



Commonwealth Avenue
Canberra ACT 2600

10 August 2007

Senator Marise Payne
Chair
Senate Standing Committee on Foreign
Affairs,
Defence and Trade
P.O. Box 6100
Parliament House
Canberra ACT 2600

Dear Senator Payne,

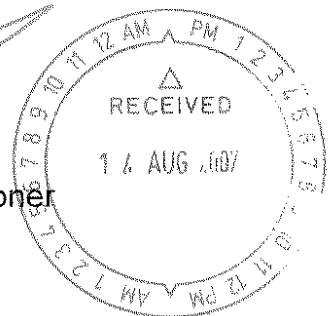
I am sending you the submission of the Government of Canada to the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade for its inquiry into Australia's involvement in peacekeeping operations. As indicated in my earlier letter to you, we have limited the scope of our submission to a Canadian perspective on the changing nature of peace operations and lessons learned from recent deployments.

On behalf of the Government of Canada, I thank you once again for providing us with this opportunity to provide background for the Committee's deliberations on peacekeeping, one of the many areas in which our countries cooperate and learn from each other's experiences.

We trust that this submission is of assistance to the Senate Standing Committee.

Sincerely,

Michael Leir
High Commissioner



**SUBMISSION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA
SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
DEFENCE AND TRADE**

July 20, 2007

Canada is pleased to provide comment on the changing nature of peace operations and some lessons to be learned from recent operations for the Government of Australia's Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee. Australia continues to be an important partner with Canada in a range of peace operations. Over the years, both countries have cooperated on vital international peace and security priorities such as Afghanistan and East Timor, amongst others. This submission will outline Canada's view of the changes in peace operations, highlight key conflicts that Canada is involved in, discuss the growing role of civilian police in peace missions and conclude with some lessons learned.

EVOLUTION OF PEACEKEEPING INTO PEACE OPERATIONS

Canada's role, and the role of "like-minded" countries as well as that of international organizations, has evolved with changes to peace operations themselves, and the changing nature of the threats posed to international peace and security. The traditional image of peacekeeping – with neutral troops on contested terrain when a peace agreement is in place, standing between opposing sides, maintaining the peace – is largely a thing of the past. Previous UN operations were designed to provide an international third-party presence to monitor and verify former warring-states' compliance with a cease-fire agreement and to alert the United Nations Security Council to developments on the ground that could threaten to undermine a fragile peace. These missions consisted essentially of military observers and lightly armed troops with monitoring, reporting and confidence building roles in support of cease-fire and limited peace agreements.

In the post Cold War era, more often than not, there is no clear peace accord to be monitored, the contested terrain is ever changing, the combatants are not easy to identify and only a few represent formal armies of recognized states. Fewer conflicts are inter-state and more are intra-state in origin. There are, therefore, fewer traditional peacekeeping missions (such as currently in Cyprus) and more complex, hostile environments, such as those surrounding peace operations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Haiti, East Timor and Afghanistan.

In these circumstances 'peacekeeping' has become almost a misnomer. Canada and other nations are deploying to areas where there is only a fragile peace to keep and often a

desperate need for international efforts to end violations of human rights, humanitarian law and crimes against humanity. These peace operations often have more robust mandates, permitting them to both defend themselves and the populations they are sent to protect.

With an awareness of the changing nature of conflicts in which the international community is engaged, there has been a growing understanding that the roles of a wide range of actors must be closely coordinated in peace operations. The concept of an “integrated mission” was developed to ensure this close co-ordination, often requiring senior officials to be placed in charge to oversee the complex, multifaceted components of the mission. “Integrated peace operations” now involve significant political/diplomatic, human rights, governance, judicial, police and development personnel (and resources) in addition to the traditional military forces which are mandated to provide a stable environment.

An example of this change is the introduction of the theme of protection of civilians in armed conflict onto the UN Security Council agenda in the late 1990s. In the field, agencies are devoting greater attention to refining their abilities to meeting the needs of protecting civilians in conflict areas. UN missions, including the last seven United Nations Security Council authorized peace operations, have been permitted to use force to deter and respond to attacks on civilians. Some are organizing themselves so that civilian protection acts as a unifying cross-mission theme. In addition, new sanctions regimes are designed to avoid unintended humanitarian consequences.

Peace missions now incorporate a wide set of activities. The goal of all peace operations is to eventually hand-over the full range of state activities to local civilian authorities (or transitional regimes) in a stable environment. The objective is for the local government to be able to ensure stability and undertake reforms necessary to build domestic support, permitting the whole nation to enter into the post conflict and peacebuilding phases. Transitions in so-called fragile states require extensive cooperation within the international community to help the new state authorities exercise sovereignty and uphold the rule of law over their territories. Specific programs focussed on security system reform, disarmament, demobilization and re-integration, landmine and explosive remnants of war clearance, as well as the establishment of the rule of law and transitional justice should be initiated at the start of most international peace operations. They should be integrated into ongoing efforts to ensure that the groundwork is established for the eventual transition of governance to local authorities.

To support the goal of an eventual hand-over of authority from a peace operation to a local government, the international community has acknowledged the need for an institution which is specifically set up to deal with countries emerging from conflict. That institution must work closely with existing peace missions so that ‘peacebuilding’ can occur without major gaps in international support. Canada strongly supports the Peacebuilding Commission which was established in 2005 in order to: advise UN organizations on integrated strategies for post-conflict peacebuilding; focus attention and resources on reconstruction and institution-building efforts; and serve as a forum for

political discussions related to war-to-peace transitions. The Peacebuilding Commission continues to be a priority as Canada believes that it can make a positive contribution to the important task of building durable peace in those nations finally emerging from conflict.

Reflecting the considerable growth in multinational peacekeeping and peace operations worldwide, another major change has been the growing role of regional organizations in peace operations, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (in Kosovo and now in Afghanistan), the European Union in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the African Union (AU) in Darfur. UN leaders, such as Kofi Annan and Lakhdar Brahimi, promoted the use of regional organizations and multinational “coalitions of the willing” where the situation demands robust capabilities and the ability to engage in high intensity conflict. UN peacekeeping operations are increasingly deployed alongside non-UN military, police or civilian peace operations. In some cases, the UN operations have taken over a peace operation from a regional organization, “re-hatting” the personnel under a UN umbrella and command.

CANADA’S PRIORITIES IN PEACE OPERATIONS

Canada’s overall approach to peace operations is focussed on preventing the recurrence of armed conflict, protecting civilians and stabilizing and reconstructing war-torn states. The Government’s current priority engagement through a peace operation is in Afghanistan. Using a Whole-of-Government approach, Canada is committed to helping Afghanistan become a stable, secure and self-sustaining democratic state that will never again serve as a haven for terrorist groups or their supporters. Military forces from 37 countries, including Canada, are involved in the UN-sanctioned, NATO-led International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), at the request of the Afghan Government. ISAF’s goal is to help establish a stable and secure environment — a prerequisite for successful reconstruction and development.

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has identified Afghanistan as “the front line of the international security challenge of the modern, post-Cold War world.” To carry out this peace operation in Afghanistan and to advance the objectives of the Afghanistan Compact, Canada integrates the efforts of the military, police, customs and corrections officials with expertise and resources from across the Canadian government to help alleviate poverty, restore the rule of law and create a secure environment where development and reconstruction can move forward. Canada’s pledge of \$1.2 billion to 2011 for development and reconstruction has placed Canada among the top five donors in Afghanistan. Canada’s approach encourages Afghan national programs that ensure local ownership, accountability and community-based engagement, while simultaneously supporting programs that rebuild necessary infrastructure.

In recognition of the growing role that regional organizations are playing in peace operations worldwide, the Canadian Government also provides assistance to the AU to build its peace and security architecture, including elements of the African Stand-by

Force. Canada also provides assistance to the Economic Community of West Africa to enhance their capacities to manage their participation in regional and international peacekeeping operations.

Outside of Afghanistan, Canada's largest contribution in terms of personnel is to the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Canada employs a Whole-of-Government approach that includes elements of defence, diplomacy and development. Canada is playing an important role in development and reform efforts in Haiti, due in part to Canada's longstanding and historic relationship with that country as well as to the sizeable Haitian diaspora in Canada. Canada views Haiti as a 'hemispheric project', requiring regular political engagement with key partners in Haiti in order to ensure common positions and maintain the momentum of reforms. Canada's MINUSTAH contribution includes four Canadian Forces officers, corrections (prisons) experts, and up to 100 police. A Canadian police inspector currently holds the post of Deputy Police Commissioner of Operations.

Another Canadian priority is assisting the peace process unfolding in Sudan. Canada provides armoured personnel carriers, leased helicopters and fixed wing aircraft, individual protective equipment (helmets, flak jackets, etc.), military and police advisers/experts to assist the AU in executing the African Mission in Sudan (AMIS) in Darfur. Canada is working closely with other donors, as well as the AU and the UN, towards an effective transition of AMIS to an AU-UN hybrid mission to be operating in Darfur. The deployment of this mission is taking place in three steps, gradually introducing UN support and joint AU-UN leadership. This is the first joint mission for these two organizations, and an important test case for peace operations globally in determining the success of the UN in combining its forces with a regional organization in field operations.

In addition to our major engagement in Afghanistan, Canada continues to provide high value support to other international peace operations. A combination of military personnel, police, development and corrections officials and diplomats are deployed to a total of 16 UN-led and UN-mandated missions. Canadian efforts concentrate on capacity building, training, planning and logistics, as well as strategic contributions of personnel. Canada also provides voluntary financial assistance to the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in support of the Undersecretary General's Peace Operations 2010 Reform Agenda and as part of our commitment to the G8 Global Peace Operations Initiative.

ROLE OF POLICE IN PEACE MISSIONS

Another development in peace operations is the growing demand for civilian police advisors, mentors and trainers. As a yardstick, the number of civilian police deployed on UN peace operations increased from 1677 in 1994 to 9542 in May 2007. The Brahimi Report, issued in 2000, argued for a holistic approach to peace operations, in which international judicial experts, penal experts and human rights specialists, together with

civilian police, serve to strengthen the rule of law and its institutions in the mission country. Canada espouses this holistic view, in which the traditional areas of security sector reform --- military, police, customs, corrections, etc. -- are incorporated with the rebuilding of effective public institutions such as law enforcement and judicial systems.

International police peacekeepers are critical to longer-term security sector reform initiatives and conflict prevention efforts. Since 1989, Canada has participated in more than 35 international policing operations (UN and those conducted by other international partners) involving more than 2100 police officers.

Through the strengthening of indigenous law enforcement capacity, civilian police can make an effective contribution to conflict prevention. Civilian police are deployed during conflicts to monitor law enforcement activities, report on compliance with international standards and support international humanitarian assistance. Their presence is required simultaneously with the activities of the military, working jointly to assist in re-establishing stability and enabling post-conflict reconstruction. Finally, civilian police are vital in the transition from military to civilian authority, from peacekeeping to peacebuilding.

In Haiti, where Canada has a major police contribution, the UN police are assisting the Haitian National Police to tackle the criminal and gang elements which are holding this fragile state back from the stability necessary for development and more democratic forms of governance. The mandate of the UN mission in Haiti calls for the police to undertake certain executive policing duties (i.e. public order, detention, search and seizure). Their primary focus, however, is capacity building through mentoring, advising and training of the Haitian National Police.

Canadian civilian police have been involved in the United Nations Mission to Sudan (UNMIS) since 2005. They are focused on restructuring the police service in Sudan, consistent with the principle of democratic policing, and developing a police training and evaluation program. The growing importance of the police role is evident in the expansion of the police component of the new AU/UN hybrid operation, which will include a substantial police deployment of over 3000 civilian police and formed police units.

Another major and growing area of Canadian police involvement is in Afghanistan. Canada has deployed civilian and military police trainers to Afghanistan at the national, regional and provincial levels and is providing support for the creation of a police training facility in Kandahar. In June, Prime Minister Harper announced Canada's participation in a new European Union Police Mission (EUPOL) to Afghanistan. This mission will unify existing international police efforts in Afghanistan and work to create a professional, effective and ethnically balanced Afghan police force. This mission will deploy police and justice-sector experts to provide training and mentoring to Afghan police officers nation-wide.

In the complex, multifaceted and multinational operation in Afghanistan, the eventual transformation of the whole security system requires close collaboration between the police, military and other important actors, including the justice system and other institutions of governance.

LESSONS LEARNED

Canada has taken on board the vital lesson that a too rapid transition from a peace operation (whereby the international community disengages before fragile local institutions have built up their capacity) can endanger sustainable peace. The requirement for the international community to mount repeated peace operations in Haiti and in East Timor illustrates this mistake. At the same time, pressures mount as the surge in peace operations worldwide places increasing pressure on countries willing and able to supply the full range of specializations needed in these complex operations. The bottom line is that the transition from a peace operation to less intrusive involvement with sustained capacity building efforts must be carefully timed, and coordinated with local authorities as well as the donor community.

Another essential element for a successful peace operation is close collaboration under strong leadership. For example, the unstable and sometimes violent situation in Haiti demands a smooth working relationship between all the security elements working under the UN umbrella. These include the military force, the portions of the development wing working on security system reform and the political affairs office which supervises police reform and institution building.

Another lesson learned is that an impressive amount of coordination is required in the field, and between participating countries' headquarters to bring together the key elements of an integrated, multi-dimensional peace operation. As peace operations incorporate more cross-cutting themes, such as the integration of the whole range of security system reforms into governance and development, the interplay between institutions and individuals becomes essential to the success of the mission.

Canada has adopted a "Whole of Government" approach to determine the scale and scope of its participation, and in order to achieve more effective and efficient peace operations. Intensive and extensive inter-departmental collaboration is required between the traditional departments – National Defence, Foreign Affairs, the Canadian International Development Agency, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police – and other government departments that are now contributing expertise to integrated peace missions – such as the Departments of Justice, the Border Agency and Correctional Services. In Canada, this inter-departmental collaboration is led by the Department of Foreign Affairs through the Stabilization and Reconstruction Task Force (START) Bureau. START was designed to ensure timely, coordinated and effective responses to international crises (natural and human-made) requiring 'Whole of Government' actions and to plan and deliver initiatives in states in transition where Canadian interests and values are implicated.

A final and difficult lesson learned is that there is no way to undertake these bold and difficult missions without risk, particularly to personnel. Given the current security context, the difficulties faced by participants in international peace operations are daunting. Nonetheless it is important that countries not be deterred from efforts to assist fragile states and countries in crisis.

Should the international community not engage, the long term impact may be a threat to global peace and security, ultimately affecting the domestic peace and security of all states.