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**A UNITED NATIONS FOR A SECURE HUMANITY  
1999 NATIONAL FORUM REPORT ON  
CANADA AND THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL**

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# **A United Nations for a Secure Humanity**

## **1999 National Forum Report on Canada and the UN Security Council**

### **Letter from the Director**

Dear Friends,

In April 2000 Canada served its second and final term as President of the United Nations Security Council, part of its two-year mandate as an elected member. Foreign Affairs Minister, Lloyd Axworthy, used this opportunity to give continued Canadian leadership to the promotion of human security around the world. Promotion of the security of people (especially children), sometimes from the excesses of their governments, has become the central goal of Canada's foreign policy.

This goal was developed, in part, by Canadians who assembled for the 1999 National Forum on Canada's International Relations, meeting in Saint John, Montreal and Vancouver. Human security goals were strongly endorsed and citizens recommended these goals for Canadian foreign policy, for the Security Council itself and for the United Nations and international community.

To mark Canada's Presidency of the Security Council, to draw attention to Canada's achievements, and to provide some feedback to National forum participants, we are pleased to provide the National Forum Report (which includes updates on the issues) and important accompanying documents including excerpts from the Department of Foreign Affairs' "One Year Review".

This is an opportunity not only to report on the National Forum, but to draw attention to recent policy developments and Canadian activities that follow from some of the Forum recommendations.

Organized by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development and our host university partners, each Forum meeting was a full day, with a discussion paper, speakers and workshops. Each meeting was regional, drawing participants from across Atlantic, Central and Western Canada. (The 1998 National Forum included meetings in Whitehorse, Yellowknife and Iqaluit). More than 200 citizens took part, including youth, Non-Governmental Organizations, business, labour and scholars. Common themes included:

- a need for NGO participation in Security Council work,
- greater transparency of the Security Council,

- a desire to advance Human Security interests,
- a need to examine the impact of sanctions on civilians,
- strengthen early warning and peacekeeping capacities.

Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy, the Canadian International Development Agency Minister and State Secretary(Asia-Pacific) Raymond Chan took part in the 1999 National Forum. We are most grateful to them, and to John McNeish, Patricia Lortie and other officials who played an important role.

A special thank you goes to our partner hosts, organizers, rapporteurs and presenters: the President of the University of New Brunswick Elizabeth Par-Johnson, Ken Coates and Tanya Pitt and other faculty and students; Stéphane Roussel and Marie-Eve Desrosiers of the University of Montreal, Simon Fraser University and Marcia Kran of University of British Columbia, His Worship Mayor Phillip Owen of Vancouver, Barbara Adams of the United Nations Non-Governmental Liaison Service, Daniel Mclure of the International Peace Academy, James Paul of the Global Policy Forum in New York, Senator Ermine Cohen, David Malone of the International Peace Academy, Senator Noel Kinsella, His Excellency Ambassador of Austria Walther Lichems, Brent Nyznyk and Geoffrey Pearson of the UN Association of Canada, and Jocylen Coulon at Le Devoir are among the many who made significant contributions to the 1999 National Forum.

A very special thanks to Professor Harald von Reikoff of Carleton University and Margaret Doxey of Trent University who prepared papers, His Excellency the Ambassador of Portugal H.E. Monteiro and Sue Bigelow and Janice Stein who organized the National Forum in Toronto, which was cancelled due to a snow storm.

Finally, a very big thank you to all participants who made a great commitment of time and effort. The value of the National Forum meetings has been clearly expressed by Minister Axworthy on our cover page, thank you all.

Your comments and suggestions are most welcome. Please keep in touch on United Nations, Human Security and your other foreign policy interests.

Steve Lee  
Executive Director

### **Statements from the Ministers**

The National Forum process has proved to be useful in involving Canadians in foreign policy

issues. I have no doubt that these meetings will be as productive as past consultations have been. ... The level of participation was high and the intervention well prepared. This attests to the lively, encouraging and enduring interest Canadians feel toward the United Nations – an organization we have worked so hard to nurture.

Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy

Foreign policy cannot simply be left to politicians, bureaucrats and academics ... I firmly believe in the ability of citizens to influence the federal government's foreign policy and I appreciate your contribution.

Secretary of State for the Asia-Pacific, Raymond Chan

## **National Forum Recommendations**

- NGOs should have a larger role in providing information and expertise to the Security Council, using the present NGO Working Group and other informal channels. Canadian officials should also systematically consult with NGOs;
- Canada should promote greater transparency in the Security Council for citizens and other members of the United Nations;
- Canada should continue to build coalitions of like-minded states to encourage diplomatic action on humanitarian issues, such as land mines and small arms;
- Canada should continue to train, develop and share its peacekeeping capacity, in part by consulting with NGOs. One element of this commitment would be to encourage and support the long-term goals of the Security Council by installing an early-warning system and a stand-by multinational peacekeeping force ready for rapid deployment;
- An important component to Canada's contribution to international security would be to reinvest part of Canada's budget surplus in international aid;
- Within the Security Council, Canada should discuss and advance a "Human Security" approach to international issues such as international crime, crimes against women, international drug trade, trafficking of women, the alleviation of poverty, food and water security, among others;
- The Security Council should consider the effectiveness, conditions and impact of economic sanctions, such as those applied to Iraq.

These recommendations are a synthesis of those provided in the reports of each city's National Forum. Through the participation of the Foreign Affairs Minister, Canadian International Development Agency Minister and Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific, and the regular communication between the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, the Minister's Office and the participation of senior officials, the National Forum helped shape Canada's strategy as a member and as the President of the Security Council in February 1999.

Canadians can continue to track the progress of Canada's diplomatic efforts on the Security Council on the web site of the Canadian Mission to the United Nations (<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/ONU2000UN/>).

## **National Forum Meeting Recommendations**

The National Forum Recommendations reflect some of the regional diversity of Canada. Each set of recommendations, though similar, reflected some particular concerns of local issues and interests.

## **National Forum in Montreal, Quebec**

**January 21-22, 1999**

**Montreal Recommendations**

**Recommendations on Canada and the Security Council: Human Security and the Development of the Concept of Security**

1. Canada should have appropriate (military and peacekeeping) means to support its policies.
2. Canada should rely on Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), international institutions and UN agencies and bodies to promote its policies on human security.
3. Canada should decentralize the responsibility for human security toward subsidiary bodies and local communities.
4. Canada should promote the establishment of *ad hoc* coalitions within the United Nations to manage conflicts, especially when the Security Council is paralysed.
5. Canada should clarify the concept of human security.
6. Canada should create a program of civic and institutional education within international organizations as well as in local communities.
7. Canada should promote a redefinition of the Security Council's mandate as well as that of international organizations in order to ensure recognition of all aspects of human security.
8. Canada should promote intervention that responds to the problems in Sierra Leone.

**Recommendations on the Canada and the Security Council: Sanctions and Interventions**

1. Canada should review problems associated with sanctions and interventions within the context of the Security Council and Canada's position on their use.
2. Canada should clarify the objectives of sanctions.
3. Canada must continue to promote a step-by-step approach to sanctions.
4. Canada cannot act alone within the Security Council.
5. Canada should solve the problems of resources for the Canadian Armed Forces to participate much more actively in implementing sanctions.

**Recommendations on the Relations between the UN and Civil Society: The Transparency and Responsibility of the Security Council**

1. The Canadian government must establish mechanisms of consultation and coordination for the actions of civil society within the Security Council.
2. Canada must open up the Security Council to non-governmental stakeholders.

**Recommendations on the Relations between the UN and Civil Society: The Role of NGOs**

1. Promote the representation of civil society.
2. Reinvest Canada's budget surplus in international aid.
3. Raise awareness and media coverage of NGO activities.
4. Reinforce the principle of "peace education" domestically.
5. Systematize the consultation process between civil society and NGOs.
6. Systemize participation by NGOs in evaluating the implementation of Canadian foreign policy.
7. Reinforce the role of NGOs within UN bodies.

## **National Forum in Saint John, New Brunswick January 9-10, 1999**

### **Recommendations on Policy Options involving Civil Society**

1. Canada should consult with NGOs both in Canada and at the UN, through the NGO Working Group of the Security Council. NGOs should have a role in monitoring political situations and the effectiveness of UN missions on the ground.
2. Clarify ambiguities between self-determination and state sovereignty within international law, so as to strengthen the role of the World Court with regards to the legality of internal conflicts.
3. Canada is encouraged to promote greater transparency of Security Council decision-making.
4. Canada should encourage reconsideration of the implications of economic sanctions. Human Security must be given equal weight with economic and military security within Security Council decisions.
5. The Presidency of the Security Council should have a permanent staff to facilitate the workload of such a position. A vice-presidency should also be created to offer leadership training for upcoming Presidents.
6. Canada should adopt a coalition-building approach to support its position on the Security Council and encourage the use of diplomatic persuasion as a means for continuing the humanitarian resolution of such issues as the land mine problem.
7. Canada should remind the Security Council members of their role and responsibilities to adhere to the principles of the UN Charter and acknowledge that not all foreign policies should support invasion.
8. Canada should compile a list of short-term priority changes which are possible without resorting to the revision of the Security Council charter.
9. A long-term change that Canada should bring to the Security Council is an international small arms registry.

### **Recommendations on Peacekeeping Issues and Policy Options**

1. In light of the variance and complexity of peacekeeping missions, Canada should continue to support and improve its peacekeeping training. It should also help promote the formation of specialized peacekeeping forces to coincide with the promotion of human integrity in Security Council decisions.
2. Canada should ensure peacekeeping is conducted in as cost-effective and efficient way as possible, including the appropriate and sufficient equipping, training and resources for our personnel.
3. We, the National Forum participants, support Canada's stated commitment to encourage a more open and forthcoming Security Council.
4. Canada should encourage the Security Council to revitalize the Military Staff Committee by expanding its membership to the non-permanent members.
5. We recommend Canada encourages the Security Council to draw upon the expertise of the international NGO community before, during and after the peacekeeping mission.
6. We support Canada's commitment to "encourage more systematic discussion by the Security Council of emerging crises in specific countries, as objectively identified in an early-warning

system" described in the discussion paper, "Canada on the Security Council 1999-2000."

7. We support Canada's stated commitment to "encourage like-minded countries to take the lead in making stand-by commitments to UN peace operations," as described in the discussion paper, "Canada on the Security Council 1999-2000."

8. We need to better understand the relationship between peace of mind and a peaceful world.

### **Recommendations on Human Rights Issues and Policy Options**

1. Canada is encouraged to commit to increasing openness by the Security Council, for example, by ensuring regular publication of the President's press statements.

2. Canada should work toward increasing participation in the Security Council by supporting an increase in the number of non-permanent seats, ensuring regular representation from Africa and Latin America, and encouraging the involvement of affected nations in decision-making.

3. Canada should facilitate communication between NGOs, international organizations and the Security Council by institutionalizing regular Arria-style meetings.

4. Canadian representatives should continue their efforts to meet regularly with various human rights organizations both at the UN and in Canada.

5. Canada should continue to have a well-rounded, diverse representation, including women and minorities.

6. Canada needs to initiate the discussion of new international issues in the Security Council such as international crime, crimes against women, trafficking in women, and the international drug trade.

7. Canada should promote a stronger human security agenda within and outside the Security Council decision-making process.

8. Canada must promote the concept of an ethical inventory to include consideration of the effects of various sanctions on women, children and the environment as well as cultural destruction.

Periodic monitoring of human security issues would include education practices, health conditions, children's rights and proper treatment and concern for refugees.

### **National Forum in Vancouver, British Columbia January 28-29, 1999**

#### **Recommendations on the United Nations and Civil Society**

1. The federal government should take a long-term view of the Security Council and lay the groundwork for a long-term reform of the Council.

2. Canada's UN activities should prioritize the alleviation of poverty as well as food and water insecurity for citizens in developing countries.

3. Canada should recognize the important role and knowledge of NGOs and remove barriers to their participation and cooperation in the UN. Canada should set the example by developing and enhancing its relationships with NGOs and try to introduce similar measures, such as regular meetings with NGOs in the Security Council.

4. Canada should advocate a public awareness program using information technology, existing media, and new technologies to communicate the work of the UN and Security Council with youth and the public (including minorities and women). Canada should create UN youth



internships, support youth Model UN projects and UN awareness programs, and opportunities for youth to participate in low-risk Canadian International Development Agency projects. The role of the UN should also be integrated into high school curricula.

### **Recommendations on Sanctions and Peace building**

1. Canada should educate its citizens about the role of the UN in building peace and development.
2. Canada should emphasize a greater use of early-warning mechanisms and preventative diplomacy in the Security Council to avoid knee-jerk reactions.
3. Canada should seek to form partnerships with like-minded member states of the Security Council in order to pursue its goals for change.

### **Recommendations for items on the Security Council agenda**

1. Abolish nuclear weapons.
2. Ban the production and export of small arms.
3. Put a human face on the impact of sanctions.
4. Examine Security Council relations with regional bodies such as NATO.
5. Review the issues around the US Helms-Burton Act against Cuba.
6. Use dialogue and incentives before resorting to sanctions. Review the consistency, fairness and legality of sanctions, particularly in Iraq.
7. Widen the Security Council agenda to include human security and Peace building issues.
8. Protect humanitarian aid workers.

### **Recommendations for the Security Council and Human Security**

1. Canada should seek to enhance the transparency of the Security Council.
2. Canada should improve the "early-warning" system for the Security Council, using NGO information and new technologies for dissemination.
3. Canada should play a coordinating role between the Security Council and NGOs in the field.
4. Canada should research, analyze and report "lessons learned" from previous Security Council operations.
5. The Department of International Affairs and International Trade should dedicate a separate budget for human security initiatives.
6. Nuclear weapons should be acknowledged as the main threat to international security and human survival and their disarmament should be a priority.
7. Canada should help the Security Council set criteria for interventions which would be consistently applied to conflicts within and between states.
8. Canada should encourage comprehensive interventions from many countries as well as pursue a rapid-reaction capability for the Canadian Armed Forces and the UN.
9. Canada should initiate a movement to ban the trade of small arms.
10. Canada should work with other states to develop strong state-NGO links.
11. Canada should work to overcome the perception among developing nations that human security is neo-colonialism in a new form.
12. Canada should make greater use of its Track Two diplomacy, for example, research, academic and sports exchanges.

13. Canada should bring gender concerns and women's rights to the attention of the Security Council within the context of human security.
14. Canada should promote internal communication between the organizations and entities of the UN.
15. Human security should be broadened to include economic considerations, including poverty and wealth inequity.

# **1999 National Forum Report**

## **on**

# **Canada and the United Nations Security Council**

### **Background**

The United Nations Security Council can seem far removed from Canadians' daily lives. Yet the international crises confronting the Security Council, from the NATO-Yugoslavia war to the bitter civil war in the Sudan, seem much closer and more real to Canadians. And Canadians overwhelmingly think our government should play a role in finding a solution to those crises.

So for Canadian citizens as well as foreign policy makers, Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), the media, and academics, Canada's election to be a non-permanent member of the Security Council from 1999-2001 was a major diplomatic achievement. A Security Council seat gives Canada an opportunity to voice Canadians' concerns.

"The Security Council is going to be action central for us," said Lloyd Axworthy, Canada's Foreign Affairs Minister.

Canada won its seat on the Security Council by advocating a "human security" approach to international affairs. Other key planks to the Canadian platform were the re-establishment of the Security Council's leadership on peace and security issues and increased effectiveness, transparency and accountability.

Canada's seat on the Security Council is important. Canada belongs to many international agencies and organizations which promote multilateral diplomacy. But of all these organizations, the Security Council is unique. It alone has a recognized worldwide mandate to head off threats to "Collective Security". (The term Collective Security means that if one state is attacked by another, all other UN member states will respond in its defence.)

The United Nations established the Security Council to prevent World War Three: no more colonization, no more annexations, no more Holocausts. The victors of World War Two -- the United Kingdom, France, United States, Soviet Union, and China -- became the permanent Security Council members, each with the power to veto Security Council actions. These "Permanent Five" were charged with guaranteeing international security in cooperation with the General Assembly and 10 non-permanent Security Council members.

The promise of Collective Security and its instrument, the Security Council, remains unfulfilled. The confrontation between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, for the most part paralysed the Council with vetoes or the threat of vetoes. Peacekeeping, Lester Pearson's idea of putting a multinational armed force between two hostile countries, became one of the few enduring peace and security initiatives created during the Cold War. In 45 years, the Security Council approved only 17 peacekeeping missions because of this political confrontation.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the consequent dismantling of the Soviet Union not only presented the promise of freedom to East Europeans but a new, diplomatic freedom to the Security Council. Many people in diplomatic circles saw the Security Council finally assuming its mantle. In the early Nineties, the United Nations dramatically increased its peacekeeping initiatives and sent peacekeepers to the previously ignored or taboo conflict zones of Africa,

Asia, the Balkans, the Caribbean, Central America, and the Middle East.

The multinational military and political coalition which liberated Kuwait from Iraqi occupation encouraged and elevated expectations. The Security Council launched 15 new peace operations between 1991 and 1993. This "second generation" of peacekeeping missions encountered and took into account the changing nature of conflict, from between states (inter-state) to inside states (intra-state).

The use of state-sponsored repression against a country's own population had spread and resulted in dozens of smoldering conflicts. The Security Council found it difficult to ignore these new internal wars, which at times threatened neighbouring countries and regional stability.

Canada played an important role in many of these "second generation" missions, lending its experience and resources through its civilian expertise and armed forces. Canada's persistent international engagement and leadership has won the recognition and respect of the world community. The influence of Canada's distinctive diplomatic style -- "negotiation rather than coercion, powerful ideas rather than powerful weapons, public diplomacy rather than backroom bargaining" -- became a model for other nations and international organizations. The concept of human security championed by Canada became a topic for discussion among UN member states and even within the Security Council. Peacekeeping mission mandates now include such complex goals as democratization, human rights protection and humanitarian assistance.

But high-profile peacekeeping failures such as the intervention force in Somalia, the genocide in Rwanda and the fall of Srebrenica and other UN-protected "safe zones" in Bosnia created a sense of failure, discouragement and disillusionment within the General Assembly members and their respective public. The Security Council had failed the people it promised to protect.

The failures stalled momentum on this new path of guaranteeing human security in conflict zones, regardless of borders. But Canada still believes the United Nations Security Council is a vital mechanism for creating peace. This conviction motivated Canada to mount a three-year election campaign to win a non-permanent seat on the Security Council for 1999-2000.

The hard work paid off. Of 171 eligible voting countries, 131 voted for Canada on the first ballot. The vote was a major endorsement of the Canadian human security approach, which Minister Axworthy articulated in his September 24, 1999 speech to the UN General Assembly.

"Improvements in human security is a necessary precondition for success in the other important actions that we take to advance human, economic, aid and trade development. Farmers cannot work in fields strewn with landmines. Children cannot learn where they are abused and brutalized by war. Investors will not send money to regions racked by conflict. Societies cannot flourish when resources are pillaged to fuel violence and people are victimized by terror. Ultimately, freedom from fear is intimately connected to the freedom from want," said Minister Axworthy.

Canada's Security Council seat is an opportunity to regain momentum and push forward new practices and priorities for an institution known for its closed sessions and backroom bargaining.

"Being on the Security Council will provide Canada with a major opportunity to use diplomatic skills to their greatest advantage," said Don Dastard, a University of New Brunswick professor, in a January 12, 1999 *Times-Globe* newspaper column.

## Canada's actions on the Security Council

***Recommendation: Within the Security Council, Canada should discuss and advance a "Human Security" approach to international issues.***

Throughout February, Canada took advantage of its Presidency of the Security Council to promote the human security agenda and lay the groundwork for the next 22 months. During this period, the Security Council addressed other important issues of peace and security including Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Burundi, Sierra Leone, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Canada's effort was part of a first step toward rebuilding understanding and confidence in the Security Council as a guarantor and advocate for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

## Protecting civilians from war

***Recommendation: Canada should promote greater transparency in the Security Council for citizens and other members of the United Nations.***

As President of the Security Council, Canada organized two events, a briefing and a debate open to non-members of the Security Council, to promote the "human security" agenda issue of protecting civilians in armed conflict. The reason is clear: fighters in today's wars target civilians. Eighty per cent of war's casualties are non-combatants, mostly women and children. They are often "deliberately targeted" as a terror tactic.

"The idea is to get the Security Council to build protection of civilians into the mandates of peace missions - perhaps thus avoiding the kind of slaughter that took place in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, where thousands were massacred as UN troops looked on," according to *The Globe and Mail* newspaper reporters Jeff Sallet and Paul Knox.

"We've got to do something; this [special session] is to get down to specific recommendations and how they can be built into the operating work of the Security Council," Minister Axworthy told the *Toronto Star* in February 1999. In response to this appeal for action, 20 UN members presented statements as part of the debate, and many others observed.

Ambassador Fowler actively included this human security issue in his Presidential press statements on the Ethiopia and Eritrea border war, the Congo, and Burundi. "Recalling the recent statement made by the President of Council on the protection of civilians in armed conflict," said Fowler on Burundi, "Council members urged all the parties to guarantee the safety of civilians, and call for the respect of the principles of humanitarian assistance, including unhindered access to displaced persons and refugees, and respect for the neutrality of those delivering such assistance."

These statements are important because they establish a common precedent and tone in how the Security Council operates and sees problems. Future Security Council presidents can justify future human security actions by citing these statements, much like an academic cites journal articles in papers or a lawyer cites previous court rulings and proceedings. Other countries on the Security Council have since followed Canada's lead in promoting human security issues in a series of "open sessions" designed to make the Security Council more accessible and transparent to the UN membership.

These open discussions are leading to further action and commitment from Canada and the international community. When Minister Axworthy addressed the UN General Assembly, he

pledged Canada's support and active participation in "working with Secretary-General (Kofi) Annan and fellow members to establish a 'Friends of Civilians in Armed Conflict' group" to follow through with the idea of protecting civilians in armed conflict.

"In efforts to protect civilians in armed conflict, the Assembly has the means to enable the UN to act more quickly, the moral authority to establish universal standards that hold us all accountable, and the legitimacy to direct efforts into new areas of global endeavour," said Axworthy.

***Recommendation: Canada should continue to build coalitions of like-minded states to encourage diplomatic action on humanitarian issues, such as land mines and small arms.***

Another key human security issue, stopping the circulation and trade of arms in conflict areas, appeared repeatedly in Canada's statements.

"Those who are accessories to these crimes and violations - the merchants of conflict - who illicitly traffic in the means of war, must likewise not be left unaccountable. Conflict areas are often awash with arms, especially military small arms and light weapons. When these fall into the wrong hands, their misuse compounds the misery of civilians, who are overwhelmingly their victims," said Minister Axworthy in his Feb. 12, 1999 speech to the Security Council.

***Recommendation: The Security Council should consider the effectiveness, conditions and impact of economic sanctions, such as those applied to Iraq.***

The humanitarian impact of sanctions was addressed through a Canadian-sponsored initiative: three panels devoted to specifically discuss the case of Iraq. The findings of the panels became the basis of a January 2000 Security Council resolution that broke the deadlock between the United States and the United Nations on sanctions against Iraq. The resolution allows for renewed weapons inspections and increases the amount of oil Iraq can sell for food.

Canada also sponsored the International Peace Academy to conduct a comprehensive report covering the last ten years of Security Council sanctions. The report will make recommendations for improving the current practice of Security Council sanctions, by focussing on the issues of effective implementation and humanitarian impact.

### **Kosovo and UN Security Council legitimacy**

Despite these successes, the Security Council continued to face severe challenges to its authority and legitimacy, especially when its five permanent, veto-holding members face an impasse. The crisis in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo prompted such an impasse.

The United States, United Kingdom and France supported using NATO armed forces to prevent what they believed would be an "ethnic cleansing" campaign against the Kosovar Albanians. China and Russia opposed armed intervention and NATO's involvement. When Serbia refused to sign the Rambouillet Accord, which would have restored autonomy to Kosovo as a province within the Yugoslav federation, NATO countries believed peace through diplomatic channels had failed.

"Ministers of the Contact Group deplore the failure of the parties to make progress towards a political settlement, and cannot accept that this should permit the crisis to continue," announced the NATO Contact Group of Foreign Ministers in January 1999. Shortly afterward,

the Yugoslav army intensified its counterinsurgency campaign against Kosovar separatist rebels.

Fearing a Chinese or Russian veto in the Security Council, NATO decided to intervene militarily in response to Yugoslavia's counterinsurgency campaign in Kosovo. It did so with the financial and moral support of the G-8 and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The war began and so did the controversy over its legitimacy. The Secretary-General immediately called for an end to the war, but NATO was committed. In April, the Non-Aligned Movement of the UN called for "an immediate cessation of all hostilities" and reaffirmed that "the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests with the United Nations Security Council." Russia attempted to introduce a Security Council resolution denouncing the war, but it was defeated.

Canada participated in the war as a NATO member. "Canada would have strongly preferred that the United Nations Security Council explicitly authorize NATO's mission," said Axworthy in an April 1999 speech at Princeton University. "Unfortunately, certain members of the Council could not reconcile yesterday's assumptions about sovereignty with today's imperatives of human emergency."

The war ended with the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army and Serbian militias, the repatriation of expelled ethnic Albanians, the discovery of the graves of more than 2,000 civilians believed to have been killed in the conflict, and a province poisoned by Serb-Albanian hatred.

The NATO-Yugoslavia war is important because it was the first multilateral military intervention justified on humanitarian grounds that was not led by the United Nations. NATO and the UN moved quickly to repair their relationship. On June 10, the UN Security Council adopted a resolution that, in effect, retroactively approved NATO's action and ended the war. Ten days later, the G-8 issued a statement reaffirming the United Nations' importance in mediating international conflict.

"We welcome the leadership of the United Nations in the international civil presence, and pledge to collaborate closely to ensure the United Nations success in carrying out its complex mission." The civil administration of Kosovo is now under the United Nations' jurisdiction, while the peacekeeping force is under NATO administration. It is a new type of partnership between the UN and a multilateral regional organization.

Despite the potential of this new partnership, NATO's intervention in Kosovo had a price. At a roundtable titled "Canada, NATO, and the United Nations: Lessons Learned from the Kosovo Crisis," organized by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, participants included journalists, international relations and legal experts, academics, NGOs, government officials and students. Debate centred on the question of whether NATO's actions were legitimate or not.

Paul Heinbecker, the assistant deputy minister of the Global and Security Policy group at the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, claimed that "human interest had trumped sovereignty." And Nobel Laureate John Polanyi of the University of Toronto said the Kosovo intervention meant that sovereignty is less than absolute, that there is no law requiring the international community to respect a lawless government. But *The Globe and Mail* columnist Marcus Gee disagreed with this precedent, arguing that NATO's intervention bypassed all channels which could have defeated it by Security Council veto or General Assembly vote, in

effect undermining the United Nations. NATO chose a unilateral strategy rather than risk a multilateral debate.

The Security Council appears to have put the question of its inaction and retroactive *de facto* endorsement of the NATO war behind it and has moved on. It still has 16 other missions to attend, aside from the difficult, complicated work of re-establishing the rule of law and rebuilding an autonomous, democratic Kosovo within the Yugoslav Federation.

### **Rapid Reaction Force and East Timor**

***Recommendation: Encourage and support the long-term goals of the Security Council by installing an early-warning system and a stand-by multinational peacekeeping force ready for rapid deployment.***

The need for a rapid reaction force under UN auspices and a decisive Security Council again became clear in the days leading to and following the independence referendum in East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in December 1975. As expected, on August 30, 1999 the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly for independence from a brutal dictatorship that had massacred nearly a third of its population. What happened next - an extraordinary outbreak of militia violence - shocked many people and made sensational headlines. However, Canada had tried to address this possibility of in East Timor for months before the referendum.

At a Feb. 22 high-level roundtable, organized by the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development, part of the recommended "immediate plan of action" was "a consensus on the *immediate* necessity of an outside presence in East Timor to stem possible civil war and enhance the security of the East Timorese" by April. The report recommended Canada establish a Foreign Ministers' Friends of East Timor Group with the goals of exerting "pressure" on the Indonesia government to allow such an outside presence, press for an immediate cease-fire and follow-up with disarmament and demilitarization, and begin planning for the short- and long-term needs of the East Timorese.

Recognizing the importance of the roundtable's findings and other indicators, Canadian diplomats lobbied on the Security Council and in other international fora like the ASEAN for a security force and other precautions. But the Council ruled out a UN-sponsored security force for fear of meeting resistance and Indonesian complaints about the violation of its national sovereignty. Instead, the Security Council secured Indonesia's signature on a May 5 agreement that Indonesia would guarantee security and order for the East Timorese population. That guarantee was not enough.

For many East Timorese, the 21 days it took the international community to authorize and deploy an intervention force was insufferable. An unknown number of Timorese died and the militia violence displaced up to half the population. People fled into the jungle as they had when Indonesia invaded 24 years before.

The three-week delay was plenty of time for the well-organized militias to raze whole towns, murder opposition leaders and civilians, and escape across the border into Indonesia-controlled West Timor. In direct violation of the May agreement, the Indonesian army did not do enough to stop the pro-Indonesian militias. On Oct. 25 the UN formed an administration to help East Timor make the transition to independence.



The Security Council continues to face the challenge of being able to respond rapidly to the world's crises.

Canadian efforts and peacekeeping commitments made a notable impact on international affairs in 1999. From the February Presidency of the Security Council to Canada's participation in the UN mission in Kosovo to its participation in building the security of newly-independent East Timor, the concepts of guaranteeing and building human security are being put into practice. And as the practice of human security develops, the general theory behind it - that removing sources of conflict prevents conflict - gains coherence and its definition sharpens.

***Recommendation: An important component to Canada's contribution to international security would be to reinvest part of Canada's budget surplus in international aid.***

Prime Minister Jean Chretien's Nov. 9 announcement that Canada would increase its \$2.52 billion foreign aid budget is a signal of the government's resolve. "We are a fortunate nation, and we have to be able to share with others," said Prime Minister Chretien, during a visit to Senegal, Africa.

As Canada moves into the second year of its Security Council mandate, the challenges for the Security Council remain the same. Unilateral action by states, the threat of the veto, the expression of narrow national self-interest, the use of national sovereignty as a shield of impunity for perpetrators of human rights violations, and the challenge of reacting quickly to protect civilian populations from attack.

"A human security agenda highlights the urgent need to face clearly the Council's representation and its decision-making processes -- especially the inappropriate use and persistent threat of the veto -- where it can compromise, complicate and slow down determined, urgent international action to protect people," said Minister Axworthy during the opening session of the UN General Assembly on September 23, 1999.

Despite these and other challenges, Canada will continue to promote its core values and the human security concept in an international community generally receptive to the Canadian approach to diplomacy. Canadian citizens have helped map the course and reinforce the resolve of Canada's officials and diplomats in their promotion of a "human security" approach to resolving humanitarian problems and increasing the transparency of operations and decision-making within the UN Security Council.

"The demands of Council membership are fully proving to be as challenging and as unpredictable as we had anticipated," said Minister Axworthy at the Montreal National Forum.

"The future promises to be no less active."

## PULL-OUT QUOTES

"Negotiation rather than coercion, powerful ideas rather than powerful weapons, public diplomacy rather than backroom bargaining." -- Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, *National Post*, January 23, 1999

"Efforts to broaden the Council's horizons in its words and deeds need to be complemented by a reassertion of the Council's leadership. This means that the Council's authority, especially concerning the possible use of military force, be respected. We sideline the Council at our own risk." -- Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy

"Canadians can share their experience and expertise to help create the building blocks for well-functioning civil societies. By promoting tolerance, basic freedoms, and the rule of law, they can all contribute to the human security agenda. This will be one of our goals on the Security Council." -- Raymond Chan, Secretary of State for Asia-Pacific, January 29, 1999

"Globalization has pushed insecurity down to sub-national levels. Many conflicts have been internalized between factions struggling for power within nations ... Individuals and groups face a riskier world characterized by a widening gap between rich and poor, dwindling middle classes, steep and rapid devaluation of labour and the resurgence of such colonial issues as ethnic and indigenous identity politics." -- Robert Bragg, *Calgary Herald* editor, March 21, 1999

"In order to maintain and enhance its credibility in the Security Council in the peacekeeping field, Canada must continue to send adequate and respectable numbers of military and civilian peacekeepers to danger zones. We must continue to reinforce our good intentions and good words with good actions." -- Christine Dodge, Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, January 7, 1999

"The idea is to get the Security Council to build protection of civilians into the mandates of peace missions - perhaps thus avoiding the kind of slaughter that took place in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, where thousands were massacred as UN troops looked on." -- Jeff Sallot and Paul Knox, *The Globe and Mail*, January 1, 1999

"We've got to do something; this is to get down to specific recommendations and how they can be built into the operating work of the Security Council." -- Lloyd Axworthy, *Toronto Star*, Feb. 12, 1999

"There were the kinds of gruesome things we got involved with in Rwanda and Bosnia and other places where peacekeepers were standing, unsure of their mandate in how to protect innocent civilians." -- Lloyd Axworthy, *Toronto Star*, Feb. 12, 1999