

International Policy Forum

CONSISTENCY IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT

A COMPREHENSIVE CANADIAN APPROACH TO HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

REPORT BY THE INTERNATIONAL POLICY FORUM

DIRECTORS, KATHERINE MILLARD AND MATTHEW RONALD

Funded by the



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International PolicyForum

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The International Policy Forum (IPF), *Canada's first student-run global policy think tank*, was launched in 2006 at Carleton University. Emerging from the realization that there was an absence of student perspective in pressing policy issues, participants in the IPF strive to add their voice to public debate.

Each year, approximately sixteen Carleton University students are chosen to develop policy recommendations for a global issue pertinent to Canada. The selection process is highly competitive, resulting in a unique group of insightful students who show a keen interest in international affairs. Through involvement with the IPF, members gain practical political experience and contribute to the understanding of public affairs from a new and often innovative perspective.

In its first year, the IPF addressed the multi-faceted issue of Canada-US relations. Participants began by conducting independent research and consulting with a series of experts, including David Wilkins, the United States Ambassador to Canada. Following this investigatory period, members of the IPF met to debate and draft policy proposals. The inaugural IPF report, entitled *Partnership Through Capacity Building: A Forward Looking Strategy for Canada-US Relations*, was published in April 2007. Building on the previous session's success, the IPF chose to address the contentious subject of Humanitarian Intervention in Crisis Situations over the course of the 2007-08 year.

The IPF is funded by the Carleton United Nations Society, an international affairs centered student organization at Carleton University. The International Policy Forum will continue its contribution to excellence in public affairs and international studies in the 2008-09 session, beginning in September 2008.

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS

We are pleased to present the 2007-08 report of the International Policy Forum, *Consistency in Crisis Management: A Comprehensive Canadian Approach to Humanitarian Intervention*. This year's report represents an enormous amount of hard work and dedication from all of our members.

Humanitarian intervention in crisis situations is especially topical to debates occurring across Canada and the student perspective on these issues must be heard. From Afghanistan to Sudan, the Government of Canada's decisions surrounding intervention serve as a reflection of the country's collective ideals. With such a broad topic and a plethora of areas to be explored, we were challenged to focus on those issues that we felt needed the most attention and where the most original ideas were to be had.

This report would not have been possible without the hard work and dedication of a number of people. First, we would like to thank our speakers, whose insights provided the framework for the construction of this report. Next, we wish to acknowledge the tireless effort of our project officers, Andrew Vey and Yuna Kim, in making this year another success. We would also like to thank Allison Worone for her technical and logistical support, and whose organizational skills have been a huge asset to this year's project. Additionally, we wish to express our gratitude to the Centre for International Governance Innovation for their generous financial assistance. Such dedication to student involvement in popular politics is an example for all. Finally, we would like to thank Dan Meester and the members of the University of Ottawa International Law Student Association for volunteering to edit this year's proposals.

This report is the result of a great deal of deliberation and consideration. We hope that it will be a thought-provoking contribution to the wider discussion of Canadian interests and values in the international system.

Katherine Millard

Matthew Ronald

Directors

May 2008

DIRECTORS



Katherine Millard is a fourth year student, majoring in in Public Affairs and Policy Management (International Studies). Her research interests include international humanitarian law, non-governmental organizations and post-conflict justice.



Matthew Ronald is finishing up his final year of an Honours degree in Political Science with a minor in History. In addition to his work on this year's report, he is also serving as Director of Logistics for the UN Society. His research interests include Canadian foreign policy, peacekeeping and the Canadian identity.

PROJECT OFFICERS



Andrew Vey is a third year honours student pursuing a B.A. in Political Science (International Relations) with a minor in Economics. His research interests currently include Canadian defence policy, African inter-state relations and global economic integration.



Yuna Kim is completing her Bachelor of Public Affairs and Policy Management (Social Policy) with a minor in Economics and will be pursuing a Masters degree at Queen's University this upcoming fall. Her research interests include Canadian intergovernmental relations, federalism, social and economic policy, and nationalism.

PARTICIPANTS



Allison Worone is in her third year of a B.A. (Honours) in Political Science, with a concentration in International Relations and a minor in Economics. She is currently serving as Vice-President (Finance) for the UN Society. Her research interests include trade relations, commodity pricing and transatlantic security.



Amanda Wright is in her final year of an Honours B.A. in Law and Political Science, with a concentration in International Affairs. She will be pursuing a Masters of International Public Policy in September 2008 at Carleton University. Her research interests include global governance, regional trade and sustainable development.



Leslie Bennett is a third year student, majoring in Public Affairs and Policy Management (Human Rights) with a minor in Law. Her research interests include feminist theory and gender in international relations, international law, critical sexuality studies, and post-conflict justice and development.



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Matthew Osika is currently in his third year of a Bachelor program in Public Affairs and Policy Management pursuing a specialization in International Studies. His research interests include inter and intra-state conflicts, foreign and national security policy, and global governance issues.



Monica O'Donnell is a Master of Social Work student. She received a Bachelor of Social Work degree from St. Thomas University in Fredericton, New Brunswick in 2005. Her main area of interest is social policy. She is from Barnaby River, New Brunswick.



Nick Doucette is in his final year of a Bachelor of Public Affairs and Policy Management (International Studies) and recently joined the Canadian Forces. He hopes to pursue a career in the CF or Department of National Defence analyzing security and defence policy.



Nick Kyonka is a second-year Political Science undergraduate student concentrating in International Relations. His research interests include Canadian foreign policy, American political action in the Middle East and political philosophy. He is also a graduate of the Journalism program at Humber College in Toronto.



Philip Ghosh is a fourth year History major particularly interested in Canadian immigration and international relations. He is looking forward to studying Common Law at Queen's University beginning in the fall, although he will miss the excitement of the ByWard Market, where he has worked the past three years.



Rebecca Berthiaume is a fourth year student, in the process of completing a B.A. Honours in Political Science (International Relations). Her research interests include international security and defence, Canadian foreign policy, nuclear proliferation and conflict resolution.



Sarah Chown is in her third year of Public Affairs and Policy Management with a concentration in Social Policy. Her primary academic interests are education policy and effective methods for international development. Sarah is active in the community through a number of different organizations.



Stephen Snudden is in his final year of undergraduate studies, completing an honours B.A in Economics. His research interests include international finance, applied growth policy and international institutions.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In light of renewed attention on humanitarian intervention as a mechanism for crisis resolution in the 21st century, there is a need for Canada to redefine its stance towards international affairs. Today more than ever our global role seems to be in flux. We are no longer the Pearsonian peacekeepers of yesteryear, but neither do Canadians seek to become global policemen. This dichotomy further complicates the creation of decisive policy when faced with multifarious crises such as Rwanda or Darfur. Consequently, the IPF has developed a series of proposals to clarify how Canada can better aid its foreign counterparts.

The IPF recognizes first and foremost the crucial role of prevention efforts in addressing humanitarian crises. It is at the preliminary stage that conflicts can and should be stopped from ever evolving. Consequently, we strongly encourage that every effort be made towards incorporating conflict prevention into Canadian foreign policy through the regular use of dialogue, mediation, and dispute resolution techniques.

It is unfortunate, however, that no matter how hard the international community works to pre-empt the rise of conflict, no such approach can ever be made foolproof. Thus in the volatile situations when crises do arise, Canada must be prepared to take appropriate action. This report intends to inform the Government of Canada's response to crisis situations during three stages: once conflict has materialized, during the process of foreign intervention, and the successive long term reconstruction efforts.

The document's first section presents a three-pronged strategy for Canada to diagnose, prioritize and coordinate responses to international crises. In instances where humanitarian intervention is deemed to be the appropriate corrective, the second section outlines various strategies for implementation. Also included within this set of proposals are suggestions to enhance both civil and military capabilities for operations within the boundaries of another state. Finally, the report's third section lays out long term policies designed to rebuild states still stricken by the spectre of conflict, including educational reforms, stabilization objectives, psychological healing mechanisms, and legal resolution processes. Taken together, the IPF recommendations for humani-

tarian intervention outline an optimistic but attainable vision for Canada's revitalized role in international affairs.

To tackle the complex issue of humanitarian intervention in crisis situations, the IPF utilized a unique structure of student interaction and discussion. Forum members convened with high profile speakers from differing spheres of relevance in the field over the course of five policy consultations: Sovereignty and International Law, Institutional Capacity and Development, Non-State Actors, the Logistics of Intervention, and Intervention Theory and Canadian Capabilities. Speakers voiced their opinions, answered questions, and participated in frank and stimulating discussion.

Consultation session speakers included:

- **Michael Ignatieff**, Deputy Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada and former Director of Harvard University's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy
- **Christopher Penny**, Acting Director and Assistant Professor of International Law, Centre for Security and Defence Studies
- **Tony Anderson**, Deputy Director, Peacekeeping and Peace Operations Group, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
- **Dr. Bill Bhaneja**, Canadian Department of Peace Initiative
- **Michael Koros**, Senior Policy Analyst, Canadian International Development Agency
- **Dane Rowlands**, Associate Director and Professor, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
- **Mirwais Nahzat**, President, Afghanistan Peace Ambassadors
- **Michael Bonser**, Senior Policy Advisor, Humanitarian Affairs and Disaster Response Group, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

During the second half of the year, IPF members drafted final policy recommendations based on the consultation sessions, independent research and personal opinion. The following proposals aim to broaden the scope of Canadian involvement in crisis situations, while maximizing the potential for resolution and relief. It is our hope that the ideas presented in this document will be strongly considered to help guide Canada's foreign policy in the years to come.

1. ASSESSING AND RESPONDING TO CRISIS SITUATIONS

Introduction

In order to be applicable to an international community of states that is both diverse and complex, any approach to humanitarian intervention must necessarily encompass a wide variety of topics. One of the most important and controversial issues within this framework is how to establish the legitimacy for intervention. Clearly, it is in Canada's best interests to solicit the consent of local governments prior to undertaking actions within their area of sovereignty. In cases where foreign authorities are resistant to international involvement, intervention can best be sanctioned through the United Nations Security Council. As this body effectively retains a monopoly on the legitimate authorization of force, their approval must be sought whenever possible.

There are, however, instances in which the political structure of the United Nations may make it impossible to gain consent to intervene in situations where the conscience of mankind demands that immediate global action be taken. It is in these frustrating and sometimes legally puzzling instances that Canada requires a clear strategy for how to proceed. The aim of this report is not to establish a catch-all definition for legitimate humanitarian intervention. Rather, it seeks to develop the tools necessary for Canadians to evaluate situations as they arise, weigh the merits of action and inaction, and then decide whether we as a people believe humanitarian intervention to be the appropriate response.

Once a policy of intervention has been decided upon, relevant government and non-government actors need to be identified and mobilized. Their collective efforts must address the broad requirements of interventions, which may necessitate:

- A military and defence component
- A capacity building aspect including, but not limited to, police/military training, institution/governance development, and infrastructure enhancement
- A humanitarian aid facet, possibly in cooperation with likeminded non-governmental organizations
- A financial aid element

1. Assessing and Responding to Crisis Situations

By creating a method to diagnose crises, prioritize responses and coordinate any resulting action, Canada can approach the concept of humanitarian intervention with renewed confidence.

1.1 Formalized Diagnostic Assessment Guidelines

The Government of Canada should establish comprehensive diagnostic guidelines to identify the nature of international crises and the potential for Canadian involvement.

Canada needs to rework its template for developing responses to international crisis situations. While individual departments may have established procedures for processing international situations, the broader Canadian government must develop its own set of guidelines that can be applied to identify, assist in and resolve crisis situations. Through the use of a diagnostic checklist, Canada can effectively ensure that it utilizes all of its available resources when formulating a response, rather than proceeding in its traditional *ad hoc* manner. Such an approach should incorporate branches of inquiry that explore:

- The nature of the conflict including aspects such as:
 - Historical, political and social context of the crisis,
 - Status of the conflict in regards to its approximate length, regional coverage, concerned peoples and likelihood for continuation,
 - Key actors of aggression, cooperation and neutrality,
 - Immediate effects regarding casualties, mass displacement of persons, and ethnic or religious targeting;
- Humanitarian needs of the affected population;
- Opportunities for non-military and diplomatic Canadian involvement, possibly in conjunction with local groups, non-governmental organizations and multilateral operations;
- Clear projections of desired outcomes, with a specific definition of what constitutes optimal, acceptable, undesirable and worst-case scenarios;
- Potential roles for the Canadian Forces, including identification of other states and actors that may become involved.

1.2 The Triage System

In order to evaluate the suitability of humanitarian intervention and prioritize where national resources are invested, the Canadian gov-

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ernment should adopt a triage system when addressing crisis situations.

International humanitarian crises are complex entities that require a focused and direct response. As Canadian resources are not infinite, it is necessary to prioritize when and where intervention operations are to be conducted. The implementation of a triage system will allow the government to systematically classify and organize international humanitarian crises based on a multitude of variables. By clearly specifying the decision-making process for intervention, involvement abroad will become more consistent and standardized, lending an air of legitimacy to Canada's actions.

Triage is a medical process of prioritizing patients based on the severity of their injuries in situations where resources are insufficient to address all cases simultaneously.

- In order to prioritize Canadian resources, every case of potential humanitarian intervention should be filtered through the following three-step evaluation:
 1. Appraisal of the crisis' nature and the potential for Canadian response, based on the diagnostic assessment guidelines outlined in proposal 1.1;
 2. Analysis of the position of the international community, which involves an consideration of the following:
 - o Any previous action or inaction by the international community,
 - o An overview of global anxieties towards the conflict,
 - o The position of the United Nations Security Council regarding the legality of intervention in order to resolve the situation;
 3. Qualification of Canadian suitability for involvement, including a measurement of:
 - o Whether or not Canada has a vested national interest in the crisis, which may be measured by factors such as public opinion polls and political dedication to the conflict as demonstrated in Parliament,
 - o Available military forces, diplomatic personnel, financial resources and current foreign commitments that could shape or constrain a Canadian response;
- Once each crisis has gone through the triage system, Canada will have the necessary information to decide whether or not humani-

1. Assessing and Responding to Crisis Situations

tarian intervention is the appropriate response;

- Where more than one crisis merits intervention, the triage mechanism can identify where Canadian participation will be of the maximum utility.

1.3 Interdepartmental Intervention Coordination Committee

Canada's governmental departments and organizations should coordinate their activities during cases of intervention through the adoption of a situation-specific Interdepartmental Intervention Coordinating Committee (IICC) structure.

In order for the Government of Canada to successfully organize its intervention efforts, the creation of consistent policy is a necessity. Government organizations that may be involved in implementing interventions often have vast expertise in very specialized fields and should not waste resources duplicating the work of other departments. Efforts pursued by different facets of the Canadian government should be in accordance with their mandates, thus preventing one department from unwittingly undermining the work of another. Adherence to the IICC structure will delineate an appropriate role for each department, allowing them to positively affect the situation while remaining within their boundaries of jurisdiction.

- Canada should adopt a situation-specific committee structure when dealing with matters of humanitarian intervention, which would allow its members to develop a robust understanding of the unique details of the situation;
- The structure of the IICC should be as follows:
 - In the majority of cases, the three primary organs of the IICC will consist of the Department of National Defence, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and the Canadian International Development Agency,
 - Depending on the situation, a number of other organizations could be incorporated including, but not limited to, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Elections Canada, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, and the Department of Justice,
 - Committee membership should include the Deputy Ministers or their delegates from each department involved in the intervention, who would subsequently advise Cabinet, the Prime

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Minister's Office, and/or the House of Commons where appropriate;

- IICC procedures should be understood by all potential member departments, allowing for the prompt implementation of such a committee when necessary;
- The IICC should be recognized as the chief body responsible for the coordination of Canadian contributions to crisis alleviation once the decision for intervention has been made.

Further Readings

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2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN ACTION

Introduction

This section of the report focuses on how Canada should proceed once the decision to pursue a policy of humanitarian intervention has been made. Popular convention generally equates humanitarian intervention with the intrusion of another state's sovereignty through the use of military force. While this is surely one possible outcome, Canada possesses many other tools, ranging from the diplomatic to the economic, which may be utilized in an attempt to pressure foreign governments to address humanitarian crises within their area of jurisdiction. With this in mind, presented below is the idea of an "intervention ladder" that both Canada and the broader international community can call upon when deciding what measures are appropriate in the implementation of humanitarian intervention policies.

In those rare instances that military intervention is selected to address humanitarian crises, policymakers must be aware that such missions will often entail coming face to face with intricate and perhaps chaotic operational settings. During the 1990s, United States Marine Corps Commandant General Charles Krulak coined the term "three-block war" to describe the difficulties of stabilization and reconstruction missions in states following military intervention. He noted that military personnel operating in such situations must be prepared to regularly conduct humanitarian work, stabilization operations and low to mid intensity combat within the same day and often in areas as small as three city blocks. Given such challenges, the remainder of this section puts forward a range of proposals detailing how Canada can better provide military and civilian services to states during armed interventions and the immediate period thereafter.

2.1 The Intervention Ladder

In order to provide greater predictability when addressing humanitarian crises, Canada should encourage the international community to adopt a five-step intervention ladder that will direct the intrusion of state sovereignty.

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The response of the international community to intrastate humanitarian crises has traditionally been conducted on an *ad hoc* basis. However, this often results in either global deadlock or a lacklustre response, both of which are unacceptable when human lives hinge on the rapidity of action. Normalizing a specific series of international responses for such situations would provide greater predictability and allow for consensus on action to be achieved more quickly.

- Canada should encourage the international community to adopt an intervention ladder of responses for situations where a state government is either an active participant in or wilfully ignorant of humanitarian crises occurring within their area of sovereignty;
- This intervention ladder should consist of five major actions, each one increasingly more forceful, to address the behaviour of the state government in question:
 1. A variety of ***Diplomatic Tools***, such as official condemnations and the closure of embassies, would apply low-level pressure on the errant regime,
 2. Important state officials can be targeted directly through such ***Limited Non-Trade Sanctions*** as travel restrictions and the freezing of foreign bank accounts,
 3. Of increased severity is the cessation of international trade with the offending regime, ranging from a ban on arms sales to a complete commercial embargo, applied in the form of ***Compensated Trade Sanctions***, which would simultaneously provide a degree of reimbursement for third party states adversely affected by their participation in the trade measure,
 4. A ***No-Fly Zone*** implemented over all or parts of the offending state would both halt certain activities from taking place and keep a more watchful eye on the situation,
 5. The most forceful action would be full-scale ***Military Intervention***, aimed at ending the humanitarian crisis by force;
- The speed and extent to which these five rungs of the intervention ladder are traversed would depend upon the situation at hand.

2.2 Optimizing Canada's Armed Forces for Intervention

To ensure Canada possesses the military capacity for intervention, the Government of Canada should increase defence spending levels, examine current material support mechanisms and consider the creation of

2. Humanitarian Intervention in Action

an additional Mechanized Brigade Group to provide greater flexibility for overseas operations.

As demonstrated by the recent experience of the Canadian Forces in Afghanistan, the continued maintenance of a substantial ground presence in a dangerous environment pushes our military to its limits. While military deployment should always be considered as a last resort, Canada must ensure it possesses the capacity to match words with action.

Mechanized Brigade Groups are the largest organizational arrangement of forces in the Canadian Army, each consisting of several thousand personnel and a variety of smaller operational units. Canada currently has three Mechanized Brigade Groups based in Alberta, Ontario and Quebec.

- Canadian defence spending should be increased from the existing 1.2 percent of GDP to 1.5 percent, bringing expenditures in line with other states such as Norway and Latvia;
- A majority of these funds should be reserved for the creation of a fourth Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group, which will enhance our troop rotational cycle and therefore allow for longer deployments;
- The Auditor General of Canada should conduct an audit of the Canadian Forces' material support capacity (similar to the reports of 1987 and 1998) to ensure that new and old funds are being allocated effectively.

2.3 Immediate Humanitarian Relief Unit

The Government of Canada should form an Immediate Humanitarian Relief Unit (IHRU) as a military organ designed to provide rapid humanitarian aid immediately following the conclusion of tactical operations.

As security concerns often dictate that the military not reveal the exact timing and nature of its operations to civilians, there may be a period of delay between the conclusion of combat and the arrival of aid to local populations. Repairs to vital infrastructure or immediate treatment of injuries would help reassure citizens of the mission's humanitarian focus and ensure that suffering is not allowed to fester during any interim period.

- As a component of the Canadian Forces, the IHRU would be privy to sensitive information and thereby able to deploy quickly to areas where tactical operations have yielded negative externalities;

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- The organization of the IHRU should be modeled after the Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART), which possesses a mix of specialized personnel under the protection of a defence and security platoon;
- The IHRU would be tasked with providing primary medical care, securing a supply of fresh drinking water, assisting with any small communications or infrastructure repair, and documenting the status of the community to better allow other organizations to quickly integrate with the needs of the local population;
- The duration of the IHRU in any location would be limited only to the period of time before other organizations, either governmental or non-governmental, arrive to provide longer term aid and assistance.

Disaster Assistance Relief Team (DART) is a 200-member unit of the Canadian Forces. Its mandate is to act as an intermediary for post-disaster zones, providing primary medical care, safe drinking water, engineering capabilities and a structure that facilitates communication with all relevant actors lasting no more than 40 days.

2.4 Policing and Intelligence in Military Operations

In order to ensure that the Canadian Forces can effectively fulfill the demands of modern operations, the Government of Canada should pursue initiatives to enhance military policing capacity.

Modern deployments require stabilizing forces to interact with local communities. Police training and intelligence skills have shown to be a critical component for military effectiveness. Through their enhancement, the Canadian Forces will be better equipped to deal with civilian populations in an ever-changing operational environment.

- The Canadian Forces should require military personnel to undertake police skills training, which would be incorporated into both basic training and pre-deployment preparation;
- Such police training should address topics including intelligence gathering, war ethics and detainment procedures;
- Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) officials should have an expanded role in and continue to be incorporated with military

Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) refers to resources which support the relationship between the military and civil populations in areas where military force is employed.

training exercises;

- Joint military-police units with the capacity to both train and develop local police systems should be further developed.

2.5 Civilian Support Roles

The Government of Canada should establish an official accreditation program for civilians wishing to be involved in foreign conflict resolution and actively utilize these educated resources in helping prepare the Canadian Forces for deployment to new cultural environments.

Successful interventions require multi-layered planning and execution. In order to appropriately employ Canadian assets, an optimal division of labour between military and civilian resources is therefore imperative. Non-military personnel possess numerous skills that could help prepare and assist the Canadian Forces in overseas operations. However, unlike the military, many civilians lack thorough preparation for deployment into conflict situations. Requiring that such individuals receive appropriate training and official accreditation would enhance the effectiveness of civilian contributions to humanitarian interventions.

Civilian Peace Service Canada (CPSC) is a proposed program to provide government accreditation and training to a wide variety of personnel, both non-government and government, working in the field of non-violent conflict prevention and/or management.

Community Development Councils consist of local political, cultural, religious and educational experts brought together to provide organized municipal governance.

- The Canadian government should support post-secondary educational institutions that offer conflict management programs in their curriculum;
- In order to ensure proper training of government and non-government personnel, Canada should develop an accreditation program, perhaps similar in nature to the Civilian Peace Service Canada initiative;
- Prior to the deployment of humanitarian intervention operations, both government and non-government personnel should be involved in relevant Canadian Forces training exercises;
- Additionally, experienced civil servants should provide detailed historical and cultural sensitivity training to members of the Canadian Forces as part of their pre-deployment briefings;

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- Greater participation by qualified civilians in humanitarian assistance efforts will also aid in the operation of situation specific post-conflict programs, such as reconstructive Community Development Councils.

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3. REBUILDING SHATTERED SOCIETIES

Introduction

Following the conclusion of intervention efforts, states are often left in a fragile condition. History has repeatedly demonstrated the ease by which a country finally freed from conflict can slip back into crisis when adequate precautions are not taken. Thus it is important for the international community to realize that the act of intervention creates a moral obligation not to merely end the immediate problem and disappear overnight. In cases where the local population has endured prolonged periods of conflict, severe psychological scars may have formed. The various forms of intervention, like compensated trade sanctions or military incursion, could also have created negative externalities, such as weak government structures or destroyed social infrastructure. As a result, this section of the report sets out prescriptions for post-conflict reconstruction and development with an eye towards serving the needs of those directly affected by humanitarian crises.

First and foremost, the Government of Canada must recognize that local populations will inherently have a better understanding of their own customs, traditions, and aspirations than foreign actors. Given this fact, it is of the utmost importance to incorporate the advice of local community leaders into post-conflict reconstruction plans. The Canadian government must also take special care to provide assistance on an equitable basis, without discrimination based on gender, sex, race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, age, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, or mental or physical disability.

The following list of proposals provides for a comprehensive series of initiatives to address education, psychological support, political stabilization and legal processes in the post-intervention state. All told, implementation of these measures can provide the tools necessary for populations afflicted by crisis to overcome their past experiences and build a more promising future.

3.1 Re-Focusing Education

To ensure lasting economic and social stability, the Canadian government should assist in providing educational opportunities for residents of post-intervention states.

The international community is far from achieving its goal of universal education, despite having been a priority for more than two decades. This problem is particularly hazardous in the case of fragile states, which regularly suffer from low wages, high levels of unemployment, and a shortage of trained professionals. Only by addressing these problems can lasting stability be fostered. Therefore, the Government of Canada should take an in-depth, multi-pronged approach towards encouraging formal education during the reconstruction process.

- In addition to supporting primary education for children, as outlined by the Millennium Development Goals, Canada should finance formal education for adults, ensuring that both initiatives are funded equally on a dollar-for-dollar basis;
- Canada's education funding should focus on the following four areas:
 1. The construction of classrooms,
 2. Ensuring institutions have suitable instructors and learning materials,
 3. Scholarships to attend local colleges or universities,
 4. Adult students who would otherwise be employed in the low-wage workforce.

The Millennium Development Goals are a series of eight goals divided into 21 targets established by the United Nations in an attempt to improve the lives of all humans. They outline an ambitious strategy for human development to be achieved within a 15-year timeframe.

3.2 Providing Sustainable Growth Through Education

The Government of Canada should impose a series of conditions on its financial assistance to students in order to encourage them to stay and work in their local communities.

Instead of remaining in their local communities, skilled workers often pursue more lucrative employment opportunities abroad. Such an exodus of professionals hinders the country's capacity for sustainable development. The Government of Canada should therefore encourage those who benefit from its funding to stay and work in their local com-

3. Rebuilding Shattered Societies

munity, such that the country undergoing reconstruction will directly benefit from the increased education of its citizens.

- Scholarships and other such funding provided by the Canadian government should be seen as interest-incurring loans that can be repaid not in money, but in time spent working in the local community;
- Canada should also assist in the creation of mentorship programs, which would enable those with expertise in a given field to train others in the community;
- In conjunction with local educational institutions, Canada should work towards the establishment of a two-tiered graduation requiring students to remain in their home country for a number of years prior to receiving internationally recognized certification.

3.3 Stability over Democracy

During the process of state reconstruction, the Government of Canada and its allies should focus on crisis relief and stabilization as opposed to concentrating on the establishment of democracy.

The international community, in particular the West, often seeks to promote democracy worldwide. However, in the unstable political environment of post-intervention states, establishing a democratic form of government may not be a realistic course of action. Democracy in and of itself is neither inherently suitable for addressing instability nor a guaranteed mechanism for resolving intrastate tensions. Indeed, it may well be that a process which promotes political competition could actually detract from the overall security environment. While not every individual desires democracy, they by and large crave an end to large-scale strife. As a result, there must be recognition that a democratic form of government may be inappropriate for certain situations.

- During the reconstruction process, Canada and its allies should focus primarily on stabilizing the post-intervention state as opposed to the establishment of a Western-style democratic form of government;
- Where it is deemed beneficial, the Canadian government should embrace the will of the local population and consider establishing a traditional form of government in an effort to restore stability.

3.4 Recognizing Individuals as ‘Whole’ Persons

The Government of Canada should include the psychological healing of intervention victims among its reconstruction priorities and, to this end, create a Mental Health Directorate under the Multilateral Programs Branch of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

Over the course of post-intervention reconstruction, emphasis is often placed on restoring the state’s infrastructure and economy. However, such an approach fails to take into account the psychological impact of crisis situations on the local population. The long term stability of a state inherently depends on the non-physical well being of its citizens. Therefore, a well-rounded development strategy must recognize the affected individuals as ‘whole’ persons and strive to ensure that their mental, social, emotional, physical and economic needs are addressed. Part of this process will necessitate the incorporation of psychological reconciliation as part of the reconstruction process.

- In order to ensure that its development strategy addresses the mental, social, and emotional needs of the affected population, the Canadian government should create a Mental Health Directorate under the Multilateral Programs Branch of CIDA;
- This program should be structured to compliment the Health and Nutrition Directorate, thus allowing for both the psychological and physical health of the affected population to be dealt with concurrently;
- Policies adopted by the Mental Health Directorate should be in keeping with the United Nations’ Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Guidelines on Mental Health and Psychosocial Support in Emergency Settings.

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) was established by the United Nations in 1992 to coordinate the humanitarian assistance efforts of pertinent agencies. Among other initiatives, IASC establishes a clear division of responsibility for various aspects of humanitarian assistance, identifies and addresses gaps in response, and advocates for the effective application of humanitarian principles.

3.5 Emphasizing Therapeutic Justice

To further the psychological healing process, the Canadian government should encourage the use of formalized legal mechanisms includ-

3. Rebuilding Shattered Societies

ing truth and reconciliation commissions, post-testimony counselling, and amnesty considerations.

Conflict situations can have a particularly traumatic effect on all individuals caught up in the violence. It is therefore imperative that access to psychological healing is available to all members of the affected population be they victims, perpetrators, bystanders, or otherwise. One such wide-reaching therapeutic mechanism is the pursuit of justice through legal channels. These proceedings, when structured accordingly to work in conjunction with more traditional methods of psychological healing, can serve both a reactive and preventative function in breaking the cycle of violence.

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions provide a forum by which the grievances of past conflicts can be revealed and discussed publicly. The subsequent findings of the Commission can then be utilized to guard against historical revisionism and guide government policies of redress.

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proceedings, when structured accordingly to work in conjunction with more traditional methods of psychological healing, can serve both a reactive and preventative function in breaking the cycle of violence.

- To assist with the psychological healing process and fulfill an investigatory function, the Government of Canada should encourage the establishment of truth and reconciliation commissions in post-intervention situations;
- Individuals who provide testimony during the various legal proceedings should be given private emotional counselling, both to further their own mental recovery and provide them with simplified techniques to continue the process within their own communities;
- In order to further facilitate with the healing process and allow for more robust testimony during the legal proceedings, amnesty should be considered for those who were previously engaged in the conflict but not within the leadership of the culpable parties;
- The specific structure of the various legal proceedings should be in keeping with the needs and wishes of the affected parties, including their traditional approach to justice, the nature of the conflict that transpired, and the availability of resources.

3.6 Protecting Human Rights and the Rule of Law

The Government of Canada should ensure the protection of human rights by making recognition of the post-intervention state government contingent upon its respect for the rule of law and by creating a program of reports to monitor the developing legal situation in regions of interest.

Consistency in Crisis Management

Upon the cessation of hostilities, it is not uncommon for the resulting government to be comprised of actors who were previously engaged in the conflict. However, such individuals may have been involved in war crimes or crimes against humanity before their ascension to government tenure. It is therefore imperative that the Canadian government have a clear framework by which to engage with state actors during the reconstruction process in order to ensure that there is proper respect for human rights and the rule of law.

- The Government of Canada should make formalized diplomatic relations with newly-established regimes contingent upon either the ratification of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court or the establishment of a comparable judicial arrangement to effectively prosecute war criminals;
- In order to monitor the international human rights situation, the Canadian government should compile annual publicly-available reports on the legal practices in various regions of interest, modelled on a similar system already established by the U.S. Department of State;
- When making such assessments, Canada should utilize input from federal departments and agencies including, but not limited to, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, Citizenship and Immigration, the Immigration and Refugee Board, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Canada Border Services Agency, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court is the treaty that established the International Criminal Court, detailing the court's function, jurisdiction, and structure. The Statute entered into force on July 1, 2002 and has been ratified by 105 states as of March 2008.

Further Readings

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APPENDIX: SUMMARY OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. ASSESSING AND RESPONDING TO CRISIS SITUATIONS

1.1 Formalized Diagnostic Assessment Guidelines

The Government of Canada should establish comprehensive diagnostic guidelines to identify the nature of international crises and the potential for Canadian involvement.

1.2 The Triage System

In order to evaluate the suitability of humanitarian intervention and prioritize where national resources are invested, the Canadian government should adopt a triage system when addressing crisis situations.

1.3 Interdepartmental Intervention Coordination Committee

Canada's governmental departments and organizations should coordinate their activities during cases of intervention through the adoption of a situation-specific Interdepartmental Intervention Coordinating Committee (IICC) structure.

2. HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION IN ACTION

2.1 The Intervention Ladder

In order to provide greater predictability when addressing humanitarian crises, Canada should encourage the international community to adopt a five-step intervention ladder that will direct the intrusion of state sovereignty.

2.2 Optimizing Canada's Armed Forces for Intervention

To ensure Canada possesses the military capacity for intervention, the Government of Canada should increase defence spending levels, examine current material support mechanisms and consider the creation of an additional Mechanized Brigade Group to provide greater flexibility for overseas operations.

2.3 Immediate Humanitarian Relief Unit

The Government of Canada should form an Immediate Humanitarian Relief Unit (IHRU) as a military organ designed to provide rapid humanitarian aid immediately following the conclusion of tactical operations.

2.4 Policing and Intelligence in Military Operations

In order to ensure that the Canadian Forces can effectively fulfill the demands of modern operations, the Government of Canada should pursue initiatives to enhance military policing capacity.

2.5 Civilian Support Roles

The Government of Canada should establish an official accreditation program for civilians wishing to be involved in foreign conflict resolution and actively utilize these educated resources in helping prepare the Canadian Forces for deployment to new cultural environments.

3. REBUILDING SHATTERED SOCIETIES

3.1 Re-Focusing Education

To ensure lasting economic and social stability, the Canadian government should assist in providing educational opportunities for residents of post-intervention states.

3.2 Providing Sustainable Growth Through Education

The Government of Canada should impose a series of conditions on its financial assistance to students in order to encourage them to stay and work in their local communities.

3.3 Stability over Democracy

During the process of state reconstruction, the Government of Canada and its allies should focus on crisis relief and stabilization as opposed to concentrating on the establishment of democracy.

3.4 Recognizing Individuals as ‘Whole’ Persons

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