing so many contradictions. Why shadow does not come at night? Why the sun changes its position? Why all these questions are able to be answered by that idea? Finally he convinced people after a long time. In fact Catholic churches accepted it in 1994. Then they changed the paradigm.

How many political leaders, how many foreign ministers, how many prime ministers are looking at the universe as the way used to be and not been compared to change, even though contradictions keep piling up and showing the system is not going to work. I was saying that in the summer of 2006 we have such a similar sense of great discomfort as priests and Catholic churches felt in 15 century when Galileo said this was the way world works. It is about time we begin to look what a new paradigm should be.

It is interesting that the kind of the way of which Japan and Canada, two countries, had worked over 10 years ago. They had come up the answer. The answer called Human Security. It is a pretty simple principle saying it is equal or sometimes more important to protect people than to protect nations and states. It is more important to protect individuals than boundaries. I became a foreign minister and I am not that smart guy but I figure it out that I am responsible for Canadian traveling all over the world. There will be kidnap and bombs, small violence. Sometimes elevator operation could kill some people. I need partnership. I need corporation. I need international support. Unless we have no cooperation, we cannot protect people. How we can call them the other people, because they are Cambodian, Chinese and Japanese. Simply they are human beings

facing the risks. We are responsible to save humankind. That is the Human Security.

By the way I recall discussion with Keizo Obuchi, your former prime minister who died few years back. I talked with him at G8 meeting, when he was a foreign minister at that time. We talked about these issues, Human Security. Foreign minister Obuchi said, "How many lives we will save if we set the treaty banning land mines?" I said, "We are killing any thousands a year now, and that can be worse." He brought Japanese political process into something result in the disarmament treaty in the world.

He was not only Japanese to be involved because of Ogata. When she was a head of UNHCR, also took up the Human Security idea because she was dealing with most hopeless desperate people who have no home. We were invited to come to Oslo. There is a group called Human Security Network over 30 countries. We were dedicated to the idea of responsibility we have to save people. Mrs. Ogata said, "You should not talk about just world conflict. You have to talk about the way in which disease, poverty and environment also kills people and destroys them." Then there was a very interesting conversation between us. That was about what could Human Security do and apply a brand new way of thinking to the world, not the way of saying that you defend countries and people regardless.

Let me tell you about one sad result. There was a real development in Southeast Asia. I talked about Human Security. They thought I was nuts. But next year they asked me to come back to talk little more about it. How can they apply it to solve the disasters they are facing?

I would like to see Japanese, Chinese and other southeast Asia begin to take it on because I think this is new area. It is time to start new dialog between Japan and Canada about how to apply Human Security meeting to new paradigm. Maybe we should be beginning together as the world begins to discuss what the role of peacekeeping commissions is. We make sure that everybody does not die because of corruption. There would be early warning systems. We maybe provide the Human Rights Council, something which directs Security Council to Human Security Concept. That is the principle of responsibility to protect. Anybody heard about it? Shortly called RTP. Responsibility to Protect.

Who is going to take Responsibility to Protect? Good question. I got involved in the Kosovo war. All the diplomatic efforts were extinguished to try to save people. But I don't like the way that was done, because there were no rules and it was capricious. I established a commission. Ms. Ogata and I were working at common purpose. Here is Commission put forwards. They said new defining principle. When any government is unable to protect its own people or is unwilling to protect its own people, international community through United Nations has the Responsibility to Protect. It is a way using whatever tools are in hand to stop fundamental threat against people.

All of the world leaders came to United Nations in Millennium summer guess what the principle was passed. They accepted the Responsibility to Protect. Last Thursday, the Security Council passed the resolution to stop killing in Darfur. The sentence was there was the Responsibility to Protect people in Western Sudan and we must fight against it. It is not easy. The principle is alternative to release the serious challenges to the old wisdoms. Maybe this is the first time we see the owl flying at dawn rather than at dusk.

How can we make the principle work? A great elder United Nations performer under Secretary reminds us about the emergency response force the United Nations should have. So countries can send their troops. But, people say "Oh, the United Nations are going to have own international police force? God!" "Well NATO has own force. What is the difference between NATO and organization looking for a new role? Now we are saying we are bigger and we can go into Sudan, we can go to Afghanistan and we can go to Africa. And United Nations can?"

How small and highly trained professional group going to early part of conflict can stop rising into large war? They can be back. Terrorists and those networks. Because we can send best technology not to kill people but protect people.

Sounds I got a hard idea. That is the part of the new Peace Building Commission. You are not going to have Peace Building Commission because you do not have own security. Forget it. A lot of people in foreign aid business say, "Just give them more money. More money. More money." That is all. This is nonsense.

Please do not say you can have peace building if you do not provide basic security only blue helmets can do.

What we can do? Human Security concept is not just protecting people, but realizing whole new concentration. There is nothing we can do if we do not establish institution.

I was a minister for a long time. I was a minister of Human Resources. I went to Beijing for a conference. I also realized the power of women organizes around the world, using fax machine and cell telephone to get serious prescription of crimes against women. Basically they are smarter than us.

In the landmine campaign, a bunch of foreign ministers decided they would establish a partnership with civil society. 25,000 groups and organizations organized around the world working in Japan, Canada, Norway, Australia, Thailand, Cambodia and so on. Everybody there were equal partners. NGOs and the governments. They were mobilizing political influence into every part of the world. They sent the new of the treaty to the world by fax machines.

I think about how powerful it is today. How much batteries are in the international information system. Those phones I see every single person working along street with is that you can push the bottom to use to vote on international referendum on save the protection of children. Now we can share the value of the Responsibility to Protect.

It is big power. Politicians are just beginning to understand now. You can mobilize 100,000 people and these resources. But are we applying it to stop killing people and to protect people in Western Darfur? No.

By the way, the United Nations is very good at this. I am not being very critical because they created the Peace Building Commission and the new Human Rights Council. You can mobilize that kind of network.

In Middle East the network is becoming more and more powerful and stable. Individuals, groups, corporations, organizations and associations.

In North American people are mobilized to make deal for climate change. They are talking to the governor and local business people to use clean energy.

What is mobilizing people and letting them engaged? This is beginning of the idea. The world is based on deep sprits. People are frustrated not to do anything when they see the horrible images about genocide. Here is the Human Security concept. It can let them get involved. How is the tool? How can we apply? Think about it.

Being global citizens and getting connected do not mean losing identity. It is not the world government. It means we do share the most fundamental basic interest if we can continue to ignore, we change the channel and play the games the world will be corrupted. The community will not defend you anymore. It would be back to serious war states. In this summer it became very close to this. Door opens to future. Somebody have courage to step in. You can be a partner.

Thank you very much.

Q. My question is about the concept of Human Security and individual protection. I see challenges in Human Security concept about micro view from UN because first Human Security is from UN. This micro view is not from down or people. How can it protect people when you see from up to down?

A. Your question reminds me a challenge I have received at the University of Toronto. A distinguished scholar told me he might agree with Human Security may work in practice but not in theory. But he was wrong.

I believe there is interesting possibility to integrate between Mr. Ogata, Human Security Commission was working here and we were working to protect against virus. I think they are coming together. It does come together particularly in natural disasters. Because we are not getting into politics. I think you can put together. Responsibility to protect as Human Security is exercised. Virus against human, threat, change climate, and disease.

Now final part of questions is how you make it work. I do not have the solution other than I deeply entreat by growing capacity we have in this world connected in network.

My own university established a global college. I do not ask the students to sit in their seat anymore. I want them to go to Costa Rica. I want them to go to Ethiopia. They can learn somewhere else. They can come back in summer time. Basic ideas of this college are bringing people from other experiences and get them connected. We are trying to lead this notion of power of information. I am agreed with the idea we will be able to develop kind of resources in international information system.

I have a very good friend who made a lot of money by designing video games. It takes 200 million dollars to develop video games. Probably 100 million young people play them. I said to him, "Why do not you make peace games? 100 million young people can play that kind of games." He said "People do not want to play peace games. They want to kill." It is unbelievable.

We have students of international relation, student of politics, and student of political

science. How can we start to put them together in international information system?

I was a politician. I have seen the power people in my country being able to make all decision to go to the war and join America. No question about it. Bureaucrats, politicians, lobbyists.

However, we have landmine treaties. We have International Criminal Court. We do not have champion governments anymore. The government in this country and the government in Canada do not have Human Security Agenda anymore as focused. It is sad because nobody is working together in the coalition to build the bridge, to make new treaty to ban small arms, to fight against nuclear weapons.

9/11 hurt a lot of people. But it is time to get the order. This summer, 2006 showed us that theory, that framework, that paradigm, that argument, that crusade after 9/11 is not working. It is hurting us. It is destroying us. It is killing a lot of people. We need to know alternative. I think there is alternative. Make sure this message. You got some time to think.

Thank you very much.