

Chapter Five

CANADA IN THE WORLD

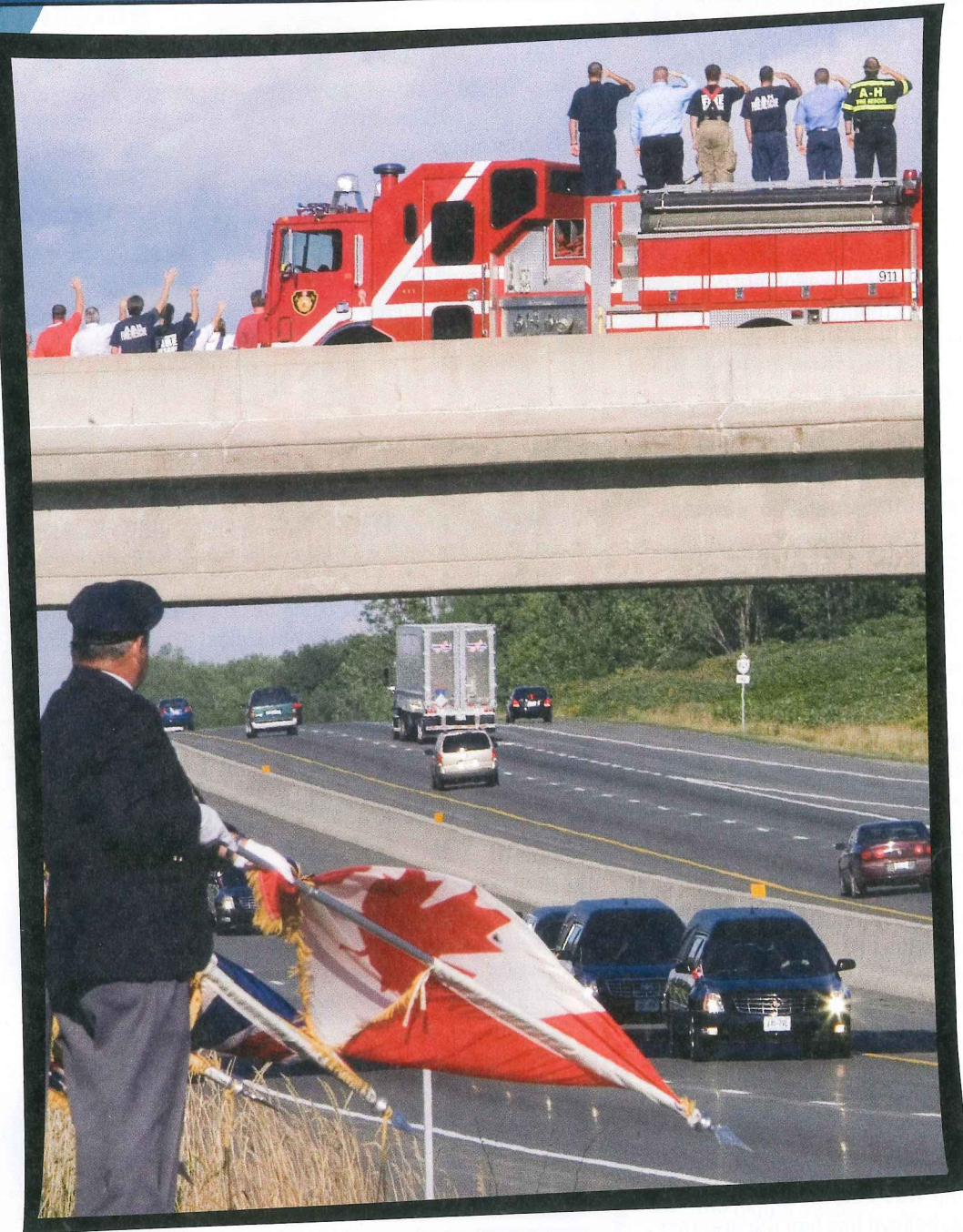


Figure 5–1 Members of the Royal Canadian Legion (bottom), firefighters, and other Canadians gather along Highway 401 to honour Canadian soldiers Mario Mercier and Christian Duchesne, who were killed in Afghanistan in August 2007. During the NATO mission in Afghanistan, planes carrying bodies home from Afghanistan landed at the military airfield in Trenton, Ontario. Hearses then carried the bodies to Toronto. From there, the bodies were brought home to the soldiers' families.

CHAPTER ISSUE

How is international involvement shaping Canada?

Canadian Forces joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)–led mission in Afghanistan in 2002. Soon after the first Canadian soldiers died in the conflict, Canadians at home spontaneously started a new tradition. As the cortège carrying the soldiers' bodies travelled from Trenton to Toronto on Highway 401, people gathered along the roadside and on overpasses to pay their respects.

In response to a petition carrying more than 62 000 signatures, Ontario premier Dalton McGuinty renamed the section of road travelled by the fallen soldiers the Highway of Heroes. McGuinty said this change would remind Canadians “that our freedom, safety, and prosperity is often purchased by the sacrifices of others.”

Consider the photograph on the preceding page. Then discuss and respond to the following questions:

- What message are the people standing along the highway sending? For whom is the message intended?
- Are the people paying tribute to the fallen soldiers glorifying war or protesting war?
- Is it possible to mourn soldiers' deaths without supporting war?
- Is it possible to mourn soldiers' deaths without condemning war?
- At the peak of the Afghan mission, a public opinion poll found that more than half of respondents disapproved of Canada's participation in the mission. Is it possible to disagree with a mission and still honour Canadian soldiers serving their country?

Key Terms

Cold War
civil society
genocide
responsibility to protect
middle power
economic sanctions
weapons of mass destruction
peacemaking
tribunals

LOOKING AHEAD

The following inquiry questions will help you explore how international involvement has shaped Canada:

- How does Canada work toward peace?
- Why does Canada respond to major international conflicts?
- Was 9/11 a turning point for Canada?

LEARNING GOALS

In this chapter you will

- explore ways that Canada works with other countries to make the world a better place
- identify reasons Canada has been involved in multiple military missions since 1982
- describe how 9/11 affected Canada and the world
- consider how various developments have affected Canada's relationship with the United States
- investigate why Canadians sometimes disagree on national security issues.

How does Canada work toward peace?

If Canada had no armed forces, a hostile force could enter Canada unchallenged and terrorize the population. So Canada has a military to keep Canadians safe.

Canada has other means to protect itself. It builds alliances with friendly countries for mutual protection. And through military assistance, diplomatic efforts, and humanitarian aid, Canada works to make the world a better place.

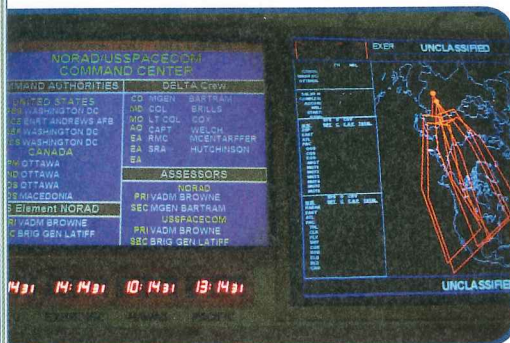
CONNECTIONS

The Cold War began after World War II. The name refers to a struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. It was called a “cold” war because it was a war of words and ideas rather than a “hot” war that involved direct combat between the two superpowers.

Check Forward ➡

You will read more about the Cold War in Chapter 13.

Figure 5–2 In October 1999, a large screen inside the NORAD command centre in Colorado Springs, Colorado, shows the location of U.S. and Canadian political and military leaders. To withstand the threat of nuclear attack, the centre was built deep inside a mountain. Why would NORAD track the locations of important leaders?



Military Alliances

Canada belongs to several military defence organizations. These alliances involve mutual protection that will be backed up by military action if necessary.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

Canada, the United States, and many European countries formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, at the beginning of the **Cold War**. Members of the pact feared aggression from the Soviet Union, so they agreed to stand together — an attack against one would be viewed as an attack against all.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, NATO's focus shifted to promoting international stability. It does this by managing minor conflicts before they become regional conflicts.

In 2003, NATO took command of the United Nations–approved International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan. The goal of the Afghan mission was to rid the country of a government (the Taliban) that supported terrorists (al-Qaeda) and to restore democracy. It soon became obvious that achieving this goal would include active combat.

At the peak of the war, in 2009, the NATO force in Afghanistan numbered about 50 000 troops from 41 countries, including all 26 NATO members. Canada contributed about 2500 troops.

The North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD)

The North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) is another alliance that emerged from the Cold War. This organization protects the airspace over North America.

When the United States was attacked by terrorists flying into buildings on September 11, 2001, Major Pierre Bérubé of the Canadian air force was on duty at NORAD's main air warning centre in Colorado. Within minutes, Bérubé ordered the launch of fighter jets to shoot down any suspicious airplanes. Because the terrorists were hijacking airliners to fly into buildings, he also helped co-ordinate the temporary grounding of 2400 commercial flights in American airspace.

After 9/11, NORAD began tracking every commercial flight in U.S. airspace. If a crew member on a commercial flight reports a passenger who might be dangerous, NORAD monitors the plane until it lands.

Working Together for a More Peaceful World

Another strategy for protecting Canada is to make non-military alliances for creating a more peaceful world. Issues such as poverty, hunger, and disease can threaten international peace and security because desperate populations can make governments unstable. Undemocratic governments lead to abuse of human rights and further instability. So Canada works alongside other countries to address these problems and promote democracy.

Canada in the United Nations

Canada is a founding member of the single most important international organization: the United Nations (UN). The UN is the closest thing we have to a world government. All countries of the world can be members. The UN leads international efforts to create a better world. For example, the World Health Organization (WHO) is the arm of the UN responsible for providing global leadership on world health issues.

In 1990, Canada was a driving force behind the first World Summit for Children, which was held after the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Mali President Moussa Traoré jointly chaired the summit, which was the largest gathering of world leaders ever held at the UN.

In a related effort, the UN created the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. It commits members to stop the persistent violation of the rights of Indigenous peoples around the world. The Canadian government overcame initial doubts, and endorsed the declaration in 2010.

Canada in the Commonwealth

Canada has been a member of the Commonwealth since 1931, when the organization was founded. Most of the Commonwealth's 52 member countries are former British colonies.

Member countries work together to promote trade, as well as economic and social development. They stage cultural exchanges and major sports competitions, such as the Commonwealth Youth Games.

They have one powerful tool for keeping each other in line: the threat of exclusion. Commonwealth countries have committed themselves to promoting peace, equal rights, and the rule of law. Countries that do not abide by these values may be suspended. In 2007, for example, Pakistan was suspended for declaring a state of emergency and firing the country's top judges. This suspension was lifted after the Pakistan government took steps to restore democracy in 2008.

Cause and Consequence: What makes the threat of exclusion work? When might it have no influence? How would events such as the Commonwealth Games increase its influence?

CONNECTIONS

The following are some terms of the Convention on the Rights of the Child:

- Governments must take all possible measures to make sure children's rights are respected, protected, and fulfilled.
- When adults are making decisions that affect children, children have the right to say what they think should happen and have their opinions taken into account.
- In addition to the rights set out in the convention, refugee children have the right to special protection and help.
- Governments must protect and care for children affected by war. Children younger than 15 should not be forced or recruited to take part in a war or to join the armed forces.

Figure 5–3 Canada's Marie-Josée Ares-Pilon, from Sherbrooke, Québec, strains to lift 115 kilograms in the women's 69-kilogram event at the 2010 Commonwealth Games in New Delhi, India. Ares-Pilon came in fourth place. How do international sporting events like this strengthen bonds among the participating countries?



CONNECTIONS

Land Mines by the Numbers

Number of people killed by land mines every day: 72

Percentage of victims who are civilians: 90%

Percentage of victims who are children: 40%

Cost of making a land mine: \$3+ (U.S.)

Cost of removing a land mine: \$1000 (U.S.)

Number of land mines in place in the world (2009): 110 million

Up for Discussion

Might Canada be helping other countries not only because it's the humane thing to do but also out of self-interest?

La Francophonie

L'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie — la Francophonie for short — is an alliance of countries or regions where French is spoken. Members co-operate to promote the French language, peace, and sustainable development. Canada has been involved in la Francophonie since it was founded in 1970. The provincial governments of Québec and New Brunswick also take part in meetings, which are held every two years. Together, Canada and Québec hosted the la Francophonie summit in 2008.

The Land Mine Agreement

Countries sometime sign treaties to co-ordinate their efforts to resolve a particular world problem, such as ridding the world of land mines.

Planting land mines is a common tactic in military conflicts around the world. Land mines are cheap and effective. You just put them in the ground where an enemy might walk. When someone steps on one, the mine blows up. Soldiers plant them around bases for protection and in areas where the enemy is likely to travel.

But unexploded land mines remain in the ground long after a war has ended — and they remain just as deadly. Unexploded mines threaten civilians, and are costly and dangerous to remove.

In 1992, American activist Jody Williams and a group of non-governmental organizations worked together to found the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. This organization is supported by more than 1000 organizations in 72 countries.

In 1997, Williams and Lloyd Axworthy, who was Canadian foreign affairs minister at the time, organized an international meeting in Ottawa. This led to an agreement that is often called the Ottawa Treaty. It banned the use of land mines and required countries that signed the treaty to help remove existing mines.

By 2014, 161 countries, including Canada, had signed. But the United States, China, Russia, and India have refused to do so. They say that land mines are necessary for defence.

In 1999, Axworthy said that Canada's "engagement in the world is bred in the bone. Canadians consistently rate our activities and success abroad as an important indicator of how we define ourselves."

Cause and Consequence: Why is co-operation among countries so vital for solving problems such as the use of land mines? What other global problems could be tackled in the same way?

Figure 5-4 Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy (left) spoke with land mine survivor Tun Channareth of Cambodia after the Ottawa Treaty was signed. No land mines are buried in Canada. Why, then, would Canadians become involved in the battle to ban land mines?



Humanitarian Assistance

When crises happen, Canadians help. Both natural disasters and wartime conflicts put thousands of people in jeopardy. In these situations, donor countries send emergency food, clean water, money, and supplies. Crisis experts save lives, relieve suffering, and maintain and protect human dignity. In 2011, for example, Canadian governments, groups, and individuals together provided \$501 million (U.S.) in humanitarian aid.

The Canadian Forces Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART)

In late 1996, a cholera epidemic devastated 500 000 refugees who had flooded into Rwanda to escape civil conflict in neighbouring Zaire. Canada and other countries sent medical relief to the refugees, but the help arrived too late to save many people.

So the Canadian government decided to create a rapid-response military team that could move quickly into crisis areas. The Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) consists of Canadian Forces disaster specialists who can be flown quickly to disaster areas to provide medical treatment and emergency supplies.

In 2013, Typhoon Haiyan hit the Philippines with devastating effect. The federal government charged DART with providing emergency assistance and Operation Renaissance 13-1 was born. Within weeks, 315 DART personnel had purified 493 346 litres of water, treated 6525 medical patients, cleared more than 131 kilometres of roads, and delivered 230 485 pounds of food and other aid provided by donor organizations, all in little more than four weeks.

People to People

Canadians make a difference in the world not just through their government's efforts but also through **civil society**: people connected by their common interest in a cause. These are human rights organizations, faith groups, union groups, and student groups, among others. In 2008, students at Bishop Macdonell Catholic High School in Guelph, Ontario, presented Stephen Lewis with a social justice award. From 2001 to 2006, Lewis, a former leader of the Ontario NDP and a former Canadian ambassador to the UN, served as the UN secretary-general's special envoy for HIV-AIDS in Africa. The students told Lewis that he was a role model for changing the world.

In turn, Lewis praised the students for raising more than \$21 000 to support an AIDS clinic in Lesotho, Africa. Lewis said, "Recognize that it's a notable effort to show basic human generosity and compassion for other people. We are our brothers' and sisters' keepers."

Historical Perspective: Infer from Lewis's actions and statement what he might think about whether or not individuals have the power to effect change. Support your inference with the evidence.

CONNECTIONS

AIDS — acquired immune deficiency syndrome — was identified in the early 1980s. By 1991, an estimated 10 million people around the world had contracted either AIDS or HIV, the virus that causes the disease. By 1997, this number had risen to 22 million. By 2011, 34 million people were living with HIV-AIDS. Nearly 3.3 million of them were children.

Voices

Our mandate is to listen to African grandmothers, respect their expertise, and amplify their voices in order to promote authentic and substantive responses to the pandemic in Africa.

— Hannah Diamond, member of the Coquitlam Gogos (Gogo means "grandmother" in Zulu.)

Figure 5-5 Stephen Lewis, UN AIDS envoy (left), and singer Alicia Keys (right) sing with grandmothers from around the world at the International AIDS conference held in Toronto in 2006. Lewis started the Grandmothers to Grandmothers Campaign in the same year. Grandmothers in Canada use their collective voice to help grandmothers in Africa care for the millions of AIDS orphans. Why would Lewis turn to grandmothers to lead this effort?



Voices

The issue is not one of a right to intervention, but rather of a responsibility — in the first instance, a responsibility of all states to protect their own populations, but ultimately a responsibility of the whole human race to protect our fellow human beings from extreme abuse wherever and whenever it occurs.

— Kofi Annan, UN secretary-general, at the Stockholm International Forum on Preventing Genocide, 2004

The Responsibility to Protect

Before the 1990s, the UN had a longstanding policy of taking action in only two situations: a conflict between countries or a conflict within a country when a government invited the UN to help. If an invitation was not issued, the UN viewed the conflict as an internal matter and refused to intervene.

During the 1990s and into the 21st century, brutal civil conflicts within countries such as Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, and Burma led to atrocities and sometimes **genocide** — deliberate efforts to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Sometimes the atrocities were being perpetrated by a people's own government.

As the world learned of these horrors, civil society groups, politicians, and diplomats began to call on the United Nations to take action to protect victims of this kind of violence, even without an invitation. They argued that national borders should not matter when human rights are being violated. This idea came to be called the **responsibility to protect**. It means that the UN may step in when a government is unable or unwilling to protect its citizens from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, or crimes against humanity.

Lloyd Axworthy and the Canadian government played a leading role in overcoming opposition — and in 2005, the UN adopted the idea. It was first used as justification for action in February 2011. The UN Security Council demanded that the government of Libya cease its ongoing attacks against civilians, which it called crimes against humanity. It authorized member states to protect Libyan civilians under attack. NATO soon began air strikes, a mission in which Canada took part.

Figure 5-6 In March 2011, a Libyan rebel on top of a moving truck urges people to leave the area as government forces start shelling the outskirts of Bin Jawaad in central Libya. Why might it sometimes be difficult to tell when an abuse of human rights is happening? How would you go about getting confirmation?



Recall... Reflect... Respond

1. Develop two criteria you would use to decide whether or not the world community should intervene to stop violence within a country, even without an invitation. What ethical considerations influenced the criteria you developed?
2. Choose one organization mentioned in this chapter and list the pros and cons of membership. When making your list, consider the potential effect on international security. Write a concluding statement that explains if Canada should be a member or not.

Why does Canada respond to major international conflicts?

The world has experienced many conflicts since 1982, some within countries and some between countries. Every time, Canada had to decide whether or not to get involved.

Canada is a **middle power** — a country that is not a superpower but is still strong enough to influence world affairs. As such, it doesn't ever try to resolve conflicts on its own. It virtually always consults with its allies and the UN, and then decides how much support to offer a multilateral effort to resolve the situation.

Canada has faced many such situations since the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the Soviet Union broke up into a number of smaller, independent countries. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union had suppressed internal conflicts in the countries under its control. After that control evaporated, conflicts erupted in Eastern Europe, parts of Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

Some say that it all began with a single event: the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The Fall of the Berlin Wall

After World War II, the victorious Allies had divided Germany in two. At first, West Germany was controlled by Britain, France, and the United States, but it eventually became an independent democracy. East Germany became a communist state controlled by the Soviet Union.

Throughout the Cold War, NATO forces, including Canadians, kept military bases in West Germany to defend Western Europe from possible Soviet attack.

Berlin, which had been Germany's capital, was divided in two. East Berlin was part of East Germany, and West Berlin was part of West Germany. The Soviets decided to put up a wall to divide the two halves of the city because hundreds of thousands of East Germans were fleeing through Berlin to the West. It was embarrassing. On August 13, 1961, the wall began to go up. Orders were given that anyone caught trying to climb the wall would be shot.

In the West, the wall was not just reinforced concrete and barbed wire. Every time an East German was shot while trying to escape to the West, the wall became an ever more powerful symbol of the tyranny of the Soviet Union.

Twenty-eight years after the wall first went up, on November 4, 1989, half a million East Germans protested in East Berlin. It was part of a rising storm that the Communist leaders were helpless to slow down or stop. Then, on the night of November 9, more than two million East Berliners flooded through the checkpoints to join what one journalist called "the greatest street party in the history of the world."

Voices

[Middle powers] are those who are willing to assume responsibilities; seek practical, doable solutions to problems; and who have a voice and influence in global affairs because they lead, not by lecturing, but by example.

— Stephen Harper, Canada's prime minister, at the Council of Foreign Relations, 2007

Figure 5-7 To celebrate the reunification of their city in 1989, Berliners climbed onto the wall that had divided East and West Berlin for decades. In the background is the Brandenburg Gate. Compare the perspectives East and West Berliners might have had of this event.



A Turning Point, but Why?

When East and West Berliners pulled down the Berlin Wall in the days following November 9, 1989, the event seemed to mark the end of a political era. The end of tyranny. The end of the Cold War. A new beginning. Many viewed this event as a turning point.

A turning point is a singular moment in time when the process of change shifts. It can change in direction, in speed, or both.

After 1989, people's dreams of a new world order did not materialize. War and nuclear arms did not suddenly evaporate from the world. Yet the fall may have been a turning point for people in other ways. Let's look at various ways that change may have shifted in direction or speed after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

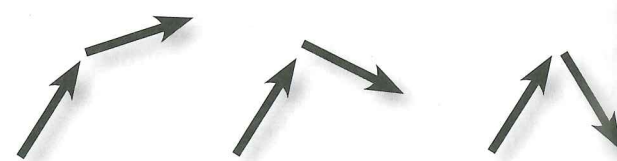
- The wall had physically divided Berlin families for nearly three decades. After the wall came down, they could travel freely.
- With the fall, German reunification suddenly became possible — within a year, East and West Germany became a single country once again.
- The fall of the Berlin Wall signalled the peaceful defeat of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. In a sense, it was the waving of the white flag.
- The fall marked the beginning of the end of the communist political system in the Soviet Union. Indeed, it marked the beginning of the breakup of the Soviet Union itself, as various states soon gained independence from the Soviet Union.
- The Soviet planned economy had been slowly deteriorating for decades. The Soviet Union could not keep up in the arms race. For decades, the peoples of Eastern Europe had been craving the democracy, lifestyle, and freedoms enjoyed in the West. The fall of the wall was the final expression of those cravings.

Explorations

1. One person spray painted on the wall, "Only today is the war really over." To what war would he or she have been referring? Does this make the fall of the wall a turning point?
2. Did the fall of the Berlin Wall actually mark a change in the direction or pace of historical change? Support your answer by noting specific trends that changed.
3. Some turning points are specific to particular societies. The fall of the Berlin Wall could be viewed by German citizens as a turning point for their country. Some turning points mark monumental change for many countries, or even the world. Was the fall of the Berlin Wall a turning point for the world — and Canada too?

Figure 5-8 Visualizing Turning Points

A turning point is a moment when the course of history changes. What do these diagrams suggest about turning points?



Could the turning point have been much earlier? Consider one possibility: the leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, took explicit actions in 1985 to deal with Russia's economic and political deterioration. He launched two sweeping reforms.

Perestroika (restructuring) ended price controls and government monopolies, encouraged a free market economy, and promised democratic elections. Unfortunately, it takes a long time for such changes to improve a society.

Through *glasnost* (openness), Gorbachev allowed freedom of speech, which meant the press began pointing out the corruption and flaws in the Soviet system. It also meant that Soviet police would not use violence to suppress protests. These changes encouraged fed-up citizens to demonstrate without fear for their safety, which in turn put pressure on the East German government to accede to their demand to open the wall.

Canada and the 1991 Gulf War

In 1990, oil-rich Iraq was controlled by President Saddam Hussein, a dictator who ruled the country with an iron fist. That August, Saddam claimed that neighbouring Kuwait was stealing Iraqi oil. It was the excuse he wanted for invading Kuwait, and Iraqi troops entered the country.

In response, the United Nations Security Council imposed **economic sanctions** (trade restrictions) on Iraq and ordered Saddam to remove his forces from Kuwait. Canada complied with the UN sanctions and sent forces to join an international military coalition that was gathering in case Saddam ignored the UN's order.

The UN set a deadline: Iraqi forces had to leave Kuwait by January 15, 1991, or face military consequences. Saddam ignored the deadline. So the U.S. Congress authorized the use of force against Iraq, and the Canadian Parliament followed suit. Nearly three dozen other countries did the same — and the Gulf War began.

Troops from the United States and Britain spearheaded the operation. Canadian forces escorted hospital ships, provided medical help, transported personnel and cargo, and helped refuel fighter planes in the air. The Canadian air force also flew combat patrols and took part in bombing missions.

The End of the Gulf War

Iraq's armed forces were quickly overwhelmed by the much larger and better-equipped coalition force, and on February 26, Iraqi troops started withdrawing from Kuwait. Coalition soldiers pursued Saddam's troops into Iraq but stopped short of attacking Baghdad, the Iraqi capital. As a result, Saddam remained in power when the war ended.

Afterward, the UN set up the Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission to monitor the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. Canadian forces played an important role in this mission. A field engineer unit, for example, helped clear land mines planted by Iraqi forces. Because of their experience with oil wells, Canadian companies were hired to put out the many oil well fires that the Iraqi forces had set before they left Kuwait.

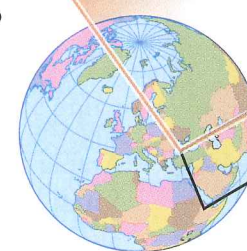
CONNECTIONS

Some firsts were recorded during the Gulf War.

- This war marked the first time Canadian forces had taken part in active combat since the Korean War (1950–53).
- It was the first time that TV news provided 24-hour coverage of a conflict, on channels such as CNN.

Figure 5-9 The Middle East

Find Canada, the United States, and Britain on the locator map. Why would Western powers have started gathering forces to oppose Saddam five months before declaring war? Would this preparation have increased or decreased the likelihood of war?



Voices

It was absolutely thrilling when we knew that we put the last [well] out. It was like a big celebration to us. I'd do it again. I'd do it again in a New York minute. If it all started again, and even with my age, I'd be the first volunteer to go there and start working.

— George Connon, a Canadian crew chief who put out oil well fires in Kuwait

Consequences of the Gulf War

The victory of coalition forces in the Gulf War did not resolve tensions between Iraq and the United States and its allies. Some people argued that the war actually made the situation worse because Saddam was humiliated by the crushing defeat. Others argued that the coalition forces should have continued to Baghdad and driven Saddam from power.

Some observers did not believe that the Gulf War was really fought because of concern for the citizens of Kuwait. These commentators believed that coalition allies were more concerned about ensuring their continued access to oil. Do the motives of governments that joined the coalition matter?

After the Gulf War, many people believed that Saddam was amassing **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**, including chemical and nuclear weapons. So Canada, the United States, and many other UN members continued the sanctions against Iraq.

But the sanctions were controversial. Some people argued that the sanctions did not harm Saddam; rather, they hurt the Iraqi people by limiting their access to food, medicine, and other supplies. Other people supported the sanctions. For example, Canadian Defence Minister Art Eggleton said that the sanctions would “further strengthen Canada’s military relationship with the United States and reaffirm our commitment to peace and stability in [the Middle East].”

Continued Tensions in the Middle East

The governments of several Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia and Qatar, had joined the coalition that fought Saddam. They believed that the Iraqi dictator endangered security in the Middle East.

But many people in Arab countries and elsewhere condemned the continued sanctions against Iraq. Iraq’s infrastructure had been severely damaged by the bombing that had taken place during the war, and the sanctions prevented rebuilding.

Further, UNICEF reported that at least 300 000 Iraqi children died because of the shortage of food and medical supplies. Some people said that the sanctions were deadlier than the war.

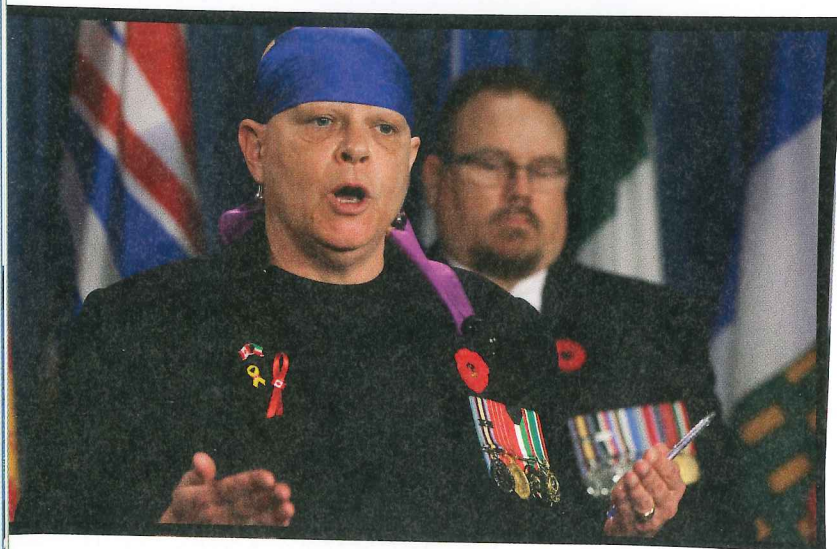
Another point that angered many Muslims was the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia after the war. Osama bin Laden, the Saudi leader of an extremist group called al-Qaeda, was particularly upset. In the view of bin Laden and his followers, the American presence desecrated the country that was home to Islam’s holiest sites.

Historical Perspective: If we do not try to understand the motivations of everyone involved in an historical event, how would our understanding of the event be limited?

CONNECTIONS

Gulf War syndrome is a group of ailments reported by veterans of the Gulf War. They experience nausea, rashes, irritable bowel syndrome, and fatigue. Many researchers believe that one cause of the syndrome is exposure to toxic chemicals and depleted uranium, which is used in weapons.

Figure 5-10 After serving in the 1991 Gulf War, Canadian Louise Richard experienced serious health problems including asthma, hair loss, and excessive bleeding. Here, she speaks with the media on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, in 2011. She notes that soldiers are exposed to a wide variety of harmful toxins, many of which have long-term health consequences. The government denies responsibility. Should the government assist veterans in the absence of proof? Should it compensate them for their health problems?



Yugoslavia

At the end of World War I, the Allies, who had won the war, created one country — Yugoslavia — out of the Balkan states of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. The ethnic, religious, and cultural differences that divided the people of these states were ignored.

For much of the second half of the 20th century, this uneasy union was held together by the communist dictator Josip Tito. Under Tito’s rule, people belonging to various ethnic and religious groups lived and worked side by side in relative harmony. But when Tito died in 1980, independence movements surfaced.

By the early 1990s, these tensions had erupted into fierce fighting as ethnic and religious groups clashed. Eventually, peace deals were brokered, and Slovenia, Macedonia, and Croatia achieved independence.

Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in 1992, but Serbs who lived there wanted to unite with Serbia — and the Serbian government supported them. Bosnian Serbs and Serbian troops fought to gain control in Bosnia, and hundreds of thousands of Bosnian Albanians, mostly Muslims, were driven from their homes. People on both sides found themselves attacked, sometimes by former neighbours. Thousands of people died.

Historical Perspective: Is it idealistic to think that people of different heritages should be able to get along? Why didn’t it work in the former Yugoslavia?

Canadian Peacekeepers in the Former Yugoslavia

The United Nations negotiated ceasefires so that peacekeepers could provide humanitarian relief and set up safe areas for refugees. Canadian peacekeepers played an important role in this mission.

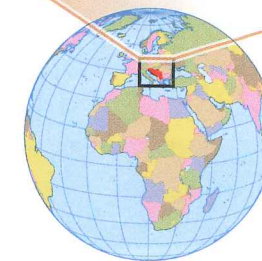
General Lewis MacKenzie, a Canadian who had served on previous UN missions, commanded the UN force. As usual, the peacekeepers were ordered not to take sides and to use force only to defend themselves.

But the operations in the former Yugoslavia were different from previous missions — the combatants wanted to keep fighting, so the peacekeepers often found themselves in difficult situations. Some witnessed atrocities, but their orders prevented them from intervening to save people. Many peacekeepers were attacked and forced to defend themselves.

After completing his stint as commander in Bosnia, MacKenzie blamed the UN for sending peacekeepers on a mission that was bound to fail. MacKenzie believed that this UN mission marked a turning point for peacekeeping — the whole notion of peacekeeping would have to be reconsidered.

Figure 5-11 Yugoslavia, 1990

Not all Serbians lived in Serbia in 1990. Nor did all Croats live in Croatia or Slovenes live in Slovenia. How might this mixing up of populations cause tensions? Why might it lead to war?



Voices

Countries don’t give their troops to the UN in trust to be killed trying to implement a really lousy ceasefire agreement arranged by a bunch of diplomats and politicians. . . . That’s what’s happening in Yugoslavia.

— Lewis MacKenzie, after his tour as commander of UN forces in Bosnia, 1993

Canada and Kosovo

Under Josip Tito's rule, Yugoslavia had been a federation of six republics. Kosovo was a province in the Serbian republic. Here, Serbs and Albanians formed the two largest ethnic groups.

When Yugoslavia started to crumble, Albanian Kosovars demanded independence, but Serbian Kosovars wanted to keep their ties with Serbia. Life for all Kosovars became dangerous as extremists on both sides committed murders and other atrocities.

By 1998, Serbian government forces were openly fighting the supporters of independence in Kosovo and President Slobodan Milošević had launched a brutal crackdown on Albanian Kosovars. The Serbian tactics included mass murder and mass expulsions.

NATO officials tried to broker a peace but failed. To halt the attacks, NATO then launched air strikes — it was the first time NATO launched such a mission without the authorization of the UN. Eighteen Canadian CF-18 fighters joined planes from countries such as the United States, Britain, France, and Spain to take part in these strikes.

From the end of March until the beginning of June 1999, NATO planes bombed not only military sites but also the cities of Belgrade and Priština.

The air strikes were controversial. Mary Robinson, the UN's high commissioner for human rights, confirmed that the bombings had killed "large numbers of civilians." Critics argued that the strikes violated international law and humanitarian principles.

Other people supported the strikes, saying that they were needed to keep the conflict from spreading.

The Aftermath of the Bombings

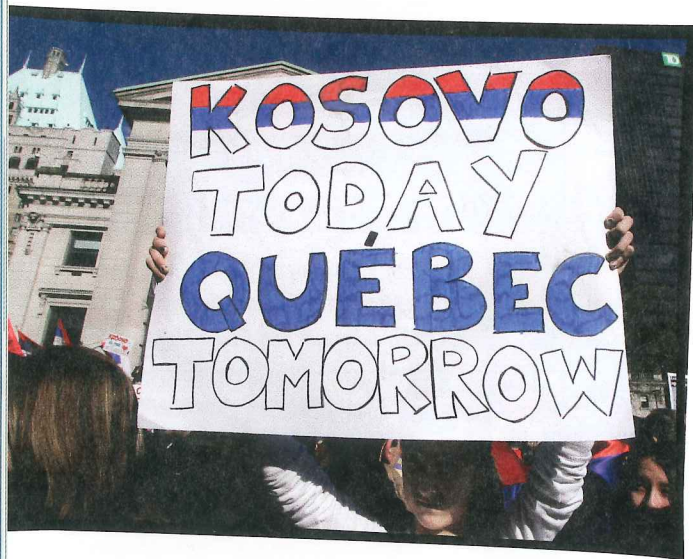
During and after the bombings, hundreds of thousands of Albanian Kosovars fled to refugee camps in neighbouring countries. Many reported that the mass murders and forced expulsions had become worse during the NATO campaign.

But in June 1999, Serbian forces left Kosovo and UN peacekeepers, including Canadians, moved in. The UN set up a temporary government and tried to help refugees return home.

On February 17, 2008, Kosovo declared independence. Serbia said the declaration was illegal. By 2009, the UN had not recognized Kosovo. Despite this, Canada, the United States, and many European countries recognized Kosovo's independence.

Cause and Consequence: Some Canadians predicted that recognizing Kosovo, which did not hold a referendum before declaring independence, will make it harder for Canada to enforce the Clarity Act (p. 78) if Québec declares independence in the future. Others argued that the cases of Kosovo and Québec are too different. Choose one side of this debate and prepare arguments you could use to support your view.

Figure 5-12 A protester holds up a sign at a 2008 Vancouver rally opposing Canada's recognition of Kosovo as an independent country. How might recognizing Kosovo be interpreted as supporting social justice? How might it be interpreted as undermining social justice?



Up for Discussion

The UN has a responsibility to protect, but does NATO? Who gets to decide when a population needs protection?

Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia

By late 1992, the government of the East African country of Somalia had collapsed. Warlords and clans were fighting for power in a conflict made worse by a famine that was sweeping the country. Many people were murdered, while others starved.

To try to stabilize Somalia, 900 members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment, an elite force, joined a UN peacekeeping mission there. The peacekeepers' assignment was to disarm the warring clans and provide relief supplies to the starving people.

The mission in the lawless country was difficult. Some members of the Canadian regiment reacted badly, committing violent acts against Somali citizens. One of the worst occurred when soldiers tortured and killed Shidane Arone, a 16-year-old who had been caught trying to steal supplies.

Though the soldiers who committed the crimes were brought to justice, the Somalia affair tarnished Canada's peacekeeping record. In 1996, a Canadian inquiry found that the Canadian Airborne's leadership had failed, and the regiment was disbanded in disgrace.

With no effective government, Somalis survived as best they could, and some turned to piracy. Pirates seized ships in the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea, holding the crews and cargos for ransom. The waters off the country's coast earned the reputation of being the most dangerous in the world. In 2014, Somalia remained chaotic.

Ethical Dimension: How does the context of the situation in Somalia help us understand — though not condone — the unethical behaviour of Canadian soldiers? How does the context of Canada's previously unmarred peacekeeping record help us understand why the Canadian Airborne Regiment was disbanded?

Voices

Unfortunately some incidents put a shadow over everything we did. A few incidents made the news, and [not] all the rest of the work — the school we built, the engineering work. We saved dozens of people. And we read about that nowhere.

— Captain Hercule Gosselin, Canadian Airborne Regiment, 1993

Canadian Peacekeepers in Rwanda

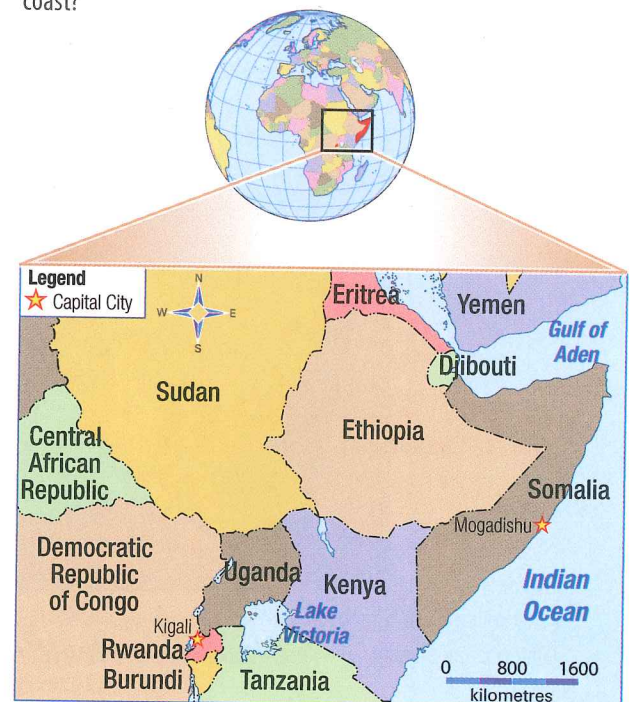
In 1993, the UN sent about 2500 peacekeepers, including 400 Canadians, to Rwanda under the command of Canadian General Roméo Dallaire. Rwanda had been in a state of conflict because the two main ethnic groups — Hutus and Tutsis — were struggling for power. But a peace agreement had been reached, and the peacekeepers' mission was to ensure that the agreement was respected.

Then, in April 1994, an airplane carrying Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana, a Hutu, was shot down. Though no one knew who had committed the crime, Tutsis were blamed. Radio broadcasts openly incited Hutus to violence. Many Hutus went on a murderous rampage, killing Tutsis, and even Hutus who had criticized the Hutu government.

Over the next 100 days, up to 800 000 people were murdered. More than 90 per cent of the dead were Tutsis.

Figure 5-13 Somalia and Rwanda

How did geography contribute to the rise in piracy off the Somali coast?



Voices

Rwanda will never ever leave me. . . . Fifty to sixty thousand people walking in the rain and the mud to escape being killed, and seeing a person there beside the road dying. We saw lots of them dying. And lots of those eyes still haunt me, angry eyes or innocent eyes, no laughing eyes. But the worst eyes that haunt me are the eyes of those people who were totally bewildered. . . . Those eyes dominated and they're absolutely right. How come I failed? How come my mission failed?

—Roméo Dallaire, in an interview for the documentary *Ghosts of Rwanda*, 2003

The UN Failure in Rwanda

Roméo Dallaire had warned UN officials of the risk of genocide, pleaded for reinforcements, and asked permission to seize Hutu weapons — but his requests were ignored. When the genocide started, the UN peacekeepers tried to protect as many people as they could, but the small force was not permitted to take direct action to stem the violence. So Dallaire had to endure three months of witnessing the majority Hutu population slaughtering the minority Tutsi population. Approximately 10 per cent of the country's population was killed.

Later, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who was UN secretary-general at the time of the genocide, acknowledged that what had happened in Rwanda was one of the greatest failures of his life. Even when the extent of the killing became known and the UN decided to send more peacekeepers to Rwanda, arguments over costs caused delays. In the end, troops and supplies did not arrive in the country until well after the genocide was over.

Ethical Dimension: In *Voices*, Roméo Dallaire talks of being haunted by visions of the past and feelings of failure. What might come of his efforts to talk about what went wrong so many years ago?

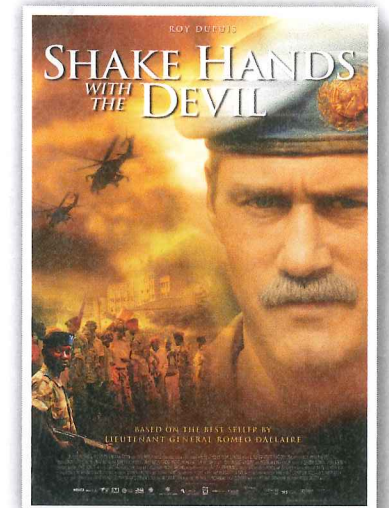
The Aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide

In 2014, 20 years after the Rwandan genocide, its effects were still being felt. Local courts were set up to try to achieve reconciliation between victims and some of those who had been involved in the murders. In some cases, the reconciliation efforts were successful, but in other cases, they were not. Some genocide survivors have been murdered, tortured, or intimidated so they would not tell their stories to the courts.

The genocide in Rwanda, combined with the troubles peacekeepers were experiencing in Yugoslavia and Somalia, raised questions about the UN's ability to protect threatened populations. Critics argued that traditional ideas about peacekeeping should be abandoned in favour of more active **peacemaking** — a strategy that forces an end to conflict rather than just helping two warring parties keep the peace.

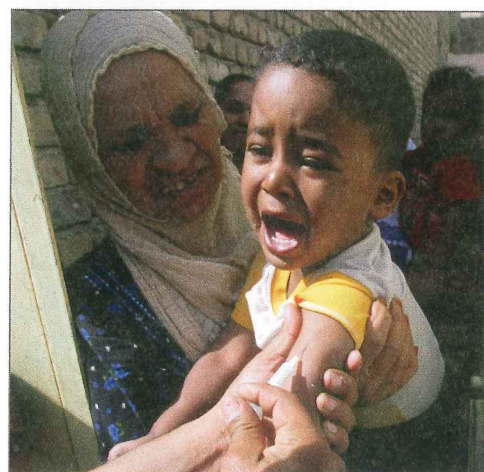
As for Dallaire, he was plagued with post-traumatic stress disorder for decades. He worked to raise awareness about the genocide and to raise awareness about post-traumatic stress disorder. After serving for nine years in the Canadian Senate, Dallaire resigned so that he could dedicate himself to combating the use of child soldiers.

Figure 5-16 In 2007, an award-winning Canadian movie based on Roméo Dallaire's book was released. The movie was critical of the UN's failure to take action to prevent the genocide in Rwanda. What do you think the title means in relation to the Rwanda mission?



Picturing International Security Issues

Figure 5-14 An Iraqi child is vaccinated against polio in 2000. Before the UN imposed sanctions in the early 1990s, polio was extremely rare in Iraq. But medical supplies, including essential vaccines, were on the list of sanctioned goods. As a result, polio re-emerged as a serious childhood illness among Iraqi children. Who should take responsibility for this situation — Saddam Hussein or the countries that supported sanctions?



Children's Health



Child Soldiers

Figure 5-15 A child soldier patrols in 2003 during a rally in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child prohibits recruiting children younger than 15 to fight in the military. Should this age limit be raised to 16? To 18?



Refugees of War

Figure 5-17 Syrian families wait their turn in Lebanon to register as refugees of the Syrian civil war in 2014. About 6.5 million Syrians have been internally displaced and 2.5 million have fled Syria altogether. Canada agreed to take 1300 Syrian refugees by the end of 2014. How can we balance human suffering against Canada's ability to absorb new citizens?



Aggressors

Figure 5-18 In March 2014, pro-Russian forces broke into the Belbek airbase in Crimea, Ukraine. Ukraine forces could not repel the attackers. The photograph shows a pro-Russian machine gunner controlling the gate of the captured airbase. As of July 2014, pro-Russian forces had not left. What should we do when aggressors use their firepower to get their way? Fight back and start a war? Try diplomacy? The problem is that if countries always respond harshly to every apparent injustice, the consequence could be war.

International Criminal Tribunals

During the 1990s, the UN Security Council established two international **tribunals** (special courts) to investigate crimes against humanity. In 1993, it set up the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and in 1994, it established a similar tribunal to investigate the genocide in Rwanda. Canada strongly supported these tribunals.

Neither tribunal made much progress in bringing people to justice until Canadian Louise Arbour was named chief prosecutor in 1996. By the time Arbour stepped down in 1999, the Rwanda tribunal had achieved the first conviction for genocide since the UN had passed the Convention on Genocide in 1948. Jean-Paul Akayesu was judged guilty because of his actions while he was mayor of the Rwandan town of Taba. He not only refused to save people though he was in a position to do so, but also provided lists of people he wanted killed, organized house-to-house searches for them, and supervised killings. The Yugoslavia tribunal laid charges against former Serbian President

Slobodan Milošević, as well as other high-ranking officials who had been responsible for many atrocities in the former Yugoslavia. Milošević died in jail of a heart attack before a verdict was reached.

Arbour went on to serve as the UN's high commissioner for human rights from 2004 to 2008. Her job was to investigate human rights violations.

Debate over the Tribunals

The criminal tribunals for both the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda sparked controversy. People disagreed over whether the UN Security Council had the authority to set up bodies like these. Some critics argued that tribunals can be established only by the UN General Assembly. The tribunals have also been costly, and these costs — several million dollars a year — are shared by all UN members. Other critics argued that the tribunals moved too slowly to be effective. In some cases, trials have lasted years.

But tribunal supporters, including Canada, argued that every accused person deserves a fair trial, no matter how long it takes. They also say that the tribunals send an important message: that the international community will stand behind the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Cause and Consequence: What would the Declaration of Human Rights be worth if those who signed it never stood up to enforce it? What is the best way to get governments to uphold the values in the declaration?



Figure 5-19 In July 1999, Louise Arbour spoke with Kosovar Albanians who had witnessed murders by Serbian forces in the village of Vlastica, Kosovo. Why would Arbour visit the sites where the alleged crimes took place?

Voices

The Universal Declaration [of Human Rights] and its core values — inherent human dignity, justice, non-discrimination, equality, fairness, and universality — apply to everyone, everywhere, always.

— Louise Arbour, UN high commissioner for human rights, 2007

The International Criminal Court

The events in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, and the long delays in bringing criminals to justice through the tribunals, convinced some governments and many other organizations that the United Nations should set up a permanent international court for prosecuting cases of genocide. The Canadian government was one of the driving forces behind the call to establish this court.

The International Criminal Court (ICC) began to take shape in 1998. Representatives of Canada and other countries met in Rome to plan how the court would work. But the ICC could not start operating until 60 of the UN's 192 members had agreed to support it. The minimum number was reached in 2002. By 2014, 122 countries had signed on. Some states were reluctant at first because a country that is a member must agree that the ICC has the authority to put its citizens on trial.

The UN funds the ICC, though the court operates independently. The court's purpose is to try people accused of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity: "the most serious crimes of international concern." The court can rule on crimes committed only within a country that has signed the treaty. The ICC has no police force of its own; instead, it depends on national police forces to arrest people it wants to charge.

The Debate over the International Criminal Court

Like the criminal tribunals, the ICC is controversial. Countries that support the court believe that it promotes international peace and security by providing a tool that can be used to bring war criminals to justice. These countries believe that this helps ensure that everyone's human rights are protected.

But many powerful countries, such as China, the United States, Russia, and India, actively oppose the court. The U.S. government, for example, has threatened to withhold military aid from countries that support the court.

American officials argue that countries should be left to bring war criminals to justice in their own courts. They also say that the ICC is too powerful because it does not answer to any national government.

CONNECTIONS

Canadian international law expert Philippe Kirsch played a leading role in promoting and organizing the International Criminal Court. In 2003, Kirsch, who has been called the "father of the ICC," was elected as a judge for a six-year term, and served as the court's first president.

Up for Discussion

Does the International Criminal Court support — or undermine — social justice?

Recall ... Reflect ... Respond

1. With a partner, create a chart like the one shown. In the final column, explain how Canada's involvement in each conflict helped or hurt the cause of international security.
2. The ICC does more than ensure that justice is served. How can it help countries come to terms with what happened? Think about what survivors, perpetrators, bystanders, educators, and youth might each gain from a trial.

Canada and International Security since 1982			
Conflict	How Conflict Challenged International Security	Canada's Response	Our Assessment of Canada's Response
Gulf War			
Yugoslavia			
Kosovo			
Somalia			
Rwanda			

Was 9/11 a turning point for Canada?

On September 11, 2001, four American commercial flights were hijacked over the United States. Two of the planes were used to destroy the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City; another crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C.; and a fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. The death toll was 2752, including 24 Canadians.

Osama bin Laden, leader of al-Qaeda, claimed responsibility for the attacks, which have become known as 9/11.

Thinking Historically: Evidence

What Happened in Gander?

Imagine you were an historian in 2050, and for some reason the history of the year 2001 has been wiped off the books — and the hard drives and the Internet.

So you want to figure out what happened. You track down this comment made by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien on September 11, 2002, at the one-year anniversary of some major event in Gander, Newfoundland: “You did yourselves proud, ladies and gentlemen, and you did Canada proud.” What happened in Gander?

You do some more digging and find a handful of quotes of people commenting on the ten-year anniversary of the same event. Can you use this evidence to solve the mystery?

There was one after another. I’m looking at this and I’m saying: “Oh my God. Each one of those planes must have anywhere from 200 to 300 people on-board. I think reality really kicked in at that point.”

— Oz Fudge, a gander police officer

The way they rose to that occasion is simply astonishing to me. They took care of every one of those passengers — and got their medicine for them and food and entertainment for them, anything that they needed. It was one of the most extraordinary gifts by human beings to strangers that I think I have ever seen.

— Louise Slaughter, U.S. Congresswoman

They were just unbelievable the way they treated us up there. They fed us, and put us up and if we needed anything, they’d get it for you.

— Dennis O’Rourke, resident of New York City

I’m just going back to tell everybody there: Thank you. Everybody in the town put their lives on hold so they could take care of us. . . . At some point I broke down crying because finally everything hit me. I didn’t know where I was; I didn’t know when I was getting home, all this stuff had happened to my country.

— Monica Burke, an American police dispatcher

I guess as a community, watching it at the beginning, we felt like we were helpless, there was not much we could do to help the people in New York. But when the planes started to land, there was a way we could help.

— Claude Elliott, mayor of Gander

Explorations

- What happened in Gander? Be careful — remember that you know nothing at all about what happened in the year 2001 beyond what these quotes tell you.
 - List inferences you can make about what occurred in that year, both in Gander and elsewhere.
 - For each inference, note if more than one piece of evidence supports your conclusion.
- How did the events in Gander, Newfoundland, in 2001 affect the Canada–U.S. relationship? What does the evidence tell you?
 - Qualify each of your inferences as “definitely,” “likely,” or “possibly.”

Canada Goes to War

In response to the attacks, Canada declared a national day of mourning and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien pledged to support the United States. He said, “We will be with the United States every step of the way. As friends. As neighbours. As family.”

In October 2001, just one month after 9/11, Chrétien announced that Canada would join a UN-approved NATO coalition attack force to invade Afghanistan, stronghold of al-Qaeda.

Background to the War in Afghanistan

It all began in the late 1970s, when Afghan government forces were fighting a losing battle against rebel groups that supported an extreme interpretation of Muslim scriptures and traditions. The Afghan government appealed to the Soviet Union for help.

To stop the Soviet Union from increasing its influence, the United States started to supply the extremist rebels with arms and money. One rebel group was led by Osama bin Laden.

After years of fighting, the Soviets finally withdrew from Afghanistan in the late 1980s. This cleared the way for the Taliban — a fundamentalist Muslim political movement — to take over the country.

At about this time, bin Laden formed al-Qaeda. Using Afghanistan as a base, he vowed to fight the West. After he did so in 9/11, Afghanistan’s Taliban government refused to reveal bin Laden’s hiding place. So the United Nations agreed that the United States and its allies had the right — as a matter of self-defence — to invade Afghanistan to track down bin Laden and oust the Taliban.

CONNECTIONS

Osama bin Laden had two grudges against the United States. He believed that American forces in Saudi Arabia were “desecrating” a Muslim country, although the Saudi royal family had invited the American presence. Further, bin Laden wanted American support for Israel to stop.

Figure 5–20 NATO Forces in Afghanistan, 2009

Canada took responsibility for Kandahar Province, a Taliban stronghold. This choice meant that the Canadian mission would be both difficult and dangerous. Compare Canada’s troop contribution with that of other countries. Did Canadian forces pull their weight in Afghanistan, do too little, or do too much?



A Long, Tough Slog

By the end of 2001, the Taliban had been driven from power in Afghanistan, and in 2004 the country held democratic elections. Nonetheless, the country remained very dangerous. Al-Qaeda and the Taliban recruited guerrillas — independent armed forces that fight against government forces — to terrorize the Afghan people and wage a battle against the NATO forces.

Canada had responsibility for Kandahar Province, which was perhaps the most dangerous location in the whole country. The guerrilla tactics included improvised explosive devices (IEDs) such as land mines, ambushes, and suicide attacks. Insurgents disguised themselves as ordinary Afghans, so they were hard to identify and capture. The constant danger made it difficult for Canada and its NATO partners to fulfill their goals of helping Afghans build a safe and democratic society. By 2006, more than two million Afghans had been forced from their homes and were living as refugees.

Youth Making History

Omar Khadr — Child Soldier?



In 2002, Omar Khadr killed Sgt. 1st Class Christopher Speer, a U.S. army medic, with a hand grenade during a firefight in Afghanistan. At the time, Omar was just 15 years old.

How did a Toronto-born Canadian teenager end up in a war zone? Omar's father had links to Osama bin Laden, and he had taken his son Omar to live and work with Taliban forces in Afghanistan. We can only speculate on what went on before the firefight.

Afterward, Omar was captured by U.S. forces, classified as an enemy combatant, and shipped to Guantanamo Bay detention camp, where the United States holds enemy combatants it suspects of terrorism.

Figure 5–21 By 2014, Omar Khadr had been detained for about 12 years.

Because of Omar's age, organizations such as Amnesty International argued that he was a child soldier and should be set free. The United States disagreed. In 2010, Omar pleaded not guilty to five war crimes. After he was offered a transfer to a Canadian prison, he changed his mind and pleaded guilty.

At first Omar was sentenced to 40 years, but a pretrial deal reduced the sentence to eight years. In 2014, Omar was serving his time in a medium security prison in Alberta. His release is set for October 30, 2018.

Explorations

- Omar stated in 2013, "I have no memory at all of that day or anything at all about a grenade being thrown at any U.S. soldiers." Could this be true? Why might Omar have pleaded guilty? How would you find out the truth?
- Should Omar's age have had an influence on the decisions made by the Canadian government?
- Throughout Omar's 10 years at Guantanamo, the federal government did not try to bring Omar to Canada to be tried here. Other countries made such arrangements for their citizens. Does a government always have to do its utmost to protect its citizens? Explain your opinion.

The Mission Wraps Up

Although Canada's role in combat ended in 2011, some Canadian forces stayed for three more years to train Afghan National Security Forces. By the time Canada's mission finally ended in 2014, more than 40 000 Canadian soldiers had served their country. Of these, 158 had been killed and more than 1800 were wounded. To put this mission in perspective, more Canadians died in Afghanistan than in any other military mission since the Korean War in the 1950s.

The financial costs were also high. Security analyst David Perry estimates that the final bill will reach \$22 billion. This includes the costs of the missions, the long-term care for wounded veterans, and payments to rebuild and replace military equipment.

Was It Worth It?

Afghanistan is one of the 15 least developed countries in the world. In 2002, levels of education, infrastructure, and respect for human rights are all extremely low. To accomplish their goal of building Afghanistan into a stable, secure, and democratic country, Canadian forces were involved in diplomacy, community development, securing women's rights, ensuring education for girls, and building infrastructure. They not only fought the insurgents but also trained Afghan security forces so they could do the job themselves after Canada left.

Were the accomplishments worth all the sacrifices? Some argue that the costs, both human and monetary, were too great. In the *Ottawa Sun*, a survey posted in August 2011 showed that 30 per cent of respondents thought the mission was worth it, while 58 per cent did not.

As the mission came to an end, Stephen Harper praised the valiant efforts of the 40 000 Canadian soldiers who served in this mission by stating that they "have fought to defeat the threat of terrorism, and to ensure the freedom of others to build a stronger, safer world."

Figure 5–23 Changes in Afghanistan, 2001–2014

Canada contributed extensively in achieving these changes. Which do you predict will be permanent?

	2001	2014
Children in school	1 million	7.7 million
Percentage of students who are girls	0%	39%
Constitution	no	yes
Elections	0 since 1982	5 since 2004
Percentage of voters who were women	0%	36%
Base of terrorism	yes	no
Size of Afghan security forces	0	300 000

Figure 5–22 Master Corporal Anthony Alliot of the Grenadier Guards infantry regiment was one of the last Canadian soldiers to return home on March 18, 2014. Here, he embraces his girlfriend, Sarah Tooth. Although soldiers know what is expected of them when they join up, the long separations are still very hard for both soldiers and their loved ones. He said, "It's been an honour to serve. It was a great experience; something I will remember for the rest of my life." Would you be prepared to embrace army life?



CONNECTIONS

According to the Costs of War Project, at least 21 000 Afghan civilians have died as a result of the war in their country. Some were victims of violence while others died from the war-induced breakdown of public health and infrastructure.

Up for Discussion

What makes the question "Was the mission worth it?" a difficult one to answer? How would you go about answering it?

Women's Rights in Afghanistan

In 2009, the Afghan parliament passed a law that was in keeping with the beliefs of Shia Muslims — about 10 per cent of Afghanistan's population. The law enabled Shia men to strictly control their wives. Wives were, for example, required to ask permission to go out.

Humanitarian groups and many Western leaders condemned the law as a setback in Afghan women's battle for equal rights. In Canada, it led people to



FARAH MOHAMED, whose family arrived in Canada as refugees, is active in various community and humanitarian groups.



A former chair of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, **JUDY REBICK** opposed the War in Afghanistan.



Historian **MARGARET MACMILLAN**, who wrote the award-winning *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*, believes that the mission was essential to protect women's rights.



MALALA YOUSAFZAI was just 15 years old when a Taliban fighter shot her in the head because she was outspoken about girls' and women's right to education. She responded by recovering and bringing her message to the world.

question whether or not the NATO mission was making any progress toward promoting human rights in Afghanistan.

I grew up in Canada in a Muslim home where respect and the advancement of women are normal, and I was horrified by this law. How can you think in this day and age that a man can have that kind of control over a woman and her body? This is not a woman's issue. To me, this is about human rights. My male Muslim friends are equally outraged and horrified.

How has the war helped women in Afghanistan? It hasn't. . . . Never have women achieved equality by somebody coming in and giving it to them. We can't bomb our way into equality. . . . We should never have gone into Afghanistan in the first place, and we should leave.

This is a moment for women on the left, who support women's rights at home, to ask themselves, "What do we do about Afghanistan?" . . . This is a regime that depends very heavily on Western backing and the Canadian government and others should . . . use their influence over President [Hamid] Karzai [to make him end this law].

When women say they want independence, people think this means we don't want to obey our fathers, brothers, or husbands. But it does not mean that. It means we want to make decisions for ourselves. We want to be free to go to school or to go to work. Nowhere is it written in the Quran that a woman should be dependent on a man.

Explorations

1. Compare the positions of the four speakers. How are they the same? How are they different?
2. Whose view do you agree with most closely? Explain.
3. Do Canadians have a right — or even a responsibility — to press the Afghan government to change a law that seems to undermine human rights? Or should Afghans figure it out on their own? Explain your response.

The Invasion of Iraq

Shortly after the NATO Afghanistan mission had begun, American President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair had switched their focus to Iraq, where Saddam Hussein remained in power. Both Bush and Blair accused Saddam of amassing **weapons of mass destruction** (WMDs). These are chemical or biological weapons that can kill whole populations.

So in March 2003, 300 000 soldiers from the United States, Britain, and a coalition of other countries invaded Iraq. They said the purpose of the mission was to safeguard international security by deposing Saddam and destroying Iraq's WMDs.

But United Nations inspectors had conducted inspections in Iraq and found no WMDs. Consequently, the UN did not support the invasion. Without UN approval, Canada refused to join the mission.

Many Canadians agreed with the government's decision, saying that the real purpose of the invasion had been to gain control of Iraq's huge oil reserves. Others expressed concerns that Canada's refusal to take part would harm the country's relations with its closest allies.

When the invasion started, the United States pulled some of its forces out of Afghanistan and sent them to Iraq instead. To make up the shortfall in Afghanistan, Canada and other NATO countries increased the size of their forces. In the view of some Canadians, this action amounted to approving the invasion of Iraq.

Saddam was captured in late 2003 and executed three years later. No WMDs were found in Iraq. Nonetheless U.S. forces remained in Iraq until 2011. And though Iraq had made some progress toward democracy, it all seemed to fall apart in 2014 when an Islamist militant group took over much of the country and the Iraqi government could not regain control.

Canada's refusal to be involved in the Iraqi mission was Canada's right as a sovereign nation. Why might the Americans be unhappy with this decision? How might it damage the Canada–U.S. relationship? Was this decision a wise move or a mistake?

Figure 5–24 In February 2003, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell tried unsuccessfully to convince the UN Security Council that Iraq had WMDs that must be destroyed. Powell later said that he had been misinformed and that the speech was a painful blot on his career.



CONNECTIONS

The United States used the alleged proof of WMDs in Iraq as an excuse to launch the war. When it became clear that reports of WMDs had been false, some media outlets apologized for their failure to monitor the situation more closely and to report more objectively. The editors of the influential *New York Times*, for example, confessed that the paper's coverage "was not as rigorous as it should have been."

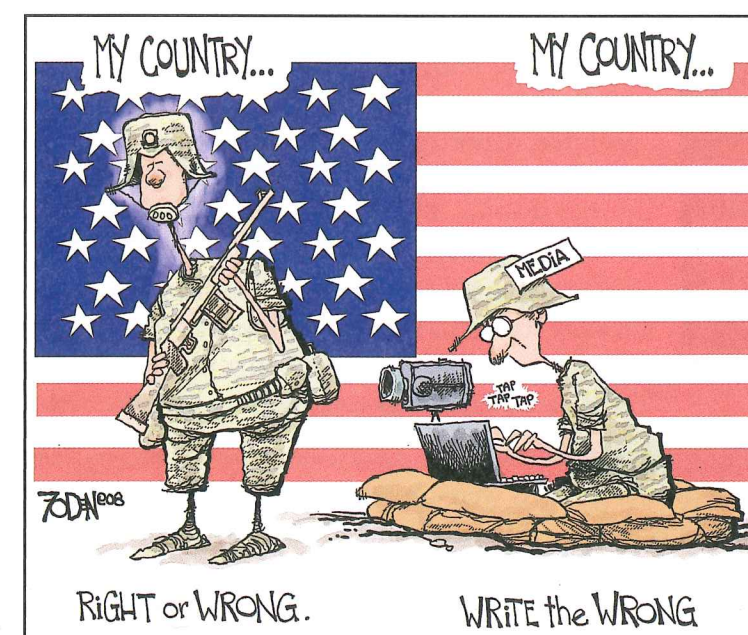


Figure 5–25 During the invasion of Iraq, journalists were selected to team up with coalition troops and travel with them exclusively. How might this affect a journalist's ability to be unbiased? Afterward, American artist Glenn Foden created this cartoon as a comment on the American media's coverage of the war. What message is Foden sending?

Voices

On the one hand, we're fighting against terrorism, but we are also fighting for human rights. And it would be the ultimate irony that once we win the battle against terrorism . . . that we are going to be doing it at the expense of civil liberties.

—Andrew Telegdi, Liberal member of Parliament, 2001

Figure 5–26 For seven years, Mohamed Harkat lived under strict house arrest and had to wear an electronic tracking device such as the one shown in this photograph. Harkat was suspected of being a sleeper agent — a person who blends into a target society for years before being directed to commit an act of terrorism. He denies the accusations. The house arrest rules were relaxed in 2013. How far should Canada go to protect its citizens from potential terrorism?



A Culture of Fear

Terrorism seeks to instill fear in a civilian population. The 9/11 attacks on the United States created a lot of fear. Many Canadians worried that Canada might experience similar attacks.

So, how should a government respond to terrorism? Canada went to war to catch the terrorists. And it started beefing up security at home. Screening of passengers at airports, for example, increased substantially. On the one hand, Canadians welcomed these measures because they wanted to be safe. On the other hand, they worried because increasing surveillance reduces individual civil rights.

On December 18, 2001, Parliament passed the Anti-Terrorism Act, which defined terrorism as an action taken “for a political, religious, or ideological purpose, objective, or cause.” In addition to making terrorism a crime, the act

- allowed police to detain suspected terrorists without charge for three days
- made it easier to conduct electronic surveillance of suspected terrorists and to make preventive arrests
- allowed judges to force witnesses to provide evidence during investigations
- allowed the government to designate groups as terrorist organizations

In addition, the Anti-Terrorism Act makes it illegal to contribute money to groups that support terrorism. As of June 2014, a government list identified 51 such banned groups. The World Tamil Movement, for example, was added to the list in 2008.

Deporting Non-Citizens with Security Certificates

One of the most controversial anti-terrorism tools is the security certificate. The government issues these to detain, try, and deport noncitizens whom it believes threaten national security. The proceedings are kept secret because the evidence may threaten national security. The evidence is never revealed either to the accused or to the public.

But Canada has signed an international convention that prohibits deporting people to countries where they face torture. In 2009, five people — all of Middle Eastern origin — were in this position. On the basis of secret evidence, they had been declared security threats and ordered deported. But they could not be deported because they faced torture in their homeland. So they stayed in Canada and spent years in detention or under house arrest. The Supreme Court ruled in 2014 that the security certificate system was constitutional.

Ethical Dimension: Security certificates can be used to deport only noncitizens. Citizens were protected by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other laws. Should Canadian law protect everyone equally?

Maher Arar: Canadian Defender of Civil Rights

In September 2002, Maher Arar, an engineer with dual Canadian–Syrian citizenship, was flying home to Ottawa after a family holiday in Tunisia. On a stopover in New York, he was detained by American officials. After receiving misleading information from the RCMP, the Americans accused Arar of being a terrorist and deported him to Syria. Why would they send him to Syria, where he had not lived for nearly two decades? Could it be that they knew the Syrian security forces would go further than Canada would to try to get answers out of Arar?

In Syria, Arar was jailed and tortured periodically over the course of a year. He says, “I stayed in Syria, most of my time, in an underground cell which is the size of a coffin, basically. It’s about three feet [1 m] wide, six feet [2 m] high and about seven feet [2.5 m] deep. It was a filthy place. It was dark.”

In the meantime, Arar’s wife, Monia Mazigh, brought her husband’s treatment to the attention of the media and human rights groups, which put pressure on the Canadian government to seek his release. Thanks to Mazigh, Arar was finally set free and allowed to return home.

In response to continued pressure, the Canadian government set up an inquiry to investigate the events that led to Arar’s deportation. The inquiry found no evidence that he was involved in terrorism, and in 2007, Prime Minister Stephen Harper formally apologized and announced that Arar would receive \$10.5 million in compensation.

Cause and Consequence: Arar worked passionately to clear his name and draw attention to national security issues. In 2007, *Time* magazine named Maher Arar as one of the 100 most influential people in the world. The United States still had him on a watch list, however, so he could not travel to the ceremony. As of 2014, the United States has still not apologized. How might the whole incident affect the Canada–U.S. relationship?

Figure 5–27 Maher Arar and Monia Mazigh consult during a news conference in 2004. How do you think their struggle to persuade the Canadian government to acknowledge that Arar’s rights had been violated may have affected their view of Canada?



Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

- Two different Canadian news sources used the following headlines when reporting Maher Arar’s deportation:
 - “U.S. deports respected Canadian to Syria”
 - “United States deports suspected terrorist to Syria”

The two headlines are nearly the same. Which words are different? What biases do these words show? How might each headline have influenced people’s view of the fairness of the deportation?

- The 9/11 attack hugely affected Canada and the world. Describe examples of both co-operation and conflict between the United States and Canada. Overall, did it lead to more co-operation or more conflict?

Chapter 5 Review

Knowledge, Understanding, and Thinking

1. Create a timeline that starts in 1982. Include at least five instances in which Canada became involved in the international community. For each event, jot a point-form note that identifies the factors that led to Canada's participation.
2. Identify three examples of co-operation leading to a Canadian success. Why was the spirit of co-operation necessary? What would have happened without it? What other goals could a spirit of co-operation help Canada achieve?
3. **Continuity and Change:** Consider the challenges faced by Canadian peacekeepers during the 1990s. How did Canada's role in international conflicts show continuity during this time? How did it show change? Be prepared to explain your judgments.
4. Choose a government policy or political development that divided Canadians, such as national security issues, involvement in the mission to Afghanistan, or another issue of your choice. Examine it from several perspectives, showing how and why people disagreed.
5. Identify five people or organizations from any chapter in Unit 1 that you believe have made an important contribution to Canadian society or politics. Each individual should represent a different form of contribution (for example, they cannot all be war heroes). Justify your choices.

Communicating and Applying

6. Some people argue that Canada should mind its own business and focus on helping its own citizens. Others say that helping people anywhere in the world is every country's responsibility. Still others take a position somewhere between these two extremes.

On a continuum like the one shown, locate your position on this issue. Explain the reasons for your decision.



7. **Ethical Dimension:** The overarching question for this unit is "Why is Canada the nation it is today?"
 - a) Explain what gives a country its character.
 - b) Refer to the timeline you created in response to Question 1. Choose one international event from the timeline and explain whether the Canadian response did — or did not — help make Canada the kind of country in which you would like to live.
 - c) Write a brief memo to your Member of Parliament explaining what lesson might be drawn from the Canadian response to the event you selected and how the lesson might affect this country's response to similar situations in the future.
8. While you are browsing online, you come across a blog that says Canadian forces should never have gone to Afghanistan. The author of the blog argues that Canadian forces should be required to engage in active combat only to protect Canadian soil, not to help resolve conflicts in other parts of the world.

The blogger asks readers to post comments in response. Prepare the response you would make to support or oppose the blogger's position. Include at least two arguments that support your position.
9. In Kosovo, Canada was trying to force a peace by peacemaking rather than maintain a peace by peacekeeping. What's the difference? Has peacemaking made the UN redundant? Is Canada a peacekeeping nation or a peacemaking nation? Which should it be? Write up your opinion after discussing these questions in a small group.

10. **Ethical Dimension:** Research a foreign event such as Haiti after it was hit by Hurricane Hanna in 2008, the crushing of the Chinese pro-democracy movement in Tienanmen Square in 1989, or the 2004 tsunami crisis. Was Canada involved? Why or why not? Should Canada have been involved? Explain your opinion.

11. **Evidence:** The Dalai Lama won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989. The following excerpt is from his acceptance speech.

Peace, in the sense of the absence of war, is of little value to someone who is dying of hunger or cold. It will not remove the pain of torture inflicted on a prisoner of conscience. It does not comfort those who have lost their loved ones in floods caused by senseless deforestation in a neighbouring country. Peace can only last where human rights are respected, where the people are fed, and where individuals and nations are free.
— Dalai Lama, 1989

- a) Summarize the speech excerpt in your own words. Indicate what you think is the Dalai Lama's main point.
 - b) What does the speech excerpt tell you about the Dalai Lama?
 - c) What does his message have to do with social justice?
 - d) Write the opening paragraph of the speech you might give if you won the Nobel Peace Prize 40 years from now. In it, indicate what you did to win the prize, and any message you would like to send to the world.
12. **Ethical Dimension:** The case of Omar Khadr raised complex ethical and political questions. Consider the following information, and then respond to the questions.
 - The UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (see p. 141) defines a child soldier as younger than 15. An additional but optional protocol says that children younger than 18 should not take part in armed conflict.
 - In Canada, 16-year-olds can join the armed forces with their parents' permission, but they are not assigned to combat units until they are 18.
 - In Canada, lawbreakers younger than 18 are not usually treated as adults. Young offenders are subject to the Youth Criminal Justice Act, which encourages rehabilitation.
 - a) Was Omar Khadr a child soldier? Should that have affected how he was treated by the U.S. military commission?

- b) The Americans tried and convicted Omar as an adult. In July 2014, after his return to Canada, the Alberta Court of Appeal ruled that Omar should be treated as if he had been sentenced as a youth. This would give him the right to apply for early release. In your opinion, how should a person who committed a crime at the age of 15 be treated by the justice system? Why?
- c) Some members of Omar Khadr's family, who now live in Canada, have made no secret of their support for al-Qaeda and its goals. Whose views should be considered when deciding whether or not Omar should be given an early release?
- d) The federal government wants to appeal the 2014 court ruling. With a partner, write an email message to the justice minister. Present and support your position on whether or not Omar should be treated as if he was a minor at the time of the offence, and explain the reasons for your judgment.

13. **Cause and Consequence:** The land mine treaty championed by Jody Williams and Lloyd Axworthy led directly to a similar treaty to ban cluster munitions. Most cluster munitions are air-dropped bombs that release multiple bomblets. Some of these explode immediately, but others do not. They can explode later to kill or maim civilians even after many years. A 2010 treaty to ban them was modelled on the earlier land mine treaty. Describe how the example of Williams and Axworthy could be used as a model to solve another global problem of your choosing.

14. In 1989, the Canadian Human Rights Commission removed the barriers that had prevented women from serving alongside men in combat roles in the military. Of the 158 Canadian soldiers who died in Afghanistan, three were women. They were the first Canadian women to die in active service. Describe the variety of perspectives on this development. Consider the soldiers' families, male soldiers, female soldiers, and girls who might become female soldiers.