

Nobel 2014 Peace Prize
Speeches from Malala
Yousafzai and Kailash Satyarthi

Lessons from history
How did Canada tackle
radicals in the 1940s?

Secretive and lax
Canada's weapons
exports controls

2015 NPT RevCon
Open letter to Minister
of Foreign Affairs

The **Ploughshares Monitor**

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Responding

to

terrorist violence

and

domestic radicalization



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Contents

Spring 2015

3

Lessons from history

How Canada responded to radicals in the 1940s

by John Siebert

8

Can civil society stall extremism?

Studies indicate yes

by John Siebert

10

QUOTE UNQUOTE: Responding to terror

Commentators address the issue of perspective

by John Siebert

14

Nobel Peace Prize lectures 2014

Malala Yousafzai and Kailash Satyarthi

18

Paper tigers

Canada's lax and secretive arms export controls

by Cesar Jaramillo

22

On the 2015 NPT RevCon

An open letter to Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs



The Ploughshares Monitor
Volume 36 | Issue 1

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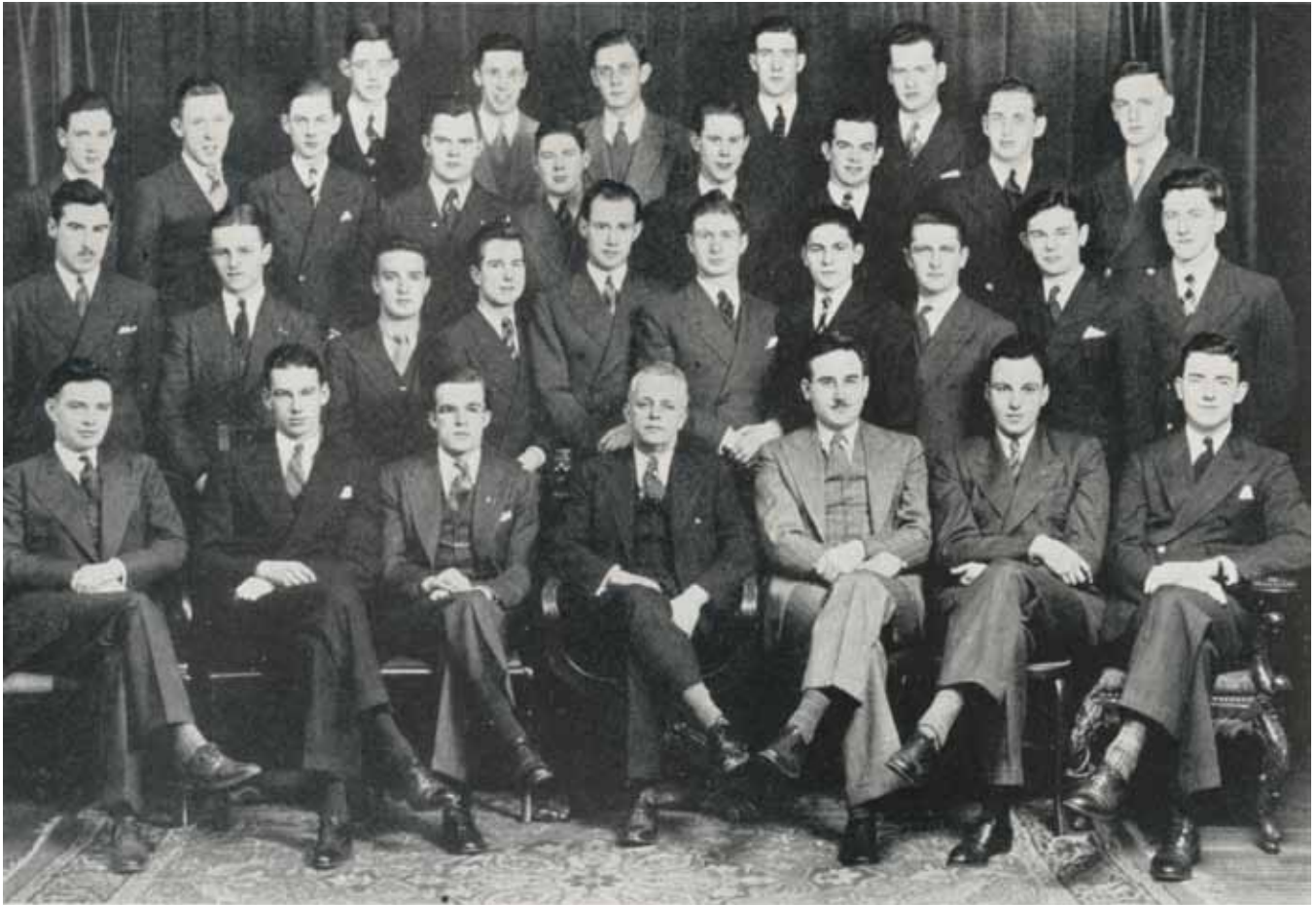
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COVER: The National War Memorial, in Ottawa, was the site of an attack which left a Canadian soldier dead last fall. *Veterans Affairs Canada*



Lessons from history

How did Canada respond to homegrown radicals in the 1940s? And what can the experience teach us?



By John Siebert

Islamism or radical Islam or jihadism, as a violent international ideology at odds with Canadian society and its values, is not the first challenge of its kind, nor is it unique in attracting Canadian adherents.

ABOVE: Charles Norris Cochrane, front row middle, is pictured in a 1940 issue of *Torontonensis*, published by the University of Toronto Students' Administrative Council.



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The radicals of the Second World War
During World War II Canada faced the dilemma of how to handle homegrown Canadian radicals. The Communist Party of Canada included fervent members with connections to the worldwide Marxist-Leninist movement and the Soviet Union. Canadian Communists accepted and worked to advance the philosophy of inevitable violent revolution that would resolve the class contradictions of bourgeois capitalism and usher in a worldwide socialist utopia.

Between 1939 and 1941, 135 members or adherents of the Communist Party of Canada were interned under provisions of the Defence of Canada Regulations. They were not deprived of their civil liberties for their revolutionary philosophical commitments and published Marxist pronouncements, but for publishing and organizing activities to subvert Canada's war effort, which were criminal acts.

Then, in 1941 Germany attacked the Soviet Union. The subsequent alliance between the Soviet Union and Great Britain resulted in an about-face by Canadian Communists. They became enthusiastic supporters of Canada's efforts to defeat Nazi Germany.

A three-person Advisory Committee, headed by Judge Roland Millar, was struck to hear and make recommendations on objections from 69 internees to their continued detention. One of the members of the Advisory Committee was Charles Norris Cochrane (1889-1945), a University of Toronto classics professor. In 1943 Cochrane wrote a 135-page Memorandum on the Communist Party of Canada. Addressed to the Minister of Justice, it explained the party's history in Canada and made recommendations on how these dissenters should be treated.

Lessons from 1943

From the Memorandum come several lessons that may be instructive as Canada deals with contemporary extremists, sometimes referred to as homegrown radicals.

Lesson #1: To understand a movement, you must seriously examine its intellectual roots, even if you deem the proponents of the movement delusional, comically naïve, or ineffectual.

The question of releasing the detainees from jail could not, in the opinion of the committee, be divorced from "the larger questions of Communism as a factor in Canadian public life.... For an adequate understanding of the Canadian problem, it must be examined in the light of the international proletarian movement of which it forms a part" (Cochrane, p. 2).

Lesson #2: The degree of scrutiny of Canadian citizens should be directly proportional to the danger posed to the state and its citizens, with primary consideration given to respecting individual civil rights.

The terms of reference for the three-person committee were narrow: "whether ... the release of the interned Communists would in any way prejudice the public safety or the safety of the state. If there existed no reasonable doubt on this point it followed that they should not longer be denied their personal liberty and civil rights" (p. 2).

In the Memorandum Cochrane explored the potential for revolutionary violence by Canadian Communists and, after analyzing statements by Canadian Communists and past behaviour, concluded that it was low. He determined that:

1. Fomenting revolutionary Marxist violence in Canada would first require a breakdown in the Soviet alliance with the United States and Great Britain.
2. The combination of a ripe revolutionary moment with the appropriate proletarian consciousness—the two requirements of Marxist orthodoxy for successful revolution—was unlikely in Canada.

3. Canadian Communists had disavowed violent actions. Tim Buck, head of the Canadian Communist Party in Canada and one of the detainees appealing his detention, “earnestly and vehemently denied” before the Advisory Committee that the Party contemplated recourse to violence. Buck also told the Committee that if violence did break out in Canada, it would be more likely to come from the right rather than the left, as it had in Italy, Germany, and Spain.
4. The Canadian Communist Party had neither the international alliances, nor the internal coherence and suitable leadership to engage in revolutionary violence.



democratic institutions by practising excessive repression.

Lesson #3: Cochrane advocated adopting an attitude of humility with respect to our own failings as democracies and becoming well informed before judging the Soviet Union.

It would, for instance, be nothing less than fatal if the democracies fell victim to self-complacency in their attitude to the Soviets. Indeed, there could be hardly anything more offensive to decency and common-sense than for them to assume, by virtue of any claim to embody the values of Christian civilization, that they were qualified to sit in judgment on Russian achievement or Russian purposes. For the democracies, therefore, the beginning of wisdom is a fitting humility [sic] which seeks to understand before it presumes to criticize. (p. 127)

Lesson #4: No matter how absurd or abhorrent we believe another’s views to be, we should strive not to give the holder of such views further reasons to condemn

In the Memorandum’s conclusion, Cochrane urged Canadians not to give the Communists grounds for complaint 1) in the treatment of Communists by the justice system; and, more generally, 2) in Canada’s treatment of its citizens.

Communists claimed that “bourgeois justice is justice only for the bourgeois” (p. 133). Cochrane urged that the Canadian justice system deal fairly with the Communists and never err on the side of “purely repressive measures as such” (p. 133). The Communist movement “thrives by exploiting grievances which are none the less keenly felt because they are in many cases imaginary” (p. 133). Their grievances should be given as little ground in reality as possible.

Taking a further step, the Advisory Committee suggested that the government “consider whether or not it is still advisable to maintain the parliamentary ban on the Canadian party” (p. 134). The clear implication is that Canadian Communists should be allowed to exercise their political rights to participate directly

ABOVE: This photograph, taken in October 1942, shows Communist Party of Canada leader Tim Buck, left front. Roy Mitchell/Library and Archives Canada

Western secular, capitalist democracies must acknowledge their incomplete knowledge of what is happening in places like Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Afghanistan.

in the democratic process.

Lesson #5: The faults and injustice in our society should be addressed to remove these causes of complaint.

Cochrane urged the Minister of Justice to “remember also that unsatisfied material desires are likely to bear their characteristic fruit in a materialist philosophy” (pp. 133-134). I believe that Cochrane was pointing to issues highlighted in the great depression of the 1930s, such as poverty, low wages, and unfair working conditions—the stuff of Communist complaints against the capitalist system on behalf of workers—which could breed potential support for Communist ideals and revolutionary action. For Cochrane, democracy “should concede to Communism as little as is reasonably possible to feed upon” (p. 134).

Applying history

What, if anything, can we learn from this historical confrontation between the Canadian state and Communists in the early 1940s?

Today’s circumstances are not those of 1943. While Canadian Communists during the early years of the Second World War disavowed violence, today’s jihadists are committed to it. Revolutionary thought and praxis are in alignment. Terrorist actions against civilians and state institutions are clear and present dangers abroad and at home.

On the other hand, I am not the first to point out that pursuit of the realization of Communist ideals in the twentieth century was a far greater existential threat to western democracies than radical or

violent Islamism is today. And the Second World War was a real war and actual threat to the homeland of Canada, not a regional skirmish with relatively weak, small bands of radicals far away. Domestic Communist sympathizers, ready for violence or not, potentially posed a greater threat in the 1940s than the one we are facing today.

That being said, I am less interested in identifying exact historical parallels than in applying the attitude shown by Cochrane and the Advisory Committee and their practical responses to the dangers of homegrown radicalization.

Application #1: We need to do some serious work to understand what groups such as ISIS, al-Qaeda, and Boko Haram are saying and doing. We need to understand the history and how they interpret their application of ideas. How do very different interpretations of Islam emerge? Why do these interpretations sometimes yield such intense commitments to extreme actions? Clearly ISIS wants to provoke certain types of response from the West. If we do not understand their primary principles and their goals in taking certain actions, we risk responding in ways that are ineffective and possibly make matters worse.

Application #2: We need to discriminate between those who act on violent principles or advocate violence, and those who do not. This is not only a challenge to police and intelligence agencies, but to all citizens. We should respect and tolerate differences of view that pose no real threat. Clearly our struggle is not with Islam per se, as most will agree. None-

theless, some violent factions do claim to base their actions on the teachings of Islam.

Application #3: Western secular, capitalist democracies must acknowledge their incomplete knowledge of what is happening in places like Iraq, Syria, Libya, and Afghanistan. While it might seem a tad late to call for research and reflective suspension of suspicion, having unloosed the dogs of war more than a decade ago, it's never too late to start. Then we need to apply the lessons learned. This is particularly good advice considering that Canada, in cooperation with international coalitions of military forces, has had very limited military success in addressing the violent conflicts in these counties over the past decade. Lasting peace has not been secured in any of them. Trying to achieve our own vested economic (i.e., oil) and other interests through international military incursions may be part of the problem and not the solution. We need the humility to consider these possibilities and to determine if we need to change our behaviour to effectively respond to radical Islamism.

Application #4: Overreacting on the domestic front and increasing suppression only feed the paranoid complaints of those who recruit Canadian youth to join the jihadist fight in Syria or Iraq, or to carry out violent acts here. Our democratic society and institutions, governed by the rule of law, are strong enough to deal fairly with such radicals, as they have with past challenges. Increasing suppression for its own sake is counterproductive. In responding to any challenge to our democracy, we must acknowledge the primacy of individual civil rights.

Application #5: Addressing real economic and social grievances and justifiable criticism of our society is part of a long-term strategy to drain the swamps that provide fertile breeding grounds for domestic

radicalization. Our international ventures, including expeditionary military missions, must be focused on protecting vulnerable civilians and supporting political resolution of conflicts through peacebuilding measures. Building fairer, more participatory, and more just societies at home and abroad are, in my view, self-evidently good. They also form a part of the general inoculation strategy our society requires to keep at bay the pestilence of domestic radicalization by any ideology. □

This article is based on a longer blog that can be found on the Ploughshares website, www.ploughshares.ca.

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John Siebert

Civil society can play a key role in preventing and dealing with domestic radicalization

A small number of Canadians have always been tempted to fight in wars and conflicts in far-off lands, but those currently traveling to Syria and Iraq to join ISIS are causing acute anxiety on the home front.

Developing strategies to prevent conversion to extremism, stop travel abroad to join extremist groups, and deal with would-be extremists on their return are given a high priority by police and intelligence services in Canada, as they should be. In the process, however, security services need to be cautious about purely punitive approaches to domestic radicalization that may prove counter-productive.

Studies on homegrown terrorists indicate that civil society organizations potentially have a key role in programs that prevent conversion to extremism and in reintegrating returning extremists who want to change their ways.

Identifying potential extremists

Lorne Dawson, a professor of sociology and legal studies at the University of Waterloo, studies the formation of homegrown violent extremists. He notes the following recurring characteristics in convicted extremists' stories:

- Identity struggles that cause disorientation among adolescents and young adults who are trying to establish their separate or unique identities,

while also wanting to fit in with their peers. This can lead to prolonged inner turmoil that may not be apparent to family and friends.

- Individual quests for significance—they want to make a mark in the world.
- Intercultural pressure that catches children of newer Canadians between the strict social and moral systems of home and the more liberal pop culture all around them.
- Moral significance—a strong orientation of right and wrong, black and white; observation of corruption in the general culture; and a search for a pure alternative.
- Orientation to action; adventure and risk are strong attractions.
- Globalization acting to facilitate the movement of people and goods, and access to content and knowledge over the internet.
- The discovery of a simple explanation or narrative that provides a grand solution to the inner turmoil and external problems they perceive.
- Small group dynamics among peers that affirm action together.
- A triggering event, private or public, that is consequential in symbolic ways to the person's understanding of the struggle between good and evil.

Countering extremism by civil society

Belonging to a group and mentoring figures are keys to radicalization—and to countering it. Efforts must be made to anchor youth that are vulnerable to extremist ideologies or criminal gang affiliation into communities that offer alternatives for their energy and idealism.

Some interesting research, done through the Kanishka program funded by Public Safety Canada and elsewhere, suggests that people who first get involved in nonviolent activism as a means of protest develop strong antibodies to violent action. They do not “progress” from nonviolent to violent activism. Instead, they are inoculated against violence and extremism. Even when they engage in nonviolent civil disobedience—breaking the law without injuring others or destroying property—these activists are virtually guaranteed not to become involved in violent activity.

These tentative research findings point to two ways in which civil society organizations can counteract terrorism: 1) befriend and mentor youth vulnerable to violence and violent extremism; and 2) provide an alternative nonviolent formation process for those youth and young adults who want to change the world to conform to their ideals.

Redirecting official resources for counterterrorism

Recent public release of security services documentation in Canada

indicates that the RCMP and CSIS deploy considerable resources in surveillance of groups advocating for nonviolent alternatives or organizing peaceful demonstrations.

The rationale for this surveillance is understandable—if you accept certain presuppositions on the process of radicalization. If you posit that civil society groups consist of discontented people wanting to make some very basic changes in Canada, then you can expect that some of them will become frustrated at the lack of progress and graduate to more violent actions to get attention and advance their causes. From this perspective, these groups are the seedbeds or hothouses of radicalism.

But recent research on terrorist formation, as discussed above, says that this is not where violent extremists come from. Readily identifiable civil society organizations are simply easy targets or low-hanging fruit for surveillance. Using scarce security resources to monitor these groups is wasteful.

Further, demonizing dissent—“you are either with us or with the terrorists”—may close opportunities for young people and more specifically young men to be socialized into nonviolent and democratic forms of dissent.

Civil society provides a primary counter-extremist service by demonstrating alternative ideas and means of voicing dissent without recourse to violence. We should be encouraging more aggressive civil society nonviolent action: research, policy

engagement, demonstrations, and civil disobedience that is nonviolent.

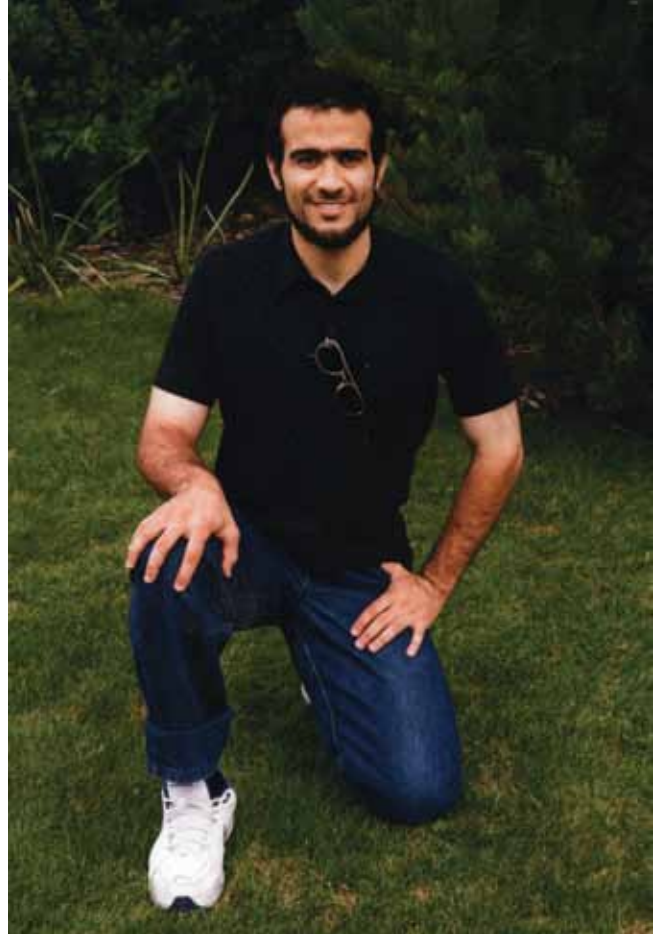
Restorative options for reintegrating extremists

Finally, another potential role for civil society is to model rehabilitative and restorative options for working with extremists, whether they remain in Canada or venture overseas and return.

Many of the young men and women currently leaving Canada for Syria and Iraq will want to come back. Some will continue to pose a threat. Others will deeply regret their choices and renounce extremism and violence. Do we simply throw all of them in jail?

The Omar Khadr story offers an alternative. Professors at King’s University College in Edmonton have been providing high school- and college-level instruction to Khadr in Guantanamo Bay and now in Alberta while he serves out his sentence (Pratt 2014). This offers the prospect of Khadr’s pursuing higher education or getting a job when his sentence is completed.

Another example of innovative



Former Guantanamo detainee Omar Khadr, pictured at the Bowden Institution in Innisfail, Alberta, has been receiving high school- and college-level instruction. *Freeomar.ca*

support by civil society is a program called Circles of Support and Accountability, which assists reintegration of sexual offenders into society following their release from prison. Not all these attempts are successful, but many are, and we are a better, safer society for it. □

This article is based on a longer blog that can be found on the Ploughshares website, www.ploughshares.ca.

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QUOTE
UNQUOTE

On responding to terrorist violence

*Osama bin Laden “hit us where it would hurt the most
— right in our sense of perspective...”*

— David Rothkopf

By John Siebert

The nature of groups that engage in terroristic violence, such as ISIS, has mutated in this second decade of the Great War on Terror. But the lessons to be drawn from the first decade’s responses continue to be ignored, with the costs ratchetting up in Iraq and Syria. Regaining a sense of perspective is a vital first step in recalibrating the response and lowering the costs.

Even Canada, a minor member in the United States-driven international military coalitions in Afghanistan and Iraq, seems to have lost sight of appropriate responses, both at home and overseas.

Commentators have addressed the issue of perspective and provide direction on how to respond to the current threats of violent extremism.

Don’t give in to fear and panic

“

The response to the terrorist threat, whether now or in the future, should follow the long-standing principle of ‘in all things moderation’.... The response must be calibrated carefully so as to optimally protect Canadians and Canadian interests while containing an often natural disposition of giving in to fear and panic.

We therefore have to avoid falling prey to the terrorist propaganda which would have people believe that this is a clash of civilizations or cultures or religions.... Our own response therefore has to be carefully modulated and very focused... And we have to be very careful in our use of language on these issues.

Over-reaction to terrorism, it should be remembered, is a fundamental objective of most terrorists in history. We should not accommodate their goals in this regard.

”

— James Judd was director of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service from 2004 until 2009. In a major public speech in Toronto in 2007 Judd stated that governments and societies must keep in mind that terrorism is driven by “the aspirations and actions of a select group of individuals and groups.”

“ In fact, the success of Osama bin Laden was in masterminding a low-cost, comparatively low-risk action by a handful of thugs that produced one of the most profound overreactions in military history. Trillions of dollars were expended and hundreds of thousands of lives lost in the emotion-fueled maelstrom unleashed by a shaken and clearly disoriented America. Bin Laden aimed for Wall Street and Washington, seeking to strike a blow against symbols of American power, but in so doing he also hit us where it would hurt the most—right in our sense of perspective.... Our ultimate victory will come as we get a grip back on reality. ”

– David Rothkopf is the CEO and Editor of the FP Group, which publishes *Foreign Policy* magazine.

Let's get a grip on what happened on 9/11

“ In the immediate aftermath of the September 11 attacks, there were grand assertions that “everything was different” and that the “world had changed.” We were forced to confront a bearded man in a cave spouting incomprehensible invective about crusaders and jihad, and reorient foreign policy in dramatic ways. But with 10 years’ hindsight, did the world actually change on that date? And what will Osama bin Laden’s historical legacy be? ”

The answer to both questions is: not much. It is my view that in a longer historical perspective, al-Qaida will be seen as a mere blip or diversion. Bin Laden got lucky that day and pulled off a devastating, made-for-media attack. The United States then overreacted, invading Iraq and making anti-Americanism a self-fulfilling prophecy.

– Francis Fukuyama is a senior fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University.

“ The “ROI” (Return on Investment) that bin Laden and his official and unofficial allies achieved in the GWOT [Great War on Terror] would gladden the heart of any graduate of the Harvard Business School. The 9/11 attack cost al Qaeda hundreds of thousands of dollars. The bill for America for the Iraqi and Afghani wars, plus its massive domestic spending on security, is probably close to \$4 trillion to date and counting.

Perhaps the most astonishing aspect of the GWOT was the failure by America in Iraq and NATO in Afghanistan (and now Libya) to comprehend the cultures, languages, and histories of the places where they were fighting. The struggle in Afghanistan was, and is, a civil war among Pashtuns.... Worst of all, the constant reluctance of the western allies to admit that so called terrorists like the Taliban, had political as well as military objectives made efforts in these countries lopsided. The over-reliance on military personnel and military means of struggle severely hindered progress on the ground, particularly in Afghanistan.

The sad fact is that the GWOT was not worth the terrible fiscal and political damage it wrought, particularly in the world’s greatest democracy.

”

– Brian Flemming is a Canadian policy advisor, writer, and international lawyer.

Sooner or later we will have to talk to them

“

When it comes to terrorism, governments seem to suffer from a collective amnesia. All of our historical experience tells us that there can be no purely military solution to a political problem, and yet every time we confront a new terrorist group, we begin by insisting we will never talk to them.... In fact, history suggests we don't usually defeat them and we nearly always end up talking to them.

We usually delay talking to armed groups too long, and as a result, a large number of people die unnecessarily.... Experience suggests the real risk lies in not talking.

Talking with terrorists and agreeing with them are not the same thing.

It is argued that their violence is based on religion, and so it is impossible to negotiate with them.... It is also said that because the aims of these groups are apocalyptic and their demands unnegotiable, it is impossible to treat with them.... But there is no evidence that religious armed groups are harder to engage than secular ones.

Every conflict is different; its causes are different and its solution will be different. But I have now studied most of the negotiations between armed groups and governments in the last 30 years...and there is clearly a pattern to what works and what does not. Above all, what these experiences demonstrate is that there isn't really an alternative to talking to the terrorists if you want the conflict to end.

”

This includes talking to ISIS

“

Now we face the group that calls itself the Islamic State (Isis), the latest terrorists to confront us. And yet again we have met them with an emotional response based on the horror deliberately generated by their acts.... We need to work out a longer term strategy for dealing with whatever threat they pose, rather than opting once again for a kneejerk response to satisfy opinion polls. That strategy will certainly include security measures.... But we will also need to address the grievances of the Sunni community in Iraq and to separate out the ex-Baathists and the former members of Saddam's army, who give the movement its real power, from the jihadis.

At some stage, we will need to negotiate with violent Islamic extremism, whether in this form or another one, if their ideas continue to have political support and we want to find a lasting solution to conflict in the region.

”

– Jonathan Powell was the chief broker of the 2008 Northern Ireland peace agreement.

Putting a limit on remembering

“

Most wars do not end with one side gaining an absolute victory and thus being able to dictate the terms of the adversary's physical as well as psychic surrender.... The long war against the jihadis will almost certainly end in a similarly ambiguous way with an unhappy compromise that denies definitive victory.... In short, there will be no closing of accounts, and sooner or later we shall just have to learn to live with that fact.

In the meantime, we would do well to consider the possibility that if our societies were to expend even a fraction of the energy on forgetting that we now do on remembering, and if the option of forgetting were seen as at least as available as the duty of remembrance, then the peace that must come eventually might actually come sooner.

”

– David Rieff, writer and policy analyst, is a Senior Fellow at the World Policy Institute.

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Nobel Peace Prize lectures 2014

‘I will continue to fight until I see every child in school’

MALALA YOUSAFZAI



Mark Garten/UN

Education is one of the blessings of life—and one of its necessities. That has been my experience during the 17 years of life. In my home in Swat Valley, in the north of Pakistan, I always loved school and learning new things. I remember when my friends and I would decorate our hands with henna for special occasions. Instead

of drawing flowers and patterns we would paint our hands with mathematical formulas and equations.

We had a thirst for education because our future was right there in that classroom. We would sit and read and learn together. We loved to wear neat and tidy school uniforms and we would sit there with big dreams in our eyes. We wanted to

make our parents proud and prove that we could excel in our studies and achieve things, which some people think only boys can.

Things did not remain the same. When I was 10, Swat, which was a place of beauty and tourism, suddenly changed into a place of terrorism. More than 400 schools were destroyed. Girls were stopped

from going to school. Women were flogged. Innocent people were killed. We all suffered. And our beautiful dreams turned into nightmares.

Education went from being a right to being a crime.

But when my world suddenly changed, my priorities changed, too.

I had two options, one was to remain silent and wait to be killed. And the second was to speak up and then be killed. I chose the second one. I decided to speak up.

The terrorists tried to stop us and attacked me and my friends on 9th October 2012, but their bullets could not win. We survived. And since that day, our voices have only grown louder. I tell my story, not because it is unique, but because it is not. It is the story of many girls.

People like to ask me why education is important especially for girls. My answer is always the same. What I have learnt from the first two chapters of the Holy Quran is the word *Iqra*, which means “read,” and the word *nun wal-qalam*, which means “by the pen.” And, therefore, as I said last year at the United Nations, “One child, one teacher, one pen and one book can change the world.”

Today, in half of the world, we see rapid progress, modernization and development. However, there are countries where millions still suffer from the very old problems of hunger, poverty, injustice, and conflicts.

Indeed, we are reminded in 2014 that a century has passed since the beginning of the First World War, but we still have not learnt all of the lessons that arose from the loss of those millions of lives a hundred years ago.

There are still conflicts in which hundreds of thousands of innocent people have lost their lives. Many families have become refugees in Syria, Gaza and Iraq. There are still

girls who have no freedom to go to school in the north of Nigeria. In Pakistan and Afghanistan we see innocent people being killed in suicide attacks and bomb blasts.

Many children in Africa do not have access to school because of poverty. Many children in India and Pakistan are deprived of their right to education because of social taboos, or they have been forced into child labour and girls into child marriages.

One of my very good school friends, the same age as me, had always been a bold and confident girl and dreamed of becoming a doctor. But her dream remained a dream. At age of 12, she was forced to get married and then soon had a son at an age when she herself was a child—only 14. I know that my friend would have been a very good doctor. But she couldn’t ... because she was a girl.

Her story is why I dedicate the Nobel Prize money to the Malala Fund, to help give girls everywhere a quality education and call on leaders to help girls like me, Mezun, and Amina. The first place this funding will go is where my heart is, to build schools in Pakistan—especially in my home of Swat and Shangla.

In my own village, there is still no secondary school for girls. I want to build one, so my friends can get an education—and the opportunity it brings to fulfil their dreams.

That is where I will begin, but it is not where I will stop. I will continue this fight until I see every child in school. I feel much stronger after the attack that I endured, because I know no one can stop me or stop us, because now we are millions, standing up together.

Fifteen years ago, the world leaders decided on a set of global goals, the Millennium Development Goals. In the years that have followed, we have seen some progress. The num-

ber of children out of school has been halved. However, the world focused only on expanding primary education and progress did not reach everyone.

Next year, in 2015, representatives from around the world will meet at the United Nations to decide on the next set of goals, the Sustainable Development Goals. This will set the world’s ambition for generations to come. Leaders must seize this opportunity to guarantee a free, quality primary and secondary education for every child.

Some will say this is impractical, or too expensive, or too hard. Or even impossible. But it is time the world thinks bigger.

Dear brothers and sisters, the so-called world of adults may understand it, but we children don’t. Why is it that countries which we call “strong” are so powerful in creating wars but so weak in bringing peace? Why is it that giving guns is so easy but giving books is so hard? Why is it that making tanks is so easy, but building schools is so difficult?

As we are living in the modern age, the 21st century, and we all believe that nothing is impossible. We can reach the moon and maybe soon will land on Mars. Then, in this, the 21st century, we must be determined that our dream of quality education for all will also come true.

So let us bring equality, justice, and peace for all. Not just the politicians and the world leaders, we all need to contribute. Me. You. It is our duty.

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An activist for education for girls, Malala Yousafzai is the youngest person to win the Nobel Peace Prize. She delivered the complete version of this edited lecture on December 10, 2014 in Oslo, Norway.

‘Let us globalize compassion and set our children free’

KAILASH SATYARTHI



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I refuse to accept that all the temples and mosques and churches and prayer houses have no place for the dreams of our children. I refuse to accept that the world is so poor, when just one week of global spending on armies is enough to bring all of our children into classrooms. I refuse to accept that all the laws and constitutions, and the judges and the police are not able to protect our children. I refuse to accept that the shackles of slavery can ever be stronger than the quest for freedom.

I REFUSE TO ACCEPT.

I am privileged to work with many courageous souls who also refuse to accept. We have never given up against any threat and attack, and we will never. Undoubtedly, progress has been made in the last couple of decades. The number of out-of-school children has been halved. Child mortality and malnutrition have been reduced, and millions of child deaths have been prevented. The number of child labourers in the world has been reduced by a third. Make no mistake, great challenges still remain.

Friends, the biggest crisis knocking on the doors of humanity today

is intolerance.

We have utterly failed in imparting an education to our children. An education that gives the meaning and objective of life and a secure future. An education that builds a sense of global citizenship among the young people. I am afraid that the day is not far when the cumulative result of this failure will culminate in unprecedented violence that will be suicidal for humankind.

Yet, young people like Malala are rising up everywhere and choosing peace over violence, tolerance over extremism, and courage over fear.

Solutions are not found only in the deliberations in conferences and prescriptions from a distance. They lie in small groups and local organizations and individuals, who confront the problem every day, even if they remain unrecognized and unknown to the world.

Eighteen years ago, millions of my brothers and sisters in 103 countries marched across 80,000 kilometres. And a new international law against child labour was born. We have done this.

You and I live in the age of rapid globalization. We are connected through high-speed Internet. We exchange goods and services in a single global market. Each day, thousands of flights connect us to every corner of the globe.

But there is one serious disconnect. It is the lack of compassion. Let us inculcate and transform the individual's compassion into a global movement. Let us globalize compassion. Not passive compassion, but transformative compassion that leads to justice, equality, and freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi said, "If we are to teach real peace in this world... we shall have to begin with the children." I humbly add, let us unite the world through the compassion for our children.

Whose children are they who stitch footballs, yet have never played with one? They are our children. Whose children are they who mine stones and minerals? They are our children. Whose children are they who harvest cocoa, yet do not know the taste of a chocolate? They are all our children.

We need collective actions with a sense of urgency. Every single minute matters, every single child matters, every single childhood matters.

I challenge the passivity and pes-

simism surrounding our children. I challenge this culture of silence, this culture of neutrality.

I, therefore, call upon all the governments, intergovernmental agencies, businesses, faith leaders, the civil society, and each one of us, to put an end to all forms of violence against children. Slavery, trafficking, child marriages, child labour, sexual abuse, and illiteracy have no place in any civilized society.

Friends, we can do this.

Governments must make child-friendly policies and invest in education and young people. Businesses must be more responsible and open to innovative partnerships. Intergovernmental agencies must work together to accelerate action. Global civil society must rise above business-as-usual and scattered agendas. Faith leaders and institutions and all of us must stand with our children.

We must be bold, we must be ambitious, and we must have the will. We must keep our promises.

Over 40 years ago, on the first day of my school I met a cobbler boy my age sitting at the school gate, polishing shoes. I asked my teachers these questions: "Why is he working outside? Why is he not coming to school with me?" My teachers had no answer. One day, I gathered the courage to ask the boy's father. He said, "Sir, I have never thought about it. We are just born to work." This made me angry. It still makes me angry. I challenged it then and I am challenging it today.

As a child, I had a vision of tomorrow. That cobbler boy was studying with me in my classroom. Now, that tomorrow has become TODAY. I am TODAY and you are TODAY. TODAY it is time for every child to have the right to life, the right to freedom, the right to health, the right to education, the right to safety, the

right to dignity, the right to equality, and the right to peace.

TODAY, beyond the darkness, I see the smiling faces of our children in the blinking stars. TODAY, in every wave of every ocean, I see our children playing and dancing. TODAY, in every plant, tree, and mountain, I see that little cobbler boy sitting with me in the classroom.

I want you to see and feel this TODAY inside you. My dear sisters and brothers, may I ask you to close your eyes and put your hand close to your heart for a moment? Can you feel the child inside you? Now, listen to this child. I am sure you can!

Today, I see thousands of Mahatma Gandhis, Martin Luther Kings, and Nelson Mandelas marching forward and calling on us. The boys and girls have joined. I have joined in. We ask you to join, too.

Let us democratize knowledge. Let us universalize justice. Together, let us globalize compassion, for our children!

I call upon you in this room and all across the world. I call for a march from exploitation to education, from poverty to shared prosperity, a march from slavery to liberty, and a march from violence to peace. Let us march from darkness to light. Let us march from mortality to divinity.

Let us march!

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Kailash Satyarthi is the architect of the Global March against Child Labor. He founded or led the Global Campaign for Education and Goodweave. He is the Chair of the International Center on Child Labor and Education. The co-winner of the 2014 Nobel Peace Prize, he delivered the complete version of this edited lecture in Oslo on December 10, 2014.

Paper tigers

Canada's pursuit of military exports has left a trail of secrecy and lax standards

By Cesar Jaramillo

On paper, Canada has “some of the strongest export controls in the world” (FATDC 2014). But recent developments make them seem like little more than paper tigers. The sale of Canadian manufactured light armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia is only the most egregious recent example of Canada's ignoring its own guidelines in the pursuit of commercial gain.

The Saudi deal

When a \$14.8-billion deal to sell Canadian-made armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia was first announced in February 2014, it was presented as a job-creating economic victory for Canada (Gutoskie 2014). As Project Ploughshares stated at the time (Epps 2014), it was more than possible that the deal was incompatible with existing export controls, which aim to prevent the shipping of Canadian-made military goods to known human rights offenders who might use this equipment against their own citizens. This January,

however, young Saudi activist Raif Badawi received the first 50 of 1,000 lashes for publicly criticizing the Saudi regime. Because his wife and children have been granted asylum in Quebec, the Canadian media are taking a special interest in his ordeal.

Thus the story of the Saudi deal has been revived. And it is suddenly disturbingly apparent that Canada inked the largest military exports contract in the country's history with one of the world's worst human rights violators.

Canadian considerations of human rights seem to have been lost in the pursuit of a lucrative deal. This raises fundamental questions about Canada's commitment to the promotion of human rights and other international humanitarian standards.

The *raison d'être* of export controls

Canada's export control policy guidelines state that Canada “closely controls” military exports to governments with “a persistent record of serious violations of the human rights of their citizens.” Before

export permits are issued, the safeguards call for a case-by-case assessment to determine that “there is no reasonable risk that the goods might be used against the civilian population.” “Wide-ranging consultations are held among human rights, international security and defence-industry experts” at Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada and the Department of National Defence and “as necessary, other government departments and agencies” (FATDC 2014).

Given Saudi Arabia’s well documented and indisputably poor human rights record, it is hard to fathom that there is “no reasonable risk” that they will be used

permission to ship Canadian uranium to a ‘rogue’ nuclear weapons state, one of the very few outside the nearly universal Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) (*Maclean’s* 2012). This agreement clearly undermines NPT aspirations to universal membership, by providing rewards instead of disincentives to a state outside the NPT. Both the Canadian and Indian governments have provided public assurances that Canadian uranium will not be used for nuclear weapons (*Maclean’s* 2012). However, by receiving uranium from Canada, India will free up domestic uranium for military purposes.

The NCA with China is different in

The sale of Canadian manufactured light armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia is only the most egregious recent example of Canada’s ignoring its own guidelines in the pursuit of commercial gain.

against the civilian population.¹ The ultimate *raison d’être* of export control policies is to “closely control” sales that could be used in situations antithetical to Canadian values and principles. It is precisely when there is a prospective deal with an oppressive regime, like the one in Saudi Arabia, that they become most relevant.

The fact that the announcement of the arms deal in 2014 apparently came in advance of crucial steps laid out in the guidelines casts doubt on the independence and thoroughness of the government’s internal consultation process.

Tried and tested approach?

This most recent deal to ship Canadian-made armoured vehicles to Saudi Arabia should not be seen in isolation. A pattern can be seen when examining other export deals—for example, Canada’s nuclear cooperation agreements (NCAs) with India and China—as well as the expanding list of countries to which Canada will sell automatic firearms.

The India deal opened the door to

that China is one of five nuclear weapons states parties to the NPT. However, there are still concerns about Canada’s ability to ensure that Canadian uranium does not facilitate vertical proliferation—an increase in the arsenal of a nuclear-armed state. In this case, Canada chose to forgo international best practices and standards by, for example, taking the dubious step of skirting involvement by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) (Meyer 2014).

Documents obtained in 2014 by *Embassy* magazine show that the government was well aware that the deal to ship Canadian uranium to China would be seen as “weak” (Meyer 2014). A key reason: Canada knew China wanted to process Canadian uranium in a conversion facility not under IAEA safeguards. The solution: Amend export protocols to allow shipments to banned sites in a process to be governed by ad hoc “administrative arrangements.” The nature of such arrangements, alas, remains strictly confidential (Meyer 2014).



ABOVE: Ensaf Haidar, wife of jailed Saudi blogger Raif Badawi who has been flogged by Saudi authorities, takes part in a news conference in Ottawa in January. *Canadian Press*

There are striking similarities between the Saudi arms deal and these recent nuclear cooperation agreements.

- *Commercial interests prevailed:* Commercial interests trumped other considerations—whether about human rights or nuclear security and nonproliferation—even when sensitive materials/goods were involved.
- *Economic spin:* These deals were presented as an economic victory for Canada, while downplaying—or downright ignoring—the human rights or nuclear security risks.
- *Secrecy:* Citing confidentiality, the government does not give the pub-

lic enough information to ascertain the extent of the risks. In the Saudi deal, the government has refused to say whether it sought or received assurances on how Canadian-made equipment would be utilized. In the case of the NCAs, the nature of Administrative Arrangements that govern the highly sensitive trade in uranium has not been made public.

- *Lax standards/rejection of international standards:* In all cases one can see a rejection of international standards and best practices. Canada has not signed the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), but has argued that domestic regulations and safeguards are as strong as, or stronger than, ATT provisions. In the NCA

with China, the government bypassed IAEA standards and opted instead for a series of secret Administrative Arrangements.

A downward trend

The expanding list of countries to which Canada will sell automatic weapons provides another example of the downward trend in the scrutiny of military exports. Only countries on the Automatic Firearms Country Control List (AFCCL) are permitted to purchase Canadian-made automatic firearms. The steady expansion of the number of countries on the list is another troubling testament to the continued erosion of export control standards for Canadian military goods.

In the latest amendment to the AFCCL, reported by the press in late January, the government “quietly amended the export law to permit Canadian shipments to Israel and Kuwait of prohibited weapons such as banned handguns or automatic weapons” (MacCharles 2015). The number of countries on the AFCCL has tripled—from 13 to 39—since it was established in 1991.

While the export of automatic weapons is indeed restricted, there is a market for

these weapons—and thus an incentive to produce them. The initial list of countries on the AFCCL was comprised essentially of NATO allies. Over time it expanded to include countries such as Botswana, Colombia, and Saudi Arabia. As markets have become saturated and national defence budgets decline, Canadian arms manufacturers have sought new markets for their goods—and the government has often amended regulations to permit the resulting deals.

Being on the AFCCL is a necessary but not sufficient requirement for a country to purchase Canadian weapons. Appropriate export permits must still be issued and appropriate assessments made of the potential recipient, including human rights assessments.

Conclusion

Unfortunately Canada has developed a troubling pattern of ignoring or overriding its own military exports standards, as stringent as they may be, to realize commercial sales where they are not warranted. Case after case demonstrates that export controls are only as strong as the willingness of the government to implement them. □



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Note

1. See, for example, Al 2015, Banco 2014, BBC 2012, Bronner & Slackman 2011, Culzac 2014, Freedom House 2014, Human Rights Watch 2015.

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OPEN LETTER

On the 2015 NPT RevCon

In early February, the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons¹ sent this open letter to Rob Nicholson, Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dear Minister,

Re: Recommendations on the 2015 Review Conference² of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)

Greetings from the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW). We are a coalition of civil society organizations from across the country, working to advance the cause of nuclear disarmament and move toward a world without nuclear weapons—a goal the Government of Canada (GoC) has publicly and consistently supported.

The global push for nuclear disarmament has been energized in recent years by the renewed attention given to the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of a nuclear weapons exchange. There is also growing awareness that the existential risk posed by nuclear weapons is exacerbated by deteriorating relations between the world's top nuclear powers—the United States and Russia—which together account for roughly 95 per cent of existing nuclear weapons.

During last year's sessions of the UN General Assembly First Committee on Disarmament and International Security, the vast majority of the world's nations—including Canada—endorsed statements explicitly expressing concern about the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons. In this context, we believe it is imperative to start a comprehensive process leading to the enactment of a legal framework for the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. It is our view that the humanitarian imperative for nuclear disarmament should be the catalyst to launch such a process.

On 1 December 2014 CNANW hosted an experts' seminar focused on the upcoming 2015 NPT Review Conference, which we believe to be of critical importance for the overall health of the global nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation regime. The discussions addressed a broad range of legal, political, security, and verification questions—all related to the pressing need for concrete progress at, and a successful outcome from, the 2015 NPT Review Conference.

Taking into account the deliberations at the seminar, the Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons would like to bring the following recommendations to the Government of Canada to your attention:

1. Prepare for release before the 2015 NPT Review Conference (RevCon) a strategy paper that sets out Canada's priority aims for the meeting and that provides a document for public diplomacy.
2. Seek agreement on mandatory de-alerting measures in order that the world is not imperiled by the perpetuation of dangerous Cold War nuclear postures. Deployed nuclear forces on high-alert status should be a primary focus at the RevCon as a major global threat to be eliminated.
3. Leverage Canada's role as chair of the UN Group of Governmental Experts to urge immediate initiation of FMCT [Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty] negotiations under NPT auspices or in another forum not subject to veto.

4. Support the commencement of work on a Nuclear Weapons Convention in a forum not subject to veto and cease objecting to the negotiation of such a convention as being somehow incompatible with the NPT.
5. Revive the capacity for verification research within the GoC and create a joint project with a nuclear-weapon state (NWS)—the United States would be a prime candidate—to contribute to the development of verification technology and procedures necessary for nuclear disarmament. An announcement of such a collaborative project could be made at the RevCon.
6. Continue to advocate for reform measures to overcome the NPT's institutional deficit and allow for greater transparency and accountability for the implementation of the treaty by its states parties. These measures could include empowered annual meetings of states parties, provision for convening emergency meetings, managerial continuity through a standing bureau or troika arrangement of chairs, and some administrative assistance by means of an implementation support unit.
7. Work to bridge the gap amongst non-nuclear-weapon states (NNWS) that has opened up over whether or not to align with the belief that there is a humanitarian imperative to prevent any detonation of a nuclear weapon by effecting their elimination. Canada finds itself currently in a minority grouping and should migrate to the majority position, which is more in keeping with its political and moral values. A near-term aim would be to help restore the solidarity of NNWS in order to maximize their effectiveness as a diplomatic force at the RevCon.
8. Renew ties with civil society in the run-up to the RevCon by convening consultations and inviting input into the Canadian strategy paper suggested in the first point above. The GoC should revive the past practice of including NGO and expert representatives in the Canadian delegation to the RevCon.
9. Consider hosting a meeting of like-minded countries to examine the pathway to a legal framework for the verified, irreversible, and enforceable prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, as called for by the Middle Powers Initiative and Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament.
10. Welcome the unanimous motions in the Senate (June 2, 2010) and House of Commons (December 7, 2010) calling for a major Canadian diplomatic initiative in support of nuclear disarmament and request that a special joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons hold hearings and prepare a report on how best to implement those unanimous motions.

We firmly believe it is in the best interest of every nation to move decisively toward the shared goal of nuclear abolition, and are convinced that Canada can and should play a leading role in this regard. Action on any of the above measures will require some effort and resource expenditure, but given the huge stake Canada has in the future viability of the NPT and the global nuclear governance based on it, we believe some focused efforts are warranted. Thank you for your attention and actions in regard to these issues.

Sincerely yours,

Beverly J. T. Delong
 Chairperson
 Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

Notes

1. Project Ploughshares is a member of CNANW.
2. The 2015 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will be held from April 27 to May 22 at UN Headquarters in New York. Ploughshares will participate in some of the activities at the RevCon.



Join our work to advance international peace and security
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