

From Peacekeepers to Peacemakers

Many people, both in and outside Canada, view this country as a nation of peacekeepers. Jim Travers, a political columnist with the *Toronto Star*, captured this idea when he spoke at a forum on peacekeeping: "Peacekeeping ranks up there with hockey . . . it is important in our self-definition."

It was a Canadian idea. Lester B. Pearson, who became prime minister in 1963, proposed the idea to the United Nations in 1956. As it started out, peacekeepers helped two warring countries move from a state of war to a state of peace. Sometimes this involved mediating. Sometimes it meant establishing a buffer zone between the two warring parties. Canadians took pride in this new approach that favoured mediation over force.

For more than 30 years, the vision of Canadian Forces as peacekeepers was accurate. From 1956 to 1990, Canada participated in all UN peacekeeping missions. But in the 1990s, the nature of peacekeeping was changing. More and more missions involved peacekeepers in civil conflicts *within* countries instead of *between* countries.

Keeping the peace became much more dangerous. Sometimes one party would decide that the peacekeepers were siding with the other party and would attack them. In the 1990s, for example, peacekeepers in the former Yugoslavia were forced to fight back against armed attacks. In Rwanda, in 1994, it was even worse. Peacekeepers under the command of Canadian general Roméo Dallaire were powerless to stop a genocide.

Canada is one of 47 countries that sent forces to Afghanistan in 2001. Though this mission was approved by the United Nations Security Council, it was led by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The assignment was not a peacekeeping mission. Instead, it was a *peacemaking* mission. Canadian forces fought militia of a fundamentalist Muslim movement called the Taliban. Canada tried to maintain the peace in Afghanistan until 2011, and remained to train Afghan forces until 2014.

Historical Significance: What's the difference between "peacekeeping" and "peacemaking"? For Canadians, was the decision to use Canadian forces in Afghanistan historically significant? How might this decision affect ideas about Canadian identity?

Voices

Very few countries took peacekeeping as seriously as Canada. Other Western powers saw it as a nuisance, or at best an opportunity to influence events to advance their own interests.

— Carol Off, journalist, in *The Ghosts of Medak Pocket*, 2004

Check Forward ➔

You will read more about peacekeeping and peacemaking in Chapter 5.

Figure 1–32 Canada's Peacekeeping Record

What does the data tell you about Canada's role as peacekeepers?

Number of Canadians who served on UN peacekeeping missions, 1956–2011	125 000
Number of Canadian peacekeepers killed	125
Canada's most extensive peacekeeping mission	1600 (in former Yugoslavia — 1990s)
Number of Canadians serving as peacekeepers worldwide (March 31, 2014)	122

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

- How has Canada's economy changed over the years? What are the key trends in Canada's economy today?
- Identify two or three major developments in science and technology that you think have most changed Canadians' lives. Who do you think would most benefit from this development? Who wouldn't?
- In response to the increasing incidents of cyberbullying on social media, the government introduced Bill C-13, which makes it a crime to share an intimate image of an individual without his or her consent. In your opinion, will a law like this work? Or is the influence of social media too strong?
- Explain how trends in the economy, science and technology, social media, or Canada's international role are likely to affect Canadian identity.

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.

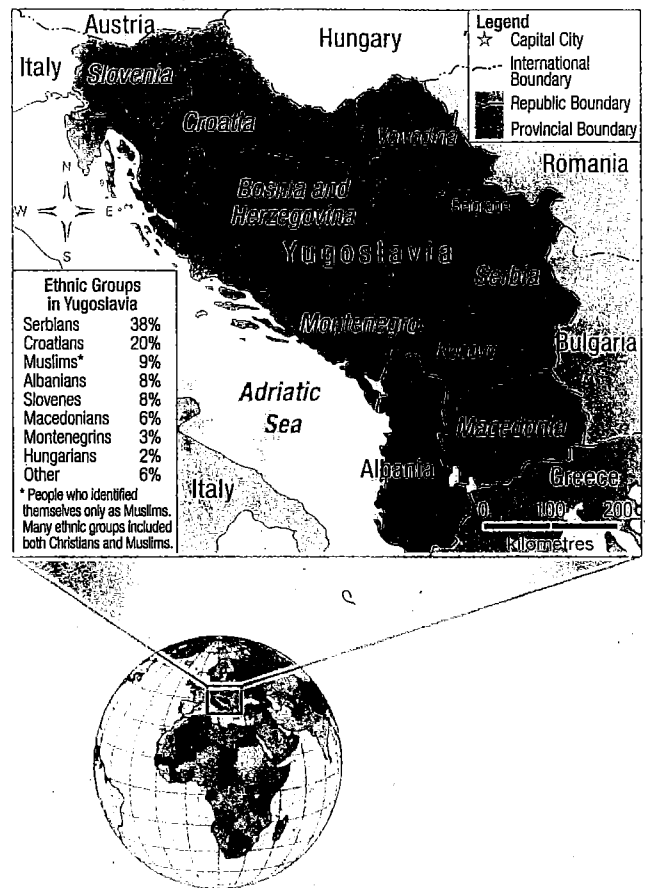
By the early 1990s, these tensions had erupted into fierce fighting as ethnic and religious groups clashed. Eventually, peace deals were brokered, and Slovenia, Macedonia, and Croatia achieved independence.

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?

Figure 5–11 Yugoslavia, 1990

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



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.

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.

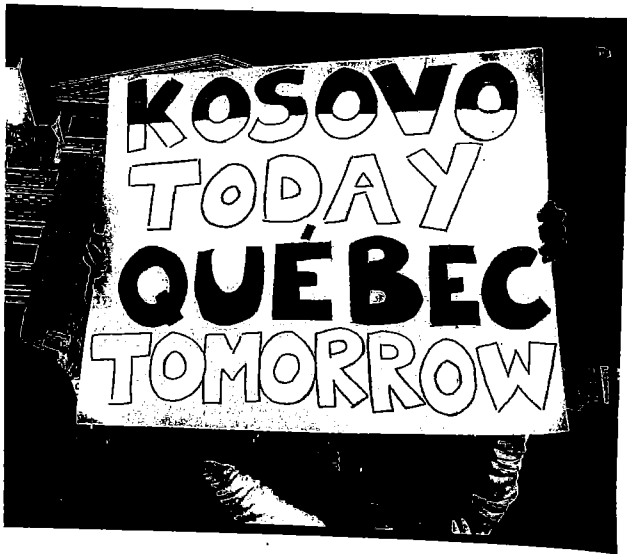
NATO officials tried to broker a peace but failed. To halt the attacks, NATO then launched air strikes — it was the first time NATO launched such a mission without the authorization of the UN. Eighteen Canadian CF-18 fighters joined planes from countries such as the United States, Britain, France, and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

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?

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.

Canadian Peacekeepers in Somalia

(B)

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

(C)

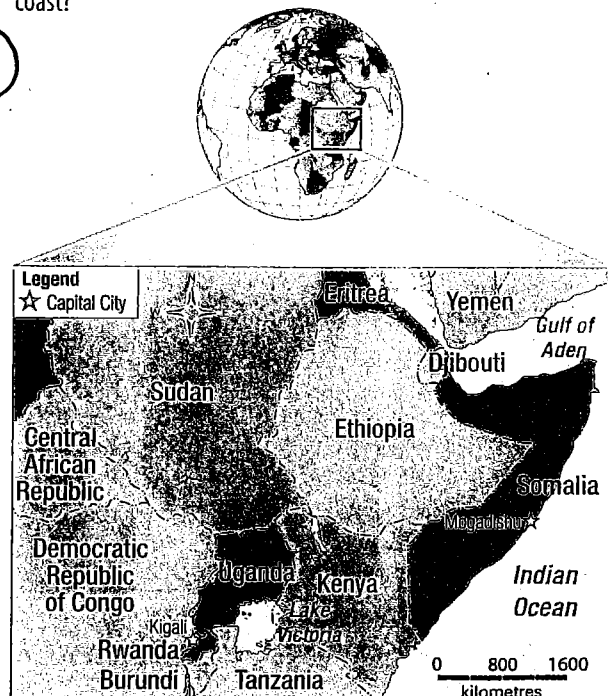
In 1993, the UN sent about 2500 peacekeepers, including 400 Canadians, to Rwanda under the command of Canadian General Roméo Dallaire. Rwanda had been in a state of conflict because the two main ethnic groups — Hutus and Tutsis — were struggling for power. But a peace agreement had been reached, and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

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?

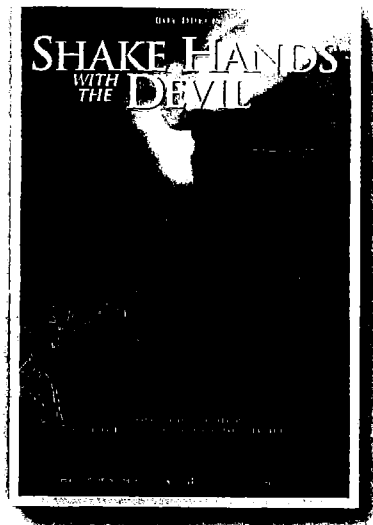
The Aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide

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?



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.

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

(D)

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.

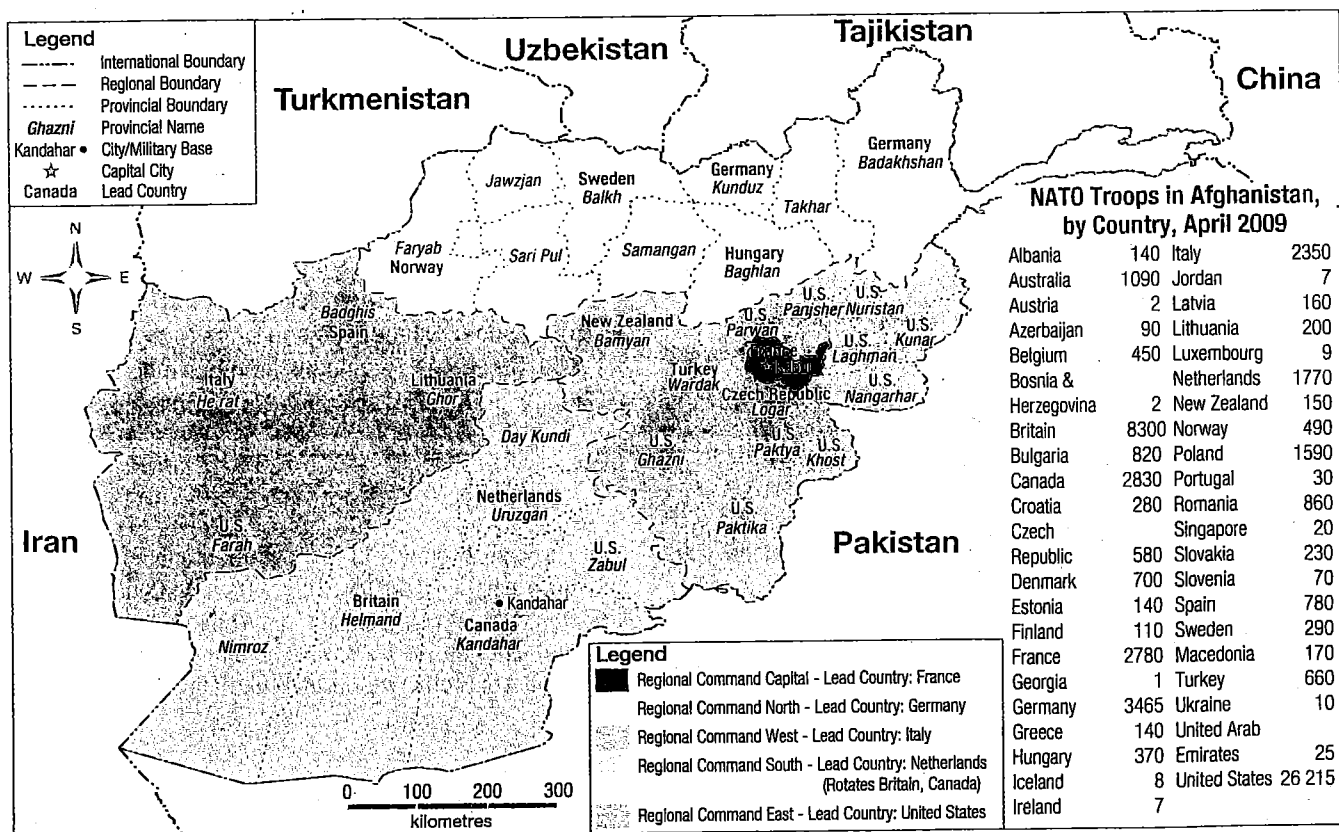
At about this time, bin Laden formed al-Qaeda. Using Afghanistan as a base, he vowed to fight the West. After he did so in 9/11, Afghanistan's Taliban government refused to reveal bin Laden's hiding place. So the United Nations agreed that the United States and its allies had the right — as a matter 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, 2015.

Explorations

1. 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?
2. Should Omar's age have had an influence on the decisions made by the Canadian government?
3. 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 5-22 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?

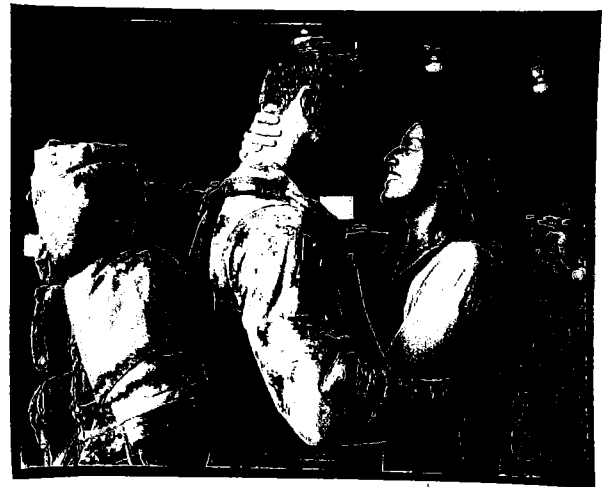


Figure 5-23 Changes in Afghanistan, 2001–2014

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

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?

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 E

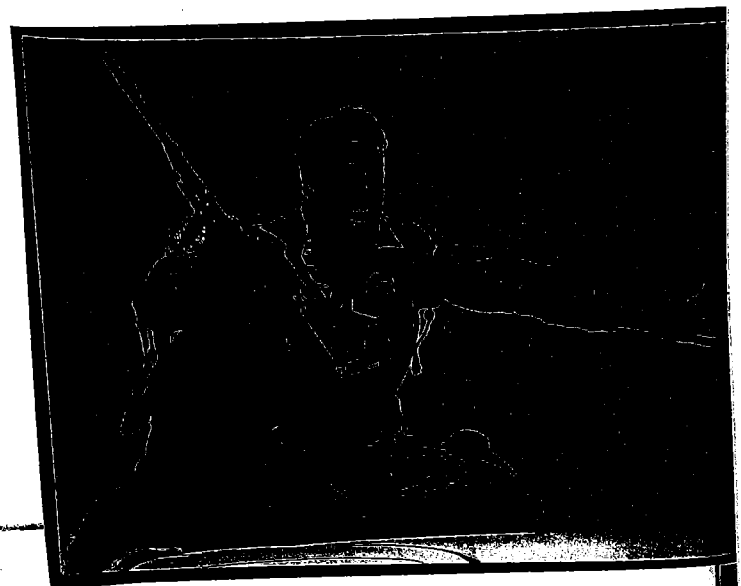
Before the 1990s, the UN had a longstanding policy of taking action in only two situations: a conflict between countries or a conflict within a country when a government invited the UN to help. If an invitation was not issued, the UN viewed the conflict as an internal matter and refused to intervene.

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.