

**MOBILIZING THE WILL TO INTERVENE**

LEADERSHIP & ACTION TO **PREVENT**  
**MASS ATROCITIES**

**MIGS**  
Montreal Institute for  
Genocide and Human  
Rights Studies

The *W2I* report is dedicated to the memory of the late Alison Des Forges, who worked tirelessly to prevent genocide, advance accountability, and end impunity. We also pay tribute to all the victims of mass atrocities whose lives ended prematurely while the world stood by.

*The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies would like to thank the generous and principled sponsors of the Will to Intervene Project—the Simons Foundation of Vancouver, James Stanford of Calgary, the family and friends of Aaron Fish of Montreal, Lieutenant-General Roméo A. Dallaire (Retired) Incorporated, the Tauben Family fund of Irwin and Sara Tauben, and several offices at Concordia University, especially the Office of the Vice-President for Research and Graduate Studies, the Office of Research, and the Office for Advancement.*





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**The Will to Intervene Project**

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## CO-DIRECTORS' FOREWORD

In 1946, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed the following resolution:

“Genocide is the denial of the right to existence of entire human groups, as homicide is the denial of the right to live of individual human beings; such denial of the right of existence shocks the conscience of mankind, results in great losses to humanity in the form of cultural and other contributions represented by these groups, and is contrary to moral law and to the spirit and aims of the United Nations. Many instances of such crimes of genocide have occurred, when racial, religious, political and other groups have been destroyed, entirely or in part. The punishment of the crime of genocide is a matter of international concern.

The General Assembly Therefore, Affirms that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns, and for the commission of which principals and accomplices—whether private individuals, public officials or statesmen, and whether the crime is committed on religious, racial, political or any other grounds—are punishable.”

In 2009, the world is still struggling to implement these noble principles and curtail mass atrocities, which shock the conscience of humankind. Why is our record of preventing genocide and mass atrocities so poor? Since 1946, why have we done so little to halt the systematic killings of innocent civilians in Indonesia, Burundi, East Pakistan, Cambodia, East Timor, Rwanda, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo? What stops the richest and most powerful nations on earth from vigorously combating the economic and social conditions that breed genocides? What discourages them from using their influence to interdict genocides once they are underway?

One of us, Lt. Gen. (ret.) Roméo Dallaire, commanded the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda during the genocide that ripped through the African country like a scythe from April to July 1994. The world sat on its hands as hundreds of thousands of Tutsis were slaughtered and any Hutu who stepped forward to offer them sanctuary was literally chopped to bits. The Security Council withdrew UN peacekeepers instead of reinforcing them.

The other one of us, Professor Frank Chalk, comes from a family whose European branches were decimated in the Holocaust and, since 1978, has devoted much of his academic life to seeking answers to the questions posed above.

Together, we are struck not by the absence of the will to intervene to prevent genocide, but by the presence of the will not to intervene, a negative thrust evident among the leaders of Canada, the United States, and other democracies when confronting the great mass atrocities of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. These mass atrocities were surely “contrary to moral law and the spirit and aims of the United Nations,” as the U.N. expressed it in 1946, but “moral law” and “the spirit and aims of the United Nations” carry very little weight in the national interest and partisan political calculations that shape foreign policies in the capitals of the great democracies.

This report was born in hope—our hope that concrete factual analyses and practical recommendations can change the way our democratically elected political leaders think and act. We ask for nothing less than a paradigm shift, a change in how our leaders view the world. Specifically, we seek to persuade the leaders of Canada and the United States to adopt a concept of the national interest that incorporates the notion that preventing genocide and mass atrocities serves the interests of their people and not doing so puts the welfare of their citizens at risk. The age of the global village has dawned. Ignoring instability and conflict leading to genocides and mass atrocities today seriously threatens the health, security, and prosperity of our two peoples. We can and we must change. “Yes we can prevent genocide and mass atrocities” is our motto for achieving a better and more secure future, not just for societies vulnerable to mass atrocities, but for our children and grandchildren right here in North America.

We would like to thank the generous and principled sponsors of our project—the Simons Foundation of Vancouver, James Stanford of Calgary, the family and friends of Aaron Fish of Montreal, Lieutenant-General Roméo A. Dallaire (Retired) Incorporated, the Tauben Family fund of Irwin and Sara Tauben, and several offices at Concordia University, especially the Office of the Vice-President for Research and Graduate Studies, the Office of Research, and the Office for Advancement. We also want to express our thanks to the outstanding members of our Research Steering Committee and the learned members of our Academic Consultation Group. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the more than 80 persons who gave their time freely for interviews with our researchers about their direct experiences and insights regarding the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the 1999 crisis in Kosovo. Your candor and confidence in our important work, and your willingness to make time in your very busy schedules, spoke volumes about your values. We thank you.

**Roméo Dallaire and Frank Chalk**

Co-Directors of the Will to Intervene Project



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## PREFACE

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The fundamental goal of this report is to identify strategic and practical steps to raise the capacity of government officials, legislators, civil servants, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), advocacy groups, journalists, and media owners and managers to build the political will to prevent mass atrocities. The Will to Intervene (W2I) Project report, *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership and Action to Prevent Mass Atrocities*, draws on interviews with more than 80 foreign policy practitioners and opinion shapers in Canada and the United States. Many of the interviewees participated directly in Canadian and American government decision making during the 1994 Rwandan Genocide and the 1999 Kosovo crisis.

The interviews furnished us with an inside view of the decision making processes that shaped each country's responses to Rwanda and Kosovo, exemplifying a failure to act and a strong will to act. The W2I Project's researchers also wanted to understand what civil society groups and the news media could have done to ramp up the pressure on Prime Minister Chrétien and President Clinton to save lives in Rwanda. We wanted to learn if civil society played a role in the decisions of Canada and the United States to preserve lives in Kosovo and what considerations propelled the decision to intervene. We designed our questions with an eye to the future, hunting for "lessons learned," informed not only by our interviews, but also by scholarly studies of Canadian and U.S. Government policies.

One of the major outcomes of the W2I study is the finding that when leadership at the top is absent, civil society in Canada and the United States must strongly pressure governments to broaden their concept of "national interests." Saving the lives of innocent civilians in future Rwandas and Kosovos is vital to saving lives in Canada and the United States. More and more, our security is threatened by neglected crises in faraway places. Thanks to the growth in international travel by business people, tourists, and aid workers, infectious disease outbreaks arising in once ignored areas like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, and Zimbabwe now pose real challenges to our public health. As well, mass atrocities undermine the foundations of political stability in entire regions of the globalized international economy and threaten our economic prosperity. Our stake in international security has converged with our stake in humanitarian principles as never before. We need to redefine our national interests more broadly, not only to help failing states, but also to help and protect ourselves.

W2I's message to Canadian and American politicians is that to be a responsible leader you must spearhead policies and programs that prevent mass atrocities.

Without leadership from the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the United States, our countries will make little progress toward solving the recurring global problems of mass atrocities and their lethal ripple effects. We lay out missed policy options that Canada and the U.S. could have pursued in Rwanda in 1994, and describe successful responses to early warning in Kosovo. By providing detailed case studies of Canadian and U.S. decision making over Rwanda and Kosovo, *W2I* aims to help decision makers envisage innovative and timely solutions in the future.

The introduction to this report, Part I, describes the impacts of genocide and mass atrocities, highlighting the enormous security, financial, and political costs of inaction. Our introductory section also analyzes the emerging drivers of deadly violence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Part II, the most important section of the report, presents our policy recommendations in four thematic sections devoted to the generation of domestic political will. Part III of the report consists of the *W2I* historical case studies analyzing the Canadian and American decision making process concerning the 1994 Rwandan Genocide and the 1999 Kosovo crisis. In addition to research on current responses to mass atrocities, the case study analyses in Part III provide the basis for the development of the policy recommendations in Part II. Part IV consists of the appendices, which include the selected bibliography for the case studies, the list of interviewees, biographies of the *W2I* Project's Co-Directors and researchers, members of the Research Steering Committee and Academic Consultation Group, as well as a list of acronyms.

The *W2I* report uses the term “humanitarian intervention” in its widest sense to include the broad spectrum of tools that our governments can employ to prevent mass atrocities. These include “soft” and “hard” power tools, non-military and military actions. In the preventive phase of a humanitarian intervention, the governments of Canada and the U.S. can offer development assistance and financial aid, technical support, training, debt reduction, and mediation. When consensual preventive measures fail and more robust action is required, they can introduce the withdrawal of visas and scholarships for children from the recalcitrant political elite, economic sanctions, arms embargoes, the enforcement of no fly zones, and the use of military force. *W2I* strongly supports the view that credible military force must be visible in the wings to potentiate non-military preventive action. Consensual soft-power methods can succeed, but peace spoilers only cooperate with them when they know their forces can be neutralized.

Recognizing a substantive difference between the governing structures of Canada and the U.S., the government recommendations in this report are crafted separately for American and Canadian governments and legislators. Although both the



Canadian Prime Minister and the U.S. President have similar executive powers—such as the deployment of limited military forces without approval from their respective national legislatures—the Prime Minister’s executive power in Canada is far greater than that of the President in the United States. The Prime Minister typically controls a majority of the votes in the House of Commons, allotting the governing party the authority to pass laws and to spend at its discretion. A string of minority governments in recent years has empowered Parliament’s opposition parties as the government must seek their support to pass legislation, but it is rare that Parliament can change a majority government’s course on key policies.

In the U.S., the executive branch, headed by the President, is separate from the legislative branch—the Congress—which checks and balances the power of the executive. Members of Congress sometimes vote independently, ignoring the position of the executive or the leaders of their party and responding to popular opinion within their electoral districts or their personal convictions. Members of Congress have the ability to frustrate or force the revision of executive appropriations proposals and other legislative initiatives. Due to the differences between the Canadian and American systems of government—and the complexity of influencing government policy—we urge advocates of preventing mass atrocities to develop a firm understanding of their targets within the machinery of government before they set out to influence them.

The recommendations outlined in this report were developed after consultation with experts on the *Responsibility to Protect* and mass atrocities, as well as through in-depth research in Canadian and U.S. policy studies. *W2I*’s Research Steering Committee generously provided important feedback and strategic advice at every stage in the evolution of the project. The Research Steering Committee met in Montreal in May and September 2008. In addition, the *W2I* researchers consulted with academic experts at two important consultation workshops in April and November 2008. The members of the Research Steering Committee and the Academic Consultation Group are listed in the Appendices.

The recommendations presented in this report do not necessarily represent agreement or consensus among the Research Steering Committee members, Academic Consultation Group, or interviewees. Our recommendations and case studies were drafted by the *W2I* researchers in consultation with experts and the Co-Directors of the project. The interpretations put forward and any errors of fact are those of the *W2I* team, not the members of the Research Steering Committee or the Academic Consultation Group.



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The key to mobilizing international support to prevent mass atrocities is to garner domestic support. This was one of the central arguments of *The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)*, the 2001 report prepared by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The W2I Project has sought to operationalize R2P principles in Canada and the United States to parallel efforts being made in the international realm. First and foremost, it is imperative that national strategies be developed for the generation of domestic political will to implement the R2P principles. A focused set of policy recommendations tailored to improve the Canadian and U.S. governments' planning to prevent mass atrocities are listed below under three themes: enabling leadership, enhancing coordination, and building capacity. Under a fourth rubric, ensuring knowledge, we set forth recommendations geared towards civil society organizations and the news media with a view to strengthening their ability to influence government policy. Strong prodding from civil society organizations and the news media is essential when governments do not exercise the "responsibility to protect" on their own.

The case for the prevention of mass atrocities once rested largely on moral imperatives and upholding international treaties and conventions. Despite the UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and the Geneva Conventions and their subsequent protocols, treaties to which Canada and the U.S. are signatories, arguments based on morality and legal obligations have not carried sufficient weight to overwhelm the cold statecraft calculations that traditionally inform government notions of the "national interest." One of the most frequently voiced arguments for explaining the international community's failure to halt the Rwandan Genocide derived from government assessments that deeper involvement was not in the national interest and risking the lives of soldiers would diminish electoral support.

A modern understanding of the national interest requires a greater emphasis on the prevention of mass atrocities by leaders. In today's unstable and interdependent global environment, the traditional national interest approach to foreign policy is no longer effective. The combined impact of poverty and inequality, rapid demographic growth, nationalism, and climate change drives deadly violence and threatens international peace and security. These underlying structural factors increase the risks of mass atrocities, and the chaos resulting from those atrocities poses credible dangers to Canadian and American national interests at home and abroad. If we continue to deal with looming genocides and other mass atrocities in a reactive manner, we will confront more than just the moral failure to save lives; inevitably, Canada and the U.S. will face threats to their own national security and prosperity.

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## Summary Policy Recommendations for the Government of Canada

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### ENABLING LEADERSHIP

#### *W2I recommends that:*

- The Prime Minister make preventing mass atrocities a national priority for Canada (p.18)
- The Prime Minister appoint an International Security Minister as a senior member of the Cabinet (p.20)
- The Government of Canada support and promote public discussion on Canada's role in preventing mass atrocities (p.21)
- The Parliament of Canada convert the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity into a standing joint committee (p.22)
- Parliamentarians exercise individual initiative and use their existing powers and privileges to advocate the implementation of *R2P* as an international norm and a vital part of Canada's foreign policy (p.24)

### ENHANCING COORDINATION

#### *W2I recommends that:*

- The Government of Canada create an interdepartmental Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities (p.30)
- The Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities create standard operating procedures for disseminating intelligence concerning the risks of mass atrocities throughout the whole of government (p.32)

### BUILDING CAPACITY

#### *W2I recommends that:*

- The Government of Canada establish a Canadian Prevention Corps (p.37)
- The Government of Canada increase its diplomatic and development presence in fragile countries (p.38)
- The Government of Canada continue enhancing the Canadian Forces' capabilities by increasing its force strength and developing operational concepts, doctrine, force structure, and training to support civilian protection (p.41)

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## Summary Policy Recommendations for the United States Government

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### ENABLING LEADERSHIP

#### *W2I recommends that:*

- The President of the United States issue an Executive Order establishing the prevention of mass atrocities as a policy priority (p.25)
- The United States Congress create a Caucus for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities (p.25)
- Members of the United States Congress take individual initiative and use their existing powers and privileges to advocate for the implementation of *R2P* (p.26)
- The United States Government foster public discussions on preventing mass atrocities (p.28)

### ENHANCING COORDINATION

#### *W2I recommends that:*

- The President create an Atrocities Prevention Committee to coordinate interagency policy on the prevention mass atrocities (p.33)
- The National Security Advisor create an Interagency Policy Committee on Preventing Mass Atrocities to coordinate policy across the executive branch and liaise with the Atrocities Prevention Committee (p.34)

- The National Security Advisor create standard operating procedures for disseminating intelligence on the risks of genocide and other mass atrocities (p.36)

### BUILDING CAPACITY

#### *W2I recommends that:*

- The United States Government allocate federal funding to institutionalize the prevention of mass atrocities within civilian agencies (p.43)
- The United States Government reestablish its soft power capacity by expanding its diplomatic and development corps, and enhancing the field training of USAID and State Department officials (p.44)
- The Department of Defense develop and incorporate doctrine and rules of engagement on preventing and responding to mass atrocities and train the military in civilian protection (p.45)

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## Summary Recommendations for Civil Society and the News Media in Canada and the United States

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### ENSURING KNOWLEDGE

#### ***W2I recommends that:***

- Canadian and American civil society organizations develop permanent domestic constituencies by forming national coalitions for *R2P* in Canada and the U.S. (p.48)
- Canadian and American civil society organizations expand their advocacy by targeting local/municipal and state/provincial levels of government to support *R2P* (p.51)
- Canadian and American civil society groups develop strategic, outcome-based proposals geared towards key decision makers in the government (p.52)
- Canadian and American civil society groups leverage new information and communications technologies to educate the public and government (p.53)
- Canadian and American civil society groups initiate public discussions on the prevention of mass atrocities and related foreign policy issues (p.55)
- Individual journalists, media owners, and managers in Canada and the United States commit themselves to “the responsibility to report” (p.56)



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“Political will is not something you find if you look in the right cupboard. It has to be laboriously crafted, case by case, using the resources of both insiders and outsiders, bottom up from civil society and through peer group pressure from those in positions of influence nationally and internationally.”

– Gareth Evans, Co-Chair of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty and former Foreign Minister of Australia



## **PART ONE: INTRODUCTION**

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## 1.1 A CALL FOR LEADERSHIP AND ACTION

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Generating the international political will necessary to prevent mass atrocities remains one of the central challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. First, we must recognize that the United Nations and other international institutions are made up of national governments whose primary concern is the retention of political support from their domestic constituencies. Consequently, the key to mobilizing international support is to first garner domestic support. This was one of the central arguments of *The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)*—the 2001 report prepared by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). To implement the *R2P* principles on the world stage, it is imperative that national strategies be developed for the generation of domestic political will.

Gareth Evans, Co-Chair of the ICISS, affirms that “the loudest and most oft-repeated lamentation of them all is that there is a ‘lack of political will’ to do what needs to be done.” The *W2I* Project sets out to address this deficiency for Canada and the United States by presenting innovative strategies and proposing new offices within government to prevent mass atrocities. These recommendations are divided into four thematic sections devoted to the generation of domestic political will:

- (1) Enabling Leadership
- (2) Enhancing Coordination
- (3) Building Capacity
- (4) Ensuring Knowledge

*W2I* uses the term “mass atrocities” to refer to the four specific crimes listed by the international community in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document: genocide, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and war crimes. Although this report focuses particularly on genocide and crimes against humanity, it does not propose to organize these four crimes in a hierarchical order, nor does it seek to become embroiled in the legal and definitional trap of what separates genocide from other mass atrocities. Fundamentally, this report aims to emphasize the most important human right: the right not to be murdered.

Since 2003, hundreds of thousands of civilians in Darfur, in western Sudan, have been murdered, with many more displaced, and forced to live in camps plagued by disease and insecurity. Besides Darfur, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Sri Lanka, and Burma are only a few of the countries in which civilians face high risks of mass atrocities. The failure to deter these threats crosses partisan lines and time, and represents first and foremost a political failure to uphold the emerging norm of *R2P*.

The ICISS *R2P* report advanced the notion of “sovereignty as responsibility” — first introduced by Francis Deng and others in 1996 at the Brookings Institution — which challenged a long-standing consensus that the principle of state sovereignty was absolute, regardless of whether a state committed serious human rights abuses against its own citizens. The *R2P* report argued that state sovereignty is a privilege, not a right, and that it is derived from a reciprocal relationship of respect between the state and its citizens. At the 2005 World Summit, the UN General Assembly members, including Canada and the United States, agreed that if a state is unwilling or unable to protect its own citizens against gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, the international community must assume the responsibility to protect them. Under such circumstances, the international community has a duty to launch preventive, reactive and rebuilding measures to protect defenseless civilians being abused by their own government. Significantly, the UN General Assembly World Summit Outcome Document singled out prevention as the most important element of the responsibility to protect. *R2P* has subsequently become a far-reaching international security and human rights doctrine; it demonstrates the growing aspiration that sovereignty is an evolving principle intrinsically linked to the security and protection of civilians.

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## 1.2 INCORPORATING THE PREVENTION OF MASS ATROCITIES INTO THE NATIONAL INTEREST

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This report argues that the prevention of mass atrocities should be prioritized as a vital national interest by the governments of Canada and the United States. One of the most frequently voiced arguments for explaining the international failure to prevent the Rwandan Genocide derived from government assessments that deeper involvement was not in the national interest, and would ultimately result in domestic political opposition and partisan criticism.

For many of today’s policy makers, national interests continue to be defined by two central considerations: national security and economic interests. Traditionally, national security threats to the territorial integrity of the state and its people were exclusively viewed as emanating from other states. Similarly, state economic interests were threatened if trade relations with other states provided trading partners with greater relative gains. Since the end of the Cold War, more rapid globalization has changed the nature of international and transnational interactions. Threats to national security and economic interests no longer emanate exclusively from competing states.

“When genocide is happening, when ethnic cleansing is happening somewhere around the world and we stand idly by, that diminishes us. And so I do believe that we consider it as part of our interests, our national interests, in intervening where possible.” – Barack Obama, speaking as a presidential candidate in 2008

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Mass atrocities, with their chaos and mass loss of life, produce shock waves—seismic wrecking balls destabilizing and destroying social, economic, health, and political infrastructures—which reverberate throughout the rest of the world. This is a cardinal lesson of the Rwandan Genocide. In the coming decade, the leaders of Canada and the United States should play a vital role in redefining their countries’ national interests to include the prevention of mass atrocities. This means ending the “stove-piping” of national interest calculations and ending the setting of national priorities based on narrow, over-simplified, and dated assessments that ignore the indirect consequences of mass atrocities.

An interdependent web of relationships between states, individuals, civil society groups, and multinational corporations increasingly characterizes today’s

globalized world. Many countries rely on far-flung electronic communication systems, digital technologies, and computerized services to enhance their prosperity. Canada and the U.S. maintain extensive economic and trade relations with countries all over the world; both countries are tourist and migration destinations for people from every corner of the Earth. Every day, tourism, commerce, and immigration bring throngs of foreign visitors and returning citizens to our airports, seaports, and land border crossings.

“The political reality is that we don’t have the charge to do something before it starts, but the longer it unfolds, the costlier it gets. Besides, we’re still not generating political will to end Rwanda—look at the DRC. We do it with terrorists but not genocidaires? Why? National Interest.” – Michael Bailey, Military Advisor to Presidential Special Envoy Anthony Lake, 1998-2000

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Many of the experts consulted for the *W2I* Project emphasized the need to broaden the concept of national interests to include global security as an integral component of national security. This concept is gaining increasing traction in U.S. and Canadian governmental circles.

The Center for American Progress is a good example of a think tank engaging members of the U.S. Congress and the public to promote “sustainable security,” the concept that using foreign aid as a strategic tool to strengthen weak states is a means of protecting the United States from the national security threats posed by failing or failed states. Within this broadened framework of what constitutes the national interest, policy makers are encouraged to develop a foreign policy that affirms the connections between political, economic, social, health, and environmental issues. It is imperative that the Canadian and U.S. governments adopt a holistic approach, and use all the instruments of soft and hard power at their disposal to reduce risks to human security at home and abroad. In order to succeed in this endeavor, governments must focus on the prevention of mass atrocities, paying particular attention to high-risk countries and regions.

While some policy makers understand that the process of globalization has transformed crises in regions once considered remote into problems with potentially serious security consequences, surprisingly few political leaders have recommended making these issues top priorities. Decision makers should consider the prevention of regional destabilization and social upheaval—the long-term consequences of mass atrocities—as vital to the national interest.

In today’s globalized world, citizens in Canada and the United States are increasingly organizing themselves to influence policy makers in Ottawa and Washington, a development reflected in the rapid multiplication over the past two decades of NGOs working on human rights and humanitarian relief. The growing strength of NGOs in liberal democracies presents new opportunities to mobilize domestic political will.

We must persuade leaders that a modern definition of the national interest requires a greater emphasis on the prevention of mass atrocities. To this end, a focus on prevention involves an examination of the drivers of deadly violence that create the conditions of instability where mass atrocities are more likely to occur. The combined force of these drivers must be addressed through sustainable preventive measures in order fulfill the mandate of the first pillar of *R2P*—the responsibility to prevent.

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## 1.3 DRIVERS OF DEADLY VIOLENCE

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The changing global landscape frames *W2I*’s argument that the prevention of mass atrocities needs to be deeply integrated into Canadian and American foreign policy. Our intention in the following discussion is to underline the structural changes taking place across the world that will require both countries to become more engaged in humanitarian interventions in the future.

Crimes against humanity and genocidal killings are threats to global security and have remained all-too prevalent since the onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. No single factor causes crimes against humanity and genocide; they are propelled by a complex web of factors that act as drivers to produce the most deadly forms of violence against civilians. Within policy circles, there is a growing understanding that mass atrocities result from the convergence of long-term structural factors such as endemic poverty, and more proximate causes such as economic crises and opportunistic political demagoguery. The drivers of deadly violence identified here serve to highlight some of the primary destabilizing factors whose combined impact increases the risk of mass atrocities. Although not an exhaustive list, these drivers should be incorporated into any analysis designed to identify high-risk situations.

We have identified poverty and inequality, population growth and the “youth bulge,” ethnic nationalism, and climate change as four important drivers of deadly violence. If democratic countries fail to develop and implement a sustainable strategy to prevent mass atrocities, future crises are ever more likely to spiral out of control and destabilize entire countries and regions. Indeed, in an era of unprecedented global interconnectedness, political isolationism simply is not a viable policy option. Moreover, if the driving forces of deadly violence are not understood, American and Canadian leaders will

continue to simply react to major humanitarian crises without addressing the structural factors that create the breeding ground for mass atrocities.

“ I think the purpose of Canadian foreign policy should be to save lives, to prevent the loss of life around the world, which means conflict prevention, it means a deep commitment to ending massive poverty among the least well-off in the world, and a commitment to fighting climate change, because the climate change crisis is having a direct impact on the human condition. And those three things go together.”

— Bob Rae, Member of Parliament

### Poverty and Inequality

According to the United Nations Development Programme, poor access to basic subsistence necessities such as food, water, and shelter combined with few opportunities for education, employment, and social equality indicate “low human development.” Human rights violations, conflict, and mass atrocities are more frequent in countries with the lowest rankings. Without external economic assistance and development support, countries afflicted by poor socio-economic conditions suffer from higher risks of political collapse and rampant violence.

These endemic structural deficiencies not only affect the survival and well-being of civilians, but also the durability of state governance. Failed and weak states can arise directly from civil conflict, as in Sudan, or from bad governance, as in Zimbabwe, hindering access to economic opportunities and often resulting in the complete breakdown of the rule of law. In some cases, state failure is a result of unequally apportioning the benefits of globalization, leading to the accumulation of wealth by the few and the deepening of poverty among the many. To lower the likelihood of mass atrocities, it is increasingly important to take a preventive approach and address the structural elements of endemic poverty and inequality through development.

### Population Growth and the Youth Bulge

Another important driver of deadly violence is population growth and the demographic phenomenon referred to as the “youth bulge.” Demographers estimate that more than 50 countries will see their populations increase in size by more than 30 percent within the next two decades. In March 2009, the United Nations’ Department of Economic and Social Affairs predicted that by 2012, the world’s population will exceed seven billion people, and by 2050, it will climb to just over nine billion. This means that within four decades our planet will add the combined equivalent of China and India’s current populations. The Democratic Republic of the Congo,

Ethiopia, and Nigeria, in particular, are expected to see significant population growth, in addition to Middle Eastern and Asian countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Yemen. Rapid population growth will take place mostly in developing countries, and will place tremendous pressure on government services, infrastructures, and natural resources. The evidence suggests that in economically weak countries, there is a direct relationship between high numbers of youth, political instability, and violence, primarily because these countries are unable to absorb large numbers of young men into the labor force, increasing the potential for social unrest and violence. Many of the “youth bulge” countries are located in Sub-Saharan Africa.

### Nationalism

Extreme ethnic nationalism is also a considerable force for genocide and other mass atrocities. History has shown that times of economic difficulty are propitious for the spread of populist rhetoric and, in extreme cases, exclusive nationalism that demonizes outsiders. The most striking example of this phenomenon emerged during the interwar years, from 1919 to 1939, when Fascist and Nazi politicians whipped up ethnic nationalism, targeted entrepreneurial minorities, and demonized social groups as scapegoats for economic and societal ills. In the post-Cold War era, the breakup of the former Yugoslavia sparked by ethnic nationalist movements fuelled campaigns of ethnic cleansing in Croatia

and Bosnia. In Rwanda, the rise of the Hutu Power movement in the 1990s was partly responsible for radicalizing the population to hate the Tutsi minority and curtailing any viable prospect for peaceful multiparty governance. In the contemporary context, there is reason to fear that the global financial crisis could fuel extreme nationalist movements that might otherwise have remained dormant in countries across the world.

### Climate Change

There is a strong consensus among scientists and government officials that climate change is occurring and that this will bring about profound and irreversible changes to the global environment. These projected changes carry broad implications for international security. The Earth's tropical and equatorial zones are expected to be hit hardest, with the consequence that poor countries will suffer more than industrialized states located in the temperate zone. For this reason, climate change could ultimately lead to more failed states and an increase in deadly violence.

“When you add climate change, the potential for disturbances overseas increases substantially. We're dealing with an equation that has many different variables.” – Jim Bishop, Vice President, Humanitarian Policy and Practice, InterAction

The byproducts of climate change include drought, desertification, increasing storm intensity, changing rainfall patterns, and rising sea levels. The likelihood of deadly violence is more pronounced when societies are faced with resource scarcity. Increasing desertification and coastal flooding will force displaced people to migrate in search of agricultural land and water. Changing rainfall patterns and melting glaciers will result in water scarcity, reducing agricultural production. The world has already experienced the dangerous consequences of this scenario in Darfur, where conflict began during an ecological crisis. In Darfur, changing rainfall patterns forced people to migrate farther in search of new grazing land and fights erupted between pastoralists and sedentary farmers. Competition for overstretched resources will no doubt increase, laying the groundwork for new sites of deadly violence.

### The Perfect Storm

The combined impact of poverty and inequality, rapid demographic growth, ethnic nationalism, and climate change on international peace and security make it strategically imperative to operationalize the principles of the *Responsibility to Protect* report. These underlying structural factors increase the risks of mass atrocities perpetrated against civilians and pose a credible danger to Canadian and American national interests, particularly when weighing the probable high costs of inaction and the relatively low costs of prevention.



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## 1.4 THE COSTS OF INACTION

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The knock-on effects of wide-scale mass atrocities in neglected regions of the globe affect security, which includes public health; domestic political legitimacy; and the government balance sheets of Canada and the United States. These costs are incurred when no effective action is undertaken to prevent and respond to mass atrocities. If we want to avoid them, we must grasp the importance in an interdependent world of a preventive and proactive foreign policy.

### Security Costs

For national governments, the traditional meaning of security was once reduced to the defense of territorial borders against invasion and attrition. The meaning of “security” has expanded over the course of the last two decades beyond state-centric concerns related to defense. Security challenges now include a wider variety of international and transnational threats affecting states and their citizens.

“**Inhumanity, when it is systematized as it is in dictatorial and genocidal regimes, is not only an outrage against common human values, but it also carries very real security implications.**”

– Strobe Talbott, President of the Brookings Institution

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Failed states inevitably pose a lethal threat to regional stability and international security. As the contemporary history of Somalia and Afghanistan demonstrates, failed states produce serious international security and humanitarian consequences. Instead of working as responsible members of the international community, these states often become safe havens for organized criminal and terrorist gangs, spawning major transnational problems, including the disruption of overland trade routes and international shipping lanes.

The recent emergence of piracy off the coast of East Africa offers a good example of the disruptive effects of failed states. The International Maritime Organization recently reported that global piracy increased by 200 per cent in 2008 compared to the previous year. The U.S. Navy is now patrolling the Somalia coast to safeguard international shipping lanes, and Canada deploys naval forces in these same waters as part of NATO’s anti-piracy operations. Hijacked cargo ships carrying relief supplies, crude oil, and even Russian T-72 tanks forecast new disasters waiting to unfold.

Canadian and American prosperity depends on the security of the sea lanes, which link ports around the world to those at Halifax, Montreal, Vancouver, New York, Los Angeles, Charleston, Long Beach, Norfolk, and Houston. Seventy percent of global trade moves through narrow shipping lanes like the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aden, off the

coast of Yemen and Somalia. Accordingly, policy makers are beginning to pay more attention to the nexus between development and security. The efflorescence of piracy is a powerful reminder that the traditional moral imperative to address global poverty through development assistance is vitally connected to the national security interests of Canada and the U.S.

The outbreak of infectious disease also poses security risks to populations around the globe. Violent conflict and the breakdown of law and order dramatically increase the potential for the spread of contagious diseases. Mass atrocities generate internal and external displacement raising the overall risk of epidemics.

In situations in which civilians have been driven off their land, agriculture is routinely disrupted, reducing food production and increasing the risk of famine. Famine and food shortages degrade resistance to disease, further increasing the risk of epidemics. Infectious diseases spread like wildfire after conflict destroys key public utilities, especially water purification and pumping facilities, while attacks on health care infrastructure further impair the ability to combat disease outbreaks. Displaced civilians often have no choice but to seek protection and shelter in overcrowded, unsanitary camps. Making matters worse, vaccination programs must often be curtailed or suspended in the midst of mass atrocities.

Some of the epidemic diseases that have reemerged in Africa are threatening to spread worldwide. For instance, epidemic typhus reappeared in Burundi in 1997 after a 12-year absence, reemerging as an indirect consequence of the civil war that began in 1993. In Zimbabwe, failed economic policies and incompetent, politically prejudiced governance directly contributed to outbreaks of cholera, which has killed more than 4,200 people and infected upwards of 100,000—making it the deadliest outbreak of the disease in 15 years. The cholera epidemic continues to spread from urban to rural areas within Zimbabwe and threatens to spill over into neighboring South Africa, Mozambique, Botswana, and Zambia.

“States that cannot or will not stop internal atrocity crimes are the kind of states that cannot or will not stop terrorism, weapons proliferation, drug and people trafficking, the spread of health pandemics, and other global risks.” – Gareth Evans

The HIV/AIDS epidemic began in Africa and spread quickly from continent to continent. HIV/AIDS is now the leading killer in Africa, where more than 28 million people are infected—almost half of the estimated 60 million people infected worldwide. This communicable disease continues to claim new victims, partly due to the use of mass rape as a weapon of war against innocent

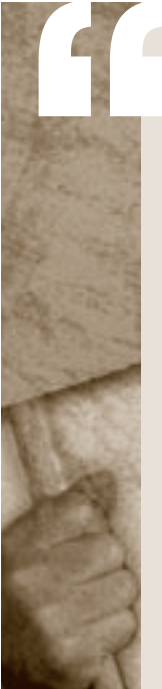
civilians. In the DRC, organized rape devastates women, families and communities, and in Zimbabwe, militias loyal to Robert Mugabe routinely use rape to intimidate supporters of the political opposition.

Leaders and policy makers in North America also need to consider the potential health risks that mass atrocities pose to their own populations. While it is understood that civilians who flee violence often fall victim to and spread common communicable diseases, little attention has been paid to the possibility that a neglected humanitarian crisis could evolve into a global pandemic. In the globalized world, connected by intercontinental air travel, commercial shipping, and luxury cruise ships, the costs of not responding to occurrences of mass atrocities in seemingly isolated areas afflicted by the suspension of health care and inoculation programs amidst systematic rape, displacement, and famine may create significant public health threats to residents of American and Canadian cities. At the tail end of the First World War, the 1918-1919 influenza pandemic killed between 20 and 50 million people, demonstrating that epidemics erupting in the aftermath of deadly violence can jump far beyond conflict areas. In a very short period of time, such an outbreak can produce multiple waves of epidemics and precipitate global health crises.

## Political Costs

The U.S. and Canada are mature democracies that guarantee the political and civil rights of their citizens. With the continued rise of education and global travel, the Canadian and American publics have increasingly expressed their commitment to human rights at home and abroad.

The U.S. and Canada are also diverse and open societies, which accept a large number of immigrants from around the world. Diaspora communities in North America often assert their cultural, ethnic, religious, and national identities within their adopted countries, and have become increasingly active lobbyists for domestic and foreign policy priorities. New communications technologies allow immigrants to retain ties to their homeland through foreign language Internet news and television programming in Canada and the United States. Moreover, diaspora communities can be mobilized into influential political forces. In March 2009, more than 120,000 members of the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Toronto protested against the policies of the Sri Lankan state towards Tamil civilians. Their protest demonstration paralyzed downtown Toronto—the financial hub of Canada—and they demanded that the Canadian government pressure the Sri Lankan government to halt its military operations. In May 2009, this group sustained protests on Parliament Hill for weeks, and shut down a major highway in downtown Toronto.



## THE RIPPLE EFFECTS OF MASS ATROCITIES IN CANADIAN AND AMERICAN CITIES

Due diligence requires that we do everything possible to prevent mass atrocities in Africa and other parts of the world to maintain our own public health security. Canada and the United States simply cannot afford to stand by and permit vast parts of the world to fall off the public health radar screen. Our consistent failure to reach the UN goal of allocating 0.7 percent of GDP to foreign aid is shameful. Canada's limited funding of international health initiatives that are necessary to control epidemic infectious diseases and to assist in maintaining vaccination programs could come home to haunt us: drug resistant tuberculosis, avian influenza, HIV/AIDS, yellow fever, West Nile virus, malaria ... the list of lethal and serious chronic diseases in many parts of the developing world is endless. Genocide and crimes against humanity destroy health infrastructures, lower the disease resistance of large populations, and displace millions to unsanitary refugee camps. Preventing genocide and crimes against humanity are front line tasks in our fight to maintain public health security right here in North America. Our politicians and public health officials need to lead in this area."

– Jay S. Keystone MD MSc (CTM) FRCPC, Tropical Disease Unit,  
Toronto General Hospital, Professor of Medicine, University of Toronto

Although the degree of political influence and organization within different immigrant communities varies, many have emerged as political forces capable of influencing foreign policy through demonstrations, lobbying, campaign donations, and voting in elections.

As Canadian and American cities become more cosmopolitan, politicians are increasingly reaching out to communities with strong cultural, ethnic, and religious identities for electoral and campaign support. Political leaders who pay attention to the concerns of the diaspora communities will reap rewards; politicians who

do not will pay a price at election time. In the years ahead, diaspora groups will play an increasing role in advocacy campaigns designed to mobilize the will to intervene. If governments do not strengthen their genocide prevention policies, advocates will make the political consequences clear. Public office holders who dismiss mass atrocities because they do not fit easily into the traditional national interest "checklist" will be compelled to consider the devastating consequences of inaction, not only for the victims of mass atrocities, but also to maintain electoral support.

## Financial Costs

A belated, reactive approach to mass atrocities costs Canadian and American taxpayers much more money than anticipatory, preventive action would. The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict estimates that the international community spent more than US \$130 billion during the 1990s to respond to crises in a reactive manner. The Commission concluded that costly interventions involving the use of military force, such as in Bosnia and Haiti, could have been averted by preventive action.

Following the end of the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, the U.S. Government mounted a large humanitarian assistance program, which, between 1994 and 1996, cost U.S. taxpayers more than US \$750 million. David Hamburg has pointed out that this figure was almost equal to the U.S. Agency for International Development's (USAID) annual budget for the entire African continent. The fact that the funds were taken from USAID's existing budget suggests that other U.S. development activities had to be downsized, postponed, or abandoned as a result. Washington's delayed reaction to the Rwandan Genocide ultimately undermined U.S. development strategies and cost taxpayers more money in the long-term than would have been the case had the U.S. acted earlier to prevent this tragedy.

The economic costs of intervention are always higher once mass atrocities are underway. More than 15 years after the Rwandan Genocide ended, the spillover

of mass atrocities into the DRC continues to set back the progress of peace and security in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The Mission of the United Nations Organization in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) has the largest annual peacekeeping budget in the world, exceeding US \$1 billion. The United States' share of the MONUC budget was estimated at approximately US \$400 million in 2006-2007. Relief costs are also mounting in Sudan. Since 2004, the United States has allocated US \$3.9 billion for emergency assistance to victims of the crisis in Darfur. While displaced civilians have benefited from this assistance, the root causes of the conflict in Darfur remain unaddressed. Consequently, carnage and suffering continues, and the violence has spilled over into Chad and the Central African Republic.

Recognizing the financial benefits of prevention and early action will not transform policy making overnight within the foreign policy apparatus of the U.S. and Canada, nor will all government officials be swayed by the financial argument in isolation. The real problem is that the Canadian and U.S. government systems have not been designed to make prevention a fundamental component of foreign policy. Leadership within government and pressure from outside the public sector by citizens and NGOs must converge if we are to effect serious changes like creating a genocide prevention center at the heart of government.

## The End of Inaction

By continuing to drag our feet when prevention is required, we risk watching more crises turn into catastrophes. The 21<sup>st</sup> century challenge of protecting innocent civilians from mass atrocities and the consequences of those atrocities requires a determined decision by senior government leaders in Canada and the United States. Leaders must revise outdated policies, develop new approaches, and increase national capacities to intervene effectively and constructively. We ignore these key lessons at our peril.

The case for the prevention of genocide and crimes against humanity once rested largely on moral imperatives and upholding international treaties and conventions. Despite the UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, and the Geneva Convention and its additional Protocols, these arguments have not carried sufficient weight to overwhelm the cold statecraft calculations that traditionally informed the national interest. In today's unstable and interdependent global environment, the traditional national interest approach to foreign policy is no longer effective. The costs of not acting demand serious reflection by the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the United States. If Canada and the U.S. continue to do too little in the face of looming genocides, they will confront more than just their moral failure to save lives; inevitably, they will face long-term security, political, and financial costs.

Canadian and U.S. leaders now have an opportunity to bring genocide prevention into the public policy lexicon. The work ahead may be daunting, but in the following chapters, *W2I* offers leaders a focused set of strategic preventive measures and designated new government offices to address these challenges and provide solutions. And if extra prodding proves necessary, *W2I* outlines the ways we can pressure Canadian and U.S., decision makers to take the lead early in the crucial sphere of preventing mass atrocities.

## THE POLITICIANS HAVE FAILED:

### No Political Party in Washington or Ottawa has a Monopoly on Indifference to Mass Atrocities

Crime	Period	U.S. Leader in Elected Office	Canadian Leader in Elected Office
Armenian Genocide	1915-1918	Democratic President <b>Woodrow Wilson</b>	Conservative Prime Minister <b>Robert Borden</b>
The Holocaust	1938-1945	Democratic President <b>Franklin D. Roosevelt</b>	Liberal Prime Minister <b>William Lyon Mackenzie King</b>
Cambodian Mass Atrocities	1975-1979	Republican President <b>Gerald Ford</b>  Democratic President <b>Jimmy Carter</b>	Liberal Prime Minister <b>Pierre Elliott Trudeau</b>
Bosnian Genocide	1992-1995	Republican President <b>George H. W. Bush</b>  Democratic President <b>William Clinton</b>	Conservative Prime Minister <b>Brian Mulroney</b>  Liberal Prime Minister <b>Jean Chrétien</b>
Rwandan Genocide	1994	Democratic President <b>William Clinton</b>	Liberal Prime Minister <b>Jean Chrétien</b>
Darfur Mass Atrocities	2003-present	Republican President <b>George W. Bush</b>  Democratic President <b>Barack Obama</b>	Liberal Prime Minister <b>Paul Martin</b>  Conservative Prime Minister <b>Stephen Harper</b>





“Intervention is sometimes more demanding than just dropping food aid or sending in white UNHCR land cruisers. If the ‘responsibility to protect’ really meant the responsibility to intervene to save lives only when there is no risk of hard feelings or casualties, then the policy proposal shaped by [Lloyd] Axworthy’s [ICISS] task force should have said so.”

– Canadian Senator Hugh Segal



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## **PART TWO: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

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## 2.1 ENABLING LEADERSHIP

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The people of Canada and the United States need forward-looking, bold leadership. The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada must take the lead on the prevention of mass atrocities. Leadership means setting clear policy priorities at the highest levels of the executive branch of government and sending a clear message to civil servants that preventing the abuse and slaughter of innocent civilians is one of their most important duties. Leadership needs to be enabled at all levels. This means creating a focused set of strategic preventive measures and new government offices responsible for monitoring and reacting to the early warning signs of mass atrocities. Leadership requires the development of review processes enabling the legislative branch to hold senior government leaders accountable for acting promptly and effectively. Enabling leadership means encouraging members of the Canadian Parliament and the U.S. Congress to harness the voting power of their constituents to fight for genocide prevention and keeping the public informed about what the government is doing to prevent future Rwandas.

Small steps can be taken immediately to demonstrate that preventing genocide and other mass atrocities is a national priority. Although genocide occurs in the context of a complex web of factors, Canada and the United States

can develop institutional mechanisms and strategies to become effective leaders in harnessing their preventive and responsive capacity to curb human rights abuses before they escalate into mass atrocities. Strong and persuasive leadership from the executive and legislative branches will reinforce the will to intervene among the wider public.

The adoption and implementation of the following recommendations will send the message that the concept of the national interest now recognizes the devastating and far-reaching consequences of mass atrocities. By making the prevention of mass atrocities a vital foreign policy objective, Canada and the United States can improve their ability to respond swiftly to protect people from the most severe forms of violence, and reduce the transnational security threats that emanate from them.

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### CANADA

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*W2I recommends that the Prime Minister make preventing mass atrocities a national priority for Canada*

We believe that the Prime Minister has a unique opportunity to engage strategically with the Obama presidency by establishing genocide prevention as a shared U.S.-Canadian priority. In

April 2009, U.S. Vice-President Joe Biden identified genocide “not just as a moral imperative” but also as a “national security priority.” Human rights organizations focused on the prevention of mass atrocities enthusiastically welcomed President Obama’s appointment of Samantha Power, a noted journalist and genocide scholar, to the National Security Council. While President Obama has signaled his willingness to engage with Canadian-led ideas like “common security” and *R2P*, the Canadian Prime Minister has yet to promote them in any significant way. We urge the Prime Minister to seize the initiative, demonstrate international leadership, and stand shoulder-to-shoulder on this issue with the President.

We recommend that the Prime Minister make the prevention of mass atrocities a national priority in the next Speech from the Throne. Each year the Canadian Parliament marks its return from the summer recess with the Governor General’s Throne Speech detailing the Prime Minister’s policy priorities for the upcoming year. In the 2007 Throne Speech, Prime Minister Stephen Harper committed his government to increasing trade with Latin America, advancing economic development and public security in Haiti, and maintaining Canadian troops in Afghanistan until 2011. In the 2008 Throne Speech, the Prime Minister named supporting democracy as a foreign policy priority, declaring that, “Security ultimately depends upon a respect for freedom, democracy,

human rights and the rule of law. Where these values are imperiled, the safety and prosperity of all nations are imperiled. Canada must have the capacity and willingness to stand for what is right, and to contribute to a better and safer world.” To advance this goal, in the 2008 Throne Speech, the Prime Minister proposed strengthening the Canadian Forces and creating a program for international development assistance that more explicitly links aid to the promotion of democratic governance.

While these priorities provide a solid foundation for Canadian leadership on the issue of prevention, it is imperative that the government dedicate greater attention to preventing mass atrocities wherever feasible rather than confining its attention to Latin America, Haiti, and Afghanistan. Indeed, limiting the government’s focus reduces its ability to monitor global threats as they arise. Resources must be assigned to construct appropriate long-term strategies to prevent mass atrocities, using Canada’s foreign aid, diplomacy, and military capabilities. By focusing on a broad, proactive approach to monitoring and acting on escalating crises, the government would advance the priorities outlined in its 2007 and 2008 Throne Speeches.

We recommend that in the 2009 Throne Speech, the Prime Minister recognize the intersection of Canada’s national interest with the prevention of mass atrocities and pledge to work with allies to protect civilians around the world

from mass murder. In tandem with the Throne Speech commitment, the Prime Minister should announce the formulation of a new policy statement on the prevention of mass atrocities, outline the rationale for the policy, and set a deadline for its final adoption by Cabinet. The Prime Minister must articulate the importance of phasing out reliance on reactive measures and highlight the need for speedier action and improved coordination throughout government to implement the new proactive policy. To ensure effective results, the Cabinet should appoint a senior interdepartmental coordinator to direct the policy statement consultations and formulation.

A Throne Speech announcement and the development of a national prevention policy require a minimal expenditure of political capital by the Prime Minister, but would reap significant rewards. By implementing this recommendation, the Prime Minister would engage the Canadian electorate on an issue of vital importance. The pragmatic and moral appeal of combating mass atrocities has the potential to garner unifying support across Canada's political, regional, ideological, and religious divides. By making the prevention of mass atrocities a national priority, the government would encourage NGOs, think tanks, and academics to work with the government on devising creative and effective policy solutions.

### *W2I recommends that the Prime Minister appoint an International Security Minister as a senior member of the Cabinet*

As our study on the Canadian response to the 1994 Rwandan Genocide demonstrates, *ad hoc* and ineffectual responses to mass atrocities are often attributed to confusion over the appropriate channels for action within government. When mandates are not clearly articulated—particularly within the public service—no one will assume ownership and take responsibility when it is required. Gareth Evans makes the point well: “If everyone is responsible then no one is responsible.”

The Prime Minister needs to demonstrate strong leadership on the prevention of mass atrocities by creating a new Cabinet-level position, the Minister of International Security, who exercises leadership on the prevention of mass atrocities. As a senior minister with the gravitas and experience to forge a coherent policy between the different levels of government and across departments, the International Security Minister would coordinate defence, diplomacy, and development policy. In addition, the mandate of this portfolio would include surmounting the key institutional challenges within the government on preventing mass atrocities and issuing early warnings based on information drawn from relevant departments and agencies. There are two main reasons why the appointment of the International

Security Minister would be an important step. First, a Cabinet minister normally operates beyond the confines of interdepartmental “turf wars,” which would boost the efficiency of formulating prevention policy. A senior Cabinet minister armed with a mandate from the Prime Minister could punch through the hierarchy of governmental bureaucracy when necessary. Second, the International Security Minister would serve as the high-level official responsible for prevention policy.

International security policy is the link between foreign policy and defence policy. There are, however, major political and institutional challenges to coordinating diplomatic, defence, and development policy. This is why the proposed International Security Minister must be a senior figure within Cabinet who operates with the confidence of the Prime Minister and is armed with a mandate to influence policy options and broker agreements between departments and agencies, particularly the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of National Defence. The government’s Afghanistan Task Force shows what an influential Cabinet minister can do. Although a deputy minister based in the Privy Council Office heads the task force, the Cabinet Committee on Afghanistan manages it. This management structure is effective because an influential Cabinet minister chairs the Cabinet committee and has the authority to act decisively in close consultation with the Prime Minister.

The International Security Minister would present memoranda to Cabinet relevant to genocide prevention, meet with other ministers and senior-level civil servants from relevant departments and agencies, monitor emerging or ongoing crises, and brief the Prime Minister, members of Cabinet, and parliamentary committees on a regular basis.

*W2I recommends that the Government of Canada support and promote public discussion on Canada’s role in preventing mass atrocities*

DFAIT has hosted online discussions, which provide opportunities for NGOs, academics, students, and citizens to offer their points of view. Since 2003, Foreign Affairs has used these discussions to gauge the opinions of Canadians on Canadian sovereignty, nuclear and small arms non-proliferation, the global economy, participation in multilateral institutions, and other issues. DFAIT has followed up these discussions by summarizing them and posting responses for public review.

The Government of Canada would benefit from a national discussion on Canada’s role in preventing mass atrocities. Like the Conservative government today, former Liberal governments recognized the importance of these national dialogues—the National Forum on Foreign Policy

and the Foreign Policy Dialogue are two important examples. The National Forum hosted public discussions across Canada and provided online questionnaires about policy debates, while the Foreign Policy Dialogue measured Canadian public opinion on foreign policy goals after September 11, 2001.

At a time when Canada's role in the world is being debated, it is important that the Canadian government open its foreign policy to online public comment and arrange for a series of public town halls and community dialogues. These public forums should probe the broad question of what should constitute the Canadian national interest, and include a discussion on Canada's role in the prevention of mass atrocities. The initiative would allow the government to explore the public's understanding of Canada's national interest in a more connected, globalized world.

The Government of Canada should inform the public that the rise in intrastate conflict and the targeting of civilians requires changes in Canada's traditional role as a peacekeeping nation. The complexity of intrastate conflict, and the enthusiasm of some state powers for repressing segments of their own populations, ultimately threaten global security—a pillar of Canada's national interest—and cry out for a reassessment of the status quo.

*W2I recommends that the Parliament of Canada convert the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity into a standing joint committee*

Parliamentarians can play a crucial role in the prevention of mass atrocities. The importance of parliamentary leadership cannot be overstated. As national leaders in Ottawa, they carry out the key responsibilities of representing Canadians and holding the government accountable. Their work in Canada's legislature has brought national attention to crimes against humanity, and has led to concrete government action.

Parliamentary committees provide an important platform for Members of Parliament and Senators to operationalize *R2P*. At present, the issue of preventing mass atrocities falls within the remit of several parliamentary committees, which has led to a fragmentation of efforts. For example, the House of Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, and the Senate National Security and Defence Committee study and discuss issues related to genocide prevention. In addition, the House of Commons Subcommittee on International Human Rights engages in important work on mass atrocities, and in early 2009, held hearings on the troubling human rights violations suffered by the Bahá'í community in Iran. For all their good work, not one of these permanent

committees has an exclusive mandate to study the global destabilizing threats of mass atrocities.

The All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity provides a locus for Members of Parliament and Senators to hold non-partisan discussions on this important issue. The all-party group, founded by Senator Roméo Dallaire, is self-mandated to ensure that the Canadian government does all it can to prevent mass atrocities, but it does not have the status, privileges, or authority of a regular parliamentary committee. This means that it has no legal power to summon government officials or expert witnesses, does not have a budget for staff and travel, and lacks the authority to table committee reports.

In order to encourage responsibility and enable leadership within Parliament, we recommend that the Canadian Parliament convert the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide into a standing joint committee composed of Senators and Members of Parliament. This crucial step will give the all-party group the necessary power and resources to effect change on a national level. Although standing joint committees are rare, there is a precedent for this kind of arrangement. The Standing Joint Committee on the Library of Parliament and the Standing Joint Committee for the Scrutiny of Regulations are comprised of Members of Parliament and Senators.

In November 2005, Bill C-81 was introduced in the House of Commons to create a standing joint committee called the National Security Committee of Parliamentarians; it proposed that the committee receive all the necessary powers of a regular parliamentary committee. Under similar terms, Parliament should create a new standing joint committee with the authority to call upon Cabinet ministers and senior officials to testify and the resources necessary to bring Canadian and international experts to Parliament Hill to brief parliamentarians. The committee could conduct hearings on Canada's civilian and military capacity to prevent mass atrocities. Furthermore, it could formulate regular reports on Canada's anti-genocide strategies and monitor the government's steps to implement *R2P*. Reports could be tabled in Parliament advocating increased funding for departments aimed at building preventive capacity. The committee could pass motions calling for preventive or responsive action and refer them to Parliament; it would provide a much-needed forum for civil society organizations, government officials, and parliamentarians to explore how to improve Canada's foreign policies in the sphere of prevention. This new committee would give parliamentarians a permanent mechanism to discuss and advocate a made-in-Canada anti-genocide agenda.

*W2I recommends that parliamentarians exercise individual initiative and use their existing powers and privileges to advocate the implementation of R2P as an international norm and a vital part of Canada's foreign policy*

The parliamentary system allocates significant power and responsibility to Members of Parliament and Senators, but currently there is no substantial national discussion on R2P.

Parliamentary debate, particularly during Question Period, provides an important opportunity for raising the visibility of R2P. Members of Parliament and Senators can actively promote and advocate the prevention of mass atrocities by individually tabling legislation and motions.

Some MPs have demonstrated the individual initiative necessary to bring these issues to the attention of the House of Commons and the government, but much more needs to be done. MP Keith Martin has utilized Question Period to call on the government to operationalize key aspects of R2P. In April 2007, he asked the government to expel Zimbabwe's top diplomatic representative to Canada on the grounds of Zimbabwe's egregious human rights violations. However, more than a few questions in Parliament are necessary to engender lasting and effective change.

Tabling motions in Parliament can be an effective way of drawing attention to R2P. According to the rules of

Parliament, these motions must be debated, generating national discussion of the issue. If a motion passes, it can have a significant impact on building political momentum for action by the government. For example, on May 8, 2007, the Senate passed Senator Hugh Segal's motion to recall the Canadian ambassador from Zimbabwe and sever all diplomatic ties with the country. In another case, in 2008, the House of Commons unanimously agreed to MP Irwin Cotler's motion, designating April 7, the start of the Rwandan Genocide, as an annual "Day of Reflection on the Prevention of Genocide." Similarly, on the initiative of Senator Shirley Maheu, the Senate of Canada passed a motion in 2002 that officially recognized the Armenian Genocide, which laid the foundation for the House of Commons to recognize the genocide with a similar motion in 2004, against the wishes of the Liberal government. In 2006, the Conservative government recognized the House and Senate resolutions commemorating the Armenian Genocide.

Individual MPs and Senators should use their power to introduce private members' bills to bring attention to issues. MP Irwin Cotler, who tabled Bill C-536, the Sudan Accountability Act, in April 2008, showed what can be done. The bill proposed important soft power actions, namely economic divestment by the Canadian government from any Sudanese business operations and investments. The legislation did not



pass into law, but it brought the mass atrocities in Darfur to the attention of the Canadian government, the media, and the public.

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## UNITED STATES

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*W2I recommends that the President of the United States issue an Executive Order establishing the prevention of mass atrocities as a policy priority*

The responsibility for policy change on the prevention of mass atrocities is shared by all levels of the United States Government. However, each level has a unique role to play in initiating, adopting, and implementing this policy change. Efforts to institutionalize genocide prevention can only strengthen the Obama Administration's goal of forging international partnerships to confront global challenges such as genocide. The President and the members of the National Security Council can prioritize foreign policy and security concerns through executive orders, which are normally used to establish a new policy, decree the cessation of an existing policy, or to attract attention to a particular issue. An executive order addressing the prevention of mass atrocities is a crucial step towards mobilizing federal government action. In his next State of the Union address, the President should declare genocide prevention a strategic security priority. The next

National Security Strategy document submitted to Congress by the President should incorporate genocide prevention as a core foreign policy priority, and explicitly articulate this issue's connection to American national interests.



There ought to be an executive order or presidential directive that in general terms makes it clear that it is the policy of the United States to take appropriate steps to prevent genocide. That's no more than the obligation under the Genocide Convention, but once you put it into an executive order and you've infused it into the bureaucracy, it becomes a basis for bureaucratic decision making. Then you've made a difference." – John Shattuck, former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, State Department

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*W2I recommends that the United States Congress create a Caucus for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities*

Due to its legislative and appropriations authority, oversight by Congress is a major factor in executive branch decision making on genocide prevention. The U.S. Congress has been a key advocate of more vigorous action on the Darfur Crisis. The Darfur Peace and Accountability Act of 2005 imposed

economic sanctions on oil revenues paid to the Sudanese government, required the freezing of the perpetrators' assets, and authorized aid to strengthen the African Union Mission in Sudan. In 2006, President George W. Bush followed the adoption of this legislation with an executive order imposing economic sanctions on the perpetrators of mass atrocities in Darfur.

These case-specific initiatives, while positive, have not advanced a broad policy framework for the prevention of mass atrocities. The proposed creation of a Caucus for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities would provide a forum for members of Congress to discuss common legislative objectives to address mass atrocities. The Congressional Human Rights Caucus—established to debate, discuss, and advocate global human rights—has achieved the elevated status of a permanent body under its new title, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission. However, the all-inclusive nature of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission's mandate limits the time it can devote to preventing mass atrocities—which certainly merit specific and sustained attention from Congress. The creation of a Caucus for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities would indicate Congress' commitment to genocide prevention, demonstrate the issue's stand-alone, bipartisan importance, and move the Congress beyond rhetoric to a results-based approach to prevention. The Caucus for the Prevention of Mass

Atrocities could liaise with the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission to monitor and advocate on behalf of targeted civilian populations. The caucus could also consult with policy experts and NGOs to assess contemporary risks of mass atrocities as reported by the Director of National Intelligence.

The Rwandan Genocide of 1994 and the mass atrocities perpetrated in Kosovo in 1999 illuminate the importance of congressional support for executive decision making. Indeed, the executive branch often bases its plans for action on anticipated congressional reactions. During the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, the Clinton administration was convinced that most members of Congress would not support an American military contribution to UNAMIR. With congressional elections scheduled for the autumn of 1994, the executive branch was not prepared to compromise itself politically—particularly after the deaths of 18 American Rangers in Somalia in October 1993.

*W2I recommends that members of the United States Congress take individual initiative and use their existing powers and privileges to advocate for the implementation of R2P*

Resolutions passed by the Senate or the House of Representatives do not always create law, yet they can

establish a congressional position and send a message to decision makers and the American public. Resolutions can strengthen the U.S. Government's will to act by indicating clear congressional support for civilian protection. The Senate has passed several "Sense of the Senate" resolutions that addressed the ongoing Darfur conflict, including Senate Resolution 531 in 2005, which urged President Bush to appoint a Special Presidential Envoy to Sudan. House Resolution 922, tabled by Congressman Frank Wolf in 2006, reiterated the Senate resolution. President Barack Obama has now appointed retired Major General L. Scott Gration as the U.S. special envoy to Sudan. House Resolution 1424, the Darfur Genocide Accountability Act, introduced by Representative Donald Payne in 2005, set a precedent for economic sanctions against the Sudanese government that were later adopted as part of the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act. Other genocide-focused resolutions include Senate Resolution 320, which sought official recognition of the Armenian genocide of 1915. These calls for action signal a growing awareness within Congress that silence on mass atrocities is no longer acceptable. Congressional initiatives are vital to the operationalization of genocide prevention within the U.S. Government.

The House of Representatives' power to authorize spending gives it enormous leverage in the fight against mass atrocities. In March 2006, the House

voted to increase funding to stem the crisis in Darfur, and in April of the same year, House Resolution 5522, the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, provided increased funding for foreign operations, export financing, and other related activities for the 2007 fiscal year. The late Congressman Tom Lantos, along with his colleagues David Obey and Henry Hyde, introduced an amendment to increase humanitarian aid to Darfur by US \$50 million; the bill was adopted in 2008. Further congressional support for humanitarian aid to prevent and respond to crises in Darfur and emerging crises in other regions is urgently needed.



**In the House, we all think that we're the Secretary of State, all 435 of us. We kind of run our own shop, to the frustration of the Administration and the State Department. We really only answer, number one, to our districts, and to the people in Congress. We don't necessarily listen to the Administration. It's not like the Canadian process where the people in power are all of the same party, and everybody for the most part is in lockstep. It's very free, it's very nice, but it's really frustrating to the Administration."** – Tony Hall, former member of the U.S. House of Representatives

Congress as a whole has supported greater funding for the State Department, new hires for USAID, and training for the diplomatic corps to enable greater preventive diplomacy in unstable regions. Recently, NGOs and think tanks have urged Congress to allocate funds to institutionalize genocide prevention within the U.S. Government, and to build a contingency fund to respond to ongoing mass atrocities. Proposals for greater funding allocation seek to shore up the international affairs budget in the long-term, and in the short-term, free up funds needed for urgent crisis response. These endeavors need to be supported and pushed through in both the House and the Senate.

Holding office provides members of Congress with a unique political platform to mobilize the will to intervene. Former Congressman Tony Hall, who chaired the House Select Committee on Hunger, has been dubbed the “conscience of Congress.” His decision to fast to bring attention to the proposed elimination of the Committee on Hunger was taken up by students at 10,000 high schools and 200 universities across the U.S. This resulted in the reinstatement of the Committee on Hunger.

Donald Payne, founder and co-chair of the Sudan Caucus, was arrested for his participation in a protest outside the Sudanese Embassy in 2001, as he drew attention to the practice of slavery and genocide in Sudan. Payne’s leadership brought awareness to

atrocities in Sudan long before the issue was a significant one domestically. In addition to political advocacy, members of Congress must travel to increase their contact with countries at risk. Those who have traveled to witness human suffering first-hand throw a spotlight on the issue at home. There is a growing need to expand congressional action beyond Darfur to other regions.

### *W2I recommends the United States Government foster public discussions on preventing mass atrocities*

The Department of State and the National Security Council should create a public forum for experts, NGOs, the media, and the public to engage in a broad discussion on America’s role in preventing mass atrocities. An increased level of engagement with the American people is an important objective of the Obama Administration; it plans to convene “periodic national broadband town hall meetings to discuss foreign policy.” Officials from the State Department and the National Security Council need to deploy new communications technologies to highlight the prevention of mass atrocities as a foreign policy priority.

Podcasts, webcasts, and online discussion boards can reach a wide spectrum of the American public, heighten public engagement, and improve the government’s understanding of the interests, values, and

concerns that Americans bring to the issue of protecting civilians abroad. Throughout the 2008 election campaign, the Democratic National Committee vigorously promoted Barack Obama’s plan to “bring Americans back into their government,” promising increased transparency and discussion—including the launch of “21<sup>st</sup> century fireside chats.” President Obama followed through on this initiative in November 2008, when he was still President-elect. It is our hope that the President will use his weekly addresses to the nation to begin a national discussion of America’s role in the world, emphasizing that preventing mass atrocities is vital to the American national interest and a responsibility of the U.S. Government.

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## 2.2 ENHANCING COORDINATION

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During the course of our research, numerous experts expressed concern that there are no established governmental processes or mechanisms in Ottawa or Washington designed for preventing and responding to mass atrocities. A first requirement for achieving this end is the improvement of government coordination within the Canadian and American governments. Coordination involves the flow of intelligence across government departments and agencies, and the ability of key decision makers to act decisively on this information in a concerted, timely and coherent manner. Overcoming competing institutional interests and cultures requires enhancing interdepartmental and interagency exchange and exploiting the diverse competencies of each arm of government. Every relevant government agency and department should be authorized to draw upon its human and material assets to bring a broad range of perspectives and options to the discussion table.

Establishing permanent, interdepartmental and interagency bodies designed explicitly to prevent mass atrocities would encourage civil servants to channel intelligence to key decision makers and permit the identification of who is responsible for decisions. These measures would also benefit NGOs and advocacy groups looking for

access points when they need to submit representations aimed at preventing or stopping mass atrocities.

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### CANADA

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*W2I recommends that the Government of Canada create an interdepartmental Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities*

Four years after the Canadian government affirmed its commitment to *R2P* at the 2005 World Summit, there is no interdepartmental body to lead and coordinate prevention policy. To advance the objectives outlined in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document, we recommend that the Canadian government create a Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities to coordinate action. The Coordinating Office should receive a focused mandate from the Cabinet and fall under the responsibility of *W2I*'s proposed International Security Minister.

The Government of Canada customarily establishes temporary interdepartmental coordinating committees, or task forces, comprised of deputy ministers and other senior civil servants, in response to overseas crises. Interdepartmental task forces were established for the 1996

Eastern Zaire crisis and the 1999 Kosovo crisis. Although temporary task forces can provide stopgap responses, the continuation of *ad hoc* reactions to these crises is symptomatic of the government's failure to recognize mass atrocity crimes as a recurring global problem. The government must establish a permanent body fully equipped to handle prevention and response.

Some steps have been taken recently toward a more holistic, coordinated approach. In 2005, the Department of Foreign Affairs established the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) to coordinate government policy on international security and stabilization. However, START's mandate says very little about the prevention of mass atrocities. Furthermore, only one mid-level official within the department works full time on *R2P*, and that individual is situated outside of START. Several experts consulted for this report were unsure of START's coordinating authority and whether it would be an effective mechanism to operationalize *R2P*. Given START's broad mandate—which includes responding to natural disasters and coordinating peacebuilding initiatives—a new interdepartmental office, with an exclusive mandate to prevent mass atrocities, is essential.

The proposed Coordinating Office would provide a permanent point of interdepartmental contact for the prevention of genocide. The office would have the authority to convene

regular interdepartmental meetings, which would include officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of National Defence, Privy Council Office, Canadian International Development Agency, Department of Public Safety, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, and Finance Department as well as any other agencies whose relevance is clear. Meetings would serve as forums to discuss prevention and response strategies and assess whether Canada's policies toward countries at risk are consistent with shifting realities on the ground. The Coordinating Office would also play a key role in briefing the International Security Minister and parliamentary committees.

The Coordinating Office would also serve as a permanent interdepartmental body within the Canadian government to lead the analysis of threats of mass atrocities. It is necessary that the office be supported by a Cabinet decision that initiates government-wide programs and policies for the prevention of mass atrocities. This critical step would demonstrate the Prime Minister's commitment to building a long-term prevention strategy. With a mandate from the Cabinet, the Coordinating Office would coordinate a whole-of-government framework to analyze risks of mass atrocities. The office would work with senior managers in the public service to ensure that effective prevention policies, resources, and leadership on *R2P* pervade all relevant departments and divisions.

The failure to coordinate and adequately share intelligence within the Canadian government partly contributed to its failure to act early in the Rwandan Genocide. Indeed, several individuals in the Canadian government were aware of the deteriorating security situation in Rwanda long before the genocide erupted in April 1994. However, there is no evidence that these warnings were widely circulated across departments; nor was there a process for sharing them with Roméo Dallaire prior to his deployment as Force Commander to UNAMIR in 1993.

“ I think we have to use the resources that we have more effectively. Between CIDA, Defence, and Foreign Affairs, we need to look at how we can more deeply integrate those departments. We need to have a whole approach that looks at all those resources and says, ‘Well, how can we actually get more out of this than we’re getting?’ Frankly, it’s advice not only for ministers, but advice for the country.”

– Bob Rae, Member of Parliament

The Government of Canada has learned from previous experiences. The 1999 Kosovo intervention was conducted in almost complete contrast to the Canadian government’s failed response in Rwanda. Rapid and decisive government action was possible due to the Prime Minister’s

creation of the Kosovo Task Force, mandated to share information and coordinate action across government departments. A newly created Coordinating Office would receive a substantive mandate directly from the Prime Minister and Cabinet and have the authority to lead Canada’s policy implementation of *R2P*.

*W2I recommends that the Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities create standard operating procedures for disseminating intelligence concerning the risks of mass atrocities throughout the whole of government*

It is essential that the Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities create and implement standard operating procedures to ensure that intelligence pertinent to the threat of mass atrocities is communicated vertically and horizontally within government. It is necessary that risk assessment reports swiftly reach key decision makers, including the Prime Minister, the proposed International Security Minister, Minister of National Defence, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of International Cooperation and other relevant senior officials. Standard operating procedures would dictate regular reviews of Canadian policies towards high-risk areas and ensure that decision makers have access to the information necessary for preventive policy actions.



The failure to share information during the Rwandan Genocide underlines the vital need to establish mechanisms that ensure critical information about potential mass atrocities is immediately delivered to the highest levels of government. Throughout the Rwandan Genocide, the Canadian contingent stationed with UNAMIR in Rwanda communicated daily situation reports to National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa. However, it is unclear how widely this information was circulated within government. Although Prime Minister Jean Chrétien was informed of the massacres in early April, Minister of National Defence David Collenette and Secretary of State for External Affairs André Ouellet told us that they were not aware of the scale of the violence in Rwanda until the media reported it in earnest. It is unacceptable that critical intelligence on mass atrocities is not automatically shared with ministers. There must be clearly defined, obligatory procedures to inform the Prime Minister and relevant members of the Cabinet so that the departments can be mobilized into action.

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## UNITED STATES

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*W2I recommends that the President create an Atrocities Prevention Committee to coordinate interagency policy on the prevention of mass atrocities*

The Genocide Prevention Task Force, co-chaired by Madeleine K. Albright and William S. Cohen, released its

policy report, *Preventing Genocide: A Blueprint for U.S. Policymakers*, in December 2008. Based upon sector-specific consultations with American policy experts, the task force formulated specific recommendations that aim to institutionalize genocide prevention at all levels of the United States Government. One of the primary problems revealed by the Genocide Prevention Task Force and the *W2I* Project is the shortage of effective interdepartmental coordination. Based on our findings, *W2I* strongly endorses the Task Force's recommendation for the creation of an Atrocities Prevention Committee.

Although the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, a permanent interagency office within the State Department, currently coordinates peacebuilding initiatives, an equivalent body dedicated to the prevention of mass atrocities does not exist. An Atrocities Prevention Committee (APC) would provide a permanent body for interagency contact and coordination for the prevention of mass atrocities. Led by the White House, the APC would be co-chaired by officials from the National Security Council and the State Department and include representatives from the Departments of Defense, Justice, Treasury, and USAID. The APC would be responsible for reviewing country situations where mass atrocities may be likely, producing risk and early warning assessments, and developing prevention and

response strategies. The committee would regularly brief members of Congress and receive briefings from the Director of National Intelligence. The creation of the APC would initiate the long-term process of institutionalizing prevention policy, and in the short-term would provide a focal point for the coordination of prevention and response actions.

During the Rwandan Genocide in 1994, an *ad hoc* Interagency Working Group was created to coordinate the evacuation of Americans from Kigali. Following the evacuation from Rwanda, and under the leadership of the State Department, this working group sought to sustain UNAMIR. However, the working group's authority was overridden by the NSC-led Peacekeeping Core Group's decision to withdraw UNAMIR. Due to resistance from powerful individuals in the NSC who gave low priority to halting mass atrocities, the working group was unable to mobilize the government to take action. In the interest of preventing these bureaucratic blockages, the Atrocities Prevention Committee should be co-chaired by a senior official from the NSC and an assistant secretary from the State Department. Furthermore, the mandate of the State Department's Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor should be expanded to include genocide prevention. This broader mandate would permit the Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor to serve as a designated

point of interagency contact within the State Department and advocate within government for prevention policy and responsive actions.

*W2I recommends that the National Security Advisor create an Interagency Policy Committee on Preventing Mass Atrocities to coordinate policy across the executive branch and liaise with the Atrocities Prevention Committee*

Interagency Policy Committees (IPCs) have become a key feature of decision making within the U.S. Government. President Barack Obama's first Presidential Policy Directive, PPD-1, outlined the composition of his National Security Council and proposed significant steps to facilitate interagency coordination. PPD-1 instituted IPCs mandated to manage, implement, and coordinate horizontal national security policies. The directive also expanded the NSC to include the Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary for Homeland Security, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and the President's Chief of Staff, as well as other political aides. The directive invites cabinet members to attend every session of the NSC. With this directive, President Obama has created a more inclusive decision making body at the executive level and introduced a more coordinated approach to policy making.

There is a growing need for a specialized Interagency Policy Committee on Preventing Mass Atrocities that can coordinate policy development and implementation at the executive level. The Interagency Policy Committee on Preventing Mass Atrocities would hold meetings convened by the NSC. These meetings would include White House political aides, the Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Justice, and the Administrator of USAID, as well as the deputy assistant secretaries from relevant government agencies. The Interagency Policy Committee on Preventing Mass Atrocities, informed by reports and insight from the Atrocities Prevention Committee, would discuss U.S. policy options toward countries at high risk.

An IPC on Preventing Mass Atrocities would inspire a move away from reactive policies. In order to shift the emphasis to prevention, it is imperative the U.S. Government institutionalize a monthly interdepartmental review of U.S. policy toward countries at risk of mass atrocities. This review needs to investigate the effectiveness of U.S. policy across the State Department, National Security Council, Department of Defense, Department of the Treasury, Department of Justice, and USAID. United States policy toward crisis regions and international peace support operations would be reassessed at the executive level. Under the leadership of the National Security Advisor, the committee would evaluate policy

reviews conducted by the APC to determine whether U.S. policy corresponds to realities on the ground.

The establishment of an IPC for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities would directly address some of the U.S. Government's coordination failures during the Rwandan Genocide. The U.S. did not respond to Rwanda's escalating violence in 1994 partly due to a restrictive peacekeeping policy, embodied in Presidential Decision Directive-25, which deliberately limited American involvement in UN peacekeeping operations following the debacle in Somalia. This policy, which became official a month after the genocide began and two weeks after the U.S. voted for a UN withdrawal from Rwanda, obviated consideration of U.S. action in Rwanda. Senior decision makers held the view that the President did not want deliberations on further peacekeeping missions, explaining why the National Security Council did not hold any principals' meetings on Rwanda. An IPC for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities would close this gap by requiring decisions from the expanded NSC, which now includes committee participation from the President's advisors and the U.S. Ambassador to the UN.

*W2I recommends that the National Security Advisor create standard operating procedures for disseminating intelligence on the risks of genocide and other mass atrocities*

The National Security Advisor should outline clear standard operating procedures for disseminating intelligence on threats of mass atrocities. Intelligence analysis has to reach all relevant branches of government, including the President, cabinet members, and appropriate Department of State bureaus. Warnings of these threats need to be circulated to all members of the APC and the IPC on Preventing Mass Atrocities. Better coordination of information flows within the U.S. Government can redress some of the problems identified in the *W2I* case studies of Rwanda and Kosovo and ensure that all relevant decision makers have access to the same information. A transparent mechanism for information sharing also improves accountability.

While critics devote considerable attention to the need for improved early warning capacity, the case studies of Rwanda and Kosovo illustrate that the government should place greater emphasis on improving internal analysis, and the sharing and channeling of information. During the Rwandan Genocide, Washington received unambiguous intelligence reports of escalating violence and evidence of plans for the targeted slaughter of civilians. The *W2I* Project

has determined that inadequate standard operating procedures on the flow of intelligence, compounded by a lack of in-depth analysis on the risks of genocide, contributed to the government's failure to build and coordinate an effective response in 1994. In contrast, the United States' long-term presence in the Balkans gave it first-hand knowledge of the region's history, politics, and risks of deadly violence under the direction of Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic. The government's early coordination on Kosovo—drawing on intelligence from many departments and agencies—impacted directly on U.S. action to prevent further mass atrocities in Yugoslavia.

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## 2.3 BUILDING CAPACITY

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A state's capacity for the prevention of mass atrocities is comprised of its civilian and military capabilities. A shortage of either civilian or military capacity diminishes the political will for action. Civilian capacity consists of non-military measures available to a government to encourage positive state behavior through diplomacy, economic incentives, or other inducements. Civilian capacity can also thwart negative state behavior through punitive measures such as travel and study bans, economic sanctions, and the severing of diplomatic ties. However, military capacity is also essential. It enables decision makers to complement soft power options with credible threats of hard power actions. In the absence of civilian capacity, governments are only left with two options: doing nothing or applying force hastily. A state possessing soft power has the credibility, legitimacy, and influence to affect international decisions without having to resort to the use of force.



The sad fact is that the U.S. Government and the UN are only able to respond to two to three crises at one given time.”

– Andrew Natsios, former Administrator of USAID

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A majority of experts consulted for this report singled out overburdened civilian and military capacity as a significant

obstacle to Canadian and American leadership on *R2P*. The ongoing military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan have depleted much of Canada and the United States' defense, diplomatic, and development resources, vastly diminishing the political will to engage in humanitarian intervention as defined by *R2P*.

It is shortsighted and ultimately dangerous for Canada and the U.S. to overlook the pressing need for a permanent policy for the prevention of mass atrocities. Robust civilian and military capacities—which would equip them with the necessary resources to prevent mass atrocities and face the pressing global challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century—are essential to the long-term interests of Canada and the United States.

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## CANADA

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*W2I recommends that the Government of Canada establish a Canadian Prevention Corps*

Resources and leadership are needed to operationalize civilian capacity and ensure that Canada contributes to international peace and security. The creation of a multidisciplinary civilian corps focused on preventing mass atrocities would represent a forward-looking shift in Canadian policy.

Canada has a history of leadership on key international initiatives aimed at preventing mass atrocities and indiscriminate loss of civilian lives, including the Ottawa Treaty to Ban Landmines, the *R2P* report, and the Rome Treaty authorizing the creation of the International Criminal Court. While these Canadian-led initiatives are important, it is striking that so little has been done to increase Canada's operational capacity to enable leadership in the prevention of mass atrocities.

“We have this huge ship of state now, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, that doesn't turn fast enough whereas tiny countries like Norway, Finland, and Denmark have little ships adapting or reacting very quickly to crises. We need to have teams of talent available to seize a crisis and make it our own, and have the will and the physical and monetary resources to do it. But you need top people, and where are those? Those top people are usually taken by top jobs and cannot be freed.”

— Raymond Chrétien, former Canadian Ambassador to the U.S.

Canada can make a significant contribution to global security by improving its permanent, standby

capacity for preventive action. A Canadian Prevention Corps would enable the Government of Canada to deploy a team of dedicated civil servants from anywhere in the government. The U.S. has moved in this direction with the creation of a Civilian Response Corps to support stabilization missions. The Canadian Prevention Corps would provide a critical mass of multidisciplinary experts to work with high-level special envoys for preventive diplomacy and fact-finding missions. The corps should be civilian-led and operate under the aegis of the proposed International Security Minister; it should be drawn from the ranks of DFAIT, CIDA, Health Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Finance Canada, Justice Canada, Elections Canada, and the Department of National Defence. These experts would apply to join the corps on a full-time basis from their respective departments. The corps should fall under the responsibility of the proposed Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities.

*W2I recommends that the Government of Canada increase its diplomatic and development presence in fragile countries*

A modernized and robust foreign service is essential to any Canadian effort to operationalize *R2P*. Canada needs to increase the recruitment and training of Foreign Service Officers and

increase its diplomatic and development presence in vulnerable countries. This critical investment would augment Canada's diplomatic capacity to monitor countries for early warning signs such as hate propaganda, suspicious arms shipments, political extremism, exclusivist nationalism and state discrimination on ethnic, religious, political or gender grounds.

Of vital importance is the need to redress the budget reductions that have undermined the foreign service over more than two decades. Indeed, throughout the 1980s the Progressive Conservative government reduced the total number of Foreign Affairs staff by almost 20 percent. Further cuts by the Liberal government in the 1990s slashed the department's budget and total number of staff by 25 percent and 13 percent respectively. Andrew Cohen's 2003 book, *While Canada Slept*, noted that Foreign Service Officers accounted for only 15 percent of DFAIT's staff members. Of the country's 164 diplomatic missions, close to half were staffed by three or fewer Canadians. The severe understaffing of Canada's diplomatic missions—particularly in developing countries—has overburdened Foreign Service Officers with administrative work and compromised their ability to conduct detailed political analysis.

According to current plans, by the 2010-11 fiscal year, DFAIT's budget will be reduced by Can \$639 million.

In contrast, DND's budget will be increased by more than Can \$1.9 billion. The increase in funding allocations for DND needs to be matched across government departments if Canada's diplomatic capacity is to be rejuvenated. We recommend funding to increase the number of diplomats and to develop comprehensive training programs on the broad skills of negotiation and preventive diplomacy.

As a key component of a national prevention strategy, in contrast to existing practices at DFAIT, regional specialization must be encouraged among diplomats. Diplomats need to be trained in country-specific economic, demographic, social, and environmental trends, in addition to language, culture, history, and politics. Moreover, both senior diplomats and new hires should be trained on *R2P*. Very few diplomatic officials in the Canadian government were experts on Somalia in 1992, Rwanda in 1994, or Afghanistan in 2001. This lack of regional expertise was detrimental to Canada's decision making in all three of these Canadian engagements. While Canada continues to develop considerable knowledge on Afghanistan, country-specific expertise needs to be developed as part of a coordinated strategy. Canadian diplomats should specialize before a crisis erupts rather than afterwards.

The Canadian government should pursue an international development policy that ties assistance to the long-term strategic goal of preventing mass atrocities. CIDA should increase and target development assistance to reach countries where the threat of mass atrocities is most likely. Development, if conducted strategically, can alleviate the structural conditions that engender violence and repression. Economic growth and development, when wisely planned, reduces poverty and inequality by generating employment opportunities for youth in vulnerable countries. This, in turn, reduces the recruitment of unemployed and disaffected youth into radical movements or criminal gangs while decreasing large-scale illegal migration.



**If we believe that all humans are human, then how are we going to prove it? It can only be proven through our actions. Through the dollars we are prepared to expend to improve conditions in the Third World, through the time and energy we devote to solving devastating problems, like AIDS, through the lives of our soldiers, which we are prepared to sacrifice for the sake of humanity.”**

— Roméo Dallaire, Lieutenant General (Retired)

Canada’s traditional approach to development is undergoing significant change. On February 23, 2009, CIDA announced that its bilateral assistance program will prioritize 20 recipient countries. The new list of countries reflects a stronger focus on enhancing trade links with Latin America, while African countries, including Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Kenya, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zambia, were removed. This new policy departs from Canada’s traditional emphasis on reducing poverty in the world’s poorest countries. Moreover, *Foreign Policy* magazine’s “Failed States Index” identifies Kenya and Rwanda as countries at risk of new mass atrocities. It is counter-intuitive that CIDA is turning away from Africa at a time when the continent remains acutely vulnerable to the pressures of climate change, rapid demographic growth, poverty, and social inequality—the very conditions that give rise to mass atrocities.

CIDA’s shift toward the Americas also weakens a long-standing principle of Canadian development policy in which the government has traditionally strengthened national unity by devoting attention to the French-speaking world through La Francophonie, an international organization linking francophone nations around the world. Canadian development assistance was often allocated equitably between English and French-speaking countries in Africa and the Caribbean.



CIDA should undertake a thorough reassessment of its aid policy and renew its commitment to the world's most vulnerable countries. Steps should be taken to post a larger number of CIDA officials in fragile countries. A Senate committee, chaired by Senator Hugh Segal, released a report in 2007 titled *Overcoming 40 Years of Failure: A New Road Map for Sub-Saharan Africa*, which noted that 81 percent of CIDA's 1,500 employees are based in Ottawa. The report advocated increasing the number of CIDA personnel outside Canada to augment the effectiveness of Canadian aid and to strengthen regional specialization.

“**At the time [in 1994], we never had an embassy in Burundi, we never had an embassy in Rwanda, and the embassy in Kinshasa had been closed for two years. So our knowledge of the situation on the ground was extremely spotty.**” – Louis Delvoie, former Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence

Placing more CIDA officers overseas should be followed by an increase in aid for the troubled corners of the world. Although the Conservative government has pledged to increase Canada's official development assistance by eight percent per year, as of 2009 the amount pledged remains at 0.32 percent of gross national product,

or Can \$4.8 billion. The government must take steps to meet the target of 0.7 per cent, which the Canadian Parliament endorsed in a vote in June 2005.

***W2I recommends that the Government of Canada continue enhancing the Canadian Forces' capabilities by increasing its force strength and developing operational concepts, doctrine, force structure, and training to support civilian protection***

Over the past two decades, civilians have become a growing target of violence. The shift towards low-technology, high-casualty, intrastate conflict necessitates a reorientation of the Canadian Forces' approach to peace operations. During operations, the Canadian Forces have been repeatedly exposed to, and required to operate within, an environment that has been termed the “three block war.” In this paradigm, a detachment engages in high-intensity combat on one block; on the second block, a detachment interposes itself between two hostile mobs; and on the third block, another detachment from the same unit secures humanitarian space for the delivery of aid and the protection of civilians. While the Canadian Forces have led the way with new and innovative professional development facilities like the Peace Support Training Centre, the Canadian Maneuver Training Centre and simulation centers across the country, the

protection of civilians needs to be institutionalized throughout the military. Canada's military forces must develop the operational concepts, produce doctrine, design a force structure, and conduct extensive and effective training for civilian protection.

Canada has reduced its military capabilities over the past few decades. The government's decision to cut the military's budget in the early 1990s was tied to the belief that the end of the Cold War and a sustained period of international peace would yield a significant "peace dividend." These savings reduced the federal deficit, but the cuts adversely affected military capability. During this time the Canadian Forces were reduced from 85,000 to approximately 55,000 personnel—a cull which, despite years of budgetary surplus, is only now being remedied. Current and past governments have increased defence spending, developed a whole-of-government approach to operations, and authorized and funded additional military personnel.

At present, the Canadian military is overstretched, with many members serving on multiple tours of duty in Afghanistan. This capacity shortfall is especially acute within UN peace-keeping operations. In 1993, Canada contributed more than 3,000 troops to UN peacekeeping missions, but as of 2009, it has deployed a historic low of 65 Canadian soldiers with the UN. Overall, the higher-than-expected attrition of mid-career personnel, who possess

valuable expertise and experience, has prevented the Canadian Forces from expanding. The forces are treading water.

The Canadian Forces must be better prepared to confront the new security challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *W2I* recommends that the Canadian Forces be allocated sufficient resources to recruit and retain more soldiers to strengthen the military overall—and the land forces in particular—so that Canada can make greater contributions to international peace and security. *W2I* welcomes the Conservative government's Canada First Defence Strategy and the pledged 2.7 percent annual increase in spending to enhance investments in personnel, equipment, readiness, and infrastructure.

A shortage of heavy-lift capacity remains a problem for most middle powers. Few can afford the expensive air equipment needed to project power abroad. Canada is currently building its heavy lift capacity. The government has purchased four Boeing C-17 Globemasters to support its operations in Afghanistan. The aircraft can carry a 43,000-kilogram load, or roughly four-to-five times the capacity of the C-130 aircraft that the Canadian government deployed to serve Rwanda in 1994. The acquisition of the Globemasters has afforded Canada a degree of independence. The military no longer has to borrow U.S. C-17s or rent Soviet-era aircraft to transport Canadian Forces personnel and equipment. Although the C-17

Globemasters are serving Canada's soldiers in Afghanistan, they have also delivered aid to countries affected by natural disasters.

In addition, the current government's proposed acquisition of Joint Support Ships; a new fleet of Hercules transport aircraft (considered "the workhorse" of any future mission); a fleet of heavy lift Chinook Helicopters, and new wheeled transport vehicles, will provide the Government of Canada with the capacity to rapidly deploy forces to a mission area by sea, air, or ground. By addressing the size of the military, its rapid deployment capacity, and operational effectiveness in complex and dangerous environments, Canada will ensure it can assume a greater leadership role in civilian protection operations.

**“ I think our biggest difficulty in overseas operations is capability. And if we had more capability, available capability at our fingertips, we would be more likely to intervene...You have to have the ability to get where you want to go, and put enough people on the ground and support them, which in some cases is a lot more difficult than it looks.”** – Ken Calder, former Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence

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## UNITED STATES

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***W2I recommends that the United States Government allocate federal funding to institutionalize the prevention of mass atrocities within civilian agencies***

The U.S. Government currently focuses primarily on conflict response, stabilization, and reconstruction, but does not prioritize preventive measures for mass atrocities and genocide. In the existing U.S. Government organizational framework, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, located in the State Department, is tasked with fostering political stability. While stabilizing political structures is a desirable goal, the mandate of the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization, its Civilian Response Corps, and USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives, should be revised to include the prevention of genocide and broader mass atrocities in their frameworks for action.

Despite a budget of roughly US \$150 million per year since 2006, and additional transfer payments from DoD of US \$100 million for the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization to support its peace-building and reconstruction activities, no funding is provided for monitoring and preventing mass atrocities within this interagency office. New funding should be allocated to USAID, the

Department of Defense, and the Department of State for the purpose of institutionalizing genocide prevention. Allocating funds to prevent mass atrocities will cost less than reactive measures. A portion of government funding ought to be allocated to the proposed activities of the Atrocities Prevention Committee.

*W2I recommends that the United States Government reestablish its soft power capacity by expanding its diplomatic and development corps, and enhancing the field training of USAID and State Department officials*

The ability of the United States to achieve its foreign policy priorities abroad depends upon the legitimacy of its international reputation and the appeal of its foreign policy, political culture, and engagement with the international community. Winning the “hearts and minds” of foreign populations during key historical moments —such as the Second World War and the Cold War—was partly achieved through the appeal of America’s culture, political values, and diplomatic influence. The U.S. acquired soft power, defined by political scientist Joseph S. Nye as the ability to make others want what you want without any explicit exchange or threat taking place. America’s capacity for soft power has dwindled over the years and is in need of reinvigoration. The Center for Strategic and

International Studies, a public policy think tank in Washington DC, has highlighted the erosion of American soft power and proposed a Smart Power Initiative to help the U.S. engage more deeply with the rest of the world and reestablish its internationalist reputation.

Soft power capacity must be enhanced within USAID and the State Department by expanding the number of deployable personnel and improving their training. USAID had a permanent staff of 15,000 in the late 1960s, but in 2009, that number has dwindled to 3,000. Operations in Afghanistan and Iraq have consumed State Department consular staffing; currently one quarter of U.S. foreign embassy posts are vacant. According to the Friends Committee on National Legislation, 94 percent of the U.S. budget for international affairs is allocated to military spending, while only six percent is allocated to diplomacy, early warning, and peacebuilding. The erosion of the diplomatic and development corps reduces the U.S. capacity to prevent future mass atrocities. Unless this trend is reversed, the U.S. will be obliged to use military options more frequently. Addressing this deficiency requires increased funding for new hires. Foreign Service Officers with country-specific skills such as knowledge of foreign languages, cultures, histories, and politics, as well as the broader skills of diplomacy and negotiation need to become the standard for the U.S. diplomatic corps.

Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice first proposed the expansion of the foreign service in 2006 to enable “transformational diplomacy” aimed at the multilateral promotion of stable and responsible states. The proposal’s laudable goals included doubling the number of deployable Foreign Service Officers over a 10-year period, but funding never materialized. The Obama administration has called for reinforcing U.S. diplomacy and the National Security Council has advocated expanding America’s overseas diplomatic presence as a pillar of U.S. foreign policy. The Obama administration has pledged to “stop shuttering consulates and start opening them in difficult corners of the world—particularly in Africa [and] expand our foreign service, and develop our civilian capacity to work alongside the military.” It is necessary that these calls for more funding and personnel be implemented to improve America’s preventive capabilities.

***W2I recommends that the Department of Defense develop and incorporate doctrine and rules of engagement for preventing and responding to mass atrocities and train the U.S. military in civilian protection***

The U.S. military is a key component of the American government’s capacity to prevent mass atrocities. As a prerequisite for accomplishing this task, the Pentagon needs to develop new doctrine and rules of engagement

for protecting civilians from mass atrocities and genocide. Doctrine establishes principles to guide the actions of the military in the pursuit of national objectives. As noted by the Genocide Prevention Task Force, there is no comprehensive doctrine in the American defense establishment for protecting civilians under imminent threat of violence and there are no specific rules of engagement or training that directly addresses civilian protection. Highlighting these deficiencies, a 2006 Henry L. Stimson Center publication, *The Impossible Mandate: Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect, and Modern Peace Operations*, argues: “If genocide occurs, many forces lack a recognizable strategy to act, since mass violence is not assumed to be a major threat for most peacekeeping operations and its prevention lies outside their usual goals.” Traditional peacekeeping strategies no longer apply to the increasingly common need for “coercive protection” activities when combatants make civilians their primary targets. The Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs must recognize these changed circumstances and outline a defense doctrine that includes clear guidelines for civilian protection.

It is imperative that military personnel be trained to implement this new civilian protection doctrine. While training exercises and lesson plans have been produced for stabilization operations, such as the 1998 Stability and Support Operations Training Support Package on the use of force,

specific training for protecting civilians under threat has never been a central focus of these lesson plans. The 2005 Department of Defense Directive on Military Support for Stability, Security, Transition and Reconstruction made providing security and humanitarian assistance for civilian populations a core activity of the U.S. forces; this directive should be expanded to include training the military to deal with mass atrocity scenarios.

“If military leaders don’t see [preventing] genocide, mass atrocities, crimes against humanity as something they may be asked to do, then they’re unlikely to do advanced planning for it. They are also unlikely to train in advance for these scenarios, to build guidelines, doctrine, to do simulations, to have their own knowledge on these issues.” — Victoria Holt, Senior Associate, Future of Peace Operations Program, Henry L. Stimson Center

Traditional peacekeeping and peace-building activities have concentrated heavily on finding political solutions to conflict among warring parties. In traditional UN peacekeeping operations, military contingents play observer and monitoring roles for the implementation of political agreements on ceasefires, demobilization, and power-sharing for newly formed governments, but

humanitarian initiatives aimed at protecting civilians under threat have not been prioritized. Moving towards a forward-leaning and effective civilian protection doctrine will require a conceptual and operational distinction between protecting civilians and traditional peacekeeping activities in order to distinguish among different operational mandates, particularly those concentrating on humanitarian goals versus those pursuing political objectives. These civilian protection training programs must incorporate doctrine and rules of engagement based on lessons from past cases and contemporary ones, such as Darfur and the DRC.

“I think there are two different struggles here, and they are both very important. One is the creation of the instruments. All this rhetoric, in my view, is irrelevant if we don’t have these peacekeeping forces, we don’t have these civilian intervention forces, and we don’t have the capacity to understand and deal with conflicts and help mediate them... The other is to continue to work on the definition, that it is in the American interest to promote the doctrine of the responsibility to protect and to try to expand it, deepen its roots in society.”

— Morton Halperin, former Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy at the National Security Council

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## 2.4 ENSURING KNOWLEDGE


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The failure of civil society and the news media to exert sustained pressure on the Canadian and American governments has been a central obstacle to preventing mass atrocities. As the Rwandan Genocide demonstrated, politicians often cannot be relied upon to act of their own volition. Rather, a vocal and broad-based constituency must emerge with the ability to advocate the case for governmental action in a persuasive manner.

To achieve preventive action, non-state actors must improve their exchange of information and develop enhanced strategies to engage politicians at the executive and legislative levels. Civil society groups and the national news media possess enormous potential to influence decision makers, and play a critical role in spreading public awareness of mass atrocities and their consequences for international security. Individual activists and civil society organizations can generate interest inside and outside government by writing editorials; participating in television, radio and print interviews; sponsoring letter-writing and educational campaigns; and staging public protests.

The term “civil society” denotes individuals, organizations and community groups that are non-state and non-commercial. The diversity of civil society organizations brings to public policy a highly varied body of expertise, knowledge, and field experience from

around the world. Large NGOs such as Oxfam, CARE, Save the Children, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, maintaining offices in Canada, the U.S. and around the globe, are often the most visible civil society groups acting on humanitarian and human rights issues. Some of these NGOs, notably Human Rights Watch and Oxfam, have promoted *R2P* since it was articulated in 2001, and remain committed to making this concept a key doctrine of Canadian and American foreign policy.

 **You have a change in context between now and Rwanda in the sense that there are just more NGOs around the world and foundations around the world with more endowments than we've ever had before, so government is more than ever before one of many stakeholders.”** – Jared Cohen, author of *One Hundred Days of Silence: America and the Rwanda Genocide*

In addition to these high-profile NGOs, grassroots activism by charitable foundations, and faith-based, diaspora, student, senior citizen, and veteran groups, are vital to mobilizing the will to intervene for the prevention of mass atrocities. These groups can engage specific constituencies and mobilize support for the prevention of mass

atrocities in communities across our two nations. National organizations need to increase their cooperation with grassroots groups to mount broad-based campaigns on this vital issue.

The “fourth estate” —the news media— exerts a powerful influence on government. The “CNN effect” is credited with persuading the U.S. and Canadian governments to intervene in Somalia in 1992, Bosnia in 1995, and Eastern Zaire in 1996. Policy experts argue that the process of “policy by media,” or formulating policy in response to media coverage, is a contemporary phenomenon that arises from the government’s sensitivity to media coverage. While news media reports influence policy, the inverse is also true: an absence of reporting on mass atrocities in a particular country removes the pressure on the American and Canadian governments to act on their “responsibility to protect.” The paucity of media coverage devoted to the Rwandan Genocide in April 1994 enabled American and Canadian officials to cite a lack of public pressure as a justification for their weak-willed responses.

Civil society groups and the news media must acknowledge the importance of their power to mobilize local and national constituencies at election time to protect groups threatened by mass atrocities and to help the public understand the connections between their own self-interest and the interests of people living in vulnerable societies overseas. To this end, the following

chapter combines strategic and practical recommendations for Canadian and American civil society groups, as well as news media organizations, to improve their effectiveness in influencing government policy.

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## CIVIL SOCIETY

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*W2I recommends that Canadian and American civil society organizations develop permanent domestic constituencies by forming national coalitions for R2P in Canada and the U.S.*

Broad-based national coalitions are vital to forging the political will needed to prevent mass atrocities. Perhaps more than any issue, preventing genocide and other mass atrocities has the potential to overcome divides between NGOs, faith-based and diaspora groups, while helping them to build bridges with think tanks and academic institutions.

The International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect is forming an international network of NGOs to promote the principles of *R2P* at the United Nations and regional and sub-regional governmental bodies around the world. The International Coalition and one of its partners, the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, both of which are based in New York, are mandated to work around the world to move *R2P* “from principle to practice.” At present,



however, no coalitions exist in Canada or the U.S. to mobilize domestic support and build a broad network of Canadian and American NGOs to lobby our governments for the implementation of *R2P*.

“When I worked in the White House, every time we wanted to do something on an issue like Congo or Rwanda, we’d turn around and hope that citizens across the country were going to push our issue forward, but there was nothing but a big, big silence. So what we need, all over this country, is people who are willing to stand up and make noise whenever there is a situation that demands the United States’ attention and our action.”

– Jon Prendergast, Co-Chair,  
the Enough project

Civil society groups in Canada are leading international voices on human rights issues, but the gap between Canadian rhetoric and action remains significant. A majority of the representatives of civil society groups and academics who attended a meeting convened by the World Federalist Movement in Ottawa in March 2008, agreed on the need to create a domestic network in Canada to normalize the principles of *R2P*. We agree that Canada’s civil society groups should form a domestic network of

organizations and activists to buttress the efforts of the International Coalition on *R2P*. The proposed Canadian Coalition for *R2P* should organize a national advocacy campaign that: engages grassroots organizations and attracts national support; raises awareness among the public and in Parliament; attracts national and local media attention; lobbies the government for prevention policy; and, as necessary, advocates specific actions to prevent or interdict mass atrocities on a case-by-case basis. The coalition’s headquarters should be based in Ottawa to facilitate lobbying of the federal government, while advocating for *R2P* throughout the country.

In their anti-genocide campaigns, civil society groups in America have been more active and successful than their Canadian counterparts. NGOs such as Save Darfur and the Genocide Intervention Network, and think tanks such as the Center for American Progress, the Brookings Institution, the Henry L. Stimson Center and the United States Institute for Peace, are promoting stronger civilian protection policies. These groups have started to build the critical mass necessary to influence U.S. policy. The *W2I* Project proposes the creation of a U.S. Coalition for *R2P*, based in Washington DC, charged with coordinating civil society groups in a united campaign for the prevention of mass atrocities. With a permanent lobby in Washington, the coalition would pressure the executive and legislative branches to develop

effective prevention and response policies. The so-called “prevention pillar”—the most important aspect of *R2P*—would provide a platform for consensus among members of the coalition, leading to a formidable lobbying partnership. The national coalition would also educate the public about *R2P* and monitor ongoing conflicts and regions at risk.

“Increasingly as our own population becomes more diverse ...the old Methodist values handed down by Lester Pearson no longer apply. We had the Trudeau Jesuits and now we’ve got the diasporas, which are much more conservative, clearly much more engaged in issues affecting their homelands. They increasingly play a role, and probably will more and more, as they become more [powerful], not just in demographics, but more politically smart, better off. They’re sophisticated in their roles, and much stronger lobbyists now.”

—Lloyd Axworthy, former

Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Canadian Coalition for *R2P* would be wise to incorporate faith-based organizations, with their long history of activism, into the movement for genocide prevention. Project Ploughshares, a Canadian church-based organization that works on peace and security

issues, has stood at the forefront of *R2P* activism in Canada. However, faith-based groups in Canada have not enjoyed as much success as their sister groups in the United States. Canadian religious groups should draw lessons from the work of American faith-based groups, which have raised domestic awareness of the plight of civilians in Darfur. In July 2008, Save Darfur attracted considerable support from faith-based groups and decision makers from across the U.S. by organizing a weekend of reflection and prayer for the people of Darfur. For their part, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the lobbying arm of the Quakers in the United States, has released a policy document entitled *The Responsibility to Prevent*, which encourages Congress to institutionalize the prevention of mass atrocities.

Coalitions uniting the young and old in the campaign for the prevention of mass atrocities would be especially valuable. Cooperation between Canadian student groups, such as STAND—the student-led division of the Genocide Intervention Network, or Save Darfur—could work side by side with senior citizens’ groups such as the Raging Grannies—an organization of retired Canadian women dedicated to promoting social justice. The potential synergies are great. Politicians pay attention when so many votes are at stake.

In the U.S., the Genocide Intervention Network has been a source of innovative activism, developing “scorecards” that grade members of Congress on

their voting records and their leadership regarding Darfur. The network has also created a hotline that connects callers to the offices of their members of Congress free of charge, providing a convenient channel for voters to communicate their concerns. A similar strategy would be effective in Canada, and should be adopted by Canadian civil society organizations.

The creation of the Canadian and U.S. Coalitions with offices in Ottawa and Washington will help to establish permanent constituencies for *R2P* across North America. Lobbyists for *R2P* in our national capitals will amplify the voices of grass roots community activists by organizing constituent visits with legislators in the capitals and their home districts. National coalition staff would have the funds to commission focus group studies and targeted attitude survey research on *R2P*. The ability to deploy these and many other techniques commonly used by lobbyists will put to work new synergies for preventing genocide and mass atrocity crimes.

*W2I recommends that Canadian and American civil society organizations expand their advocacy by targeting local/municipal and state/provincial levels of government to support R2P*

In recent years, civil society groups have increasingly undertaken creative initiatives targeting politicians at the state and provincial levels to influence

foreign policy. For example, the R2P Coalition, an American NGO, borrowing from the environmental movement, has successfully campaigned for the adoption of resolutions supporting *R2P* principles at the municipal and state levels of government. Pressure by the R2P Coalition moved the Illinois General Assembly, the City of Chicago, and the City of San Francisco to pass resolutions supporting *R2P*. The success of the R2P Coalition demonstrates particularly the value of targeting municipal-level decision makers in urban centers. If well-covered by local and national media, municipal and state-level campaigns bring national attention to *R2P* principles. Large American cities like New York, Boston, Washington, Los Angeles, Miami, and Atlanta are gateways to the world, enlightened and outward looking, but increasingly vulnerable to threats arising from conflict zones that have fallen off the world's radar screens. Shared space means shared destiny—whether it is passengers carrying infectious diseases flying into international airports, criminal activities, terrorism, or economic disruptions—local actions have global consequences and it is in our enlightened self-interest to prevent mass atrocities. *W2I's* message that our governments must develop national strategies for the prevention of genocide and mass atrocity crimes will particularly resonate with the residents of these major cities.

Canada's predominantly international approach to *R2P* advocacy has meant that its NGOs often concentrate on making headway at the UN and the international level. However, Canadian NGOs should not overlook the political importance of municipal councils and provincial legislatures. Civil society groups in Canada should emulate the strategy pursued by their American counterparts, with special emphasis on lobbying municipal governments in large urban centers such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Ottawa, and Calgary. Nor should we neglect lobbying the legislatures of the four largest provinces in Canada—Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, and Alberta—home to 86 percent of Canada's population.

According to the famous advice that late Congressman Tip O'Neill received from his father, "All politics is local." NGOs, civil society, and communities must work in their own backyards. Once municipal councils and provincial/state legislatures speak strongly in favor of making *R2P* a new norm, federal politicians will listen.

*W2I recommends that Canadian and American civil society groups develop strategic, outcome-based proposals geared towards key decision-makers in the government*

Civil society groups must present a practical and coherent message to the decision makers they seek to influence.

Groups must move beyond well-meaning but simplistic calls for the government to "do something" to prevent mass atrocities, and provide precise proposals for action founded on results-based analysis. Civil society groups should assemble experts and activists to develop strategic policy proposals framed as practical policy solutions for politicians and civil servants. A results-based approach can move advocacy beyond drawing attention to an issue to providing political leaders with policy proposals that are attuned to the country's capabilities. Strategic proposals should contain specific assessments of crises and suggest situationally appropriate responses. Proposals should analyze the resources and capabilities at the disposal of the Canadian or U.S. government, outline the long-term and short-term political, security, and financial consequences of action versus inaction, and tailor proposed action strategies accordingly. The old approaches of either putting the burden of coming up with a solution exclusively on the government or calling on the government for actions that are ill-conceived or unrealistic and then walking away from the problem are as ineffective as they are irresponsible.

Advocates must target all levels of government. The executive level is often the most difficult to reach, but the most influential. The executive is critical to generating urgent government responses to breaking crises, while the civil service is vital to affecting long-term prevention policies. It is imperative

that advocates build and sustain long-term relationships with key civil servants, politicians, and members of the executive, so that they may strategically reach all levels of government with their proposals for action. Above all, it is essential that advocates have a firm understanding of the machinery of government and the roles of the relevant decision makers before they propose policy changes to government.

Garnering political support within the United States Congress and the Parliament of Canada is vital for advocates. Appeals to the legislative branch should emphasize widespread public support for preventing mass atrocities. Local town hall meetings with legislators, phone and letter-writing campaigns, petitions, and public opinion polls can demonstrate high levels of public support for prevention policies and responsive actions. Advocates may communicate to legislators that they will lose electoral support if they are on the wrong side of the issue. Sympathetic legislators should propose hearings on proposals for preventive strategies and actions. In Parliament, *W2I*'s proposed standing joint committee for the prevention of genocide, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Development, and the Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Defence provide venues for expert testimony and the presentation of strategic proposals. In Congress, the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission and the proposed

Caucus on the Prevention of Mass Atrocities would be appropriate forums for presenting strategic proposals.

*W2I recommends that Canadian and American civil society groups leverage new information and communications technologies to educate the public and government*

Since the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, the world has undergone a communications revolution. The meteoric rise of communications technologies has enabled a wide range of actors and organizations to communicate critical information efficiently, cheaply and immediately. NGO field workers are in an extraordinary position to use this technology to provide eyewitness information to governments, the news media, and the public.

Governments and media outlets around the world frequently ask Human Rights Watch to provide them with on-the-ground reports from some of the world's most conflict-ridden locations. The Web sites of Human Rights Watch and the International Crisis Group provide useful links to analytical reports, videos and photographs gathered from areas that the mainstream North American news media underreport. Human Rights Watch's ability to collect and disseminate news on human rights violations has been a boon to civil society groups focused on human rights issues, and needs to be duplicated more widely by civil society groups dedicated to the prevention of mass atrocities.

“If the Internet had existed [during Rwanda], what would have been the case? What would have happened if we had been in the state of information technology that we are now? I don’t know, but I think we are in a different world. At that point, the media didn’t do as much as it should’ve. If it were to perform at the same level today, it might not be so serious because there are so many other ways to get information out.”

– Alison Des Forges, former Senior Advisor to the Africa division at Human Rights Watch

Cellular telephone cameras can now upload digital images to the Internet in seconds—just one of the developments that now facilitates communication between NGOs, the news media and the public. Inexpensive camcorders such as “Flip cams” can capture an hour or more of broadcast-quality digital video. Media outlets seeking eyewitness reports are using video and audio gathered by NGOs more than ever before. Seizing the opportunity, NGOs have encouraged the growth of “video advocacy.” Organizations such as WITNESS, an NGO founded by Peter Gabriel and based in New York, now train aid workers and activists to capture visual evidence of human rights violations around the world and upload the footage to the Web to generate public awareness. These innovations have equipped civil society groups with

the ability to communicate directly with the public and attract the attention of the image-centric news media at a relatively low cost. Even if news agencies choose not to use documentation provided by NGOs, the powerful images they convey sometimes prompt the dispatch of reporters to cover the story.

“We’re very aware of the fact that the major networks have cut back substantially in their international coverage. If you are going to be on TV these days, you have to supply the video. If there’s not a video provided there’s not a story. In places like Darfur, early on we physically had to provide the video or we had to drag a TV crew in. The first time we were on ABC it was because we provided the video. The first time we got on CNN, it is because we dragged them in, driving across the border from Chad.”

– Kenneth Roth, Executive Director, Human Rights Watch

As communications technologies become increasingly sophisticated and affordable, online crisis reporting presents another opportunity for civil society to mobilize political will. For example, Ushahidi is an innovative Web site that “crowd-sources crisis information” by publishing citizen “reports” from crisis hotspots, which can be submitted via email or text message. The Web site aggregates the reports as geographic

points in Google Maps. New, user-friendly communications innovations such as YouTube, Yahoo's "You Witness News," Facebook, and Twitter can serve as effective online channels for civil society groups to engage in reporting, advocacy and networking.

*W2I recommends that Canadian and American civil society groups initiate public discussions on the prevention of mass atrocities and related foreign policy issues*

Canada and the United States feature a multitude of non-partisan think tanks and research centers that produce well-researched policy recommendations aimed at governments. These groups can claim successes in raising public and government awareness about mass atrocities, including the attention brought to Darfur. However, NGOs and other civil society groups should expand their efforts to organize public discussions about preventing mass atrocities to build and enlarge genocide prevention constituencies and provide a forum for citizens' questions and concerns.

The Aurea Foundation is a Toronto-based charitable foundation founded by Peter and Melanie Munk that hosts national policy debates in Canada on subjects such as humanitarian intervention and global security. The public can watch the debates live, at selected movie theatres across Canada, or download the videos or transcripts from the

foundation's Web site. These debates have featured high-profile speakers including Richard Holbrooke, Mia Farrow, John Bolton, Charles Krauthammer, Samantha Power, Rick Hillier, and Gareth Evans. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the *Globe and Mail* newspaper cover the debates, encouraging public participation and disseminating the ideas under discussion. Civil society groups should view these debates as a model for public awareness campaigns.

In addition, universities are increasingly playing a role in staging discussions on foreign policy and making them available to the wider public. The Morris Wosk Centre for Dialogue at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver has initiated a three-year project entitled *Canada's World*, with the aim of engaging citizens on Canadian foreign policy. The project's primary activities include roundtable discussions, interviews, regional dialogues, online exchanges and a concluding national discussion. Participants include academics, business leaders, NGOs, public servants, youth organizations and diaspora groups. This initiative illustrates how civil society can be brought together to engage on foreign policy issues.

In another example of creative engagement by civil society organizations, the Center for American Progress' Enough Project funded a tour of Darfur and Northern Uganda, hosted by Enough Project Co-Chair Jon Prendergast and *Hotel Rwanda* star Don Cheadle. The

tour constituted a novel approach to sparking public interest and discussion on Darfur, and achieved an outpouring of interest throughout the United States.

Up-to-date communications technologies are enhancing the ability of civil society groups in the U.S. and Canada to foster national public debate at a relatively low cost. NGOs based in Quebec, such as Oxfam Québec, should be at the forefront of these initiatives to expand and tailor the discussions to francophone audiences. The remarkable shift from the American public's limited engagement during the Rwandan Genocide to today's widespread support for action on Darfur can be largely attributed to the success of public awareness campaigns spearheaded by NGOs. By fostering more civil society-led debates on genocide prevention and linking it to the national interest of Canada and the United States, civil society groups can raise public awareness and mobilize the will to intervene at the highest levels of government.

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## NEWS MEDIA

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*W2I recommends that individual journalists, media owners, and managers in Canada and the United States commit themselves to “the responsibility to report”*

In liberal democracies, the news media play the crucial role of keeping the public informed and holding the government

accountable for its actions. The media relay images and information from across the globe to inform audiences of political developments and humanitarian crises. Domestically, they act as the public's eyes and ears in the halls of power. At their best, the news media report current events and provide in-depth analysis so that the public can make informed choices.

The contemporary news media—including print, television, and radio broadcasting, and online journalism—are in a period of rapid transition. The global economic crisis, coupled with competition from online advertising, has shaken the traditional news business model to its core. Local television news stations and newspapers across Canada and the U.S. are laying off staff and struggling to remain profitable, and major newspapers such as the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* have been forced to publish exclusively online. These changes to the journalism industry are unlikely to imperil the role of professional journalists, who will continue to influence Canadian and American foreign policy through emerging online and non-profit news models.

Individual journalists are extraordinarily important in mobilizing governmental action. The CNN effect suggests that the news media's influence on public opinion, through reports and images, is powerful enough to force the government to re-evaluate its policy priorities. This phenomenon was evident in the U.S. decision to launch Operation



Provide Comfort in 1991—a humanitarian relief operation undertaken in response to widespread media coverage of the suffering of Kurdish refugees in Northern Iraq. The CNN effect has also had demonstrably negative effects on the government’s perception of public attitudes. For example, in October 1993, televised images of clan fighters dragging a U.S. Ranger’s body through the streets of Mogadishu caused President Clinton to announce the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Somalia—a decision now widely viewed as ill-considered.

“If a genocide is going on, does the media have a responsibility to cover it? Does the media have any responsibility to participate in the notion of protection, or is their responsibility to be one more step removed and just cover accurately whether or not anyone is doing it? It’s a fascinating question because you’ll get a lot of journalists who will say there are ethics involved in crossing that line. There are ethics, but there are also a lot of dead bodies.” — Gayle Smith, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress

Tragically, human rights violations on a mass scale are not often deemed newsworthy by the dominant news agencies. During the perpetration of some of the most egregious mass

atrocities in Darfur in 2004 and 2005, U.S. television news networks manifestly failed to fulfill their “responsibility to report.” In 2004, the ABC network committed a mere 18 minutes of airtime to the Darfur conflict, while NBC contributed only five minutes and CBS only three according to a 2004 Tyndall Report. The same three networks in that same year devoted a total of 130 minutes of airtime to Martha Stewart’s trial. According to research by the American Progress Action Fund, in June 2005, the Michael Jackson trial, coverage of a new Tom Cruise film and his relationship with Katie Holmes, and a human-interest story about a “run-away bride,” consumed more airtime than all reporting on the crisis in Darfur on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC combined.

The overall lack of media interest in cases like Darfur should not detract from the exceptional coverage of mass atrocities pursued by individual journalists abroad. CNN’s chief international correspondent, Christiane Amanpour, consistently integrates a human rights “angle” into her reports. In Canada, the *Globe and Mail’s* former Africa correspondent, Stephanie Nolen, raised awareness of the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS and armed conflict on the continent. Nicholas Kristof of the *New York Times* has focused on human rights abuses in Asia and Africa, and is credited with bringing significant public attention to mass atrocity crimes in Darfur. In 2006, Kristof launched an annual essay contest for American university

students in which the winner travels with him to Africa and writes a blog for the *New York Times*. Sadly, however, these exceptions are not the norm.

Journalists can and should exercise individual leadership within their newsrooms to bring attention to mass human rights violations and conditions that lead to mass atrocities. Canadian and American media institutions operate very democratically. It is imperative that senior editors continue to allow reporters considerable freedom and creativity to pursue stories that affect the daily news agenda, and individual journalists must take advantage of this freedom to underscore mass atrocities and politicians' responses at home and abroad.

Canadian and American journalists should pursue innovative opportunities to increase their field-reporting experience in volatile countries and shape a long-term understanding of the world beyond their nation's borders. There are a number of programs designed to help journalists gain this vital international experience. Since 1998, the International Reporting Project at Johns Hopkins University has sent more than 270 journalists to work in over 85 countries. Similarly, the Knight International Journalism Fellowships enable journalists from the U.S. to lead projects in partnership with local media and journalism organizations in countries around the world, where they work to improve media institutions and report on poverty, development and health issues. The Canadian International Development Agency's Journalism

and Development Initiative is another important resource for journalists and organizations to fund foreign reporting projects. Columnists, broadcasters, reporters and editors should avail themselves of these funding opportunities to train or work abroad, particularly in poor or politically volatile countries.

**“Within a period of about seven months I had six national press conferences here with members from across party lines dealing with gross human rights abuses. I even pushed for and got opposition party agreement to work together to form a working group sub-committee to deal with crises such as the Congo [DRC] and Sudan. That was accomplished, a press conference was held, a document released. It was a huge amount of effort, and no attention was paid to it. In the six national press conferences that I had, in the sum total of those, one intern was sent, once.”** – Keith Martin,  
Member of Parliament

As news agencies face shrinking budgets and dwindling foreign bureaus, there is a growing need for these international perspectives in newsrooms. Today, it is common for reporters to cover outbreaks of deadly violence from their desks in Ottawa, Toronto, Washington or New York. Reporters may be rapidly “parachuted” into

regions to cover major international crises, but this hasty approach leads to coverage deficient in continuity and context. Travel and international experience provides journalists with invaluable insight into the conditions giving rise to conflict and mass atrocities around the world, and bolsters the profession's dedication to these issues. Senior editors should recognize the importance of foreign experience to professional development and grant leaves of absence to journalists for foreign travel. Professional associations such as the Canadian Association of Journalists and the American Newspaper Guild should support programs that encourage professional experience in the world's poorest countries, volatile states, or conflict zones.

Journalism students, who constitute the next generation of reporters, also need the means to travel and gain international experience. University administrators and professors of journalism can play an important leadership role by supporting international training programs. The University of California (Berkeley) Graduate School of Journalism offers an International Reporting Program dedicated to sending students abroad. In Canada, Carleton University's Rwanda Initiative provides students with valuable experience reporting inside that country. Allan Thompson, a former journalist with the *Toronto Star* and now a professor at Carleton University—who coined the phrase

“responsibility to report”—has proposed the creation of a Centre for Media and Transitional Societies to expand the university's foreign training programs for journalism students. At the University of British Columbia, a private philanthropist is funding a new program for students and faculty members to practice journalism overseas, covering underreported stories pertaining to development. Such initiatives are vital to the creation of a new generation of journalists who possess the insight and training necessary to recognize, contextualize, and report signs of mass atrocities.

Professional development programs are an important way to build information-sharing networks between journalists across the globe. Faced with dwindling funding for foreign correspondents, news agencies increasingly rely on “local hires” and freelancers to conduct field research and interviews. Journalists who travel abroad and establish journalism networks in fragile states can maintain collaborative relationships with foreign journalists once they return to Canada and the U.S., exchanging raw video and audio, ideas and information via the Internet. To expand coverage, Canadian and American news agencies can provide links to blogs written by journalists in unstable or war-torn countries, and receive up-to-date information relating to risks of mass atrocities. Together, journalists can take a “bottom-up” approach to influencing the content produced by their news organizations,

earning critical support for foreign coverage from senior managers. Recognizing their growing cosmopolitan audiences, as well as the "responsibility to report," media owners and managers must allocate sufficient resources to bring the world beyond their borders into Canadian and American homes.

Today's uneven and often sporadic coverage of human rights abuses must be replaced by sustained coverage, complemented by a real understanding of how complex international issues relate to Canadian and American interests at home and abroad. Journalists who improve their awareness of the world that they live in will produce more balanced, insightful coverage. It is not good enough that journalists cover crises if they report only the failures associated with humanitarian interventions—they must also cover success stories. In the early 1990s, for example, the first phase of the humanitarian intervention in Somalia broke the back of the famine and saved hundred of thousands of lives. This success story was drowned out by the eruption of conflict between international peacekeepers and clan fighters seeking to control food aid deliveries.

Journalists who expand their view of the world will take a greater interest in overseas human rights work and legislative or committee initiatives of Members of Parliament and members of Congress. It is necessary that journalists report on risks of mass atrocity crimes before a major crisis

erupts; they have a crucial role to play in alerting the public and highlighting options for preventive action. Journalists should view themselves as leaders rather than followers, and exercise the "responsibility to report" on the most egregious human rights violations, not just when the house is burning, but when the arsonists are preparing to light the match.

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## 2.5 THE WAY FORWARD

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Fifteen years after the appalling slaughter of the Rwandan Genocide, the Canadian and American governments still have not developed national strategies for the prevention of mass atrocity crimes. Incredibly, policy makers continue to cling to an outdated and traditional view of the national interest that relegates the prevention of atrocities to a second or third tier foreign policy priority.

Mass atrocities threaten security in several ways, including the spread of pandemics. The chaos they create necessitates their prevention as a strategic foreign policy goal serving the national interest. An unfortunate consequence of the focus on countries in the Middle East and Central Asia has been a corresponding failure to consider the international effects of conflicts in Africa. Sustained and well-planned strategies are needed to end the worst conflicts on that continent, particularly in the DRC. The ongoing conflict in eastern DRC has already led to public health crises that have the potential to escalate into epidemics and pandemics. Canada and the U.S. cannot afford to tolerate the human suffering that massively destabilizes African countries simply because they lie beyond our traditional understanding of the national interest.

The lessons learned from the international community's failure to halt the Rwandan Genocide in 1994 and the humanitarian

disasters it triggered in the DRC led to the NATO military intervention in Kosovo in 1999. These two defining cases inaugurated humanitarian intervention as a necessary guarantor of international security and opened a policy window that enabled the formulation of the *Responsibility to Protect*. Unfortunately, budding support for legitimate humanitarian intervention has been undermined since the events of September 11, 2001. Today's military commitments in Iraq and Afghanistan and a coincident global recession have preoccupied decision makers in Ottawa and Washington, further relegating the prevention of mass atrocities to the margins. But competing priorities are no excuse for inaction. In fact, they underscore the vital importance of implementing strategies to mobilize domestic political will for the prevention of mass atrocities to continually push the issue onto leaders' radar screens. This report aims to persuade leaders in Washington and Ottawa that timely and well-informed preventive action can decrease the likelihood and severity of future genocides and mass atrocities. It seeks to help policy makers and concerned citizens recognize warning signs, identify opportunities to change policy, and prevent organized mass murder.

Our research and interviews identify new approaches to mobilizing political will in support of prevention policies in the U.S. and Canada. The *W2I* Project

asserts that the lack of political will is mutable. Mobilizing political will is a continual process that must be cultivated within and outside of government. The four elements identified as essential to creating the political will to prevent genocide and mass atrocities are leadership from the executive and legislative branches of government; interdepartmental coordination within the government; well developed civilian and military capacity; and knowledge sharing and pressure by civil society groups and the news media to raise awareness among decision makers and the public. These foundations need to be strengthened in tandem for the *R2P* principles to be implemented.

There are two central approaches to generating domestic political will to prevent and interdict mass atrocities. The first is political leadership from the highest level of government, as exemplified by the Canadian and U.S. governments in Kosovo in 1999. The second is to take a “bottom-up” approach, whereby grassroots groups, NGOs and activists build a movement for a cause, attracting support from legislators and the media. For this approach to succeed, interest groups must create a permanent constituency and engage the political process. As the *R2P* report states, “Leaders are the ultimate decision makers and they react based on political interests.” Civil society groups focused on preventing mass atrocities can reshape the calculation of the national interest and

the self-interest of politicians by directing their advocacy towards the government, the news media, and elected officials.

If *R2P* is to become a practical reality, civil society groups in the U.S. and Canada must coalesce to form a united “will to intervene” movement. This movement should work tirelessly to educate decision makers and the public to persuade them that mass atrocities are a national security *and* a humanitarian threat. Civil society groups should lobby for the *W2I* recommendations among politicians, civil servants and the public; they should push for the creation of new bodies in the legislative and executive branches of government, where their voices and expertise can inform key decision makers. These vital steps will transform the short-term political calculations that today characterize responses to mass atrocities and begin a long-term policy shift in favor of preventive action. Our national security depends on it.

Driven by the ethical and pragmatic considerations of a middle power, Canadian diplomats have made major contributions to regional and international organizations, including La Francophonie, the G8, the Commonwealth, NATO, and the UN; Canadians have won a fine reputation as mediators and reliable allies. Canada has also been at the forefront of the *R2P* movement, but there remains a significant gap between its rhetoric and the actions it has taken to embed the *R2P* principles within

government policy making. As a non-colonial power with a heterogeneous population, Canada should harness its linguistic, ethnic, and religious diversity to promote the prevention of mass atrocities, and build a unified front with its allies against the most egregious crimes known to man.

The United States is without doubt the most powerful country on the globe; it possesses an unprecedented ability to enable peace and make war. While firmly retaining its commitment to individual freedom and democracy at home, the pendulum of U.S. foreign policy has swung from isolationism to assertive multilateralism to unilateralism and back on more than one occasion. The Bush administration's response to the September 11, 2001 attacks has demonstrated the folly of a unilateral approach to international issues. In a globalized world, isolationism is no longer possible and unilateralism is no longer effective. Recognition of the growing interdependence of national economies, security, and public health underscores the necessity of acting collectively. As the unofficial leader of every major international organization in the world, the priorities of the United States enable or constrain the actions of other states. Although the U.S. has the ability to prevent mass atrocities and intervene in cases of genocide, in contemporary history it has at best assumed an *ad hoc* reactive stance and at worst remained a bystander to mass murder. Now is the time for the U.S. to reverse this failure,

and signal that mass atrocity crimes will not be tolerated by the world's greatest superpower.

By including the prevention of mass atrocities within the national interest, we will move closer to the goal of enshrining prevention as a key foreign policy pillar. Mobilizing the will to intervene in North America is the crucial first step towards building international political will and engaging other countries to collectively prevent future mass atrocities.





“It's one of the two or three things I regret most about my presidency. By the time we thought of doing something about it, it was over... I don't think we could have saved 800,000 lives [in Rwanda], but I think I might have saved 250,000 to 400,000. And that's something I have to live with for the rest of my life.”

– Bill Clinton, former U.S. President, speaking on May 29, 2009 in Toronto



# 3

## **PART THREE: CASE STUDIES of the RWANDAN GENOCIDE and the KOSOVO CRISIS**

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## CASE STUDIES OF THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE AND THE KOSOVO CRISIS

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The case studies that follow analyze how Canadian and U.S. decision makers responded to the 1994 Rwandan Genocide and the 1999 Kosovo crisis. *W2I* studied policy making processes in Washington and Ottawa to locate political pressure points and discover what NGOs, the media, and civil servants must do to generate political will when humanitarian interventions are essential. The lessons learned from our case studies on these defining crises of the 1990s inform the policy recommendations presented in Part Two of this report.

*W2I*'s historical analyses are largely drawn from interviews conducted with American and Canadian politicians, senior government officials, NGO representatives, journalists, and

academics with direct decision making experience or expert knowledge on the crises in Rwanda and Kosovo. We interviewed more than 80 people, some for the first time on record, leading us to a nuanced understanding of the American and Canadian responses. To our great regret, a small number of very senior American and Canadian politicians, political aides, and government officials deeply involved in these crises declined our repeated interview requests. While our case studies contribute to a better understanding of what went on behind the scenes in Washington and Ottawa, some important questions remain unanswered, especially concerning the Rwandan Genocide.

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## 3.1 CANADA'S DECISION MAKING

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### 3.1.1 The Rwandan Genocide

#### Canada and Rwanda before the genocide

By the 1990s, Canada had developed longstanding diplomatic and cultural ties to Rwanda, maintained largely through linguistic, religious, and ideological affinities between French-speaking Rwandans and French Canadians, Quebec nationalists, and the province's Catholic clergy. This relationship can be traced to the 1960s, when members of the Québécois Catholic clergy replaced Rwanda's predominantly Belgian clergy, who had vacated the country in the post-colonial period.<sup>1</sup> Quebec's Father Georges-Henri Lévesque, the founder and first dean of the faculty of social sciences of Laval University, played a leading role in the creation of the National University of Rwanda in 1962, funded by Canadian development aid.<sup>2</sup> Recognizing these ties, in 1992, the University of Quebec awarded Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana an honorary doctorate.

The cultural links between Rwandans and Quebecers account in part for the Canadian government's sustained development assistance in the years

following Rwanda's independence. Canadian development officials viewed Rwanda's Habyarimana regime as more democratic than other African nations. President Habyarimana introduced multiparty democracy and constitutional reforms in 1990 after Canada and other countries tied their aid to democratization and human rights.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the increasing polarization of Rwanda's political culture following the 1990 invasion by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi-led rebel group, Canada exercised its diplomatic relations with Rwanda with a view to improving human rights. Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (PC-Charlevoix, QC) distinguished himself by becoming the only Western leader to address letters directly to President Habyarimana, pressuring the Rwandan President to respect human rights and pursue peace negotiations between Uganda, Rwanda, and the RPF.

In November 1992, Ed Broadbent, head of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development (ICHRDD), visited Rwanda to investigate human rights violations and was horrified by the hate speech emanating from

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<sup>1</sup> J.M. Dykstra, "Rwanda: Tracing the Roots of Genocide," *Peace Magazine* 16, no. 6 (November-December 1997), <http://archive.peacemagazine.org/v13n6p24.htm> (accessed February 20, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Robin S. Gendron, *Towards a Francophone Community: Canada's Relations with France and French Africa, 1945-1968* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2006), 82-98.

<sup>3</sup> Howard Adelman, "Canadian Policy in Rwanda," in *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire*, edited by Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, 185-208 (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999), 189.

local radio broadcasts. Upon his return to Canada, and soon after he initiated the International Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Abuses in Rwanda, Broadbent met with senior officials at the Department of External Affairs to share his observations.<sup>4</sup> The 10-person commission visited Rwanda in January 1993, gathered testimony from Rwandan NGOs, and even dug up the bodies of murdered Tutsis. The day after leaving Rwanda, at a press conference in Brussels, members of the Commission used the term “genocide” to describe what they had seen. In the hope of focusing media attention on the issue, on March 8, 1993, the ICHRDD organized a press conference in Montreal to release the official report of the International Commission.<sup>5</sup> Members of the Commission reported to the media at the press conference that they had “uncovered evidence of war crimes and acts of genocide against the Tutsi ethnic group” and “emphasized the pervasive climate of fear and insecurity in the country,” but these revelations attracted negligible interest in the media.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the absence of an embassy in Rwanda, CIDA officials in Kigali provided information on the security situation in

1993.<sup>7</sup> According to Robert Fowler, former Deputy Minister of the Department of National Defence, Canadian policy makers displayed an awareness and interest in Rwanda to the extent that the demands it placed on Canada’s aid program frustrated some officials.<sup>8</sup> “There is still quite a bit of teeth-gnashing in CIDA about the amount of money that this little Rwanda got out of our Franco-African program, or indeed out of our African program,” Fowler recalls.<sup>9</sup> “It sucked up a lot of the funds available.”<sup>10</sup>

### An ‘allergy’ to African missions

In 1993, the newly elected Liberal Government of Canada responded to a UN request to provide a Force Commander for a mission to Rwanda, and selected Roméo Dallaire to head the observer force that later became the UNAMIR mission. However, this decision did not have the full support of politicians in Ottawa. The “Somalia affair”—involving the torture and murder of a 16-year-old Somali, Shidane Arone, by Canadian peacekeepers in 1993—had poisoned official opinion against engaging in other humanitarian missions in Africa. The

<sup>4</sup> The full title of the Commission was the International Commission of Inquiry into Human Rights Abuses in Rwanda Since October 1<sup>st</sup> 1990.

<sup>5</sup> William A. Schabas, *Genocide in International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ix-xi.

<sup>6</sup> Ed Broadbent, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, February 6, 2009; International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, press release, “The Government and Armed Forces Responsible for the Reign of Terror in Rwanda,” March 8, 1993, <http://www.dd-rd.ca/site/media/index.php?id=554&subsection=news> (accessed May 28, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Adelman in Adelman and Suhrke, 191-196; André Ouellet, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 5, 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Fowler, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, October 24, 2008.

<sup>9</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>10</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

experience in Somalia weighed heavily on many minds in Ottawa, particularly within the leadership of the Canadian Forces.<sup>11</sup> “There was a certain kind of allergy to African development. In other words, we were being wrapped around the axle to such an extent in Somalia that some people had a desire to avoid African issues,” recalls Kenneth Calder, former Assistant Deputy Minister for Policy at DND.<sup>12</sup> “It was just a kind of gut reaction. People were saying, ‘When we deploy to Africa, we have problems more so than elsewhere.’”<sup>13</sup> The fear that Canadians would be dragged into “something awful and ugly,” without support from the Americans or other allies, presented one of the most significant obstacles to expanding Canada’s humanitarian operations.<sup>14</sup>

There was also little interest in Africa in the highest circles of the Government of Canada. One former External Affairs official observes that senior decision makers in the Privy Council Office and External Affairs remained uninvolved in Canada’s Africa policy unless absolutely necessary.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Robert Fowler recalls that, at the height of the Rwandan Genocide, when decision makers were apprised of the mass slaughter, “I was

amazed and appalled to see that no one around me seemed to care a great deal about it.”<sup>16</sup>

Stretched for resources, the Canadian government feared committing Canada to a mission in Rwanda that would further strain its military capacity. The Canadian Forces were already preoccupied with Yugoslavia, having contributed more than 2,000 troops. Louise Fréchette, then Ambassador to the UN, recalls that both military and civilian leaders in Ottawa were reluctant to comply with the UN request to provide a Force Commander for UNAMIR.<sup>17</sup> “I think the Forces considered—as did their political masters—that we already had a lot on our plate, and that we could not take on another big mission and provide a significant contingent.”<sup>18</sup> Secretary of State for External Affairs André Ouellet (Lib-Papineau-Saint-Michel, QC) concurs.<sup>19</sup> Canada’s Department of National Defence took the position that the government had to be “careful not to over-stretch” the Canadian Forces and that “with all of the commitment in Bosnia, it was almost impossible for National Defence to do more.”<sup>20</sup>

According to Kenneth Calder, the request for a Canadian Force Commander stirred up debates between DND and External

<sup>11</sup> Kenneth J. Calder, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 4, 2008; Ouellet, *W2I* interview.

<sup>12</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>13</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>14</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>15</sup> Former Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview, Montreal, QC, November 27, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>17</sup> Louise Fréchette, *W2I* interview, Montreal, QC, May 30, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Fréchette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>19</sup> Ouellet, *W2I* interview.

<sup>20</sup> Ouellet, *W2I* interview; this notion is also supported by Calder, *W2I* interview; and former Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview.

Affairs over the extent of Canada's contribution to UNAMIR.<sup>21</sup> Fowler, a longtime Africanist who had a personal interest in Rwanda, wanted to deploy Canadian troops to support Dallaire's command, but the Canadian Forces, as well as Reid Morden, the Deputy Minister of External Affairs, opposed the deployment. In Morden's view, the fragile security situation in Rwanda demanded a much larger force than Canada could provide. In an act of compromise, the government agreed to deploy Dallaire to UNAMIR without committing additional Canadian troops.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the Canadian government's awareness of the deteriorating situation in Rwanda, which had registered at many levels, the country's political leadership and civil servants on the whole did not appreciate its significance. Incredibly, the DND briefing document that Roméo Dallaire received prior to his deployment in the fall of 1993 was only a few pages long.<sup>23</sup> DND had limited intelligence on Rwanda because it was not a priority and was outside of Canada's traditional zone of interest.<sup>24</sup> There is no evidence that the information Broadbent shared with External Affairs in 1992, which would have been critical to Dallaire's brief, was ever disseminated to DND.

It is also unclear why officials at DND never contacted CIDA officials in Rwanda and Ottawa to gather more information on the country.

### Canada at the UN

In early 1994, signs of instability in Rwanda intensified. In January, Dallaire informed the UN of the presence of a Hutu extremist "shadow force." An informant, Jean-Pierre, had contacted Dallaire to warn him of weapons caches and a plot by high-level Rwandan officials to exterminate the Tutsi population and murder 10 Belgian peacekeepers.<sup>25</sup> It is unclear how widely Dallaire's report was disseminated in Ottawa, although one External Affairs official briefed on the information from Jean-Pierre recalls that it did not seem significant: "I didn't have enough information to suspect genocide at that time."<sup>26</sup>

Between April 6, when the killings began, and April 21, when the UN voted to reduce UNAMIR's forces from 2,500 to 270 personnel, a consensus emerged in New York to abandon Rwanda. The *Interahamwe*, the extremist Hutu youth militia, used a strategy of torturing and killing 10 Belgian peacekeepers on April 7, just as Dallaire's cable had warned, triggering panic in Western capitals and at the UN, and resulting in the evacuation of more than 100 Canadian nationals from Kigali two days later.

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<sup>21</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>22</sup> Similar opposition to providing resources had emerged in 1993 when Dallaire requested additional Canadian officers for his mission. Fowler pushed for the officers, despite resistance from the Canadian Forces. Calder, *W2I* interview; Former Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview; Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview, Montreal, QC, November 26, 2008.

<sup>23</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>24</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>25</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>26</sup> Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview.

The External Affairs Department, in conjunction with the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), immediately formed a task force to deal with the crisis, but it focused on the evacuation of Canadian nationals.<sup>27</sup>

In the wake of evidence of large-scale massacres, the UN Secretary General proposed three options to the Security Council: an immediate and massive reinforcement of UNAMIR involving a Chapter VII mandate and several thousand more troops; a withdrawal of all but a small group under the Force Commander; or complete withdrawal. As Louise Fréchette recalls, some countries advocated a complete pullout, but Canada's position "was at least honorable. We said we did not intend to pull out, and that we were open to a modification to the mandate. All we wanted was that whatever mandate is given to that force, it is commensurate with the resources it has."<sup>28</sup>

Canadian diplomats in New York lobbied the Security Council, UN committees and officials to empower UNAMIR with a Chapter VII "use of force" mandate and any necessary troops, weapons, and other equipment.<sup>29</sup> Although Canada was not a member of the Security Council, as a troop contributor to UNAMIR, it wielded some influence within the decision

making process. Fréchette recalls that, in advance of the April 21 vote, the President of the Security Council called a meeting of UNAMIR-contributing nations, at which Canada conveyed its position favoring a Chapter VII mandate and further resources for the mission.<sup>30</sup>

However, there is no evidence that Canada engaged in Cabinet-level discussions with Security Council members to put forward this position. Nor is there any evidence that Ottawa's political level of government directed Fréchette's lobbying activities. Fréchette appears to have acted more on Ottawa's sufferance than encouragement. According to one former External Affairs official, while the Privy Council Office (PCO) and the PMO did not oppose the position taken by the Canadian mission in New York, they did not advocate this position.<sup>31</sup> If André Ouellet had a position on the future of UNAMIR during this critical period, he did not express it publicly.<sup>32</sup> Ottawa again demonstrated indifference toward Africa when attention to Rwanda was needed most.

Another Foreign Affairs official recalls that the position taken by the Canadian mission to the UN in New York was met with significant opposition, particularly from the United States. As the U.S. lobbied for a withdrawal, the official

<sup>27</sup> Former Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview; Gar Pardy, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 21, 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Fréchette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>29</sup> Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview; former Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>30</sup> Fréchette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>31</sup> Former Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>32</sup> During the month of April 1994, the *Ottawa Citizen*, *Toronto Star*, the *Globe and Mail* and *La Presse* show no record of Ouellet's position toward the UNAMIR mission.

says, Canada found the Americans “very adamant” in their intention not to be “burned a second time after Somalia.”<sup>33</sup> The will necessary for action was not present amongst Canada’s most influential allies. As Maurice Baril, former head of the Military Division of the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in 1994, recalls, “The political will was to get the hell out of there.”<sup>34</sup>

Despite the belief that the genocide could have been stopped during the evacuation with the deployment of just an additional brigade, the Security Council voted unanimously to withdraw all but a token force from Rwanda on April 21.<sup>35</sup> The significance of the vote was not lost on those advocating a stronger mission. “I think there was a general sense of shame everywhere,” Louise Fréchette observes.<sup>36</sup> Although the UN had shown itself to be unwilling to intervene despite the genocide, Canada maintained its position that any action must be carried out through the UN. Following the vote in May, Canada requested a special meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva to discuss the genocide in Rwanda.

In early May, Canada adopted the United States’ position that the Organization of African Unity should

lead an intervention mission in Rwanda with assistance from Western nations. On May 2, Ouellet told reporters in Ottawa that African nations were best positioned to stop the genocide.<sup>37</sup> On May 9, Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien (Lib-Saint Maurice, QC) discussed African intervention in Rwanda with Madeleine Albright, the American Ambassador to the UN, who was in Canada on official business. According to a U.S. Embassy cable, Chrétien informed Albright that Canada was prepared to commit additional troops “if necessary.”<sup>38</sup> The cable informed the State Department that the Canadians were “focusing their efforts on the African group” at a special upcoming session of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, requested by Canada to consider the situation in Rwanda.<sup>39</sup> This is the only evidence of discussions on Rwanda between the Prime Minister and the Clinton administration.

### Government knowledge of mass atrocities

When the genocide began in April, authorities in Ottawa evacuated Canadian International Development Agency officials and other Canadian citizens from Kigali. Before the

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<sup>33</sup> Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>34</sup> Maurice Baril, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, July 24, 2008.

<sup>35</sup> This is in the opinion of Baril, *W2I* Interview.

<sup>36</sup> Fréchette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>37</sup> Allan Thompson, “Africans best for mediation, Ouellet says,” *Toronto Star*, May 3, 1994.

<sup>38</sup> U.S. Embassy (Ottawa) to U.S. Secretary of State, cable, “The Rwanda Crisis and Canada,” May 13, 1994, declassified July 24, 2002, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB117/Rw10.pdf> (accessed February 10, 2009).

<sup>39</sup> U.S. Embassy (Ottawa) to U.S. Secretary of State, cable, “The Rwanda Crisis and Canada,” May 13, 1994, declassified July 24, 2002, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University.



evacuation, the lead CIDA official in Kigali called a Department of External Affairs official in Ottawa to report the massacres. “We had information early,” the External Affairs official recalls, “that the young people were drunk [in the streets], that they had machetes, and were controlling the security situation. If they saw a Tutsi they would cut him into pieces.”<sup>40</sup> Gar Pardy, the Department of External Affairs official in Ottawa who managed the Canadian evacuation in 1994, recalls no ambiguity on whether there was genocide. The only ambiguity, he says, was how the Canadian government would respond.<sup>41</sup>

The question of “who knew what, when,” remains contested among the key Canadian actors of this period. There was a degree of situational ambiguity on the ground in Rwanda, which affected public awareness in Canada as the genocide unfolded during the critical period of April 7-21. Many Canadian NGOs did not know enough about the genocide to communicate warnings to the government. Nancy Gordon, director of advocacy for CARE Canada in 1994, met regularly with Ouellet, his staff, and CIDA officials.<sup>42</sup> Although access to government was not a problem for Gordon, in meetings and conversations, CARE focused on alleviating the refugee

crisis. CARE’s staff had left Rwanda during the evacuation and returned to work in the refugee camps across the border. CARE did not have more information than what was broadcast in the news media. “You can only communicate stuff that you have first-hand knowledge about,” Gordon says. “My sense is that, in Rwanda, we didn’t know. We didn’t know the extent of what was happening within Rwanda itself.”<sup>43</sup>

Some senior government officials say they did not know enough about the scale of the mass atrocities to act early, but that message is not a consistent one. Former National Defence Minister David Collenette (Lib-Don Valley East, ON) says he did not become aware of the genocide until the spread of “horrific press reports.”<sup>44</sup> Ouellet, who was at the time focused on the troubles in Bosnia and Haiti, maintains that he did not understand the scale of the Rwandan atrocities. “In reality, there was a total lack of information about what was happening,” Ouellet recalls.<sup>45</sup> “We didn’t know. It was not something that was in the papers. Therefore, the public didn’t know, and therefore, the politicians didn’t talk about it or didn’t look at it as an urgent priority.”<sup>46</sup> Although the lack of media coverage partially explains why the Canadian public was not calling on the federal

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<sup>40</sup> Foreign Affairs official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>41</sup> Pardy, *W2I* interview.

<sup>42</sup> Nancy Gordon, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 4, 2008.

<sup>43</sup> Gordon, *W2I* interview.

<sup>44</sup> Collenette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>45</sup> André Ouellet, *W2I* interview.

<sup>46</sup> André Ouellet, *W2I* interview.

government to take action, the fact that a Canadian General was in charge of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda drew the attention of decision makers in Ottawa. James Bartleman, the Diplomatic Advisor to Prime Minister Chrétien, writes that the Prime Minister knew of the “tragic situation” when the genocide erupted in April 1994 and that he “followed subsequent developments.”<sup>47</sup>

Senior politicians may not have understood the full scale of the massacres, but the government’s knowledge of the violence should have compelled Ottawa to act. In an open letter to Ouellet on April 19, the Rwandan Association of Canada publicly warned of a “large-scale massacre.”<sup>48</sup> Despite the fact that the UN Security Council resolution of April 21 reduced UNAMIR to a small group of 270 soldiers to serve as an “intermediary” between the parties to the conflict, the resolution acknowledged “large-scale violence in Rwanda, which has resulted in the death of thousands of innocent civilians, including women and children.”<sup>49</sup> As early as April 11, the International Committee of the

Red Cross had estimated the murder of tens of thousands of people, and on April 21, the day of the vote, the Red Cross reported hundreds of thousands killed.<sup>50</sup> The Rwandan Patriotic Front had also publicly identified the atrocities as a genocide on April 13.<sup>51</sup>

Evidence of the genocide had also penetrated Canada’s Parliament. Keith Martin (RP-Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca, BC), a Reform Party MP in 1994, recalls receiving reliable information from *Médecins Sans Frontières*, the Red Cross, and Oxfam. He tried to raise the issue in his party caucus meetings, as well as in Parliament, but felt that no one cared. In caucus he “brought it up many times” but “there was no interest at all to deal with this.”<sup>52</sup> The Canadian media increased its coverage of the genocide in May, by which time Lucien Bouchard (Bloc-Lac Saint Jean, QC), Leader of the Bloc Québécois and the Official Opposition, raised the issue in Parliament.<sup>53</sup> As a result, Rwanda emerged more prominently on the radar screens of senior decision makers in Ottawa. The debate in Parliament

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<sup>47</sup> James Bartleman, *Rollercoaster: My Hectic Years as Jean Chrétien’s Diplomatic Advisor, 1994-1998* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2005), 175.

<sup>48</sup> Jean-Paul Kimonyo, « Rwanda: Ottawa est prié de s’impliquer à fond dans la lutte aux ‘criminels de Kigali,’ » *La Presse*, April 19, 1994.

<sup>49</sup> United Nations, *Security Council Resolution 912*, adopted April 21, 1994, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N94/190/85/PDF/N9419085.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed May 28, 2009).

<sup>50</sup> Jared Cohen, *One Hundred Days of Silence: America and the Rwanda Genocide* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 187-188.

<sup>51</sup> J. Cohen, *One Hundred Days of Silence*, 187.

<sup>52</sup> Keith Martin, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 21, 2008.

<sup>53</sup> Canada, House of Commons Oral Question Period (May 5, 1994), 35<sup>th</sup> Parl. 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., Deb. 64, Journ. 64 (MP Lucien Bouchard, Leader of the Opposition), <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=35&Ses=1&DocId=2332319> (accessed on May 28, 2009).

echoed in Washington on May 10, 1994, when the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa cabled Washington to report that Bouchard had opened Question Period “by condemning the [Government of Canada’s] ‘zigzagging’ and ‘about face’ on Rwanda.”<sup>54</sup> Bouchard had criticized the government for contradicting itself on whether it would support military reinforcements for UNAMIR.<sup>55</sup>

It is clear that the Canadian government was also bombarded with information from Kigali—unsurprising given that a Canadian general, Roméo Dallaire, served as the UNAMIR Force Commander. Starting in November 1993, Canadian Major Brent Beardsley began sending weekly situation reports to the Directorate of Peacekeeping Operations at National Defence Headquarters in Ottawa.<sup>56</sup> When Rwanda’s president was killed after a ground-to-air missile struck his airplane on April 6, Major Beardsley started to communicate daily situation reports to National Defence Headquarters. Most of the reports were communicated orally. They contained much of the same information sent to the UN DPKO in New York.<sup>57</sup> According to protocol, the Department of External Affairs would have received regular

intelligence briefings.<sup>58</sup> DND held a daily Defence Executive Meeting in which senior public servants and senior military personnel discussed intelligence from a wide array of sources, including NATO allies. The agenda focused on Canadian military deployments overseas.<sup>59</sup> It is very likely that Rwanda was discussed in these meetings given the dangers that Dallaire and Beardsley faced in Kigali. It remains unclear whether intelligence on the widespread and systematic murders in Rwanda was deliberately buried by Canadian government officials or inadequately coordinated across departments. What is certain is that at least one key department—DND—received extensive information from Dallaire and Beardsley in Kigali and communicated with the PMO and the PCO about the crisis.

### The news media miss the story

The news media failed to pressure Canada and the international community to increase the capacity of UNAMIR in the lead-up to the April 21 Security Council vote. Media coverage under-represented the magnitude of the Rwandan atrocities and misrepresented

<sup>54</sup> U.S. Embassy (Ottawa) to U.S. Secretary of State, cable, “The Rwanda Crisis and Canada,” May 13, 1994,” declassified July 24, 2002, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB117/Rw10.pdf> (accessed February 10, 2009).

<sup>55</sup> Canada, House of Commons Oral Question Period (May 10, 1994), 35<sup>th</sup> Parl. 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., Deb. 67, Journ. 67 (MP Lucien Bouchard, Leader of the Opposition), <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&Parl1=35&Ses=1&DocId=2332322&File=0> (accessed May 23, 2009).

<sup>56</sup> Roméo Dallaire, *W2I* interview, Montreal, QC, December 5, 2008.

<sup>57</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>58</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>59</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview; Ouellet, *W2I* interview.

them as tribal warfare.<sup>60</sup> Where the media covered the story in detail, it focused on the refugee crisis, not the genocide.<sup>61</sup> Although journalists around the world chased the story by phone from their home countries, the NGOs in Rwanda were too overwhelmed with saving lives to focus on taking phone calls from reporters in Ottawa or Washington. Jeff Sallot, a reporter for the *Globe and Mail*, covered the genocide from Ottawa and recalls the difficulty of trying to conduct phone interviews with people in the field.<sup>62</sup> It was not until he traveled to Rwanda at the end of April that he achieved a real understanding of the genocide.<sup>63</sup> For NGOs trying to draw attention to the genocide from the field, it was very difficult to generate media interest over the phones without photos containing “striking images” for reporters.<sup>64</sup>

An editorial attitude in newsrooms in Toronto and Ottawa treated Africa with the same kind of indifference displayed in the government.<sup>65</sup> However, a Canadian newspaper, the *Globe and Mail*, accepted an op-ed by Roger Winter, the Director of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, which was

the first article to accurately describe the events in Rwanda as systematic and widespread killings—debunking the prevailing description of “tribal warfare.” The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* had rejected the piece from Winter.<sup>66</sup>

### Canada takes limited action

When Jean Chrétien learned of the escalating massacres following the death of the Rwandan president, he authorized the redeployment of two C-130 Hercules transport aircraft to support the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Rwanda. On the recommendation of his Diplomatic Advisor, James Bartleman, Chrétien ordered the planes moved from their base in Northern Italy, where they served Bosnia, to Nairobi to assist the UN mission that was under the command of a Canadian General.<sup>67</sup> The aircraft and its 45-member aircrew arrived the week of April 9 to assist in the evacuation of Canadian expatriates and other foreign nationals. Following the evacuation, the Canadian military aircraft flew regularly between Nairobi and Kigali, transporting people, goods and supplies throughout the genocide.<sup>68</sup> Operating

<sup>60</sup> Alan J. Kuperman, “How the Media Missed the Rwanda Genocide,” 256-7; and Linda Melvern, “Missing the Story: The Media and the Rwanda Genocide,” 198-210; in *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, edited by Allan Thompson (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

<sup>61</sup> Stephen Livingston and Todd Eachus, “Rwanda: U.S. Policy and Television Coverage,” in Adelman and Suhrke, 226-7.

<sup>62</sup> Jeff Sallot, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 14, 2008.

<sup>63</sup> Sallot, *W2I* interview.

<sup>64</sup> John Watson, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, August 7, 2008.

<sup>65</sup> Sallot, *W2I* interview; for similar views at the BBC see Tom Giles, “Media Failure Over Rwanda’s Genocide,” 235-237; also see Lindsey Hilsum, “Reporting Rwanda: the media and the aid agencies,” 167-188; in Thompson, *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*.

<sup>66</sup> Roger Winter, *W2I* interview, Washington, DC, June 10, 2008; Roger Winter, “Power, not tribalism, stokes Rwanda’s slaughter,” *Globe and Mail*, April 14, 1994.

<sup>67</sup> Bartleman, 175.

<sup>68</sup> Bartleman, 175-177; Jacques Castonguay, *Les Casques bleus au Rwanda* (Montreal: L’Harmattan, 1998), 155-156.

under hostile artillery and gunfire, the aircraft became what Dallaire describes as “the lifeline of my mission.”<sup>69</sup>

Feeling pinched by a shortage of resources, DND asked Dallaire if it could redeploy one of the aircraft back to Italy to serve Bosnia, but on more than one occasion the UNAMIR Force Commander warned Ottawa and New York that, “If you cancel those Hercules, I’m pulling out.”<sup>70</sup> At one point, Dallaire informed General Maurice Baril at the UN that the Canadian detachment supporting the C-130s in Nairobi signaled that its mission was too dangerous and that it intended to withdraw. Baril immediately telephoned Louise Fréchette, Canada’s ambassador to the UN, who responded within hours that the C-130s would not be withdrawn and would continue to serve UNAMIR.<sup>71</sup> Dallaire says he felt that the government provided the aircraft because a Canadian general was in charge of the UN mission, “not because of altruism by Canada.”<sup>72</sup>

Once the UN Security Council members belatedly voted to reinforce UNAMIR with a new mandate in mid-May, Maurice Baril began contacting UN member states’ diplomatic offices in New York to secure military support through the DPKO’s standby force

arrangement. “We were working 24 hours a day,” Baril recalls.<sup>73</sup> “One night I think we sent 90 faxes requesting help ... and we were getting negative answers much faster than we ever did before.”<sup>74</sup> Canada offered to contribute a command-and-control force to support the new mission, called UNAMIR II, but it did not materialize because “all of a sudden we had nobody out there. The Canadians were not deploying because they had nobody to command.”<sup>75</sup> By limiting Canada’s contribution to a command-and-control unit for a mission that no one would join, Ottawa effectively bowed out of reinvigorating UNAMIR when it mattered.

Following the approval of UNAMIR II in mid-May 1994, Fowler and Deputy Chief of the Defence Staff Larry Murray traveled to Rwanda on a fact-finding mission, primarily on Fowler’s initiative.<sup>76</sup> Their mission was to advise the Canadian government on the supply needs of UNAMIR II. Upon his return to Ottawa in June, Fowler dispatched a powerful memorandum to National Defence Minister David Collenette, Privy Council Clerk Jocelyne Bourgon, and Chief of Defence Staff John de Chastelain, urging Canada to show international leadership on UNAMIR II and rally participating nations into

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<sup>69</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>70</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>71</sup> Baril, *W2I* interview.

<sup>72</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>73</sup> Baril, *W2I* interview.

<sup>74</sup> Baril, *W2I* interview.

<sup>75</sup> Baril, *W2I* interview.

<sup>76</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

action. The memo estimated that between 400,000 and one million people had been killed, and warned that Canada's reasons for inaction would be "irrelevant to the historians who chronicle the near-elimination of a tribe while the white world's accountants count and foreign policy specialists machinate."<sup>77</sup> Fowler described the horror of the genocide in graphic detail. In a particularly vivid passage, he recounted "the woman in Gysigny [Gisenyi] with a small baby strapped to her back methodically hacking to bits a Tutsi woman and child similarly strapped together."<sup>78</sup> In a damning indictment of international inaction, Fowler suggested that racist worldviews influenced the international failure to respond to the genocide.<sup>79</sup> According to Fowler, although the memo created "reverberations in the system," it failed to substantively affect policy.<sup>80</sup> "It simply made people feel guilty. That's all."<sup>81</sup>

While the international community stalled and refused to provide the reinforcements for UNAMIR II, Prime Minister Chrétien made a last minute push for international assistance for the mission in a private meeting during the Group of 7 talks on the weekend of

July 9-10, 1994. The mission was now one of humanitarian relief since Kigali had fallen to the RPF on July 4, 1994, which ended the genocide. According to Bartleman's memoir, Chrétien attempted to persuade Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi to join an intervention force, but Berlusconi changed the subject. Bartleman writes that, "the leaders of the seven most powerful economic countries on the planet all studiously avoided the issue during their summit."<sup>82</sup>

Ultimately, Canada "dragged its feet" on the deployment of UNAMIR II, and did not follow through on Fowler's recommendations until the genocide had ended.<sup>83</sup> UNAMIR II faced such delays that the Security Council approved the French-led Opération Turquoise in its place on June 22. Canada deployed 40 soldiers on July 15, 160 military personnel less than two weeks later, and another 160 on August 16. Altogether, Canada contributed 450 personnel to the humanitarian mission.<sup>84</sup> Dallaire says that the international community delayed the deployment of UNAMIR II until the end of the genocide because leaders feared potential casualties arising from attacks by the RPF or the Rwandan government forces.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Robert Fowler, Memorandum to the Minister of National Defence David Collenette, June 6, 1994.

<sup>78</sup> Robert Fowler, Memorandum to the Minister of National Defence David Collenette, June 6, 1994.

<sup>79</sup> The memo noted the deployment of 33,000 UN troops to the former Yugoslavia and only 450 UN troops to Rwanda, while "Rwanda has suffered more killed (possibly many times more) in 2 months than Bosnia in 2 years."

<sup>80</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>81</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>82</sup> Bartleman, 176-177.

<sup>83</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>84</sup> Adelman, "Canadian Policy in Rwanda," in Adelman and Suhrke, 199.

<sup>85</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

Canada's limited action in the face of escalating atrocities in Rwanda in 1994 represents a policy failure. Although the response to the Kosovo crisis is not characterized as a complete success, the contrast between Canada's policies toward Rwanda and Kosovo illustrates the consequences of taking a traditional view of the national interest. MP Keith Martin notes how the narrow construction of the national interest gives rise to unfortunate and potentially disastrous perceptions. "Why Kosovo and not Rwanda? We had allies for Kosovo, we didn't have allies for Rwanda. Kosovo was seen as a European problem, with 'European' in parentheses. Rwanda was Africa—that's just what they do."<sup>86</sup>

### 3.1.2 The Kosovo Crisis

#### Canada's involvement in Yugoslavia

In 1992, the Progressive Conservative government had decided that Canada would participate in UN peacekeeping operations in Yugoslavia and, in 1993, the newly elected Liberal government resolved to maintain Canada's international commitments in the Balkans. David Collenette, Canada's Minister of National Defence from 1993 to 1996, recalls the strategic importance of Yugoslavia. "My feeling was that 'Yes, the Cold war is over but I detect signs of a revival of Russian aggression,'"

Collenette says.<sup>87</sup> "You could see what was happening in the intelligence reports because the KGB and that whole crowd were all trying to regroup—which in effect could result in new hostilities and a new Cold War."<sup>88</sup>

Conflict in the former Yugoslavia was a top concern for Canada's European allies. Bill Graham (Lib-Toronto-Centre Rosedale, ON), then a Liberal MP and chair of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, recalls that intervention in Kosovo became a "Canadian imperative" by virtue of European and U.S. interests in the Balkans.<sup>89</sup> The intensification of the conflict in Kosovo was, according to former National Defence Minister Art Eggleton (Lib-York Centre, ON), "happening in NATO's backyard and it affected stability in Europe."<sup>90</sup> Given the length of time and peacekeeping resources NATO had devoted to stabilizing Yugoslavia, intervention was also a matter of protecting the prestige of the alliance. NATO's reputation would have suffered from a failure in Kosovo.<sup>91</sup>

The concern over NATO's credibility informed the drafting of the 1994 Canadian Defence White Paper, which called for a multi-purpose, combat-capable defense force, despite a Can \$1.6-billion cut to DND's budget inflicted by Cabinet between 1994 and

<sup>86</sup> Martin, *W2I* interview.

<sup>87</sup> Collenette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>88</sup> Collenette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>89</sup> Bill Graham, *W2I* interview, Toronto, ON, June 13, 2008.

<sup>90</sup> Art Eggleton, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, June 3, 2008.

<sup>91</sup> Fréchette, *W2I* interview.

1998. “We were calling for new armored personnel carriers, new helicopters, submarines, but really calling for the maintenance of a combat-capable armed force, which is an armed force that is designed to fight and to kill,” Collette recalls.<sup>92</sup> “So I guess you could say I was a hawk.”<sup>93</sup>

In the following years, Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy (Lib-Winnipeg-South Centre, MB) led the development of a foreign policy initiative based on the success of the 1997 campaign to ban anti-personnel landmines. Consequently, Canada focused its foreign policy strategy in 2000 on human security and civilian protection. The new policy prioritized the status of children in war-torn states, the legal and physical protection of civilian populations, the plight of internally displaced persons, the necessity of human rights field operations and humanitarian intervention.<sup>94</sup> Critics argued that this human security policy, with its emphasis on non-military, treaty-based initiatives, was too “soft.” In response, Axworthy would later characterize Canada’s intervention in Kosovo as an example of human security with teeth.

In 1998, Bill Graham, chair of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, visited Macedonia. At the Kosovo

border, he witnessed “kilometers of line-ups of refugees trying to get across, the human tragedy of the stuff.”<sup>95</sup> When he returned to Ottawa, he reported his observations at the governing Liberal party caucus. “I came back to caucus and said, ‘Look, this is a real human tragedy that’s taking place here,’” Graham recalls.<sup>96</sup> “That probably had some influence on the decision that we ultimately made to participate in the NATO activities in Kosovo.”<sup>97</sup> In contrast to the tragedy in Rwanda, Canadian parliamentarians—in this case the chair of a key committee—took a serious interest in Kosovo, traveled to the area, and called on the government to act.

### Canada and a UN mandate for intervention

Following the failure in Somalia and the disaster in Rwanda, the Canadian Forces held the view that UN missions were poorly run, and that Canada should never again send a Canadian general into such a poorly resourced mission.<sup>98</sup> Graham recalls the prevailing opinion in the late 1990s that the “UN doesn’t know how to run a military mission” and that they are “badly run, badly commanded, very spotty.”<sup>99</sup> Participation in a UN mission proffered “a very good chance of a botch-up”; and the forces could suffer casualties and

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<sup>92</sup> Collette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>93</sup> Collette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>94</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Freedom from Fear: Canada’s Foreign Policy for Human Security* (Ottawa, 2000).

<sup>95</sup> Graham, *W2I* interview.

<sup>96</sup> Graham, *W2I* interview.

<sup>97</sup> Graham, *W2I* interview.

<sup>98</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>99</sup> Graham, *W2I* interview.



be held responsible for the mistakes of other parties.<sup>100</sup> Contrarily, the Canadian military associated NATO missions with a higher probability of success, better resources, and U.S. leadership with that country's vast military capabilities.<sup>101</sup>

As Canada contemplated action, David Wright, the Canadian ambassador to NATO in Brussels, communicated regularly with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of National Defence, in addition to the Prime Minister. In conversations and written communications, Wright reported on NATO discussions and provided recommendations, which he copied to DND, Foreign Affairs, the PMO, and the PCO.<sup>102</sup> Normally, Wright says, the ambassador to NATO only reported to Foreign Affairs, but the practice of reporting to the Prime Minister continued throughout the NATO intervention.<sup>103</sup>

According to David Collette's recollection of the earlier crisis in Bosnia, Canada initially refused to support the 1995 "Operation Deliberate Force" NATO air campaign in Serbia, and only agreed to join the operation under significant pressure from the U.S. and

other NATO allies.<sup>104</sup> "We had a problem convincing our own prime minister to agree to NATO bombing—he tended to be very cautious on things like that," comments Collette.<sup>105</sup> "We were the holdouts. André Ouellet and I, along with officials, attended a summit in London, called by the British Prime Minister, John Major, to discuss the situation in Bosnia. There was tough debate and a private discussion with Major, where he really took issue with us."<sup>106</sup> Chrétien did not support the 1995 campaign until the Srebrenica massacre and mounting CIA intelligence about Serb massacres of Kosovars underscored its humanitarian imperatives. "We changed our position and then, I tell you, within a matter of days, NATO started bombing Belgrade, heavily. Pretty quickly, the Serbs got the message," Collette recalls. "That's how the Dayton Accords got underway."<sup>107</sup>

In the summer of 1998, just three years following Operation Deliberate Force, NATO began planning for a Kosovo air campaign and other military contingencies.<sup>108</sup> UN Security Council Resolution 1199, passed on September 23, 1998, demanded a ceasefire between Serbian forces and the KLA, the withdrawal of

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<sup>100</sup> Graham, *W2I* interview.

<sup>101</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>102</sup> David Wright, *W2I* interview, Toronto, ON, September 18, 2008.

<sup>103</sup> Wright, *W2I* interview.

<sup>104</sup> Collette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>105</sup> Collette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>106</sup> Collette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>107</sup> Collette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>108</sup> David Wright, "Kosovo: Inside the North Atlantic Council," *Foreword in New Nato, New Century: Canada, The United States, and the Future of the Atlantic Alliance*, edited by David G. Haglund (Kingston: Queen's University, Centre for International Relations, and the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 2000), viii.

Yugoslav forces, access for humanitarian aid workers, and the return of refugees and displaced persons.<sup>109</sup> The Americans proceeded to launch a concerted diplomatic effort to encourage European states to support NATO action, which they argued was the only way to force Milosevic to respect human rights in Kosovo. This successful lobbying effort resulted in the NATO activation order on October 13, 1998, which authorized a NATO air offensive in the event of Serbian non-compliance with Resolution 1199.<sup>110</sup>

By the autumn, Canadian diplomats, including Robert Fowler, then the ambassador to the UN, began to lobby for a UN Security Council resolution sanctioning a NATO intervention. Canada was then a member of the UN Security Council, and Fowler recalls a meeting with representatives from the U.S., the U.K., France, and the Netherlands, at which he made a case for securing a UN Security Council mandate to authorize NATO's use of force in Kosovo.<sup>111</sup> However, the three representatives at the meeting who belonged to the UN Security Council—Britain, France, and the U.S.—were “appalled” at the potential consequences of Fowler's proposal.<sup>112</sup>

NATO members expected one or more vetoes of a UN resolution, and if the resolution failed, the NATO offensive would be forced to defy the will of the Security Council.<sup>113</sup> Such a move would, in the opinion of the U.S., the U.K., and France, put the credibility of the Security Council into question and “impair” their moral authority to veto future proposals from Russia or China.<sup>114</sup> Ottawa had given Fowler permission to argue this position at the meeting, but when it became apparent that the balance of opinion was against him by four-to-one, “We quickly got the message, and said, “No, no, we won't force it.”<sup>115</sup>

Once it became clear that a UN resolution authorizing a military intervention in Kosovo would not gain Security Council approval, Canada considered calling for a UN General Assembly vote to support the humanitarian intervention, but for a number of reasons decided against it. Paul Heinbecker, Assistant Deputy Minister at the Department of Foreign Affairs, headed the Canadian government's interdepartmental Kosovo task force and reflects that one reason this initiative failed was that a General Assembly vote could not be pushed through fast enough to authorize action

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<sup>109</sup> United Nations Security Council, S/Res/1199, UN Security Council 3930<sup>th</sup> meeting (September 23, 1998), *United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo Online*, <http://www.un.org/peace/kosovo/98sc1199.htm> (Accessed January 10, 2008).

<sup>110</sup> Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *The Kosovo Report: Conflict, International Response, Lessons Learned* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 148.

<sup>111</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>112</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>113</sup> It was expected that Russia would veto the resolution with support from China. Wright in Haglund, xi; Paul Heinbecker, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, October 6, 2008.

<sup>114</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>115</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

in the face of looming atrocities.<sup>116</sup> There was also concern that, because Yugoslavia was a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, Belgrade would leverage its membership to undermine or delay a General Assembly resolution in support of NATO action. In Heinbecker's estimation, "By the time we could have rallied the entire General Assembly to a decision that would have been useful, there would have been a lot of dead Kosovars."<sup>117</sup>

More importantly, the Security Council's Permanent Five strongly discouraged Canada from proposing a General Assembly vote.<sup>118</sup> The U.S., the U.K., and France again expressed concern about undermining the effectiveness of the Security Council veto. "They were all members of the veto club. None of them, not the English, not the French, not the Americans, saw this in their interests and they wanted to protect the sanctity of the veto," Heinbecker says.<sup>119</sup> "I have no doubt that had we been able to bring the issue to a vote in the General Assembly we would have had 150 or 160 favorable votes, maybe more."<sup>120</sup>

In Ottawa, Canadian officials had a short internal discussion about whether to seek a Security Council mandate for

the intervention. Officials recall a debate between Fowler and Heinbecker, in which Fowler argued that NATO did not have enough political and legal authority to intervene without UN authorization.<sup>121</sup> Heinbecker countered that the scale of the humanitarian crisis necessitated outside intervention without advance approval by the UN. Canadian diplomats "chipped in their advice" as internal government cables argued one way or another over two days in February 1999.<sup>122</sup> The debate continued until the Prime Minister made his decision, at which point Heinbecker sent a message to the effect that, "The argument stops here. The policy of the Canadian government is to go into Kosovo. That's it guys."<sup>123</sup>

### Canada's will to intervene

Canadian decision makers generally cite the humanitarian tragedies of Rwanda and Srebrenica as informing the decision to support the Kosovo offensive in 1999.<sup>124</sup> David Wright recalls discussions within NATO that referred specifically to both cases.<sup>125</sup> According to Louise Fréchette, the UN Deputy Secretary General during the Kosovo crisis, Rwanda had engendered a "sense of shame" and, at least in Europe, a "hypersensitivity" toward

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<sup>116</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>117</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>118</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>119</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>120</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>121</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview; former Department of National Defence official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>122</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>123</sup> Former Department of National Defence official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>124</sup> Adelman, *W2I* interview.

<sup>125</sup> David Wright, *W2I* interview, Toronto, ON, September 18, 2008.

mass atrocity crimes.<sup>126</sup> Art Eggleton maintains that his discussions with Major General Roméo Dallaire in the aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide affected his thinking about Kosovo.<sup>127</sup> “[It] certainly made me quite determined that if we were to ever have a situation like that arise again, we should be involved in taking action.”<sup>128</sup> Paul Heinbecker agrees: “The world had really failed. It had failed in Srebrenica, it had failed the Rwandans in a massive way.”<sup>129</sup>

Canadian decision makers were involved in Yugoslavia long enough prior to the Kosovo crisis that they had developed a sound understanding of the strategic importance of prevention. Canada’s previous dealings with the breakup of the Yugoslav Republic had informed the opinion that, in Howard Adelman’s words, “Kosovo’s going to blow unless we deter Serbia.”<sup>130</sup> Canadian decision makers believed deterrence could be accomplished through a short-term offensive.<sup>131</sup> After the failure of talks between Serbian Leader Slobodan Milosevic and the Contact Group in Rambouillet, France, in February 1999, and again in Paris in March, Milosevic’s forces

increased their attacks on Kosovar Albanians.<sup>132</sup> The debate between NATO and humanitarian NGOs regarding the effects of a bombing campaign quickly shifted from why NATO should intervene to how.<sup>133</sup>

In early 1999, Canada and its NATO allies began to frame military options to prevent Milosevic from undertaking an ethnic cleansing campaign in Kosovo. NATO took the stance, according to Art Eggleton, that “we couldn’t allow this to continue.”<sup>134</sup> Eggleton recalls discussions along these lines at the Foreign Affairs committee of NATO and recounts the point at which Axworthy, the Prime Minister and he agreed that military intervention was necessary: “The three of us were the prime people on this file. We were of similar thought, that... we had to have some intervention on it.”<sup>135</sup>

“The ease with which the government made a decision on that one was quite remarkable,” Calder recalls.<sup>136</sup> “There was nobody in Ottawa really that was opposed to the Kosovo operation. It was something which was agreed to by NATO, and all the allies agreed. People had their views of the Serbs

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<sup>126</sup> Fréchette, *W2I* interview.

<sup>127</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>128</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>129</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>130</sup> Adelman, *W2I* interview.

<sup>131</sup> Adelman, *W2I* interview.

<sup>132</sup> The Contact Group was comprised of representatives from the U.S., U.K., France, Italy and Russia.

<sup>133</sup> Wright, *W2I* interview.

<sup>134</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>135</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>136</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

and Kosovars, and so forth, but there was no great controversy on going in.”<sup>137</sup>

DND questioned DFAIT over the “political endgame” of a military intervention because the military did not have any particular interest in “liberating” Kosovo.<sup>138</sup> That was the extent of the disagreement between DFAIT and DND, however. This discussion did not detract from DND’s support for the government decision to participate in the use of force.<sup>139</sup> As Fowler recalls, Foreign Affairs and DND “were absolutely *ad idem*” on the military intervention.<sup>140</sup>

As a member of NATO, there was little room for Canada to oppose the mission. Senior Canadian politicians acted on humanitarian principles, but also wanted Canada to be seen as a reliable international ally, to strengthen alliance solidarity, and to guarantee Canada a seat at the post-conflict negotiations.<sup>141</sup> As the head of the government task force on the offensive, Paul Heinbecker encountered no

opposition from departments or agencies, and reflected that in any case contrarians would have been “run over.”<sup>142</sup> In a speech to the House of Commons in February 1999, Art Eggleton declared that it was “inconceivable” that “Canada would choose not to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with [its] allies.”<sup>143</sup>

In contrast to the Rwandan Genocide, the case of Kosovo illustrates that the Canadian government was prepared to contribute troops despite its thin defense capabilities. With 18 foreign missions scattered across the globe, Eggleton recalls the forces as “stretched.”<sup>144</sup> Maurice Baril, the Chief of the Defence Staff, and the Deputy Minister of National Defence, James Judd, agreed to a maximum Canadian contribution of 1,500 troops, who would participate in Kosovo if ordered.<sup>145</sup> Some Canadian military equipment and personnel were moved to the region during the Rambouillet negotiations.<sup>146</sup> Canada’s contribution demonstrated NATO’s resolve to use military force should diplomacy fail.

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<sup>137</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>138</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>139</sup> Calder, *W2I* interview.

<sup>140</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>141</sup> David Haglund and Allen Sens, “Kosovo and the case of the (not so) free riders: Portugal, Belgium, Canada and Spain,” in *Kosovo and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Albrecht Schnabel and Ramesh Thakur (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000), 181-200.

<sup>142</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>143</sup> Canadian Press, “Canada to commit troops once peace pact is signed, ministers say,” *Globe and Mail*, February 18, 1999.

<sup>144</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>145</sup> Baril, *W2I* interview.

<sup>146</sup> Jeff Sallot and Alan Freeman, “Chretien offers peacekeepers for Kosovo,” *Globe and Mail*, January 30, 1999; Tonda MacCharles, “Eggleton may skip troop debate—Soldiers would go to Kosovo as part of NATO-led force,” *Toronto Star*, February 16, 1999.

Canada went on to contribute 18 CF-18 aircraft to the air campaign, signifying “active participation” within the NATO alliance as opposed to “non-opposition.”<sup>147</sup>

### Broad-based consent

Canadian decision makers joined the intervention in Kosovo out of humanitarian concerns and strategic interests, but the government openly discussed and even publicized its humanitarian aims. In a speech to the House of Commons in February 1999, Art Eggleton referred to the intervention as necessary to defeat “evil.”<sup>148</sup> Eggleton’s remark echoed his earlier warnings that Canada must not repeat the failures in Rwanda and Bosnia.<sup>149</sup>

For his part, Robert Fowler says he felt that the widespread official use of the word “genocide” in connection with Kosovo, after not using the term to describe the mass atrocities in Rwanda, indicated that Canada’s NATO allies attached greater importance to European lives than African lives. “In retrospect, the butcher’s bill in Kosovo wasn’t even a good day of the Rwandan Genocide. Not one day,” Fowler contends.<sup>150</sup>

MP Keith Martin says the contrast between the way the term “genocide” was applied to Kosovo and not applied to Rwanda suggests that an “institutional racism” was at play.<sup>151</sup>

The Government of Canada’s emphasis on the humanitarian aspect of the Kosovo intervention garnered broad support among the Canadian media. Although print media criticized the brief time allocated for parliamentary debate over the intervention, and raised the notion that Canada was blindly following U.S. foreign policy, the Canadian media generally supported the Kosovo campaign.<sup>152</sup> In contrast to Rwanda—where the media failed to pressure the Canadian government to act—Canada and its NATO allies rallied the news media’s support for the Kosovo offensive with rhetoric and communications strategies. In turn, politicians acknowledge the power of the media to rally public support for their policies. “The impact of the media is practically decisive in these things,” observes Paul Heinbecker.<sup>153</sup> Art Eggleton notes that “the horror stories, and some of the photographs and film footage of some of the atrocities getting into the media” significantly influenced public

<sup>147</sup> Pierre Martin and Michel Fortmann, “Public Opinion and Canadian Internationalism After the Cold War: Obstacle, Partner, or Scapegoat?” paper prepared for the conference “Challenges to Governance: Military Interventions Abroad and Consensus at Home” (Montreal: IRPP, 2000), 25, <http://www.irpp.org/events/archive/nov00/fortman.pdf> (accessed April 29, 2009).

<sup>148</sup> Allan Thompson, “Canada could send 800 troops to Kosovo; Peacekeeping mission debated in Commons,” *Toronto Star*, February 18, 1999.

<sup>149</sup> Sallot and Freeman, “Chrétien offers peacekeepers for Kosovo.”

<sup>150</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview; also see Mick Hume, “Nazifying the Serbs, from Bosnia to Kosovo,” in *Degraded Capabilliy: The Media and the Kosovo Crisis*, edited by Philip Hammond and Edward S. Herman (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 70-78.

<sup>151</sup> Martin, *W2I* interview.

<sup>152</sup> Martin and Fortmann, 29

<sup>153</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

opinion in favor of the intervention.<sup>154</sup> The Canadian government held a daily press briefing on the intervention, normally joined by Foreign Affairs Minister Axworthy and National Defence Minister Eggleton. “This was important to counter the criticisms coming via the Yugoslav media or from critics inside Canada, especially the Serbian-Canadian community,” Axworthy notes.<sup>155</sup>

Broad support for the mission took hold within all Canadian political parties. In Robert Fowler’s opinion, “the politicians derived great comfort out of the fact of NATO solidarity.”<sup>156</sup> The operation received cross-partisan support within the Canadian Parliament, as both the Reform Party, as the Official Opposition, and the Bloc Québécois, supported the intervention. Eggleton says he does not recall “any dissent whatsoever on taking action” among the major political parties.<sup>157</sup> On day three of the NATO intervention, which began on March 24 1999, New Democratic Party MP Svend Robinson (NDP-Burnaby-Douglas, BC) supported it, arguing that his party accepted “that the use of military force as a last resort is sometimes necessary in grave humanitarian crises, when all efforts at diplomatic settlement have failed.”<sup>158</sup>

Even in late April, parliamentary leaders hesitated to oppose the mission. The criticism of the government that did surface was generally muted or came from outside Parliament. Lawyers within the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs questioned the legality of taking action without UN approval. MP David Price (PC-Compton-Stanstead, QC) questioned whether Canada had broken international law, engaging militarily without a UN mandate or declaration of war.<sup>159</sup> One of the most significant critics, David Orchard, a high-profile member of the Progressive Conservative Party, labeled the NATO air campaign illegal and immoral.<sup>160</sup> Some MPs, such as Progressive Conservative Leader Joe Clark (PC-Rocky Mountain, AB), charged that the Prime Minister consulted only with Axworthy and Eggleton in the decision making process, to the exclusion of Parliament.<sup>161</sup>

Church groups and members of the Serbian diaspora led the most vociferous opposition to Canada’s involvement in the NATO intervention. The Serb diaspora in Canada held regular rallies throughout the offensive, and unsuccessfully lobbied politicians, including Transport Minister David Collenette.<sup>162</sup> Axworthy recalls opposition from church groups

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<sup>154</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>155</sup> Lloyd Axworthy, “*Navigating a New World: Canada’s Global Future*,” (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 185.

<sup>156</sup> Fowler, *W2I* interview.

<sup>157</sup> Eggleton, *W2I* interview.

<sup>158</sup> Marcus Gee and Graham Fraser, “Defiant Serbs refuse to back down; the debate: who gave Canadians ‘a license to kill’?” *Globe and Mail*, March 27, 1999.

<sup>159</sup> Marcus and Fraser, “Defiant Serbs refuse to back down; the debate: who gave Canadians ‘a license to kill’?”

<sup>160</sup> Rosemary Speirs, “Keeping quiet about Kosovo,” *Toronto Star*, April 20, 1999.

<sup>161</sup> Speirs, “Keeping quiet about Kosovo.”

<sup>162</sup> Jennifer Quinn, “Local Serbs pray for their families—‘I’m crying for my people,’ tearful woman says,” *Toronto Star*, March 29, 1999; Collenette, *W2I* interview.

concerned about the possibility of civilian casualties, but says he remained steadfast in supporting the Kosovo operation.<sup>163</sup>

NGOs and civil society groups opposed to the humanitarian intervention risked attracting negative publicity. In reaction to the launch of the air offensive, Janet Somerville, General Secretary at the Canadian Council of Churches, told the *Globe and Mail* that, “I’ve been aching about this all day .... I think we are right to say, ‘This is our business.’ But I very much regret the decision to undertake an air war, and I do think we should be working through the UN, not NATO.”<sup>164</sup> John Watson, CEO of Care Canada, who personally supported the intervention, says the NGO community was divided over the legitimacy of the offensive.<sup>165</sup> Oxfam International did not take a position on the issue because it was too divisive for its members. Oxfam Belgium and Oxfam Canada opposed the intervention.<sup>166</sup> Humanitarian and human rights NGOs resisted advocating the use of force and grappled once more with a fundamental challenge that had played a part in their failure during the genocide in Rwanda.

### 3.1.3 Conclusion

In 1994, Canada fell short of its responsibilities as a strong middle power and did not exploit its status

as an ally of the United States, France, and the U.K., to lobby within the UNSC for collective action to halt the Rwandan Genocide. In the early, critical period leading up to the April 21 Security Council vote, Secretary of State Ouellet and the Prime Minister could have forcefully and publicly called on the U.S. and other members of the Security Council to support an expanded UNAMIR force with a mandate that could have halted the atrocities. To the contrary, the Canadian case study indicates that the U.S. position to draw down UNAMIR’s forces influenced the views of Canada’s decision makers. As Baril remarks, “When the Americans are not implicated, or showing support for the intervention, it gives other countries the excuse not to get involved.”<sup>167</sup>

The Canadian decision to join the Kosovo intervention represented a convergence of humanitarian and traditional national interests. The experience of the Rwanda and Srebrenica genocides vested decision makers with a sense of urgency and an awareness of the speed with which civilians could become victims of mass murder. In addition to humanitarian concerns, Canada followed American and NATO leadership. Bolstered by American military resources, the Canadian military did not concern itself about equipment shortages or fears of

<sup>163</sup> Lloyd Axworthy, *W2I* interview, Winnipeg, MB, July 21, 2008.

<sup>164</sup> Gee and Fraser, “Defiant Serbs refuse to back down.”

<sup>165</sup> Watson, *W2I* interview.

<sup>166</sup> Mark Fried, *W2I* interview, Ottawa, ON, November 20, 2008.

<sup>167</sup> Baril, *W2I* interview.



failure that, in the view of the Canadian Forces, had characterized previous UN peacekeeping missions.

Canada's response to Rwanda also demonstrated the importance of government coordination for mounting an effective response. Decision makers regarded Rwanda, and much of Africa, with a stunning institutional indifference, which contributed to a lack of information sharing within the government about the genocide. Although officials within the Canadian government were aware of the deteriorating security in the Great Lakes region as early as the late 1980s, intelligence sharing on Rwanda between DND, the Department of External Affairs, and CIDA, was abysmal. Immediately following the death of Rwandan President Habyarimana, there is significant evidence that the executive branch of the Government of Canada received accurate intelligence from the killing grounds, despite claims to the contrary.

Whereas the government "stove-piped" the flow of information about Rwanda, it widely disseminated information about developments in Kosovo that led to Canada's intervention. We are unable to state definitively what intelligence was disseminated throughout the government and what high-level discussions took place about Canada's policy options in April 1994 because two key advisers to Prime Minister Chrétien, and the former Prime Minister himself, declined to be interviewed for this

project. The Government of Canada harbors an unacceptable, pervasive culture of government secrecy that was evident in our pursuit of Canadian interview subjects and government records. It was a challenge to meet with key public officials, many of whom are now retired, for frank discussions about decisions taken 15 years ago. Similarly, fulfilling requests under the Access to Information Act often takes a year or more. We regret that we have experienced what Canada's Information Commissioner, Robert Marleau, identifies as a problem relating to Canada's centralized, executive control: it grips the whole of Canadian government in a "communications stranglehold."<sup>168</sup>

Although the government failed to coordinate information flows about Rwanda, it streamlined the sharing of information for the Kosovo intervention. Although Canada's response to the Kosovo crisis was *ad hoc*, as it had been in earlier crises, the government's view of the national interest incorporated the prevention of crimes against humanity. Canada, like its NATO allies, had been involved in Yugoslavia for nearly a decade, and had established strong intelligence channels providing significant information from the region. Executive power decisively determined Canada's support for the NATO operation, and the Prime Minister became directly involved. As a result, the sharing of information across government buttressed decisive action.

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<sup>168</sup> Marleau quoted in, Cynthia Münster, "Access czar says information control 'alarming' in government," *The Hill Times*, February 2, 2009.

The leaders we interviewed cited a shortage of civilian and military capacity as a central constraint shaping Canada's response to Rwanda. They also mentioned that Canada faced competing international crises in the Balkans and Haiti and that the External Affairs Department suffered significant budget cuts during the 1980s. Canada did not have an embassy in Rwanda to report early warning signals of mass atrocities. But there is no evidence that Canadian officials considered using the resources that remained at their disposal. They did not consider forceful actions such as severing diplomatic relations with Rwanda or threatening to revoke thousands of Rwandan student visas, predominantly awarded to the children of the Hutu elite who were studying in Quebec.

A lack of domestic political pressure allowed Canadian officials to remain unengaged toward Rwanda. As a consequence of the news media's failure in April to accurately depict the scale and political motivation behind the genocide, top Canadian decision makers felt no need to respond forcefully during the critical period before the April 21 Security Council vote. Nor did Canadian NGOs unite to lobby the Canadian government to halt the genocide.

Public support for the Kosovo intervention, on the other hand, grew out of a decision taken within

the Prime Minister's Office. The government believed that it required support from the news media, especially the dissemination of powerful images of human suffering, to sustain public support for an intervention. The role of the news media and civil society groups became critical to garnering public support for the air offensive. Reticence, as opposed to outright support or opposition, characterized the voices of NGOs regarding the intervention. Although the Serbian diaspora and some church groups opposed the bombing campaign, the majority of dissenters focused on how best to intervene as opposed to whether to intervene.

The case study of Canada's policies toward Rwanda and Kosovo illustrates the importance of building domestic political will in Canada to enable key foreign policy decisions independent of the U.S. Given Canada's bilingual character, international reputation for advocating human rights, and role as an influential middle power, Canada has a critical role to play in rallying like-minded nations to act. Canada must muster the will to prevent or interdict mass atrocities—particularly when such actions fall outside the security or economic interests of the United States.

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## 3.2 UNITED STATES' DECISION MAKING

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### 3.2.1 The Rwandan Genocide The Arusha Peace Process

Throughout the 13-month Arusha Peace Process that began in June 1992, the United States contributed crucial “technical understanding” and dispute negotiation skills, which it had applied to conflicts in Mozambique, Ethiopia-Eritrea, Namibia, and Angola.<sup>169</sup> In addition, the U.S. provided strategic guidance on the creation of a coalition government with power sharing arrangements and amalgamated militaries, working to reduce the possibility of renewed civil war. One senior U.S. Government source comments, “We did not have massive strategic interests there. We had to be very deferential towards those who had a much larger interest, including the French, and we maintained that position in Arusha. We did not intend to assert ourselves as leading the process.”<sup>170</sup> Rwanda was perceived as lacking exploitable resources and as being peripheral to the geostrategic interests of the United States. Consequently, the diplomatic interactions between the two countries were cordial, and chiefly characterized by a donor-recipient

foreign aid relationship.<sup>171</sup> According to Herman J. “Hank” Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa from 1989 to 1993, Angola and Ethiopia were higher priorities for the U.S. than Rwanda and the Arusha peace process.<sup>172</sup>

UNAMIR was deployed in October 1993 to monitor the implementation of the Arusha Accords.<sup>173</sup> U.S. support of the mission was largely contingent upon the mission’s limited Chapter VI mandate. The decision to support UNAMIR was also influenced by pressure from Rwandan Tutsis and Hutus, who traveled to major U.S. cities to lobby for the UN operation.<sup>174</sup> Many American officials viewed the initial peacekeeping mission in Rwanda as an “easy win” that would quell the voices calling for reduced U.S. involvement in UN peacekeeping operations.<sup>175</sup> Although violence continued in Rwanda, provoked particularly over the composition of the transitional government, the United States Government continued to assert the sustainability of the Arusha Accords. When Hank Cohen left his position in the State Department in April 1993, a few months before the signing of the Arusha Accords, he

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<sup>169</sup> Anonymous Senior Government Official, *W2I* interview, Washington, DC, August 1, 2008.

<sup>170</sup> Anonymous Senior Government Official, *W2I* interview.

<sup>171</sup> J. Cohen, 17-19.

<sup>172</sup> Herman J. Cohen, *W2I* interview, Washington, DC, December 23, 2008.

<sup>173</sup> UNAMIR I was created by Resolution 872 and approved by the UNSC on January 6, 1993 for a Chapter VI operation with a 2,548 troop allotment but only began deployment in October, 1993.

<sup>174</sup> Prudence Bushnell, *W2I* interview, Washington, DC, June 10, 2008.

<sup>175</sup> Jared Cohen, *W2I* interview, Washington, DC, November 24, 2008.

recalls that he “did not consider a non-implementation scenario.”<sup>176</sup> As the new Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, George Moose recalls, the State Department focused on the negotiations.<sup>177</sup> Prudence Bushnell, former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Africa, confirms U.S. emphasis on the political peace process.<sup>178</sup> “The United States put a huge policy emphasis on the Arusha Accords,” explains Bushnell.<sup>179</sup> “There is a profound lesson for me as a policy maker, in that you can be so focused on your policy that you have blinders on.”<sup>180</sup>

In its blind commitment to the peace process, the State Department overstated the capacity of the Arusha process to stop the violence. “We saw the peace accords ... as the ultimate solution to ongoing tensions and to assassinations, to killings that we knew were ongoing,” Bushnell reflects.<sup>181</sup> In Washington and Kigali, U.S. officials did not consider genocide as a possibility. David Rawson, U.S. Ambassador to Rwanda, explains, “I felt that, if we went back into open conflict, it would be a very brutal and bloody kind of thing. I didn’t think necessarily there would be genocide.”<sup>182</sup>

## Somalia and PDD-25

In 1992, the U.S.-led, UN-sanctioned mission in Somalia, the United Task Force, succeeded in providing humanitarian aid to hundreds of thousands of Somali civilians and broke the back of the famine. However, the more ambitious, second-phase UN-led operation, UNOSOM II, which included the goal of “nation-building,” isolated key clan leaders and led to the killing of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers. In retaliation, the U.S. attempted to apprehend warlord Mohamed Farrah Aideed, which ended with the tragic deaths of 18 American Rangers in Mogadishu in October 1993.<sup>183</sup> The American public’s reaction to the killings, combined with congressional outrage, convinced the Clinton administration to order the withdrawal of U.S. military personnel within six months. Sarah Sewall, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Assistance at the Department of Defense, recalls that in the early days of the Clinton administration, the White House was committed to working with the UN to support multilateral interventions.<sup>184</sup> To this end, Sewall, along with several members of

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<sup>176</sup> J. Cohen, 176.

<sup>177</sup> PBS Frontline Interview, “Ghosts of Rwanda,” interview with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose, PBS, November 21, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/moose.html> (accessed November 21, 2008).

<sup>178</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>179</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>180</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>181</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>182</sup> PBS Frontline Interview, “Ghosts of Rwanda,” interview with U.S. Ambassador David Rawson, PBS, October 5, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/rawson.html> (accessed November 20, 2008).

<sup>183</sup> For a comprehensive overview of U.S. decision making on Somalia, see Richard A. Clarke, *Your Government Failed You: Breaking the Cycle of National Security Disasters* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008).

<sup>184</sup> Sarah Sewall, *W2I* interview, Cambridge, MA, September 8, 2008.

the National Security Council (NSC), was tasked with creating a coherent peacekeeping policy. This culminated in a draft presidential review decision, PRD-13, allowing greater U.S. troop involvement under UN command.<sup>185</sup> However, Sewall asserts that the Pentagon had little interest in peacekeeping operations and provided little support for PRD-13.<sup>186</sup>

Following the killing of the U.S. Rangers in Somalia and congressional objections to PRD-13, the Clinton administration reversed its policy from assertive multilateralism to selective engagement.<sup>187</sup> This policy shift was outlined in a presidential decision directive, PDD-25, setting restrictive criteria for U.S. involvement in multilateral peacekeeping operations. The restrictions included limiting U.S. military participation to Chapter VI peacekeeping missions essential to advancing vital U.S. interests. James Woods, former Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs at the Defense Department, argues that the Somalia debacle deeply influenced the wording of PDD-25, which was designed to “narrow the

possibility that we [the U.S.] would get engaged [and] ... crystallized a growing body of resistance to these types of potentially dangerous humanitarian interventions.”<sup>188</sup> In contrast, high-level NSC officials, such as former National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, assert the restrictions in PDD-25 were adopted as a means of “protecting” traditional peacekeeping against attack.<sup>189</sup> As Lake states, “we had to be able to demonstrate that we were doing it [peacekeeping] in a careful, effective, practical way. That’s what PDD-25 was about.”<sup>190</sup>

In reality, PDD-25 blocked efforts to expand peacekeeping to protect civilians and directly limited the U.S. response to the Rwandan Genocide. Prudence Bushnell reflects that, “I mean, the criterion was, ‘Don’t engage in peacekeeping unless there’s peace.’ Essentially, it [PDD-25] was just such strict criteria and you have to have an exit strategy. Hah! Would those criteria still be our policy today? It was clear that the interagency did not want us to engage in a peacekeeping operation in Rwanda.”<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Sewall, *W2I* interview.

<sup>186</sup> Sewall, *W2I* interview.

<sup>187</sup> J. Cohen, 49-54.

<sup>188</sup> PBS Frontline Interview, “The Triumph of Evil,” interview with James Woods, *PBS*, January, 1999. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/interviews/woods.html> (accessed January 12, 2009).

<sup>189</sup> PBS Frontline Interview, “Ghosts of Rwanda,” interview with U.S. National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, *PBS*, December 15, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/lake.html> (accessed November 15, 2008).

<sup>190</sup> PBS Frontline Interview, “Ghosts of Rwanda,” interview with U.S. National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, *PBS*, December 15, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/lake.html> (accessed November 15, 2008).

<sup>191</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

## Warnings of genocide

Prior to the eruption of genocide in April 1994, the U.S. received a significant volume of intelligence that warned of plans for large-scale massacres. In particular, the American embassy in Kigali informed Washington of hate speech broadcasts on Radio Mille Collines, arms trafficking, and the training of youth extremists.<sup>192</sup> On January 11, 1994, UNAMIR Force Commander Brigadier General Roméo Dallaire cabled information to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations about an “extermination” plot to kill Tutsis, and shared this information with the diplomatic corps in Kigali. David Rawson recalled a briefing at a foreign embassy in Kigali, in which Dallaire informed the Americans of “a collection of arms, stocking of arms and the distribution of arms to civilian elements.”<sup>193</sup>

Following a request from Dallaire, Rawson forwarded the intelligence to the State Department in Washington.<sup>194</sup> It is unclear how widely the intelligence was distributed, but it was brought to the attention of the Political Military Advisor Tony Marley. However, Marley

says he perceived Dallaire as a “neophyte” and “questioned whether he knew what he was talking about.”<sup>195</sup> Marley contends that since 1992, he had heard predictions of looming mass killings in Rwanda, but they had never taken place “on a scale larger than several hundred of people.”<sup>196</sup> Dallaire’s warning was not forwarded to key people in the State Department’s Africa Bureau, including George Moose, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, or Bushnell, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. Bushnell maintains that, “When General Dallaire talks about the memos he sent to the UN, about arms, and the informant, I got no wind of that from any of my diplomatic colleagues.”<sup>197</sup> Given the constant interaction among the diplomatic corps, Bushnell cannot explain why the information was not communicated to her: “I never have figured out why it was that this was not the talk of the diplomatic community.”<sup>198</sup> Similarly, John Shattuck, former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, states that although he received daily intelligence briefings, and was in frequent contact with Bushnell, Moose, and NSC officials

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<sup>192</sup> Rwandans working at the American Embassy translated the hate propaganda for U.S. Ambassador David P. Rawson and other American diplomats. See J. Cohen, 35-37.

<sup>193</sup> Rawson, PBS “Ghosts of Rwanda.”

<sup>194</sup> David P. Rawson, *W2I* interview, Manitou Beach, MI, November 20, 2008.

<sup>195</sup> PBS Frontline Interview “The Triumph of Evil,” interview with former U.S. State Department Military Advisor Tony Marley, PBS, January, 1999. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/interviews/marley.html> (accessed January 12, 2009).

<sup>196</sup> Marley, PBS “The Triumph of Evil.”

<sup>197</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>198</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

Eric Schwartz and Don Steinberg, he did not see the Dallaire cable. “I had never seen the Dallaire cable,” he asserts.<sup>199</sup> “I didn’t know anything about that.”<sup>200</sup>

### Government awareness of genocide

On April 6, 1994, following the death of Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana and the outbreak of violence in Rwanda, Washington began to plan for the evacuation of its nationals. Bushnell informed Secretary of State Warren Christopher of the likelihood of “widespread violence,” and of the likely necessity of evacuating American nationals.<sup>201</sup> Bushnell explains that Washington saw “utter anarchy” in Rwanda and that “nobody really knew who was in charge or what was happening.”<sup>202</sup>

The government immediately assembled a task force of officials from the Pentagon and the State Department to coordinate the evacuation of Americans.<sup>203</sup> According to Bushnell, the evacuation of U.S. nationals was the State Department’s top priority. “I was focused 100 per cent on getting

Americans out.”<sup>204</sup> On April 10, 1994, 258 Americans were evacuated by land.<sup>205</sup> Joyce Leader, second in command at the U.S. Embassy, was among the last American officials to leave Kigali. Leader had tried unsuccessfully to hide Rwanda’s Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana, in her house before the Presidential Guard killed the Prime Minister and the 10 Belgian peacekeepers guarding her.

On April 8, 1994, the Operations Center of the Executive Secretariat of the State Department distributed a confidential situation report to the CIA, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Advisor, the Secretary of Defense, and the State Department. The report described the violence in Kigali as “fighting between the RPF and Rwandan military” and mapped out a plan for the evacuation of Americans, but failed to mention the systematic killing of Rwanda’s ethnic Tutsis.<sup>206</sup> On the same day, the CIA’s National Intelligence Daily report stated that, “Hutu security elements from the Presidential Guard, the gendarmerie,

<sup>199</sup> John Shattuck, *W2I* interview, Boston, MA, December 1, 2008.

<sup>200</sup> Shattuck, *W2I* interview.

<sup>201</sup> J. Cohen, 72-94.

<sup>202</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>203</sup> See Confidential State Department memorandum outlining the creation of the 24-hour working group to receive all information on the situation in Rwanda, headed by Prudence Bushnell. U.S. Secretary of State, to all Diplomatic and Consular Posts Immediate, memorandum, “Working Group Formation to Deal with the Situation in Kigali and Bujumbura,” April 8, 1994, declassified April 28, 2000, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB119/Rw8.pdf> (accessed January 15, 2009).

<sup>204</sup> Bushnell, *W2I* interview.

<sup>205</sup> J. Cohen, 71-80.

<sup>206</sup> Executive Secretariat of the Operations Center at the U.S. State Department, to all state bureaus and offices, situation report, “Confidential Situation Report No.6,” April 8, 1994, declassified on November 27, 1996, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB119/Rw13.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2009).

and the military killed several government officials—including the Prime Minister—took at least two hostages and killed numerous Tutsi civilians in Kigali.<sup>207</sup> Fighting had broken out between the RPF and the Rwandan Army in northern Rwanda and around Kigali due to the targeted killing of Tutsi civilians and political moderates. However, during the first few days of the genocide, it was not immediately clear to policy makers in Washington that the Rwandan military and the *Interahamwe* were slaughtering ethnic Tutsis and Hutu political moderates in a politically motivated plot orchestrated by Hutu extremists within the Rwandan government.<sup>208</sup>

Following the evacuation of American nationals from Rwanda to Bujumbura, Burundi, U.S. Ambassador Rawson telephoned the Rwanda interagency task force in Washington, DC, as protocol required. When Rawson phoned, President Bill Clinton was unexpectedly visiting the task force's operations room at the State Department. The President spoke to Rawson, congratulating him on the successful evacuation, and asked Rawson to brief him upon his return to the United States.<sup>209</sup> Upon Rawson's return to Washington later in April, he

attempted to meet with President Clinton but to no avail. "The President invited me to come to the White House, and then once I got back, the people who were in communication with the White House tried to make that happen, and it didn't happen."<sup>210</sup> Rawson asserts that had he met with Clinton, he would have advised him to support the UNAMIR operation and the requests put forward by the Force Commander, Brigadier General Dallaire.<sup>211</sup> Instead, the U.S. relinquished its support for UNAMIR, indirectly encouraging international withdrawal from Rwanda.

For the American and Belgian governments, the brutal murder of UNAMIR peacekeepers brought back memories of the 18 Rangers killed in Somalia. The false parallels made between these two UN operations ultimately informed the Belgian and American decisions to push for the total withdrawal of UNAMIR. Washington and Brussels believed that there was no longer a peace to keep. However, the killing of the 10 Belgian peacekeepers in Rwanda did not immediately trigger a withdrawal. On April 8, 1994, one day after the murder of the Belgian peacekeepers, a State Department situation report stated that "the Belgium PM asked Boutros-Ghali to strengthen the UN contingent.... [He] wants

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<sup>207</sup> U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "National Intelligence Daily," April 8, 1994, National Security Archive, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB119/Rw10.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2009).

<sup>208</sup> Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York & Paris: Human Rights Watch & International Federation of Human Rights, 1999).

<sup>209</sup> Rawson, *W2I* interview.

<sup>210</sup> Rawson, *W2I* interview.

<sup>211</sup> Rawson, *W2I* interview.



enhanced equipment and/or firepower.... [The Belgians] are willing to keep their UNAMIR troops in Rwanda after the planned evacuation.”<sup>212</sup>

At a Peacekeeping Core Group meeting on April 13, 1994, headed by Richard Clarke, Special Assistant to the President in the NSC, and attended by officials from the State Department, the Pentagon, and U.S. intelligence agencies, the U.S. Government decided to pursue a full UNAMIR withdrawal. Douglas Bennet, Assistant Secretary for International Organizations, urged Secretary of State Christopher to communicate the U.S. position for the withdrawal of UNAMIR in an upcoming telephone conversation with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.<sup>213</sup> Following the Peacekeeping Core Group meeting, Bennet advised in a memo that “the chaotic conditions in Rwanda” made it “impossible for UNAMIR to fulfill its mandate.”<sup>214</sup> Bennet wrote, “the onus for withdrawal

should not be placed on the Belgians,” and that “it is our view, therefore, that the force should withdraw from the country now.”<sup>215</sup> Christopher subsequently supported the Peacekeeping Core Group decision without consulting further with the State Department, the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Advisor, or the President. Christopher sent a memo to Madeleine Albright, the U.S. Ambassador to the UN, on April 15, 1994, which stated that, “The United States believes that the first priority of the Security Council is to instruct the Secretary General to implement an orderly withdrawal of all/all UNAMIR forces from Rwanda ... and that we will oppose any effort at this time to preserve a UNAMIR presence in Rwanda.”<sup>216</sup>

On April 21, 1994, before Albright headed to the Security Council meeting to vote for a complete withdrawal, she met with Alison Des Forges, a Rwanda expert with Human Rights Watch, and her colleague, Monique Mujawamariya,

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<sup>212</sup> Executive Secretariat of the Operations Center at the U.S. State Department, “Confidential Situation Report No.6,” April 8, 1994, sent to all state bureaus and offices, declassified on November 27, 1996, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB119/Rw13.pdf> (accessed January 6, 2009).

<sup>213</sup> Douglas Bennet, U.S. Department of State, to Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, State Department Briefing Memorandum, “Phone Call to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali on Bosnia and Rwanda,” April 13, 1994, declassified April 8, 2003, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB117/Rw16.pdf> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>214</sup> Douglas Bennet, U.S. Department of State, to Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, State Department Briefing Memorandum, “Phone Call to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali on Bosnia and Rwanda,” April 13, 1994, declassified April 8, 2003, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB117/Rw16.pdf> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>215</sup> Douglas Bennet, U.S. Department of State, to Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, State Department Briefing Memorandum, “Phone Call to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali on Bosnia and Rwanda,” April 13, 1994, declassified April 8, 2003, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB117/Rw16.pdf> (accessed January 10, 2009).

<sup>216</sup> Warren Christopher, U.S. Secretary of State, to U.S. Mission USUN New York, memorandum, “Talking Points on UNAMIR withdrawal,” April 15, 1994, declassified on May 4, 2000, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw041594.pdf> (accessed January 13, 2009).

a Rwandan human rights activist who had just escaped the genocide. Des Forges recalls pleading with Albright: “We said very, very, very explicitly, there are at least 20,000 people in the Amahoro stadium. If you withdraw all of the troops, all of those people will be killed and that will be on your head.”<sup>217</sup> According to Des Forges, Albright responded, “You have a very powerful message. But you are delivering it to the wrong person.”<sup>218</sup> Albright advised Des Forges to meet with the National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake. “If they refuse you,” Albright said, “tell them to call me.”<sup>219</sup>

At their meeting with Lake, Des Forges and Mujawamariya argued fervently for retaining UNAMIR, but were told that they did not represent a sufficiently important political constituency to force the government to change its position.<sup>220</sup> “He just said, ‘Make more noise. We listen to noise,’” Des Forges recalls.<sup>221</sup> Kenneth Roth, Director of Human Rights Watch, dismissed this justification: “It’s a cheap excuse. It’s basically saying force us to do it because we’re not going to take the political risks involved to do the right thing on our own.”<sup>222</sup>

Madeleine Albright called the National Security Council in Washington and argued with Richard Clarke over the withdrawal order.<sup>223</sup> Albright says she felt she would “get a better hearing” through the National Security Council, but Clarke told her to follow her instructions.<sup>224</sup> “I screamed into the phone. I said, ‘They’re unacceptable. I want them changed,’” Albright recalls.<sup>225</sup> After the NSC told her to “chill out and calm down,” they sent her new instructions and allowed her to support the decision to maintain 270 UNAMIR troops, a symbolic UN force that remained in Kigali throughout the genocide.<sup>226</sup>

Roger Winter, head of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, an NGO, had just left Rwanda for South Sudan when Habyarimana’s plane was shot down. “I went and began to spend much of May and June [1994] traveling with the Rwandan Patriotic Front as they rolled into the country. I would generally be there for about 10 days, go back to Washington and there would be meetings set up for me to brief the intelligence wings of the Defense Department and the State Department and, of course, the CIA. Sometimes the

<sup>217</sup> Alison Des Forges, *W2I* interview, Buffalo, NY, November 21, 2008.

<sup>218</sup> Des Forges, *W2I* interview.

<sup>219</sup> Des Forges, *W2I* interview.

<sup>220</sup> Des Forges, *W2I* interview.

<sup>221</sup> Des Forges, *W2I* interview.

<sup>222</sup> Kenneth Roth, *W2I* interview, New York, NY, May 6, 2008.

<sup>223</sup> PBS Frontline Interview, “Ghosts of Rwanda,” interview with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright, PBS, February 25, 2004. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/interviews/albright.html> (accessed in November 18 2008).

<sup>224</sup> Albright, PBS, “Ghosts of Rwanda.”

<sup>225</sup> Albright, PBS, “Ghosts of Rwanda.”

<sup>226</sup> Albright, PBS, “Ghosts of Rwanda.”

meetings would be held in either one of those buildings. They were organized by the Defense Intelligence Agency folks. I'm not sure how many back and forth trips there were before the hostilities actually ended, but I felt very clearly that I knew what the system knew.... It was for that reason, in particular, that we were so incensed by the lack of action on the part of the administration."<sup>227</sup>

Winter provided the officials with "on-the-ground findings" and photographic evidence of the atrocities.<sup>228</sup> "People in the system knew exceedingly clearly what was happening."<sup>229</sup>

By early May, congressional advocates also added to the pressure bearing down on the White House. On May 4, 1994, the Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, Kweisi Mfume (D-MD), and Congressman Donald Payne (D-NJ) sent a letter to President Clinton informing him of the Congressional Black Caucus's concern over Rwanda and the need for the White House to pay more attention to the atrocities occurring there.<sup>230</sup> A response was still not received on June 16, 1994, when the caucus sent a second letter, criticizing the Clinton administration's slow action on

Rwanda.<sup>231</sup> The Congressional Black Caucus remained critical of U.S. policy toward Rwanda. It boycotted the White House Conference on Africa in June 1994, and on July 1, 1994, requested a meeting with President Clinton.<sup>232</sup> On July 26, 1994, President Clinton finally met with Donald Payne just before the Congressman's trip to Rwanda with Secretary of Defense William Perry to oversee the U.S. provision of humanitarian relief. However, Payne's meeting with Clinton took place well after the genocide had ended.<sup>233</sup>

Senator Paul Simon (D-IL), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Africa, phoned Dallaire in Kigali on May 13, 1994, to gain insight from the field while Senator Jim Jeffords (R-VT) called for U.S. military intervention to stop the massacres.<sup>234</sup> The two Senators delivered a letter to the White House calling for action, but the President did not respond until June 9, 1994.<sup>235</sup> In his response, Clinton reiterated his position that the government must strive to secure a ceasefire in order to halt the killings, but stopped short of proposing any action to protect civilians or halt the genocide.<sup>236</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Winter, *W2I* Interview.

<sup>228</sup> Winter, *W2I* Interview.

<sup>229</sup> Winter, *W2I* Interview.

<sup>230</sup> Raymond W. Copson, *The Congressional Black Caucus and Foreign Policy* (Hauppauge, NY: Novinka Books, 2003), 34.

<sup>231</sup> Copson, 34.

<sup>232</sup> Copson, 34.

<sup>233</sup> Copson, 35.

<sup>234</sup> Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (NY: Basic Books, 2002), 376-377.

<sup>235</sup> Laurie Schultz Heim, *W2I* interview, Washington, DC, November 19, 2008.

<sup>236</sup> Schultz Heim, *W2I* interview.

The issue of jamming hate radio station RTLM also elicited congressional pressure. On May 5, 1994, Undersecretary of Defense Frank Wisner had reported to Sandy Berger that jamming the RTLM hate radio would be ineffective and too expensive.<sup>237</sup> Wisner wrote that the Commando Solo C-130 aircraft, the Department of Defense jamming platform, “costs approximately US \$8,500 per flight hour and requires a semi-secure flight area of operations due to its vulnerability and limited self-protection.”<sup>238</sup> The U.S. also maintained that jamming radios could affect its diplomatic relations with Rwanda.<sup>239</sup> Contrarily, in 1991, the U.S. operation in Haiti included jamming hate radio and no one raised such objections.<sup>240</sup> On June 1, 1994, Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) wrote a letter requesting that Secretary of State Christopher pursue the jamming of hate radio broadcasts in Rwanda to stop the incitement of violence. The State Department replied that it would not pursue the option because it presented legal problems and would incur a high financial cost.<sup>241</sup> A year after the genocide ended, Tony Marley suggested that the U.S. could have blown up the

RTLM radio transmitter or its antenna with a few pounds of plastic explosives—a relatively inexpensive and feasible operation that could have interrupted the communications of the *genocidaires*.<sup>242</sup> Marley regretted that there was no will to act covertly.<sup>243</sup> No “soft options,” which might have mitigated the genocide, were given serious consideration by the U.S. Government.

### Media failure

With few exceptions, the national media failed to report accurately on the carnage unfolding in Rwanda in April. The lack of media attention reduced pressure on the U.S. Government to propose robust action at the critical April 21 Security Council meeting, where it voted to withdraw the bulk of UNAMIR’s troops. American television news paid only “modest” attention to the story during the most deadly, initial three months of the genocide.<sup>244</sup> The *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* both featured front-page stories on Rwanda on April 9 and 10 that described the death of President Habyarimana and the occurrence of political “executions.”<sup>245</sup> *Time* and

<sup>237</sup> U.S. Undersecretary of Defense, to the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, National Security Council, memorandum, “Rwanda: Jamming Civilian Radio Broadcasts,” May 5, 1994, declassified on March 27, 1995, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw050594.pdf> (accessed January 20, 2009).

<sup>238</sup> U.S. Undersecretary of Defense, to the Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, National Security Council, memorandum, “Rwanda: Jamming Civilian Radio Broadcasts,” May 5, 1994, declassified on March 27, 1995, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University.

<sup>239</sup> J. Cohen, *W2I* interview.

<sup>240</sup> Des Forges in Thompson, 52.

<sup>241</sup> Alison Des Forges, “Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda 1994”, in Thompson, 41-54.

<sup>242</sup> Tony Marley, Frank Chalk interview, April 20, 1995.

<sup>243</sup> Marley, Frank Chalk interview.

<sup>244</sup> Livingston and Eachus, in Adelman and Suhrke, 210.

<sup>245</sup> Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 356-357.

*Newsweek* first mentioned Rwanda on April 18, 1994, but the story did not make the cover of *Time* until May 16, and like most media reports, they misrepresented the massacres as “tribal” conflict.<sup>246</sup> The description of the violence as a component of an ongoing civil war or ancient tribal conflict sublimated the extraordinary horror of the mass murder of civilians. Alan J. Kuperman notes that although the situation in Rwanda was “legitimately confusing” in April, the media failed to fulfill its role as a “surrogate early-warning system.”<sup>247</sup> Consequently, the American public remained ill informed about the genocide and the diplomatic and military options available to halt it.

American news coverage increased during May, thanks to the presence of many American television crews in South Africa, where they were covering the national elections. As a clearer picture emerged about the genocide, television crews were reassigned to Rwanda. “As investigators try to make sense of the killing,” ABC correspondent Ron Allen reported on May 7, “there is more evidence Rwanda’s massacres may be a premeditated political act, not a spontaneous eruption

of ethnic hatred.”<sup>248</sup> Roméo Dallaire notes that this increase in media coverage during the first half of May influenced members of the UN Security Council to approve a mandate for UNAMIR II on May 17.<sup>249</sup> “I think it was wear and tear by media, the continuing of the genocide, and the realization that this goddamn thing wasn’t ending.”<sup>250</sup>

The news media’s pressure for action arrived too late, however, and even then, few accounts emphasized the genocide. The media only covered the tragedy in Rwanda in earnest when the story of the refugee crisis emerged in May 1994. U.S. television correspondents reported the spread of disease and the rate of death in the refugee camps.<sup>251</sup> In *The Path of a Genocide*, contributors Steven Livingston and Todd Eachus conclude that the media’s emphasis on the humanitarian crisis enabled the Clinton administration to distance itself from the genocide and policy options for intervention.<sup>252</sup> “If there was a ‘CNN effect,’ it came in response to this second story,” Livingston and Eachus write.<sup>253</sup> “The [Clinton] administration was quite ready to employ Pentagon resources in a ‘feeding and watering’ operation, as it was commonly referred to at the

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<sup>246</sup> J. Cohen, 66-69.

<sup>247</sup> Kuperman, 258.

<sup>248</sup> Allen cited in Livingston and Eachus, 218.

<sup>249</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>250</sup> Dallaire, *W2I* interview.

<sup>251</sup> Livingston and Eachus in Adleman and Suhrke, 226-27.

<sup>252</sup> Livingston and Eachus in Adleman and Suhrke, 226-27.

<sup>253</sup> Livingston and Eachus in Adleman and Suhrke, 226-27.

Pentagon. What it was not willing to do, and would not allow television pictures to force it to do, was to stop the slaughter early on.”<sup>254</sup>

### The ‘g-word’ debate

In April and May of 1994, a debate ensued in Washington concerning the legal ramifications of describing the killings in Rwanda as “genocide.” Some feared that use of the term would necessitate intervention under the Genocide Convention, despite the fact that, as of mid-April, many in government understood that the massacres fit the legal definition. Former Defense Intelligence Agency analyst Rick Orth recalls that daily interagency meetings attended by senior National Security Council officials included intelligence updates on Rwanda; and on at least one occasion, a member of the Pentagon’s Directorate for Intelligence personally delivered information about the genocide to the White House.<sup>255</sup>

John Shattuck made a fact-finding trip to Rwanda at the end of April with the help of Peter Tarnoff, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs. After observing the genocide first-hand and returning to Washington on May 9, 1994, he pushed others in government to describe the massacres as genocide.<sup>256</sup> Despite Shattuck’s efforts, the State

Department only went so far as to describe the killings as “acts of genocide”—a decision illustrating how verbal nuance was used to curtail action.<sup>257</sup> This strategy was outlined explicitly in a May 1, 1994 discussion paper from the office of the Secretary of Defense, which warned, “Be Careful. Legal at State was worried about this yesterday—Genocide finding could commit the USG to actually ‘do something.’”<sup>258</sup>

The Defense Intelligence Agency produced an intelligence instruction cable on May 9, 1994, outlining parallel, separate violence in both the Rwandan civil war and the genocide. “It appears that in addition to the random massacres of Tutsis and Hutu militias and individuals, there is an organized, parallel effort of genocide by the army to destroy the leadership of the Tutsi community. The original intent was to kill only the political elite supporting reconciliation; however, the government lost control of the militias, and the massacre spread like wildfire. It continues to rage out of control.”<sup>259</sup>

Although the cable acknowledged genocide, it mistakenly explained that the Hutu political elite intended “politicide,” or the destruction of the

<sup>254</sup> Livingston and Eachus in Adleman and Suhrke, 226–27.

<sup>255</sup> Rick Orth, *W2I* interview, telephone interview, November 13, 2008.

<sup>256</sup> Shattuck, *W2I* interview.

<sup>257</sup> J. Cohen, 135–137.

<sup>258</sup> Office of the U.S. Secretary of Defense, “Secret Discussion Paper, subject: ‘Rwanda,’ May 1, 1994,” in Samantha Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 359.

<sup>259</sup> U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Report, “Rwanda: The Rwandan Patriotic Front’s Offensive,” May 9, 1994, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw050994.pdf> (accessed January 20, 2009).

Tutsi political elite. In reality, Hutu political extremists in the government of Rwanda orchestrated the genocide.<sup>260</sup> Rick Orth acknowledges that he was aware that the intelligence report in early May did not accurately describe the killings taking place in Rwanda.<sup>261</sup> Orth submitted his comments on the outgoing instruction cable to indicate that genocide was occurring in Rwanda, but the Defense Intelligence Agency's Mideast Africa Section, and the J5 Strategic Plans and Policy division of the Joint Chiefs of Staff responded that the comments arrived 30 minutes too late to be incorporated into the official cable.<sup>262</sup>

U.S. officials feared that using the term "genocide" would encourage "mission creep," and pull the U.S. into the conflict in Rwanda. In a May 20 memo to Secretary Christopher, State Department officials acknowledged the existence of genocide but urged the use of the phrase "acts of genocide" to insulate the U.S. from legal obligations under the Genocide Convention.<sup>263</sup> The memo stated: "A USG statement that acts of genocide have occurred would not

have any particular legal consequences" and that, "Although lacking in legal consequences, a clear statement that the USG believes that acts of genocide have occurred could increase pressure for USG activism in response to the crisis in Rwanda."<sup>264</sup> In an effort to frame U.S. policy as legitimate, the State Department advised the government to "seize the opportunity to ... use the genocide label to condemn events in Rwanda"; otherwise, "our credibility will be undermined with human rights groups and the general public, who may question how much evidence we can legitimately require before coming to a policy conclusion."<sup>265</sup>

On May 21, 1994, Secretary of State Christopher authorized State Department officials to use the word "genocide" at the UN Human Rights Commission.<sup>266</sup> The authorization did not extend to other forums or public statements. According to instructions from Christopher three days later, State Department officials were authorized to support a resolution at the Commission

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<sup>260</sup> Des Forges, 225-262

<sup>261</sup> Orth, *W2I* interview.

<sup>262</sup> Orth, *W2I* interview.

<sup>263</sup> Douglas J. Bennet, George C. Moose, Conrad K. Harper and John Shattuck, U.S. Department of State, to U.S. Secretary of the State Department, memorandum, "Has Genocide Occurred in Rwanda?" May 5, 1994, declassified by the State Department, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University. <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/rw052194.pdf> (accessed January 13, 2009).

<sup>264</sup> Douglas J. Bennet, George C. Moose, Conrad K. Harper and John Shattuck, U.S. Department of State, to U.S. Secretary of the State Department, memorandum, "Has Genocide Occurred in Rwanda?" May 5, 1994, declassified by the State Department, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University.

<sup>265</sup> Douglas J. Bennet, George C. Moose, Conrad K. Harper and John Shattuck, U.S. Department of State, to U.S. Secretary of the State Department, memorandum, "Has Genocide Occurred in Rwanda?" May 5, 1994, declassified by the State Department, *National Security Archive*, George Washington University.

<sup>266</sup> Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 362.

indicating that “genocide” or “acts of genocide” were occurring in Rwanda, but were not authorized to characterize independent incidents in the country as genocide.<sup>267</sup> After sustained questions from journalists about the number of “acts of genocide” it takes to constitute “genocide,” Christopher succumbed to media pressure in June 1994, when he told reporters that, “If there is any particular magic in calling it genocide, I have no hesitancy in saying that.”<sup>268</sup>

Jared Cohen, author of a scholarly study on U.S. policy towards the Rwandan Genocide, asserts that the debate over the term “genocide,” which overshadows humanitarian crises, is “completely meaningless and constitutes a misreading of the Genocide Convention.”<sup>269</sup> Cohen explains, “It’s ironic that a convention that was designed to have diction used to encourage states to intervene actually became the most valuable tool for nations to justify not intervening.”<sup>270</sup>

### U.S. takes late action

After the controversial deployment of French troops for Opération Turquoise in June 23, 1994, the Clinton administration began to take action.

Operation Provide Comfort signaled a dramatic—though fatally belated—shift in the American response to Rwanda. The United States had stalled the expansion of UNAMIR at the Security Council, instead proposing a humanitarian operation along Rwanda’s borders to provide “safe havens” for refugees.<sup>271</sup> A “two-stage solution” was proposed whereby armored personnel carriers and more than 800 Ghanaian peacekeepers would be deployed, with further peacekeepers arriving following a cease-fire.<sup>272</sup> The RPF opposed the intervention and threatened to use force against new UN peacekeepers, and by mid-July, the RPF had defeated the remnants of the Rwandan military and declared a unilateral ceasefire.<sup>273</sup>

Media coverage of the refugee crisis rose in July and generated an outpouring of international aid. The genocide had ended, and camps were set on the border of Eastern Zaire. Clinton pledged 4,000 American troops to aid in the humanitarian relief effort and urged Congress to authorize US \$170 million for emergency relief, a figure that almost doubled in the next

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<sup>267</sup> Warren Christopher, U.S. Secretary of State, to USUN and U.S. Embassies, cable, “UN Human Rights Commission: ‘Genocide’ at Special Session on Rwanda,” May 24, 1994, quoted in *Power, A Problem From Hell*, 362.

<sup>268</sup> Michael R. Gordon, “U.S. to supply 60 vehicles for UN Troops in Rwanda,” *New York Times*, June 16, 1994, quoted in *Power, A Problem from Hell*, 363-364.

<sup>269</sup> J. Cohen, *W2I* interview.

<sup>270</sup> J. Cohen, *W2I* interview.

<sup>271</sup> Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 141-143.

<sup>272</sup> Barnett, 141-143.

<sup>273</sup> Barnett, 150-152.



few months.<sup>274</sup> In the course of this operation, American troops were deployed to Entebbe in Uganda to provide logistical support and Goma in Zaire to work on halting the spread of cholera. A few hundred American troops were deployed to Kigali in Rwanda, but they remained stationed at Kigali airport.<sup>275</sup> Clinton proved less averse to sending American troops to Rwanda to assist in the provision of post-genocide humanitarian aid than to providing security to civilians threatened with mass murder.

The U.S. failure to thwart mass atrocities in Rwanda in 1994 differs greatly from U.S. action in Kosovo in 1998/1999. In the former case, Washington blocked American involvement in peacekeeping by avoiding diplomatic options and refusing to describe the crisis in Rwanda as “genocide.” In the latter case, the United States’ experience with Milosevic’s brutal record in the Balkans, and its perceived national interest in securing Europe, solidified its continued and incremental action to halt ethnic cleansing. Although NATO’s military intervention remains highly controversial, Kosovo stands as a decisive case showcasing the multiple types of “soft” and “hard” interventions that can be undertaken by the U.S. Government to thwart mass atrocities.

## 3.2.2 The Kosovo Crisis

### From Bosnia to Kosovo

The U.S. failure to act to prevent mass atrocities in Rwanda in 1994 significantly affected its responses to future crises, particularly its engagement in the Balkans. On March 24, 1999, NATO-led air strikes were launched against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The international community had endured Milosevic’s ethnic cleansing campaigns in Croatia and Bosnia throughout the 1990s, an experience that informed the decision to intervene in 1999.

The crisis in Kosovo might have been averted had the American government charged Milosevic and his counterparts with war crimes during the Dayton Accord negotiations. John Shattuck writes that peace in Bosnia “would have come sooner if the international community, led by the United States, had moved early and decisively against war criminals.”<sup>276</sup> Shattuck argues that Milosevic’s freedom from charges of war crimes gave him a “new lease” on his political life at a time when he wrongly believed that “he could afford to start another war of ethnic expulsion, this time in Kosovo.”<sup>277</sup>

As the U.S. prepared for the Dayton negotiations, some wanted to harness momentum for a war crimes tribunal

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<sup>274</sup> Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 381.

<sup>275</sup> Dallaire, *W21* Interview.

<sup>276</sup> John Shattuck, *Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America’s Response* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 218.

<sup>277</sup> Shattuck, *Freedom on Fire*, 218. The comment on the “erroneous” nature of Milosevic’s belief that he could afford to start another war was based on Shattuck’s claim that Milosevic calculated that after committing ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, there had been no cost to him such as prosecution. Rather, Milosevic had been included in the Dayton Accord negotiations, signaling to him that there existed low risks to sparking another ethnically-driven offensive.

process. According to Shattuck, the U.S. was “internally divided” on the issue—the “Pentagon wanted to make sure NATO troops would not be required to hunt down and arrest war criminals.”<sup>278</sup> Warren Christopher and U.S. special envoy Richard Holbrooke sought the belligerents’ cooperation for a tribunal, but due to congressional resistance to involvement in Bosnia, they felt they did not have the authority to challenge the Pentagon on the issue.<sup>279</sup>

Paul Heinbecker, Canada’s Ambassador to the UN, vividly recalls the media’s influence on President Clinton’s actions in Bosnia.<sup>280</sup> Heinbecker remarks that CNN’s Christiane Amanpour “deserves some kind of a peace prize” because she personally had “the most direct impact on Bill Clinton.”<sup>281</sup> Reporting from Sarajevo, Amanpour asked Clinton why he was not acting in Bosnia, where thousands were dying, and the President “recoiled. He literally stepped backwards.”<sup>282</sup> Heinbecker notes that this “was the beginning of the turn [in] the American [policy toward Bosnia]... the impact of the media is practically decisive in these things.”<sup>283</sup>

In contrast to the Rwandan crisis, the geopolitical importance of the Balkans to the U.S. and its NATO allies

constituted a powerful impetus for action against Milosevic. The presence of humanitarian aid groups and regional organizations in the former Yugoslavia successfully focused international attention on the crisis.<sup>284</sup> Decision makers determined that a genocidal conflagration in Europe’s backyard would be an unacceptable development for vulnerable Eastern European states.

### The Racak massacre and the Rambouillet conference

Prior to the NATO intervention, the international community applied diplomatic pressure on Milosevic in the hopes of achieving a non-military settlement. In October 1998, Richard Holbrooke assured Milosevic that he could avoid NATO bombardment on the condition that he withdraw Serbian forces from Kosovo and permit the entry of unarmed international human rights observers. On January 15, 1999, Serbian forces massacred 40 Kosovar Albanians in the village of Racak, causing the U.S. to pursue coercive diplomatic channels. The U.S. threatened military force if the Serbian government did not immediately allow NATO troops into Kosovo, and demanded that Milosevic attend the Rambouillet Peace Talks on February 6, 1999. During this time, the Kosovar Albanian delegation held out for autonomy, the

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<sup>278</sup> Shattuck, *Freedom on Fire*, 210.

<sup>279</sup> Shattuck, *Freedom on Fire*, 210.

<sup>280</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>281</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>282</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>283</sup> Heinbecker, *W2I* interview.

<sup>284</sup> H. Roy Williams, *W2I* interview, New York, NY, November 26, 2008.

KLA refused to disarm, and Serbian security forces continued to group along Kosovo's border while opposing the deployment of 20,000 peacekeepers.<sup>285</sup> Secretary of State Madeleine Albright led the U.S. mediators at Rambouillet to find a peaceful way to end the dispute between the KLA and the Serbian government, but was unable to broker an agreement on the divisive issues of Kosovo's independence and the ethnic cleansing being conducted by Serbian forces.<sup>286</sup>

With warships on the Yugoslav coast and bombers on combat alert, NATO sent a clear message that the threat of force was not empty rhetoric. John Shattuck argues that the experience in Bosnia set a precedent by demonstrating that the United States was willing to use force to end mass atrocities.<sup>287</sup> However, this was by no means a consensus view within the government. Morton Halperin, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy at the National Security Council, comments that the Pentagon and the military "had to be kicked into it, kicking and screaming, and would only agree if there were no ground troops, which was an absurd

way to go in."<sup>288</sup> Halperin asserts that the White House was not inclined to challenge the Pentagon, and tried to respond "without engaging military force."<sup>289</sup> Furthermore, the executive branch's somewhat dubious conviction that "the American people would not tolerate more than three casualties" reflected the White House's determination to limit the potential for military engagement in humanitarian operations.<sup>290</sup>

Halperin contends that Madeleine Albright pressured the Clinton administration to change its view on the use of military force. "What she said to us was basically, 'None of these options that we are considering are going to stop Milosevic from driving every Albanian out of Kosovo, except the ones they kill.'"<sup>291</sup> Forcing out the Serbian army became the only viable solution, "and the only way to make that happen was the threat, if necessary, to use military force against Serbia."<sup>292</sup>

Throughout the Rambouillet Peace talks, the Serb security forces rearmed and forced 1.5 million Kosovar Albanian civilians from their homes, killing and violently attacking thousands in the process.<sup>293</sup> Halperin writes that a "massive buildup" of Serb military

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<sup>285</sup> Four thousand of the proposed 20,000 UN peacekeepers were to be American.

<sup>286</sup> Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 447-448.

<sup>287</sup> Shattuck, *W2I* interview.

<sup>288</sup> Morton Halperin, *W2I* interview, Washington DC, June 9, 2008.

<sup>289</sup> Halperin, *W2I* interview.

<sup>290</sup> Halperin, *W2I* interview.

<sup>291</sup> Halperin, *W2I* interview.

<sup>292</sup> Halperin, *W2I* interview.

<sup>293</sup> Morton Halperin, "Winning the Peace: America's Goals in Kosovo," in *Kosovo: Contending Voices on Balkan Interventions*, edited by William Joseph Buckley, (Grand Rapids: William B. Erdmans Publishing, 2000), 226-227.

forces took place “even as Milosevic ‘negotiated’ at Rambouillet.”<sup>294</sup> The pace of rearmament and the speed and thoroughness of Milosevic’s ethnic cleansing led many to concur with Halperin’s assessment that “this campaign of terror was planned well ahead of time. It was the cause, not the result, of NATO action.”<sup>295</sup> The failure of the Rambouillet peace talks represented the final nail in the coffin for a diplomatic solution, and led President Clinton to pursue the military option.

### UN support and NATO bombing

Although it did not authorize the NATO campaign, the United Nations indirectly supported the intervention through Security Council Resolution 1199 on September 23, 1998. This resolution described the humanitarian crisis in Kosovo as “a threat to international peace and security.”<sup>296</sup> Although it did not encourage the enforcement of peace “through all necessary means,” the resolution buttressed NATO’s moral argument for intervention.<sup>297</sup> On October 24, 1998, Security Council Resolution 1203 established a Chapter VII mandate and sanctioned the Kosovo Verification Mission and the NATO

Air Verification Mission, led by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, to monitor compliance with 1199.<sup>298</sup> However, neither resolutions 1203 nor 1199 prescribed the use of force or proposed a mechanism to implement the resolutions’ measures.

President Clinton viewed the air strikes as an intermediate option between doing nothing and risking the lives of American troops on the ground. In the minds of many government officials, the national interest lent itself to action in Kosovo to an extent that had not been present in Rwanda. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott has characterized this contention as an “unpleasant but unmistakable” factor in American foreign policy.<sup>299</sup> While Africa is “outside the zone” of U.S. traditional national security interests, “Kosovo, the Balkans, Yugoslavia, were inside the zone because they were European.”<sup>300</sup> Kosovo’s geographical location also meant that the political and military force of NATO could be brought to bear on the grounds of collective regional security.<sup>301</sup>

<sup>294</sup> Halperin, “Winning the Peace: America’s Goals in Kosovo,” 226-227.

<sup>295</sup> Halperin, “Winning the Peace: America’s Goals in Kosovo,” 226-227.

<sup>296</sup> United Nations Security Council, S/Res/1199, UN Security Council 3930<sup>th</sup> meeting (September 23, 1998), *United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo Online*, <http://www.un.org/peace/kosovo/98sc1199.htm> (Accessed January 10, 2008).

<sup>297</sup> Spyros Economides, “Kosovo,” in *United Nations Interventionism 1991-2004*, edited by Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 217-245.

<sup>298</sup> Patrick T. Egan, “The Kosovo Intervention and Collective Self-Defense,” *International Peacekeeping* Volume 8, No. 3, (Autumn 2001): 39-58.

<sup>299</sup> Strobe Talbott, *W2I* interview, Washington DC, June 6, 2008.

<sup>300</sup> Talbott, *W2I* interview.

<sup>301</sup> Talbott, *W2I* interview.

Michael Walzer disputes this view, and has argued that U.S. and NATO reluctance to deploy ground troops in Kosovo was a characteristic of a lack of will to risk American lives. Walzer argues that the U.S. Government's aversion to placing American lives in harm's way demonstrates that the national interest was not as central to the decision to employ force in Kosovo as has been widely contended.<sup>302</sup> In a similar vein, Edward Luttwak highlights the significance of the U.S. decision to equip its Apache helicopters with rocket pods to suppress Serb anti-aircraft weapons, indicating that "the immediate possibility of saving thousands of Albanians from massacre and hundreds of thousands from deportation was obviously not worth [risking] the lives of a few pilots."<sup>303</sup>

Samantha Power, former journalist, and academic, explains, "Western governments were continually engaged in the Balkans from the highest levels since 1991 in Bosnia. When Milosevic began to ramp up his crackdown [in Kosovo], there was no need to draw attention to the players in the region."<sup>304</sup> Ultimately, the NATO intervention was motivated by a confluence of narrowly perceived U.S. national interests, moral imperative, and the desire to demonstrate NATO's continued military prowess and prestige.

NATO adopted General Wesley Clark's plan for a ground invasion of 175,000 NATO troops after two months of lengthy internal debate. Pressure from Clark and President Clinton's National Security Advisor Sandy Berger finally led to the acquiescence of the skeptical, newly appointed U.S. Secretary of Defense, William Cohen.<sup>305</sup> Although ground troops were never deployed, the agreement to deploy them marked a considerable milestone for NATO's efforts to halt Serbia's ethnic cleansing campaign. After intense air attacks on Serbia's power grid, Milosevic surrendered on June 3, 1999. NATO's reluctance to deploy ground troops and its preference for aerial bombing diluted the effectiveness of its campaign to halt the atrocities in Kosovo.

### The news media and public support

During the Kosovo civil war, the American news media duly reported on atrocities committed by Serb forces. Media coverage tended to demonize Milosevic's forces, encouraging public support for the government to "do something." As the deadline loomed for Milosevic to accept the Rambouillet plan, the media increasingly depicted the Serbian leader as inflexible and obstinate. News reports largely portrayed the pre-war diplomatic talks

<sup>302</sup> Michael Walzer, "Kosovo," in Buckley, 333-335.

<sup>303</sup> Edward N. Luttwak, "Give War a Chance," in Buckley, 353.

<sup>304</sup> Power, *W21* interview.

<sup>305</sup> Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 455.

as those between a “rejectionist” Belgrade and a “reasonable and accommodating” Washington.<sup>306</sup>

Media reports conveyed a sense of humanitarian urgency and justification for the NATO intervention. On the first day of the air offensive, March 24, 1999, the *New York Times* published an editorial supporting the “rationale for airstrikes.”<sup>307</sup> American news media, particularly television broadcasts, failed to politically contextualize Serbian massacres. Stories about the intervention led America’s evening newscasts during the early part of the offensive, but many broadcasts made no mention of Kosovar guerillas or the civil war. In the opinion of Seth Ackerman and Jim Naureckas, the media transformed “Kosovo’s civil war into a one-sided ethnic holocaust.”<sup>308</sup> The media coverage in Rwanda had done the opposite, reducing the genocide in 1994 to “tribal” and “ethnic civil conflict.”

American media reports on the Kosovo intervention were informed by government communiqués, which the media carried without sufficient skepticism. News agencies reported U.S. Government denials regarding the accidental bombing of civilians.<sup>309</sup>

Edward S. Herman and David Peterson conclude that CNN’s journalists “never questioned NATO’s motives, explored any hidden agendas, challenged NATO’s claims of fact, or followed investigatory leads that did not conform to NATO propaganda requirements.”<sup>310</sup> Overall, the American news media’s unwitting coverage of the Kosovo crisis permitted NATO members the freedom to suggest that the intervention was the first war in history launched for purely humanitarian purposes.<sup>311</sup>

Several vocal civil society groups, many of which pushed for action against Milosevic, also informed the domestic debate about the intervention. Serb-American civil society groups, such as the Serbian Unity Congress, called for Milosevic’s removal, and Albanian-American groups spoke out for Kosovo’s autonomy.<sup>312</sup> These calls, combined with the news media’s general support for the Kosovo intervention and simplistic reporting, narrowed the American public’s debate of the issue and encouraged public favor for the intervention.

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<sup>306</sup> Seth Ackerman and Jim Naureckas, “Following Washington’s Script: The United States Media and Kosovo,” in Hammond and Herman, 101.

<sup>307</sup> Ackerman and Naureckas, 99.

<sup>308</sup> Ackerman and Naureckas, 100.

<sup>309</sup> Ackerman and Naureckas, 108.

<sup>310</sup> Edward S. Herman and David Peterson, “CNN: Selling NATO’s War Globally,” in Hammond and Herman, 113.

<sup>311</sup> Diana Johnstone, “NATO and the New World Order: Ideals and Self-Interest,” in Hammond and Herman, 7.

<sup>312</sup> See Fron Nazi, “Balkan Diaspora I: The Albanian-American Community,” 149-152; and Nick Vucinich, “Balkan Diaspora II: The History and Future of the Serbian Community in America,” 153-158, in Buckley.

### 'G-word' debate

During the Kosovo crisis in 1999, decision makers debated the terminology of "genocide" in a manner that recalled the Rwanda killings in 1994. The U.S. War Crimes Ambassador, David Scheffer, conducted a thorough study in Macedonia on whether the deportation of Kosovar Albanians constituted genocide under the Genocide Convention.<sup>313</sup> Scheffer's report noted "the widespread and systematic character of the criminal conduct of Serb military, paramilitary and police units in Kosovo is among many of the indicators of genocide that we are seeing."<sup>314</sup>

As the NATO offensive began, the State Department approved the use of the term "genocide" to describe the campaign against Albanian Kosovars. In marked contrast to the conflicts in Bosnia and Rwanda, the Clinton administration used the term "genocide" in advance of intervention as a means of garnering international public, media and allied support.<sup>315</sup>

### 3.2.3 Conclusion

The American decision making process during the Rwandan Genocide was deliberately riddled with political and bureaucratic obstructions to an effective response. Additionally, the lack of domestic civil society pressure and the news media's misrepresentation of the genocide as "tribal" or "ethnic conflict" provided no domestic impetus to respond to the genocide. Political barriers included the formulation of PDD-25, which constrained any U.S. involvement in UN peacekeeping operations. Decision makers in Washington missed several opportunities for soft-power actions such as jamming hate radio, cutting off diplomatic ties, issuing stern statements of condemnation, and appealing to the media for wide-ranging coverage of the crisis. Top decision makers instead did the opposite, and instructed government officials to avoid using the term "genocide."

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<sup>313</sup> U.S. Department of State, report, "The Visit of Ambassador Scheffer to the Border Between The Former Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo, April 1-2 and Refugee Accounts of Atrocities," April 7, 1999, *State Department*, [http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/990407\\_scheffer\\_kosovo.html](http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/990407_scheffer_kosovo.html) (accessed February 10, 2009).

<sup>314</sup> U.S. Department of State, report, "The Visit of Ambassador Scheffer to the Border Between The Former Republic of Macedonia and Kosovo, April 1-2 and Refugee Accounts of Atrocities," April 7, 1999, *State Department*.

<sup>315</sup> Power, *A Problem from Hell*, 464-465.

While some members of Congress pressured the President to take forceful and urgent action, many senior officials in the Clinton administration vividly recall a prevailing opinion in Washington that Congress would oppose executive action to stop the Rwandan Genocide. Regardless of the stance of Congress, it was ultimately the decisions of the executive that prevented American action on Rwanda. As Kenneth Roth remarks, “You don’t need an act of Congress in order to send the handful of troops that would have been necessary to stop the Rwandan Genocide. The buck stops at Clinton. It was his refusal to take the political risks involved, which are ultimately the cause of the lack of a U.S. response.”<sup>316</sup> Instead, the U.S. actively avoided a timely and effective response to the Rwandan Genocide and pressured the Security Council to diminish the UNAMIR mission when it was needed most.

Within the State Department, intelligence outlining the details of the crisis in Rwanda was not widely circulated and high-ranking officials undermined any bottom-up initiative for action following the evacuation of Americans. Outdated Cold War strategies and narrow perceptions of the national interest continued to inform America’s strategic calculations and overshadowed the long-term strategic consequences, legal responsibilities, and human considerations that ought to have

shaped American foreign policy toward Rwanda. Consequently, the American response to the greatest human tragedy since the end of the Cold War was to manipulate the meaning of the word genocide in order to avoid coming to the aid of the Rwandan people.

There was only spotty civil society pressure on the U.S. Government from a small number of NGOs, which sent the message to decision makers that the American public was not interested in Rwanda. To add to this, in its limited coverage, the news media misrepresented events.

The Kosovo intervention illustrates that U.S. leadership is possible when important variables converge to make political costs of inaction unacceptable. The NATO-led intervention put an end to the commission of mass atrocities by Serbian forces, and demonstrated the complexities of responding to humanitarian crises. The use of force without the official approval of the UN, the reliance on air strikes, the displacement of civilians in Kosovo and the reluctance of NATO to deploy ground troops, presented significant challenges to U.S. decision makers. However, the overwhelming need to prevent further atrocities swayed NATO partners and key decision makers to support military action.

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<sup>316</sup> Roth, *W2I* interview.



U.S. coercive diplomacy and NATO's credible threats of force helped avert further mass atrocities in Kosovo. The U.S. engaged in diplomacy, sanctions, mediation and other non-military measures to deter Milosevic before deploying force as a last resort. After exhausting all diplomatic avenues, familiarity with Milosevic's tactics and aims aided U.S. decision makers in their conclusion that nothing short of force would deter his aggressive and genocidal aims.

U.S. leadership in the Kosovo crisis tipped the balance in favor of coherent international action. Having learned from past failures, the Clinton administration garnered sufficient international support to thwart Milosevic's ethnic cleansing campaign against Kosovar Albanians. Yet it is important to note the motivation that the Clinton administration derived from the geopolitical importance of the Balkans and European stability. This demonstrates the continued influence of Cold-War thinking in the United States' attitude towards humanitarian intervention. Unfortunately, this narrow conception of the national interest translated into inaction during the Rwandan Genocide, and belated, but crucial, intervention in the Balkans. Despite a much larger number of deaths in Rwanda, Kosovo garnered American attention because of the convergence of humanitarian and national interests.

It remains to be seen whether the preservation of innocent life from mass slaughter joined with a new understanding of the national interest will begin to shape American actions overseas. If the values codified in international treaties and conventions, many of which the U.S. has itself initiated and ratified, hold any meaning for U.S. decision makers, a decisive shift towards preventing mass atrocities around the globe will emerge as a vital pillar of American foreign policy. Under these potential circumstances, plans for action will be in place the next time risks of mass atrocities present themselves and the U.S. will finally be able to protect its own interests while leading the world in fulfilling the promise of "Never again."



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## **PART FOUR: APPENDICES**



## Appendix A: Selected Bibliography for the Case Studies

### Primary Sources (W2I interviews are listed separately in Appendix B)

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## Appendix B: W2/ Interview List

### CANADA

Name	Relevant position	Interview date and location
Adelman, Howard	Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, York University; Author of <i>Early Warning and Conflict Management: Joint Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda</i> (1996)	June 2, 2008, Toronto, ON
Allmand, Warren	President, the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, 1997 to 2002; President, World Federalist Movement-Canada 2004-present	January 22, 2009, Montreal, QC
Axworthy, Lloyd	Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995-2000	July 21, 2008, Winnipeg, MB
Baril, Maurice	Military advisor to the UN Secretary General and head of the Military Division of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UN, 1992-1995; Chief of the Defence Staff, 1997-2001	July 28, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Broadbent, Ed	Member of Parliament and Leader of the New Democratic Party, 1975-1989; Director, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, 1990-1996	February 6, 2009, telephone interview
Calder, Kenneth J.	Assistant Deputy Minister, Policy, Department of National Defence, 1991-2006	November 4, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Castonguay, Jacques	Social psychologist and military historian; Author of <i>Les Casques Bleus au Rwanda</i>	November 21, 2008, Montreal, QC
Chrétien, Raymond	The Secretary General of the UN's Special Envoy to the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa, 1996; Canadian Ambassador to the United States, 1994-2000	June 4, 2008, Montreal, QC
Collenette, David	Minister of National Defence, 1993-1996	November 17, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Dallaire, Roméo	Force Commander, United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda, 1993-1994	December 5, 2008, Montreal, QC
de Chastelain, John	Chief of the Defence Staff, 1989-1993, 1994-1995; Canadian Ambassador to the U.S., 1994	December 12, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Delvoie, Louis	Former Assistant Deputy Minister, Policy, Department of National Defence	July 8, 2008, Kingston, ON
Eggleton, Art	Minister of National Defence, 1997-2002	June 3, 2008, Ottawa, ON

## CANADA

Name	Relevant position	Interview date and location
Fowler, Robert	Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence, 1989-1995; Canadian Ambassador to the UN, 1995-2000	October 24, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Fréchette, Louise	Canadian Ambassador to the UN, 1992-1994; Deputy Minister of National Defence, 1995-1998; Deputy Secretary General of the UN, 1998-2006	May 30, 2008, Montreal, QC
Fried, Mark	Director of Advocacy, Oxfam Canada	November 20, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Gordon, Nancy	Director of Advocacy, CARE Canada, 1993-2005	November 4, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Gottlieb, Allan	Canadian Ambassador to the U.S., 1981-1989	July 15, 2008, Toronto, ON
Graham, Bill	Minister of Foreign Affairs, 2002-2004; Minister of National Defence, 2004-2006	June 13, 2008 and November 27, 2008, Toronto, ON
Heinbecker, Paul	Assistant Deputy Minister, Global and Security Policy, Department of Foreign Affairs, 1996-2000; Canadian Ambassador to the UN, 2000-2004	October 6, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Hubert, Don	Former Director of the Human Security Division, Department of Foreign Affairs; Former consultant for the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty	October 6, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Ignatieff, Michael	Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard University, 2000-2005; Member of Parliament and Official Leader of the Opposition, Liberal Party of Canada	June 4, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Judd, James	Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet, Foreign and Defence Policy, Privy Council Office, 1992-1994; Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence, 1998-2002	January 13, 2009, Ottawa, ON
Keystone, Jay S.	Medical Doctor, Tropical Disease Unit, Toronto General Hospital; Professor of Medicine, University of Toronto	April 24, 2009, email and telephone interview
Larose-Edwards, Paul	Executive Director, CANADEM	December 18, 2008, telephone interview
MacKenzie, Lewis	Commander, Sector Sarajevo, UNPROFOR, Yugoslavia, 1992	July 29, 2008, Almonte, ON.
Martin, Douglas	Former General Secretary, the Bahá'í Community of Canada	November 26, 2008, Toronto, ON

## CANADA

Name	Relevant position	Interview date and location
Martin, Keith	Member of Parliament, 1993-present	November 21, 2008, Ottawa, ON
McWhinney, Edward	Member of Parliament, 1994-2000; Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1997-1998	June 6, 2008, Vancouver, BC
Monahan, John	Executive Director, the Mosaic Institute	April 13, 2009, telephone interview
Ouellet, André	Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1993-1995; Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1995-1996	November 5, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Pardy, Gar	Former official, Department of Foreign Affairs	November 21, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Rae, Bob	Former Premier of Ontario, 1990-1995; Member of Parliament and Official Foreign Affairs Critic for the Liberal Party of Canada, 2008-present	June 3, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Sallot, Jeff	Former national security reporter for the <i>Globe and Mail</i>	November 14, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Watson, John A.	CEO, CARE Canada, 1987-2007	August 7, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Wright, David	Canadian Ambassador to NATO, 1997-2003	September 18, 2008, Toronto, ON
Anonymous	Former official, Department of Foreign Affairs	November 27, 2008, Montreal, QC
Anonymous	Journalist in Afghanistan	November 19, 2008, telephone interview
Anonymous	Official, Department of Foreign Affairs	November 25, 2008, Montreal, QC
Anonymous	Journalist	November 21, 2008, Ottawa, ON
Anonymous	Official, Department of Foreign Affairs	November 26, 2008, telephone interview

## UNITED STATES

Name	Relevant position	Interview date and location
Bailey, Michael	Military Advisor to Presidential Special Envoy Anthony Lake, 1998-2000; Director, Post Conflict Operations, RONCO Consulting Corporation, 2003 to present	October 10, 2008, Washington, DC
Bishop, Jim	American Foreign Service Officer, 1962-1995; Vice President, Humanitarian Policy and Practice, Interaction	November 25, 2008, Washington, DC
Bushnell, Prudence	Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, State Department, 1993-1994	June 10, 2008, Washington, DC
Cohen, Herman J.	Former Assistant Secretary of State, Africa, State Department, 1989-1993	December 23, 2008, telephone interview
Cohen, Jared	Author of <i>One Hundred Days of Silence: America and the Rwanda Genocide</i>	November 24, 2008, Washington, DC
Dagne, Ted	Africa Specialist, the Congressional Research Service; Assistant to Congressman Donald M. Payne (NJ)	July 30, 2008, Washington, DC
Deng, Francis M.	Special Adviser of the United Nations Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide, 2007-present	September 5, 2008, New York, NY
Des Forges, Alison L.	Former Senior Advisor to the Africa Division at Human Rights Watch; Author of <i>Leave None to Tell the Story</i>	November 21, 2008, telephone interview
Fowler, Jerry	Former founding director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum's Committee on Conscience; President, Save Darfur, 2008-present	October 8, 2008, Washington, DC
Hall, Tony P.	Member of U.S. House of Representatives (Ohio), 1979-2002; U.S. Ambassador to the UN Agencies for Food and Agriculture, 2002-2006	June 12, 2008, Washington, DC
Halperin, Morton	Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy, National Security Council, 1994-1996; Director of Policy Planning, State Department, 1998-2001	June 9, 2008, Washington, DC
Hirsch, Dean R.	President and CEO, World Vision International	January 6, 2009, telephone interview
Holt, Victoria	Senior Associate, Henry L. Stimson Center	October 7, 2008, Washington, DC
Levine, Iain	Program Director, Human Rights Watch	May 6, 2008, New York, NY

## UNITED STATES

Name	Relevant position	Interview date and location
Lindberg, Tod	Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University	October 10, 2008, Washington, DC
Lyman, Princeton N.	Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, State Department, 1996-1998	November 25, 2008, Washington, DC
Natsios, Andrew	Vice President, World Vision U.S., 1993-1997; Administrator of USAID, 2001-2005; U.S. Special Envoy for Darfur, 2006-2007	November 18, 2008, Washington, DC
Odom, Thomas	Former U.S. Defense Attaché to Rwanda and Zaire; Author of <i>Journey into Darkness: Genocide in Rwanda</i>	November 13, 2008, telephone interview
Orth, Rick	Principal Defense Intelligence Agency Analyst, Department of Defense, 1994	November 13, 2008, telephone interview
Pace, William	Executive Director, World Federalist Movement - Institute for Global Policy	May 7, 2008, New York, NY
Payne, Donald	Member of U.S. House of Representatives (NJ), 1988-present	July 30, 2008, Washington, DC
Power, Samantha	Former Professor, Harvard University; Former war correspondent and author of <i>A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide</i>	May 6, 2008, New York, NY
Rawson, David P.	U.S. Ambassador to Rwanda, 1993-1996	November 20, 2008, Manitou Beach, MI
Roth, Kenneth	Executive Director, Human Rights Watch, 1993-present	May 6, 2008, New York, NY
Schultz Heim, Laurie	Senior policy advisor to Senator Jim Jeffords, 1989-2006; Director of Congressional Relations, United States Institute of Peace, 2006-present	November 19, 2008, Washington, DC
Sewall, Sarah	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Assistance, the Department of Defense, 1993-2001; Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard University, 2006-2008	September 8, 2008, Cambridge, MA
Shattuck, John	Former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, State Department, 1993-1998	December 1, 2008, Boston, MA
Smith, Gayle	Senior Advisor and Chief of Staff to the Administrator of USAID, 1994-1998; Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress	June 11, 2008, Washington, DC
Stares, Paul B.	Director, Center for Preventive Action, Council on Foreign Relations	October 8, 2008, Washington, DC

## UNITED STATES

Name	Relevant position	Interview date and location
Talbot, Strobe	Deputy Secretary of State, 1994–2001; President of the Brookings Institution	June 10, 2008, Washington, DC
Wharton Jr., Clifton R.	Deputy Secretary of State, 1993	September 5, 2008, New York, NY
Williams, H. Roy	Senior official, International Rescue Committee, 1985-1998; Director of Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance, 1998-2001	November 26, 2008, New York, NY
Winter, Roger	Executive Director, U.S. Committee on Refugees, 1981–2001	June 10, 2008, Washington, DC
Wolpe, Howard	Director of the Africa Program and Leadership Project, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars	June 11, 2008, Washington, DC
Woocher, Lawrence	Senior Program Officer, Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, United States Institute of Peace	October 10, 2008, Washington, DC
Anonymous	Senior official, State Department	July 13, 2008, Washington, DC
Anonymous	Senior government official	August 1, 2008, Washington, DC

## Appendix C: W2I Team

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### Project Co-Directors

Lieutenant General the Honourable **Roméo A. Dallaire** (Ret.) has had a distinguished career in the Canadian military, achieving the rank of Lieutenant General and becoming Assistant Deputy Minister (Human Resources) in the Department of National Defence in 1998. In 1994, General Dallaire commanded the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. His book entitled *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, was awarded the Governor General's Literary Award for Non-Fiction in 2004. Since his retirement from the military, he has written extensively about humanitarian assistance and human rights. As a Fellow of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, he pursued research on conflict resolution and the use of child soldiers. He has received numerous honours and awards, including Officer of the Order of Canada in 2002, Grand Officer of the National Order of Québec in 2005, and the Aegis Award for Genocide Prevention from the Aegis Trust (United Kingdom). Canada's Governor General, Her Excellency the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson, presented him with the United Nations Association of Canada's Pearson Peace Medal in 2005. He was appointed to the Senate effective March 24, 2005 as a member of the Liberal Party of Canada. As a Senator he is a member of the Senate Standing Committee on Human Rights and visited Darfur as a member of Prime Minister Paul Martin's Special Advisory Team on Darfur. Senator Dallaire is a Senior Fellow at MIGS, a member of the United Nations Secretary General's Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention, and is currently writing a book on child soldiers.

**Frank Chalk**, Professor of History, Concordia University (Montreal, Canada) and Director, Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, is co-author, with Kurt Jonassohn, of *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (Yale Univ. Press, 1990), an associate editor of the three-volume, Macmillan Reference USA *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity* (2004), and co-author, with Danielle Kelton, "Mass Atrocity Crimes in Darfur and The Response of Government of Sudan Media to International Pressure," chapter 5 in *Crisis in Darfur*, Amanda Grzyb, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009). Professor Chalk served as President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars (June 1999-June 2001), and is a past president of the Canadian Association of African Studies. His current research is focused on radio broadcasting in the incitement and prevention of genocide, and domestic laws of genocide. Prof. Chalk teaches undergraduate and graduate courses on the history and sociology of genocide, the Holocaust, humanitarian intervention, and the history of United States foreign relations. During his sabbatical leave in the academic year 2000-2001, Prof. Chalk was a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC. In 1975-1976, Prof. Chalk was a Fulbright Fellow at the University of Ibadan (Nigeria).

## Researchers

**Kyle Matthews** is *W2I*'s Lead Researcher. He joined the project after more than five years of diplomatic service with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. During that time, he was posted to the Southern Caucasus, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Geneva. He previously worked for CARE Canada in Albania and later at its headquarters in Ottawa, where he managed various humanitarian response initiatives and peace-building projects. Kyle has appeared on the CBC, CTV, BBC and Al Jazeera English to discuss issues related to international peace and security. Originally from Ottawa, Kyle completed his Master's in Development and International Relations at Aalborg University in Denmark (2001), earned a certificate in Refugee Issues from York University (2002) and received his undergraduate degree in History from Carleton University (1996). He is currently completing a Professional Master's at the School of Policy Studies at Queen's University.

**Carla Barqueiro**, Researcher for the *W2I* Project, has a PhD from the Department of International Politics at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth in the UK. Her PhD thesis examines Canada's human security foreign policy development from 1996-2001 and its connection to soft power. She completed her BA and MA in Sociology at McGill University and is a two-time recipient of the Human Security in Cities Graduate Research Award from Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the Canadian Consortium on Human Security. Throughout her graduate studies, she taught a variety of undergraduate courses, including *Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics*, and *Intelligence and International Security*. Her policy publications include *An Examination of Urban Violent Crime in Rio de Janeiro & São Paulo* (online, DFAIT, June, 2006), and *Children in Endemic Urban Violence: Assessing the 'Protection Gap' through a Human Security Perspective* (upcoming, DFAIT). Her research interests include human security, human rights, genocide, the International Criminal Court, international law, and international children's rights.

**Simon Doyle**, Researcher for the *W2I* Project, joined MIGS after more than five years' work as a journalist in Ottawa. Formerly a freelance writer and a reporter with the CanWest News parliamentary bureau in Ottawa, Simon has written extensively about federal lobbying and Canadian politics and policy. He worked for nearly three years as deputy editor of *The Hill Times* newspaper, an independent newsweekly covering Canadian politics and government. As member of the Parliamentary Press Gallery, he contributed regular columns to the *Halifax Daily News* and *First Perspective*, a national aboriginal affairs newspaper. He holds an MJ from Carleton University (2006) and a BA in history from the University of Toronto (2002). He is a member of the Canadian Study of Parliament Group, the Historical Society of Ottawa, and continues to volunteer a regular column for the Canadian Association of Journalists' *Media* magazine.

The *W2I* Project would also like to acknowledge the work of other researchers and interns who made valuable contributions to the realization of this report. Richard Pilkington and Sarah Meyer started the ball rolling with a conceptual outline of a research report on the will to intervene. Richard expertly developed a budget and a funding plan for the study. Erin Jesse, Sarah Meyer and Richard Pilkington conducted an extensive literature review at the outset of the project. Miriam Rabkin expertly and energetically assisted in conducting interviews and research, and coordinated our meetings with the members of the Research Steering Committee. Julia Pettengill provided much appreciated editorial assistance from afar. Eugenia Zorbas assisted in the review of the French version of the report. We thank Carol Berger and Avi Goldberg for their brief service with *W2I*. Lastly, we would like to thank our interns Ryan Cronsberry, Sarah Flatto and Anne Marie Poitras for their valuable contributions.



## Appendix D: Research Steering Committee

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The *W2I* Project invited a distinguished group of policy makers and experts to provide strategic advice throughout the implementation of the project. Research Steering Committee meetings took place in Montreal on May 26, 2008 and September 29, 2008. Biographies of the members of the Research Steering Committee are listed below.

**Maurice Baril** served in the Canadian Forces for 40 years. During his military career, he held command and staff responsibilities across Canada, in Europe, the U.S., the Middle East and Africa. In the 1990s, he was successively commander of the Army Combat Training Centre, military advisor to the Secretary General of the United Nations in New York for three years, Commander of the Army from 1995 to 1997, promoted to the rank of General in 1997 and appointed Canada's Chief of Defence Staff until retirement in 2001. He is a graduate of Canadian Army Command and Staff College, U.S. Army Special Forces School, Canadian Forces Command and Staff College, and École Supérieure de Guerre in Paris. Since retirement, General (ret.) Baril has been special advisor to the Ambassador for Mine Action of the Department of Foreign Affairs Canada. In January 2003, he was appointed Inspector General in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at the United Nations Secretariat.

**Ed Broadbent** was leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada from 1975 to 1989 when he represented the riding of Oshawa. After retiring, he returned briefly to Parliament in 2004–2006, representing the riding of Ottawa Centre. From 1990 to 1996, Broadbent was the founding president of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development in Montreal. He was made a member of the Privy Council in 1982, an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1993 and a Companion of the Order of Canada in 2002. He is now a Fellow at the School of Policy Studies, Queen's University.

**Fred C. Fischer** worked for the U.S. government for thirty-eight years, during which time he directed some of the largest disaster relief operations ever mounted. These operations included earthquake recovery in Guatemala and Nicaragua; famine and refugee relief in Pakistan, Djibouti, Kenya, southern Sudan, Somalia, Malawi and Mozambique; covert cross-border humanitarian assistance from Pakistan into Afghanistan (during the Soviet invasion); and aid to the victims of apartheid in South Africa. His overseas assignments included First Secretary of the American Embassy in Bonn, Germany (1964–1968); U.S. Coordinator for Emergency Relief in Ethiopia (during the great famine of 1984–1986); and Director of the USAID Regional Economic Development Services Office for East and Southern Africa (based in Nairobi, Kenya, 1990–1995). He was named Federal Executive of the Year in 1986, for management of the emergency relief program in Ethiopia, the largest ever carried out by the U.S. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin with a BA in Journalism and Political Science in 1956 and was a Sloan Fellow at the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, 1974–1975. Since retiring in 1995, he has carried out consulting assignments for USAID and the Inter-American Development Bank.

**Tom Flanagan** is the award-winning author of *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power* (2007) and *Waiting for the Wave: The Reform Party and Preston Manning* (1995). In 2001–2002, Dr. Flanagan managed Stephen Harper's campaigns for the leadership of the Canadian Alliance (2002) and of the Conservative Party of Canada (2004), as well as the Conservative Party's national election campaign in 2004. He was the Senior Communications Adviser in the Conservative war room during the party's successful 2005–2006 election campaign. Previously, from 1991 to 1993, Dr. Flanagan was an adviser to Preston Manning and the Reform Party. Dr. Flanagan studied political science at Notre Dame University, the Free University of West Berlin, and Duke University, where he received his PhD. He has taught political science at the University of Calgary since 1968. He was head of the political science department from 1982 to 1987, and was named University Professor in 2007. Dr. Flanagan was elected to the Royal Society of Canada in 1996.

**Robert Fowler** has had a distinguished career as a Canadian diplomat and public servant. He was the Prime Minister's Personal Representative for Africa. He was a member of former Prime Minister Paul Martin's special advisory team on Darfur. Fowler served as Canada's ambassador to the United Nations (1995–2000) and Italy (2000–2006), and as foreign policy advisor to three Prime Ministers. He was also the Deputy Minister of National Defence (1989–1995).

**Yoine Goldstein** was appointed to the Senate in 2005. In 2003, he served as Special Advisor to the Senate Standing Committee on Banking, Trade and Commerce in connection with its report on amendments to Canadian bankruptcy and insolvency legislation and in 2001 and 2002 as chair of the Federal Personal Insolvency Task Force. A graduate of McGill University's Law Faculty in 1958, he went on to complete his studies in France, where he obtained a Doctorat de l'Université from the Université de Lyon in 1960. Senator Goldstein taught law at l'Université de Montréal from 1973 to 1997. In 1992 he received the Lord Reading Law Society Human Rights Award and the Lord Reading Law Society Service Award in 1998. He is a member of the Community Advisory Board of the Concordia University Chair of Canadian Jewish Studies. Senator Goldstein is the only Canadian lawyer to have been elected a Fellow of both the American College of Bankruptcy and the American College of Trial Lawyers. In 2007 he received the Quebec Bar's honorary distinction of *Avocat émérite*.

**Bill Graham** is the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of National Defence. Before entering the public service and serving as a Member of Parliament for over thirteen years, Graham taught in the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto where he pioneered the international law program. He was a Member of the House of Commons Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade from 1994–2002 and Chairman from 1996–2002, and during 1998 led the drafting of the Standing Committee report on the Arctic: "Canada and the Circumpolar World: Meeting the Challenges of Cooperation into the Twenty-First Century." Graham served as Leader of the Official Opposition until his retirement from Parliament in 2007.

**David A. Hamburg, MD**, is DeWitt Wallace Distinguished Scholar at Weill Cornell Medical College and chairs the United Nations Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention. He was President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1982 to 1997 and has been Professor at Stanford University and Harvard University. Hamburg is the author of *No More Killing Fields: Preventing Deadly Conflict* (2002) and *Learning to Live Together: Preventing Hatred and Violence in Child and Adolescent Development* (2004). He was a member of President Clinton's Defense Policy Board and the President's Committee of Advisors on Science and Technology and was the founder of the Carnegie Commission on Science,

Technology and Government. He is the recipient of the National Academy of Sciences Public Welfare Medal and the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

**Ted Koppel** is Discovery Channel's managing editor. In this role, he anchors *Koppel on Discovery*, a series of long-form programming that examines major global topics and events for the largest cable network in the United States. He and his team of award-winning producers joined the network in January 2006. Koppel is also a senior news analyst for National Public Radio. Koppel came to Discovery Channel after forty-two years at ABC News. From 1980 until 2005, he was the anchor and managing editor of ABC News *Nightline*, one of the most honored broadcasts in television history. As the nation's longest running network daily news anchor, his interviews and reporting touched every major news story over a span of twenty-five years. A member of the Broadcasting Hall of Fame, Koppel has won every major broadcasting award including forty-two Emmy Awards (one for lifetime achievement), eight George Foster Peabody Awards, ten DuPont-Columbia Awards and two George Polk Awards. His ten Overseas Press Club Awards make him the most honored journalist in the Club's history. He has received more than twenty honorary degrees from universities in the United States.

**Juan É. Méndez** was the United Nations' special advisor on the prevention of genocide from 2004 to 2007. He has taught at the University of Notre Dame, Georgetown University Law Center, the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and in the Oxford Masters Program in International Human Rights Law. His work on behalf of political prisoners of Argentina's military dictatorship in the 1970s led to his torture and administrative detention for over a year, during which time Amnesty International adopted him as a "Prisoner of Conscience." Following his release, he moved to the United States and began work with Human Rights Watch. Méndez has received multiple awards for his work, including the University of Dayton's inaugural Oscar A. Romero Award for Leadership in Service to Human Rights (2000) and the Jeanne and Joseph Sullivan Award of the Heartland Alliance (2003).

**Alex Neve** is the Secretary General of Amnesty International Canada's English-speaking branch. He has participated in Amnesty International missions to Burundi, Chad, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Honduras, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Grassy Narrows, Ontario. He represented Amnesty International at the 2001 Summit of the Americas, the 2002 G8 Summit and the 2003 Asian Plurilateral Symposium on Human Rights in China. He has appeared before numerous Canadian parliamentary committees as well as various UN and Inter-American human rights bodies. He holds a Bachelor of Commerce and Bachelor of Laws from Dalhousie University, and a Masters Degree in International Human Rights Law from the University of Essex. Neve is the Chair of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Centre for International Justice, and a member of the Board of Directors of Partnership Africa Canada. He was named a Trudeau Foundation Mentor in late 2007 and is an Officer of the Order of Canada.

**André Pratte** is the editor-in-chief of the Montreal's *La Presse* and the author of five books on journalism and politics, including *Aux pays des merveilles: Essai sur les mythes politiques québécois* (2006), *Le Temps des girouettes* (2003) and *L'Énigme Charest* (1997), a biography of Jean Charest. He was one of twelve prominent Quebecers, led by former Premier Lucien Bouchard, who signed the 2005 manifesto entitled "*Pour un Québec lucide*" ("For a Clear-Eyed Vision of Quebec"), which provoked a passionate debate about Quebec's future. He also edited and contributed to *Reconquerir le Canada: un nouveau projet pour la nation Québécoise* (*Reconquering Canada: A New Project for the Quebec Nation*), a collection of essays promoting federalism in the province.

**Kenneth Prewitt** is the Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs at the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. Previous positions include director of the United States Census Bureau (1998–2001), director of the National Opinion Research Center, president of the Social Science Research Council and senior vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation. He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Russell-Sage Foundation, and member of other professional associations, including the Council on Foreign Relations. Among his awards are a Guggenheim Fellowship, honorary degrees from Carnegie Mellon and Southern Methodist University, a Distinguished Service Award from the New School for Social Research, various awards associated with his directorship of the Census Bureau, and in 1990 he was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit from the Federal Republic of Germany.

**David Scheffer** is the Mayer Brown/Robert A. Helman Professor of Law and Director of the Center for International Human Rights at Northwestern University School of Law, where he teaches international criminal law and international human rights law. He is the former U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes Issues (1997–2001) and led the U.S. delegation in the negotiations leading to the establishment of the International Criminal Court. During the first term of the Clinton Administration, he was Senior Advisor and Counsel to the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Dr. Madeleine Albright, and served on the Deputies Committee of the National Security Council.

**Hugh D. Segal** is a graduate of the University of Ottawa. Senator Segal spent several decades in the private and public sector before being appointed to the Senate in 2005 by Prime Minister Martin. His public sector experience spans the Cabinet Office at Queens Park and the Prime Minister's Office in Ottawa. He is a former President of the Institute for Research on Public Policy and remains a Senior Fellow and teaches at Queen's University. He sits on various corporate and public boards, as well as serving on not-for-profit and charitable organizations. Since being appointed to the Senate as a Conservative, he has sat on the Senate Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Agriculture and Forestry, Aboriginal Affairs committees and the Special Committee on Anti-Terrorism. In 2003 he was named to the Order of Canada; in 2004 he was awarded an honorary doctorate from the Royal Military College and in 2005 was appointed an Honorary Captain of the Canadian Navy. He has authored numerous books and articles on public policy and the Conservative Party. Before his Senate appointment, he was a regular television commentator on the CTV, PBS and CBC networks.

**Jennifer Allen Simons** is President of The Simons Foundation, Visiting Fellow at the Morris J. Wosk Centre for Dialogue, Simon Fraser University and Adjunct Professor with SFU's School for International Studies. She is a former Director and Adjunct Professor of the Simons Centre for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Research at the Liu Institute for Global Issues, University of British Columbia (UBC), which she established jointly with UBC. Simons was a member of the Canadian government delegation to the UN 2000 Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference and the 2002 Non-Proliferation Treaty Conference and is a member of the Steering Committee of the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs/Non-Governmental Organizations Consultations on Nuclear Issues. SFU honored Simons with the Jennifer Allen Simons Chair in Liberal Studies and the 1996 Chancellor's Distinguished Service Award; she is the recipient of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II's Golden Jubilee Commemorative Medal for her service in support of the global effort to eradicate landmines and the 2006 Vancouver Citizens' Peace Award.

**Janice Gross Stein** is the Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management in the Department of Political Science and Director of the Munk Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto. She is the co-author, with Eugene Lang, of *The Unexpected War: Canada in Kandahar* (2007), recipient of the Shaughnessy Cohen prize for political writing. Among her other books are *Networks of Knowledge: Innovation in International Learning* (2000); *The Cult of Efficiency* (2001); and *Street Protests and Fantasy Parks* (2001). In 2006, she was awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Laws by the University of Alberta and the University of Cape Breton. She was the Massey Lecturer in 2001 and a Trudeau Fellow. Gross Stein is the recipient of the Molson Prize by the Canada Council for an outstanding contribution by a social scientist to public debate and an Honorary Foreign Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a member of the Order of Canada and the Order of Ontario.

**Allan Thompson** is an Assistant Professor at Carleton University's School of Journalism and Communication. He joined the faculty at Carleton in 2003 after spending seventeen years as a reporter with the *Toronto Star*, Canada's largest circulation daily newspaper. Thompson worked for ten years as a correspondent for *The Star* on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, reporting on foreign affairs, defense and immigration issues. He first reported from Rwanda for *The Star* in 1996 during the mass exodus of Rwandan refugees from eastern Zaire. He visited Rwanda again in 1998 to prepare a series of feature articles. Over the years he has also chronicled Roméo Dallaire's career in a series of reports for *The Star*. In January 2004, Thompson travelled to Arusha, Tanzania, to report on Dallaire's testimony before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

**Thomas G. Weiss** is Presidential Professor of Political Science at The CUNY Graduate Center and Director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, where he is co-director of the United Nations Intellectual History Project. Weiss has served as the interim executive director of the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. He was awarded the Grand Prix Humanitaire de France 2006 and is chair of the Academic Council on the UN System. He was a co-editor of *Global Governance*, Research Director of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, Research Professor at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies, Executive Director of the Academic Council on the UN System and of the International Peace Academy, a member of the UN secretariat, and a consultant to several public and private agencies. He has written or edited some 35 books and numerous scholarly articles about multilateral approaches to international peace and security, humanitarian action and sustainable development.

**Harvey Yarosky** has practiced law in Montreal since 1962 and has been a member and chair of various committees of the Bar of Montréal, the Bar of Québec and the Canadian Bar association relating to the administration of justice. He taught criminal law at McGill University, where he was adjunct professor of criminal law, as well as at the University of Ottawa and Université de Montréal. Yarosky is a fellow of the American College of Trial Lawyers and has acted as Independent Counsel to the Canadian Judicial Council. Yarosky was executive assistant to the federal Department of Justice Committee on Hate Propaganda (the "Cohen Committee"), the report of which formed the basis of the provisions in the Canadian Criminal Code on the advocacy and promotion of genocide and on hate propaganda. He has also been counsel to Senator and Lt. Gen (Ret.) Roméo Dallaire in relation to a number of international investigations, inquiries and proceedings regarding the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

## Appendix E: Academic Consultation Group

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The *W2I* Project invited a group of outstanding academics and experts to advise the researchers during the course of the project. The Academic Consultation Group met in Montreal on April 14, 2008 and November 10, 2008. Biographies of the members of the Academic Consultation Group are listed below:

**Elizabeth Bloodgood** is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Concordia University. She earned her PhD at Princeton University. Dr. Bloodgood is particularly interested in NGOs and their use of informational lobbying and protest tactics to influence national decision makers regarding foreign policy and international regimes. In her past work, Dr. Bloodgood has examined the activities of Greenpeace, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, Friends of the Earth, and Abolition 2000. In order to address questions about the influence of NGOs in foreign policy making, she has surveyed decision makers about their relations with NGOs and interviewed NGO staffers about their tactics and goals in both London and Washington, DC.

**David Carment** is a Professor of International Affairs at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University and Fellow of the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute. He is also a NATO Fellow and listed in *Who's Who in International Affairs*. In addition, Carment serves as the principal investigator for the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy project. He has served as Director of the Centre for Security and Defence Studies at Carleton University and is the recipient of a Carleton Graduate Students' teaching excellence award, SSHRC fellowships and research awards, Carleton University's research achievement award, and a Petro-Canada Young Innovator Award. Carment has held fellowships at the Kennedy School, Harvard and the Hoover Institution, Stanford.

**Don Hubert** led policy development on Canada's human security agenda within the Department of Foreign Affairs for nearly a decade. He has been responsible for specific initiatives on small arms proliferation, diamonds and other resources linked to armed conflict, the Responsibility to Protect, and corporate social responsibility. Most recently, he was Director of the Human Security Division, with previous positions in Policy Planning, as Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs, and as Deputy to the Chair of the Kimberley Process. He has held post-doctoral positions at the Centre for Foreign Policy Studies at Dalhousie University and the Humanitarianism and War Project at Brown University, was a consultant for the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, and has taught at the School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

**Michael Ignatieff** was born and raised in Toronto, and earned his PhD from Harvard University where he taught from 2000-2005. Mr. Ignatieff is considered one of the world's leading experts in democracy, human rights, security, and international affairs. He has advised governments and world leaders on these questions, and has served on the International Commission on Kosovo and the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. Mr. Ignatieff has been a regular commentator, critic and broadcaster on television and radio in Canada, England, and the United States. As a journalist, he covered the Balkan wars for the BBC, the *Observer* and the *New Yorker*, reporting from Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, Angola, and Afghanistan. In television, he has hosted many programs for

the BBC, PBS and CBC, including the award-winning 1993 series *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism*. In January 2006, Mr. Ignatieff was elected as the Member of Parliament for Etobicoke-Lakeshore. He is currently the Leader of the Official Opposition in the Parliament of Canada.

**Bruce Jentleson** is a Professor of Public Policy and Political Science at Duke University, where he served from 2000-2005 as Director of the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy. He is a leading expert on a wide range of issues of American foreign policy, with a distinguished professorial record and extensive policy experience. In 2006-07, he was a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at Oxford University and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London), and a Fulbright Senior Research Scholar in Spain. His publications include numerous articles as well as seven books including *American Foreign Policy: The Dynamics of Choice in the 21st Century*, a leading university text on American foreign policy (W.W. Norton, 2000; 2004; third edition, 2007) and *Opportunities Missed, Opportunities Seized: Preventive Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World*, a project of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). His next books—*After Bush: Getting Global Leadership Right*; *First Principles: Force and Diplomacy in the Contemporary Era*; and *Profiles in Statesmanship*, are in the works.

**Paul Koring** is a staff correspondent in *The Globe and Mail's* Washington Bureau and specializes in international security affairs and foreign policy. He has been a foreign correspondent for *The Globe* and other news organizations since 1980 and has spent significant time covering conflicts, international security and defense issues. His “on-the-ground” conflict coverage includes the Iran-Iraq war, the Palestinian *intifada*, Northern Ireland, the first Gulf War, and the Balkan wars in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Kosovo. He has made four trips to Afghanistan and has covered Canadian military overseas deployments in Haiti, Baghdad, Cyprus and Kandahar.

**Michael Lipson** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Concordia University. His current research addresses international organizations concerned with threats to international peace and security, focusing on nonproliferation and international peacekeeping.

**Stephen Saideman** is Canada Research Chair in International Security and Ethnic Conflict and Associate Professor of Political Science at McGill University. He has published articles on the international relations and comparative politics of ethnic conflict in a variety of journals and edited volumes. Saideman spent a year on the U.S. Joint Staff working in the Strategic Planning and Policy Directorate on Balkans issues as part of a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship.

**Abby Stoddard** is a policy analyst in international humanitarian affairs, conducting independent and commissioned research in association with New York University's Center on International Cooperation and the U.K.-based Overseas Development Institute. She is a founding member of Humanitarian Outcomes, an independent research team that provides evidence-based analysis to governments and international organizations on improving humanitarian response. Her prior work as an aid practitioner throughout the 1990s spanned such crises as Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Stoddard is the author of *Humanitarian Alert: NGO Information and its Impact on US Foreign Policy* (Kumarian Press, 2006).

**Scott Straus** is an Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where he teaches classes on genocide, violence, human rights, and African politics. His book on the Rwandan Genocide, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2006) won the 2006 Award for Excellence in Political Science and Government from the Professional and Scholarly Publishing Division of the Association of American Publishers. He has published articles related to genocide in *Foreign Affairs*, *World Politics*, *Politics & Society*, and *Genocide Studies and Prevention*. Before entering academia, Straus was a freelance journalist based in Nairobi, Kenya.

**Amanda Sussman** has an extensive background in advocacy work with organizations such as Human Rights Watch and Greenpeace, and she has been a policy adviser on human rights and refugee issues to senior cabinet ministers in the Canadian government. Ms. Sussman holds an MA in international affairs and economics from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, and her works include *The Art of the Possible: A Handbook for Political Activism*.

**Allan Thompson** Please see Appendix D (Research Steering Committee) for his biography.

**Thomas G. Weiss** Please see Appendix D (Research Steering Committee) for his biography.



## Appendix F: Acronyms

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<b>APC</b>	Atrocities Prevention Committee
<b>CBC</b>	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency
<b>CIDA</b>	Canadian International Development Agency
<b>DFAIT</b>	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada
<b>DND</b>	Department of National Defence
<b>DOD</b>	Department of Defense
<b>DRC</b>	Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>FSO</b>	Foreign Service Officer
<b>G8</b>	Group of Eight
<b>HIV/AIDS</b>	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Virus
<b>ICHRDD</b>	International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development
<b>ICISS</b>	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
<b>IPC</b>	Interagency Policy Committee
<b>KLA</b>	Kosovo Liberation Army
<b>MONUC</b>	The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>NSC</b>	National Security Council
<b>OSCE</b>	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
<b>PCO</b>	Privy Council Office
<b>PDD</b>	Presidential Decision Directive
<b>PMO</b>	Prime Minister's Office
<b>PRD</b>	Presidential Review Decision

<b>RPF</b>	Rwandan Patriotic Front
<b>R2P</b>	Responsibility to Protect
<b>RTL</b>	Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines
<b>STAND</b>	Students Taking Action Now: Darfur
<b>START</b>	Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNAMIR</b>	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
<b>UNDPKO</b>	United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations
<b>UNOSOM</b>	United Nations Operations in Somalia
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>U.S.</b>	United States
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>USG</b>	United States Government
<b>W2I</b>	Will to Intervene

## Appendix G: R2P's Stringent Criteria Limiting the Use of Force

Critics often unjustifiably single out the *Responsibility to Protect* as a doctrine that promotes the use of military force. W2I presents this appendix to communicate to policy makers and critics alike that R2P has strict criteria for the use force. What follows are extracts from the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, “About the Responsibility to Protect: Frequently Asked Questions,” available in full at <http://globalr2p.org/FAQ.html>. These extracts define the criteria under which military force can be considered for legitimate humanitarian intervention, and juxtaposes the second Iraq war against these criteria.

### **Under what circumstances would military action be considered?**

*Military action offers both a threat to deter actors and, ultimately, a means to prevent or stop atrocities, but even then, the failure of non-military measures would not automatically trigger a military response. There are a number of criteria that have to be satisfied, quite apart from the issue of legal authority, before such intervention could be considered legitimate.*

*The ICISS report proposed five “precautionary principles,” drawn from centuries of theory and practice in many different cultural contexts, to help guide such decisions. The first is paramount: the violence in question must be of such a serious nature, encompassing large-scale actual or threatened loss of life or ethnic cleansing, that the grave risks associated with any use of force should be contemplated. Second, the primary purpose of the intervention must be to prevent or halt such suffering. Third, military force must be the last resort. Fourth, the means must be proportional to the ends sought. Lastly, the intervention must have a reasonable prospect of success, with the consequences of the action not being worse than the consequences of inaction. Kofi Annan’s 2005 reform proposal, *In Larger Freedom*, suggested similar language.*

### **Doesn’t the Iraq war show that R2P is really about regime change?**

*No, but there can be little question that the 2003 invasion of Iraq has done real harm to the proposition that military force can be used, in extreme cases, for humanitarian ends. Neither the George W. Bush administration nor its allies sought to justify the war, and the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, chiefly as a humanitarian response to the regime’s tyranny. But because some advocates of the invasion did make this claim, and others—and especially British Prime Minister Tony Blair—offered it as a retrospective rationalization, the war has at times been viewed as a kind of demonstration project of the responsibility to protect. Indeed, skeptics of R2P have been able to cite the Iraq war as “proof” that the powerful will cynically deploy the new norm to justify acts of aggression in pursuit of national interest, and in the process will cause worse violations of human rights than those they allegedly seek to remedy.*

*The Iraq war should have no bearing on the merits of R2P. Saddam Hussein brutally violated the human rights of his people; but by 2003, he was no longer engaging in the grossest acts of ethnic cleansing, or of mass murder, that he had a decade earlier, and military action would not have satisfied either the imminence or last resort precautionary guidelines. In the run-up to the war, the United States and the United Kingdom sought to persuade the Security Council that Iraq had violated UN resolutions about weapons of mass destruction, not that it had committed atrocities against its own people.*



## The Montreal Institute For Genocide And Human Rights Studies: An Overview

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The main missions of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) are to develop and manage major research programs focused on the prevention and prosecution of genocide and crimes against humanity, educate comparatively about genocide, and help survivors and their children end their isolation by building bridges with other survivors of genocide and mass atrocity crimes.

Drawing on its research, MIGS furthers understanding of the history, sociology and international legal frameworks pertaining to genocide, crimes against humanity, and reconciliation in their wake.

To advance these goals, MIGS organizes workshops and conferences, sponsors lectures, issues reports, prepares books and articles, and trains students specializing in genocide studies at the undergraduate, masters, and doctoral levels. MIGS works locally, nationally, and internationally to educate members of the public, the media, and government.

MIGS is recognized around the world as Canada's pre-eminent centre for the study of genocide. In partnership with Gen. Roméo Dallaire, its distinguished Senior Fellow, MIGS launched the Will to Intervene (*W2I*) Project in September 2007. *W2I* is designed to develop practical tools to operationalize the principles of the Canadian-sponsored report on the *Responsibility to Protect*, which aims to prevent future Cambodias and Rwandas. The MIGS project emphasizes the critical gap in our understanding of how to mobilize the domestic political will to intervene. MIGS and Roméo Dallaire seek to fill that gap by producing this major study pivoting around interviews with key Canadian and U.S. political leaders at the very highest levels about their decisions over intervention in Rwanda and Kosovo. Based on these interviews, MIGS is making practical recommendations to NGO directors, media executives, political leaders, and others helping them to promote effective measures carefully calculated to prevent future genocides.

MIGS faculty and graduate students are important participants in *Life Stories of Montrealers Displaced by War, Genocide and Other Human Rights Violations*, a major research project based at Concordia. Life Stories CURA combines the talents and energies of 39 academics and 19 Montreal community organizations. MIGS brings its expertise to "Comparative Perspectives on Montreal Survivors of Atrocity Crimes," which will interview three hundred Montrealers who survived mass atrocities and their children from a variety of post-1939 mass killings including the Holocaust, Cambodia and Rwanda. The oral histories collected by the Comparative Perspectives team are contributing to the production of school curriculum materials, programs for TV, radio, film, and theatres, museum exhibits, and cultural centre programs. *Life Stories* is supported with funds from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and Concordia University.

The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies was founded in 1986, based in the departments of History and Sociology/Anthropology at Concordia University. In recent years, Concordia faculty members and graduate students from Communications, English, Geography, Humanities, and Political Science have joined in its work, as have colleagues from other universities. MIGS collaborates closely with the Canada Research Chair in Public History, the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, and the Centre for Ethnographic Research in the Aftermath of Violence based in the Concordia History Department. Through its work with graduate and undergraduate students, MIGS has trained the largest group of genocide specialists in Canada.

### **Support for MIGS**

MIGS is an official research centre of the Faculty of Arts & Science of Concordia University. Monetary contributions to advance its research projects, publications, conferences and multi-media projects are welcome and will be prominently recognized. They should be mailed to:

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