

FOOD SECURITY, RECONSTRUCTION AND MACRO SECURITY

From Maputo To Asmara Via The Great Lakes

INTRODUCTION

1. Security of People and Peoples - Yin/Yang

- Macromilitary
- political
- Law and Order - User Friendly Perspective
(Freedom to go about daily life and work without fear arbitrary interference by **anyone**)
- Access Basic Services (esp. Health)
- Access Livelihood
- Access Food and Water (Hereafter food includes water)

2. Emergency of People/People's Security in SADC Thinking and Practice

- Lusaka
- Defence of the Beira Corridor
- Hamstringing the Four Horsemen

- Proactive 'Mediation' - Lesotho
- Responsive 'Mediation' - The Great Lakes to Kinshasa

3. Food Security At War

- And War - e.g. Ethiopia
- In War - technical (distribution/production)
- In War - political economic (starving out and feeding in)

4. Food Security For Peace

- Reconciliation
- Return
- Livelihood Rehabilitation
- Reconstruction

5. Food, Work, Works, Commerce, Dependency and All That

- Food For Work and/or Work For Food
- Wages, Funds, Circulating Capital and Livelihood Augmentation
- Efficiency for Construction/Survival/Self Respect/Capacity

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FOOD SECURITY

1. Ethiopia 1962-1995

- a• Backdrop - No Priority/No Perceived Ability
- b• 1962-64 - Drought-Dearth-Death and the Fall of The Lion of Judah
- c• 1984-92 - Food Aid/Reafforestation/Roads
 - Whose security? (People's or Mengistu's)
 - What sustainability? (Ecology, Livelihood, Empire)
 - "Draining The Lake" - Tigre
 - Food Aid As Subversion - NGO's As Agents
 - Dependence Creation
 - State Delegitimisation
 - Ban Development (even community)
- d• The New Government
 - Drought Is A National Misfortune/Famine Is A National Shame
 - 1994/95
 - Rebuilding Domestic Capacity
 - Work For Food - Works Projects
 - Domestic Social Sector

2. Tigre and Eritrea at War

- Bread of War
- Water of Legitimacy
- Different NGO's/Contexts/Roles

3. UNITA - 1980/199?

- Terrorism As Strategy - Depopulate and Decrop, Dewater
- Siege Famine - Blocking the Convoys, Harassing the Planes

4. Botswana/Tanzania - Normality of Dearth, Routinising Response

- Drought Declaration
- Guaranteed Works Jobs (B)
- Clinic/Health Service Linked (B, T)
- Maize and Beans (T)
- Gender Aspects (Who receives work/food?)
- Financial Aspects (General and Special when Mixed Zonal Dearth/Surpluses)
“We will not wilfully starve our people to meet an IMF credit conditionality.”

5. Mozambique 1992-94: Food for Reconciliation

- Early UNICEF-WFP-GOM discussions - civilians in Renamo controlled areas

- GOM Initiative - save Renamos' Southern Command (Political, Military and Humanitarian Reasons)
- Outreach (Domestic Social Sector/NGO's/Agencies and Seconded Personnel) Renamo controlled areas

6. Eritrea 1992-00

- Reduce Dependence - Household Level
Reduce Dependence - National Level (?)
- Food for Work via Auctions/Cash/Commerce
- Partnership Role With NGO's/Toward Sunset Clauses

7. Interahamwe - The Killing Fields of Kigali to The Killing Fields near Kisangani - via Goma

- Backdrop - Radio Milles Collines/Assassination/Genocide/Operation Turquoise
- The High Lords of Goma (Food from Agencies as Control Device to Complement Alliance with Mobutu and Cross Border Return ("Gun in hand we left our country. Gun in hand we shall return." "The basic problem of Rwanda is that too many Tutsis are still alive. We must return and finish the job." "In the name of The Father, The Son and The Holy Spirit I christen thee 'Revenge'" - Monsignor.)
- The UN/MSF warning and the Security Council Brush-off
- The Kigali-Banyamulenge-Kabila
(Food as weapon - Feed Congolese/send back 'refugees')

- The IH Mercenaries Road To Last Stand (Repeated retreat - defence of Kisangani)
- The UN's Botch (on evacuation) and the Gotterdammerung. (No more food, no more firepower, no more life -)

FOOD FOR WORK: WORK FOR FOOD

1. The case for work

- Efficiency - survival plus infrastructure
- Dignity - earning vs. begging
- Trampoline - infrastructure + dignity = rehabilitation/renewal

2. The case for cash

- Fungibility/Portability
- Supporting - not throttling commerce
- Transport savings
- Consumer rational choice (nobody chooses to live on bread and tarpaulins alone)

3. The exceptions

- No functioning commercial sector
- Hopelessly exploitative commercial sector

- Donor hang-ups - wages in sugar/cooking oil in order to facilitate sale/rebalancing
- No capacity to organise works/bring in all needy households
- Special supplements (UNimix - but ...)

4. Funding works

- Food Aid for Auction (wheat, rice, cooking oil, sugar, milk powder)
- Programme Aid (Non Wage Costs = 33%-50%)

5. Gender Aspects

- Equal Opportunity **and Result** Employer
- Address Unable To Work and Too Many Mouths per Pair Hands households -
(Facilitative in whole family return home. Man clears/builds house - Woman earns wage/runs household/- Both Plant.)

6. Cost Efficiency - Double Entry Bookkeeping

a. **Outputs** (Work For Food)

Works

Household Income For Survival

(Urban Food Supply/Rehabilitation Commerce)

b. **Outputs** (Contractor)

Works

Wages To Unskilled Labour

c. **Costs** (Work for Food)

Wages

Other Costs (Other Labour/Tools/Organisation)

d. **Costs** (Contractor + Survival Support)

Contractor Bill

Household Income for Survival (less wages)

e. a/c and b/d are double entry ratios.

7. Labour Intensity and Economic Efficiency

- ILO Experience
- World Bank - Mozambique Urban Rehabilitation
- Need to plan ahead to have project shelf/start asap as often takes longer
- Boring Detailed Articulation of Valid Lateral Thinking as Missing Link?

- R H Green

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