

negotiates are undemocratic and do not represent the societies CIDA aims to assist. Funds should not only be allocated to poverty reduction but to the empowerment of civil societies so that undemocratic leadership can be challenged from within. In this context, foreign NGOs may be a much better conduit for negotiating and delivering CIDA-funded programmes than governments.

Viviana Patroni (York University) pointed to a contradiction in Canadian foreign and aid policies. While they aim to reduce poverty on one hand, on the other hand they support an economic (and trade) approach that accentuates inequality – revealing a conflict between values and interests.

Discussion developed around the concept of Human Security. Some participants suggested that while Axworthy's Human Security policy was progressive, it was too narrow – focussing on security-related issues such as small arms, child soldiers or transnational crime. Meanwhile, the focus on development and poverty reduction was limited. Others pointed out that officials articulating foreign policy based on Human Security faced some definitional challenges. Leaving poverty out of the equation allowed policy makers to focus and profile a particular set of issues that were perceived as key to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, including disarmament, for instance. Nonetheless, putting people at the centre of foreign policy – the key goal of Human Security – was a commendable endeavour. Some participants criticised the method of selecting Human Security issues and suggested that resource implications may have played a bigger role than ethical preoccupations in the selection process.

Participants addressed the long term policy incoherence between the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and CIDA. Finding common ground between the two Departments is difficult since their values and interests are not necessarily compatible. Some suggested that a mechanism should be created for the two Departments to articulate their values and interests simultaneously. Others, including Pratt, warned that such a development could further diminish the development and poverty reduction focus of foreign and aid policies.

Pratt suggested that the general acceptance of neoliberalism and democracy around the world necessitated a shift in policy toward governance or in other words: efforts to facilitate the participation of newly democratic governments within the global economy. Nonetheless, he maintained that the shift in Canadian aid policy and the support of the Canadian government for structural adjustment programmes were reactions to domestic rather than global pressures. Larbi asked whether CIDA actually intended to diminish citizen engagement in newly democratic (or semi-democratic) countries by withdrawing its support for successful grass-roots projects that may have challenged the governing structures.