

Make Sense Not War

Lloyd Axworthy Receives Thakore Visiting Scholar Award

The 2001 recipient of the Thakore Visiting Scholar Award was Dr. Lloyd Axworthy, Canada's foreign minister from 1996 to 2000. What follows is an excerpt from an article published in The Globe and Mail (September 17, 2001, A17). In it, Dr. Axworthy expressed many of the same thoughts at the address he gave at SFU on October 2, 2001 and in the seminar to which he spoke on October 3. It should be noted that this was written, and his addresses given, before the bombing of Afghanistan started on October 7—an initiative taken without, in the view of many, the “bona fide international mandate and ... clear culpable target” which he posited as a requirement for Canada to join in any military action there.

The Thakore Visiting Scholar Award is presented annually to an outstanding public figure who in some way carries forward the legacy of Muhatma Gandhi. The award is co-sponsored by the Institute for the Humanities, the Thakore Charitable Foundation, and the India Club.

*Excerpt from “Make sense, not war”
by Lloyd Axworthy, The Globe and Mail,
September 17, 2001*

As rescue workers continue their painful search through the debris, as families of victims move from shock to private grief, as the media resumes regular coverage and sporting events return, the shock waves from the surprise terrorist attacks against the United States continue to reverberate around the world.

The foundations that are being shaken are not those of cement and steel. They are the assumptions, practices and policies upon which our international security system has been based: inviolate borders, sovereignty, defence of the nation state. Now, it is human security that is at stake ... This changing global character of the security threat is not a recent discovery. It has been on the agenda at international gatherings for several years. The G8 has had annual discussions on a global response to terrorism, and several major treaties have been negotiated and ratified under UN auspices. But the rhetoric has far outweighed the commitment to collaborative international action. The prevailing attitude has been that the human security challenge could and should be managed primarily by domestic measures such as tighter controls at borders, or through conventional military responses such as surgical bombing strikes. Multilateralism of an effective kind was simply not a priority.

The aftermath of Tuesday's attack may change

this. There are three promising signs: First is the recognition that existing defences don't work and that even the United States, with all its military might and far reaching intelligence network, was penetrated by a disciplined ring of zealots. Second is the rallying of support by friends and allies conveying the message that we are all in this together. Third is the initiative put forward by the Bush Administration for an international coalition to fight terrorism, a clear departure from its previous postures eschewing collective responses to global issues. NATO's decision to invoke Article Five, the collective security clause that considers attack against one member as an attack against all, reinforces this approach.

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One could see such “coalition building” as a ploy to gather support for a military strike. But, Prime Minister Chretien got it right when he indicated that this solidarity was not a blank cheque for quick military intervention. His prudence should prevail. Only if there is a bona fide international mandate

and a clear, culpable target, should Canada join in any military action.

What is also in the offing is the opportunity for a number of nations to work together to apprehend the guilty parties. While it may not serve the same visceral urges for revenge that a military action provides, the coalition would better serve the battle against terrorism by using due process under international law to bring the culprits to justice. We have the mechanisms, we need only the will to use them, as we have in Rwanda and the Balkans.

More than that, this international coalition is in a position to begin constructing a highly integrated world wide system of intelligence sharing, police coordination, passport control, travel surveillance and judicial enforcement against terrorists and their supporters.

This must be based on a new framework of international

agreements setting out responsibilities of governments and individuals on such issues as harbouring suspected terrorists, financing their activities and cooperating on arrest and trial. Those countries found to have aided and abetted terrorists will be named, shamed and sanctioned. And even our closest allies must understand the need to have no truck nor trade with those who feed terror.

Canada can play an active role in shaping this agenda. I suggest we promote the idea that the Statute of Rome establishing the International Criminal Court be amended to include terrorist attacks against civilians to be a crime against humanity.

The Thakore Award: Lloyd Axworthy

—John Doheny

The Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, PC, PhD, received the Thakore Visiting Scholar Award for his initiative and accomplishments as Minister of Foreign Affairs. While in that Ministry, he created the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development and brought citizen participation into the political process through a variety of peace building consultations: conferences including individuals, international organizations, like-minded governments, non-governmental organizations and representatives of his Ministry

travelling across the country speaking, consulting and listening.

His initiative for a Land Mines Treaty gained enormous support. One hundred and twenty-seven countries signed on initially and the total has now reached 139; \$500 million have been donated for removing land mines. He and his Ministry began to expose, in an effort to stop, the growing use of child soldiers. His lecture concerning Emma points out the horrors of a continuing inhuman practice. Emma was a kidnapped child who was forced to

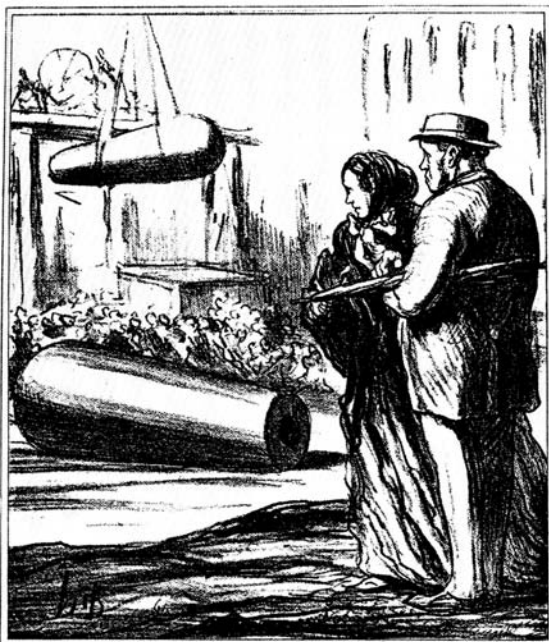
become a child-bride, was trained as a soldier to kill her own family, and became a single mother in the course of this inhumanity. She escaped her enslavement to a refugee camp and traveled briefly to Canada to plead for help and for changes in the way children are now abused in the world. Hers is “a story heard every day,” he says, “around the globe.”¹

Dr. Axworthy also speaks out often in lectures and interviews on the effects of war on women and children—the innocent victims—as well as

speaking out against the possible uses of nuclear weapons in the light of NATO activity and International Law, urging the elimination of such weapons on both moral and legal grounds.

All this activity is part of the emphasis on human security and universal peace as well as the struggle to avert crimes against humanity which are being pursued every day. Human security involves a “shift of security concerns from those focused on national interests to those affecting the individual [which] offers a different lens through which to understand and implement policy. It gives a way of translating post cold war trends into a framework that suggests responses of a global kind and does challenge the assumptions of a state based system, emphasizing the need for international cooperation and governance.”²

The UN charter on cross border aggression by states notes that “of 174 million people who have lost their lives unnaturally at the hands of others, 34 million died in traditional wars, 140 million died at the hands of their own pathological governments.”³ Clearly, these bleak statistics indicate a necessity for global action, a shifting of international focus. “This focus on the security of the individual not the state became the basis of the foreign policy approach of Canada, what we called



The World's Fair
“All men are brothers.”