

Vancouver launch of the Will to Intervene (W2I) Project Report

Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership and Action to Prevent Mass Atrocities

Civic Dialogue on Mobilizing the Will to Intervene

Friday November 27, 2009

The W2I Dialogue was convened by The Simons Foundation, the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) at Concordia University, Simon Fraser University's Centre for Dialogue and Canada's World,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE SIMONS FOUNDATION is a private charitable foundation based in Vancouver, Canada, with a clear mission focused on nuclear disarmament, international law and human security. The Foundation is actively engaged in promoting positive change through education in peace, disarmament, international law and human rights, and also supports the local arts and cultural community in Vancouver.

The MONTREAL INSTITUTE FOR GENOCIDE AND HUMAN RIGHTS STUDIES is a research centre of the Faculty of Arts & Science of Concordia University. MIGS' work is cutting-edge. Peace and conflict resolution are its primary goals. The Institute seeks to not only uncover the underlying reasons for genocide and other crimes against humanity, but also to put forth concrete policy recommendations to resolve conflicts before they intensify and spiral into mass atrocity crimes.

The CENTRE FOR DIALOGUE at Simon Fraser University offers undergraduate courses that use dialogue to focus student attention on public issues and effect positive change through interdisciplinary actions in the community. The unique Undergraduate Semester in Dialogue explores a different topic each semester. The centre also convenes dialogue events on important public issues. SFU research and other resources support the advancement of dialogue, and provide expert facilitation services to groups interested in initiating discussions.

CANADA'S WORLD is a collaboration of many academic institutions, organizations and individuals who seek to articulate and advance a new vision for Canada in the world.

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INTRODUCTION

The Simons Foundation in partnership with the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) at Concordia University, Simon Fraser University's Centre for Dialogue and Canada's World convened a Dialogue with representatives of the media, business leaders, government representatives, academics and relevant civil society organizations on generating the Will to Intervene to Prevent Mass Atrocities.

Professor Frank Chalk, Director of MIGS and Co-Director of MIGS's Will to Intervene Project (W2I) led the discussion on the most effective ways to mobilize local support and generate the Will to Intervene to prevent mass atrocities. The Dialogue was chaired by Dr. Mark Winston, Academic Director of SFU's Centre for Dialogue, and moderated by Ms. Shauna Sylvester, Director of Canada's World.

The Dialogue was one of three events held during the two-day Vancouver Launch of the W2I Project report, *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership and Action to Prevent Mass Atrocities*. The fundamental goal of the report is to identify strategic and practical steps to raise the capacity of government officials, legislators, civil servants, non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups, journalists, and media owners and managers to build the political will to prevent mass atrocities.

A session for academics and students focusing on the findings and policy proposals of the report was held on

Thursday, November 26th at the Morris J. Wosk Centre for Dialogue. A Public Lecture by Professor Frank Chalk highlighting MIGS case studies of Canadian and US policies towards the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the 1999 events in Kosovo was held that evening.

THE WILL TO INTERVENE PROJECT

W2I is a crucial initiative that focuses on the prevention of genocide and other crimes against humanity. After the terrible events that took place in Rwanda and Kosovo, genocide experts seek to understand how to pressure political leaders to stop crimes against humanity before they escalate into genocide. The goal of W2I is to understand how to operationalize the principles of *The Responsibility to Protect (R2P)*, the Canadian-sponsored Report of the International Commission on Intervention and States Sovereignty. Research focused on how to better mobilize domestic political will in Canada and the United States. Furthermore, practical tools will be designed for nongovernmental organizations, the media, interested groups, and the general public so they can effectively pressure governments to take action to prevent future genocides and other crimes against humanity. The W2I Project was developed jointly by Lieutenant-General Roméo A. Dallaire, (Ret'd), Senator, and MIGS at Concordia University. General Dallaire, Canada's leading advocate of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building in the world's war-torn regions, brings his experience in Rwanda to the project. He is Co-director of W2I and the Senior Fellow at MIGS, which supports his work with the United Nations Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE W2I REPORT

The key to mobilizing international support to prevent mass atrocities is to garner domestic support. This was a central argument of *The Responsibility to Protect* (R2P), the 2001 report prepared by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The W2I Project is designed to operationalize R2P principles in Canada and the United States. Strong prodding from civil society organizations and the news media is essential when governments do not implement 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. W2I seeks to shift the emphasis of the prevention paradigm by recognizing that preventing mass atrocities is not just a humanitarian concern, but is vital to the domestic security and prosperity of Americans and Canadians. Ignoring mass atrocities in failing states multiplies the threat to Americans and Canadians from pandemics, terrorism and piracy, and warlords seeking to control strategic raw materials.

KEY POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

For the Government of Canada

Enabling Leadership

W2I recommends that:

- The Prime Minister make preventing mass atrocities a national priority for Canada
- The Prime Minister appoint an International Security Minister as a senior member of the Cabinet
- The Government of Canada support and promote public discussion on Canada’s role in preventing mass atrocities
- 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 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

Enhancing Coordination

W2I recommends that:

- The Government of Canada create an interdepartmental Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities
- 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

Building Capacity

W2I recommends that:

- The Government of Canada establish a Canadian Prevention Corps
- The Government of Canada increase its diplomatic and development presence in fragile countries

For the United States Government

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
- The United States Congress create a Caucus for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities
- Members of the United States Congress take individual initiative and use their existing powers and privileges to advocate for the implementation of R2P
- The United States Government foster public discussions on preventing mass atrocities

Enhancing Coordination

W2I recommends that:

- The President create an Atrocities Prevention Committee to coordinate interagency policy on the prevention of mass atrocities
- 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

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

Building Capacity

W2I recommends that:

- The United States Government allocate federal funding to institutionalize the prevention of mass atrocities within civilian agencies
- The United States Government re-establish its soft power capacity by expanding its diplomatic and development corps, and enhancing the field training of USAID and State Department officials
- 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

For Civil Society and the News Media in Canada and the United States

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.
- Canadian and American civil society organizations expand their advocacy by targeting local/municipal and state/provincial levels of government to support R2P
- Canadian and American civil society groups develop strategic, outcome-based

proposals geared towards key decision makers in the government

- Canadian and American civil society groups leverage new information and communications technologies to educate the public and government
- Canadian and American civil society groups initiate public discussions on the prevention of mass atrocities and related foreign policy issues
- Individual journalists, media owners, and managers in Canada and the United States commit themselves to “the responsibility to report”

THE CONVENERS

Dr. Jennifer Allen Simons

President The Simons Foundation

Jennifer Allen Simons is President of The Simons Foundation, Senior 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 honoured Simons with the Jennifer Allen Simons Chair in Liberal Studies and the 1996 Chancellor's Distinguished Service Award, as well as an Outstanding Alumni Award for her Service to the Community in 2009; 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.

Dr. Mark Winston

Chair, Academic Director, Centre for Dialogue Simon Fraser University

Mark L. Winston has had a distinguished career researching, teaching, writing and commenting on bees and agriculture, environmental issues, and science policy. More recently, he has utilized dialogue in classrooms, corporations, non-profit organizations, government, and community settings to develop leadership and communication skills, conduct strategic planning, inspire organizational change, and thoughtfully engage public audiences with controversial issues. Winston's work has appeared in numerous books,

commentary columns for the Vancouver Sun, The New York Times, The Sciences, Orion magazine, and frequently on CBC radio and television and National Public Radio. His research, communication, and dialogue achievements have been recognized by many awards, including the Manning Award for Innovation, Sterling Prize in Support of Controversy, British Columbia Gold Medal in Science and Engineering, Academic of the Year, Eve Savory Award for Science Communication, Michael Smith Award for Science Promotion, a prestigious Killam Fellowship from the Canada Council, and election as a Fellow in the Royal Society of Canada. He currently is Academic Director of Simon Fraser University's Morris J. Wosk Centre for Dialogue, and a Professor of Biological Sciences.

Professor Frank Chalk

Director, Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS), Concordia University & Co-Director, the Will to Intervene Project

Frank Chalk, Professor of History, Concordia University (Montreal, Canada) and Director, the 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).

Ms. Shauna Sylvester

Director Canada's World

Shauna Sylvester is a Fellow at the Simon Fraser University Morris J. Wosk Centre for Dialogue and the Director of Canada's World - a national citizens' dialogue on Canadian international policy. Prior to developing Canada's World, Shauna co-founded and served as the first Executive Director of IMPACS - the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society

where she worked in media and democratic development in conflict and post conflict zones. She is a skilled facilitator, a writer and a commentator on foreign policy issues. She is an active volunteer and has served on dozens of boards and committees at the local, national and international level. She is the current Treasurer of Mountain Equipment Cooperative (Canada's largest cooperative) and a past member of the Board of Vancity, Vancity Capital Corporation and the B.C. Assessment Authority (a crown corporation). Shauna holds a Masters in Management from McGill University, and a Bachelor of Arts from Simon Fraser University. In 2005, she was honoured with an Outstanding Alumni Award from SFU for her community service work. In 2003, Shauna was also recognized as one of Canada's Top 40 Under 40 in the Globe and Mail after receiving a similar award in 2000 by Business in Vancouver Magazine.

WHAT IS A DIALOGUE?

“

[...] *Dialogue means much more than a casual conversation. Dialogue is a respectful, free flowing but structured conversation among a diverse group of people who bring different life experiences and viewpoints to the discussion. It is a special kind of conversation that involves learning and working together to understand different points of view. With a purpose to expand knowledge and create mutual understanding through the consideration of alternatives, dialogue encourages us to be open to the possibility of learning new ways to think about public issues.*”

Moving beyond dichotomies: Canada's Role in the 21st Century? Canada's World, 2008

AGENDA

- Welcome by Dr. Jennifer Allen Simons, president of The Simons Foundation
- Welcome and introductions by Dr. Mark Winston, Chair and Academic Director, Centre for Dialogue, Simon Fraser University
- Participants introduce themselves and tell one hope and one concern around the W2I project
- Brief on the Will to Intervene (W2I) Project and related issues by Prof. Frank Chalk, Co-director of the W2I Project and Director of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies at Concordia University
- Clarifying questions from participants
- Participants are asked to scale to what extent the W2I report resonates with them.
- Participants share and offer their recommendations for how to advance the W2I (practical, concrete strategies)
- Final round: participants list one thing they will do to advance the W2I
- Closing

PARTICIPANTS' HOPES AND CONCERNS AROUND THE WILL TO INTERVENE REPORT

Each participant was asked to take 40 to 45 seconds to share one hope and one concern with the group. The following table summarizes the results.

Hopes

- It is encouraging to see people discuss this issue, it's time to do that.
- Hopes this becomes a central theme, making it possible to have real conversations at our level.
- The report helps us to understand more deeply.
- It is a catalyst for many people, disciplines and discourses
- This can really be a mobilizer, a facilitator for lively conversations
- It is vital to engage with different sectors and parts of society
- Dialogue has opened up, there are conversations on different levels.
- That efforts to frame the will to intervene in the light of Canadian interests catches on and there is proper debate and discussion around this.
- We can now learn collectively and institutionally about situations that are pre-atrocity and anticipate effective action.
- The most effective interventions will be led by democracies
- The engagement must include young people, this is something that young people would embrace.
- There is a need for a mechanism that would authorize the intervention of states.
- This is sustained and high-profile.
- We can move this debate towards concrete actions.
- The philanthropic community can be engaged in an effective way and work strategically to leverage its resources; government needs to do more, but other sectors can come to the table to build the right framework.
- Hope that we do not become indifferent, that we can create paths of engagement with social media
- The millennium generation is very concerned by world issues such as this.
- The project can evolve beyond Canada and the US to other countries.
- The project can evolve from intervention to

Concerns

- We don't have a good track record when it comes to intervention.
- We deal with too many short term issues; it will take time for people to understand these issues.
- There should be more critical attention to the way media functions in the recommendations.
- If it is difficult to think about will, it is even more difficult to think about commitment.
- It will be difficult to engage beyond this small group.
- Poor previous track record of intervening nations.
- What of the division of work once this project takes off.
- There need to be concrete ways for Canada to intervene in humanitarian ways.
- It is hard for governments to act unless there is a public imperative.
- We need to mobilize the public to intervene in an effective way, make a realistic link for the public.
- This initiative can be lost in partisan politics.
- Humanitarian intervention could be turned into something else, a way to impose our own views of how people should live on others.
- W2I should be accountable to some international mechanism.
- Partisan politics could hinder the project.
- There is a risk of forgetting the sense of urgency.
- How do we promote debate in other countries about this issue?
- This may be lost in the complexity of issues and the web of stakeholder relationships.
- We need to beware of trying to recreate our own image in other countries.
- How many interventions can we lead? Do we have the resources?
- The sovereignty issues are very complex.
- After Afghanistan, what political initiative will we have left?
- This vision might lead to a focus that is solely political or economic.
- Too much talk and too little action.

prevention.



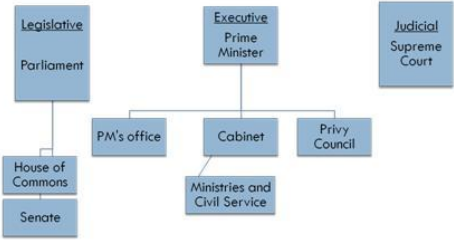





- Hope for a clearer and lower bar for intervention.
- Hope there will be a sanctioning authority that ensures that intervention remains humanitarian and is not politically motivated.
- Hope that the government of Canada makes the prevention of atrocities a priority.
- Hope it can cement empathy and critical consciousness in society because what happens to humanity matters to us.
- This report will act as a catalyst to reframe foreign policy and DFAIT.
- Never again!
- Hope to participate in more conversations like this because this is the way to do it.
- Hope for an action plan that carries the recommendations forward.”
- If everyone can think as brothers and sisters, mass atrocities will disappear

- There is a need to build a constituency here and elsewhere.
- We don't have a history of effective intervention.
- There needs to be a lower bar for intervention.
- This project could lead to more endless talks and studies in academic circles.
- Partisan politics may mischaracterize the goals.
- This could promote knee-jerk reactions.
- Can our interventions make things worse?
- We may be neglecting the underground social cultural milieu that is a precursor to genocide.
- There needs to be a reflection on our complicity in creating the precursors to mass atrocity crimes.
- While critically important, this report is only one phase of a larger preventive framework.
- Rebuilding after intervention should be done in a thoughtful way.
- We are entering a period of a perfect storm of circumstances that will hinder our will to intervene: climate change, lack of resources, religious ideologies...
- There is a concern that the recommendations in the report will disappear in the media two weeks after being issued as previous reports have.
- It is difficult to move from an economic paradigm to a more humanitarian paradigm.
- The basic premise of the approach is to combine Realpolitik with humanitarianism by mobilizing the W2I in conjunction with national interest. Can the W2I attempt to modify the fundamental elements of the currently perceived national interest?

PROF. FRANK CHALK'S BRIEF

Prof. Chalk provided an overview of the main elements of the W2I. The following slides provide an outline of his main points.

<p style="text-align: center;">Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Researching History for Public Policy</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p>Prepared by: The Will to Intervene Project January 27, 2010</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center; background-color: #4a86e8; color: white; padding: 5px;"> MIGS Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies </div> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p>	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p style="text-align: center;">Ugly Consequence of Mass Atrocities: Camps for IDPs and refugees</p> <p style="text-align: right;">2</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Drivers of Deadly Violence Today</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Climate Change • Nationalism • Poverty and Inequality • Population Growth and the Youth Bulge • Epidemic Disease and Pandemics <div style="text-align: right;">  </div> <p style="text-align: right;">3</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">The Will to Intervene Project</p> <p>In collaboration with General Romeo Dallaire</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Looked at how to mobilize domestic will in Canada and the US to better prevent genocide and other mass atrocity crimes • Completed case studies re. US & Canadian policies towards: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Rwanda (1994) – Kosovo (1999) <div style="text-align: right;">  </div> <p style="text-align: right;">4</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">W2I's Key Message:</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Incorporate the prevention of mass atrocities into Canada's definition of its "National Interest"—It's about security, first, and humanitarianism, second</i></p> <div style="text-align: right;">  </div> <p style="text-align: right;">5</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">The Public Policy Implications of Genocide: The Costs of Inaction Threaten Our Security Today</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public health: infectious diseases, epidemics, and pandemics, drug-resistant bacteria • Security: terrorism and piracy • Prosperity: war lord control of vital raw materials and trade routes • Political backlashes: defeat at the polls <div style="text-align: right;">  </div> <p style="text-align: right;">6</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">The Will to Intervene Project</p> <p>W2I researchers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mapped the processes of Canadian and US domestic political will generation to prevent genocide, crimes against humanity, and serious war crimes; 2. Identified the deficiencies, key intervention points, and influences within these processes; 3. Developed practical tools to generate sufficient political will, based upon these findings. <p style="text-align: right;"> 7</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Key W2I Activities</p> <p style="text-align: right;"></p> <p>Interviewed more than 80 Canadian and American politicians, government officials, journalists, academics and NGO representatives</p> <p>Organized an international Research Steering Committee and an Academic Consultation Group which met regularly at Concordia</p> <p>Released the W2I study report in September 2009 in Washington and Ottawa with policy recommendations for all important actors</p> <p>Next steps:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete W2I briefing sessions for parliamentarians, journalists and editorial boards, NGO, government officials and civic leaders • Organize resolutions supporting W2I by city councils and provincial assemblies <p style="text-align: right;">8</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Our Main Focal Point: The PM's Office</p>  <p style="text-align: right;">9</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">The Canadian Government: Key Actors and Institutions</p> <p>Prime Minister's Office/Privy Council Office</p> <p>Political Parties, parliamentarians and senators</p> <p>DFAIT, CIDA, IDRC, and DND</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> 10</p>
<p>Key Questions: Does the Govt. of Canada today have the will to participate in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT • THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT • THE RESPONSIBILITY TO REBUILD <p>Major Canadian Soft Power Initiatives of the 1990s included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Campaign to Ban Land Mines • Support for the establishment of the International Criminal Court • The Responsibility to Protect Report (R2P) <p style="text-align: right;"> 11</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) Report</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The creation of the R2P report was spearheaded by the Canadian Government • It put responsibility on states to protect their own citizens from mass atrocities and the international community to act when states violate that duty • It focused on prevention, prioritizing soft power, with the use of military force only as a last resort <p style="text-align: right;"> 12</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">W2I: The key actors in <u>domestic</u> political will generation</p> <p>Government</p> <p>NGOs, Interest Groups, and the rest of Civil Society</p> <p>The Media: TV, Radio, Internet, Magazines, Celebrities, Journalists, Editors, and Owners</p> <p style="text-align: right;"> 13</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">W2I's Policy Recommendations</p> <p>Four Priority Areas for Government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enabling <u>Leadership</u> • Enhancing <u>Coordination</u> • Building <u>Capacity</u> • Ensuring <u>Knowledge</u> <p style="text-align: right;"> 14</p>

Enabling Leadership

- The Prime Minister make preventing mass atrocities a national priority for Canada
- The Prime Minister appoint an International Security Minister as a senior member of the Cabinet
- The Government of Canada support and promote public discussion on Canada's role in preventing mass atrocities
- 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 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



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Enhancing Coordination

- The Government of Canada create an interdepartmental Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities
- 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



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Building Capacity

- The Government of Canada establish a Canadian Prevention Corps
- The Government of Canada increase its diplomatic and development presence in fragile countries
- 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



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Ensuring Knowledge

- Canadian and American civil society organizations develop permanent domestic constituencies by forming national coalitions for R2P in Canada and the U.S.
- Canadian and American civil society organizations expand their advocacy by targeting local/municipal and state/provincial levels of government to support R2P
- Canadian and American civil society groups develop strategic, outcome-based proposals geared towards key decision makers in the government



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Ensuring Knowledge

- Canadian and American civil society groups leverage new information and communications technologies to educate the public and government
- Canadian and American civil society groups initiate public discussions on the prevention of mass atrocities and related foreign policy issues
- Individual journalists, media owners, and managers in Canada and the United States commit themselves to "the responsibility to report"



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Stage One of W2I Completed
See: <http://migs.concordia.ca>



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Reaching decision makers



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Launch of W2I at USIP



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W2I briefs Members of Parliament
in Ottawa
1 October 2009



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2011 WILL PROVIDE A SINGULAR MOMENT OF OPPORTUNITY



Converging movements: a) climate change, b) public health, c) human rights, and d) security from terrorism

The New US Government: Obama

Public Support for W2I in Canada: The Angus Reid Poll Results and the rebuilding of the Canadian military

New Arguments and Policies advanced by W2I

New Technologies: Facebook, Google, Cell phone cameras and video advance citizen lobbying

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Will to Intervene

Information and Blogs about W2I are posted on:

- Facebook
- Twitter
- MIGS website (migs.concordia.ca)
- USIP website
- Enough Project website
- CPAC
- Youtube



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STAGE TWO OF W2I

Organize partnerships and sign agreements sharing authority with research institutes in:

- The Republic of South Africa
- Britain

Secure more funding

Hire a project leader in South Africa and Britain

Hire researchers in both countries

Share authority with research teams in South Africa and Britain to write and launch reports on mobilizing the will to intervene

Help research centres in both countries to organize political support for their recommendations to their own governments

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Why we must ensure "Mass Atrocity Prevention" becomes part of the public policy lexicon.

We remember:

THE ARMENIANS, 1915

THE UKRAINIANS, EARLY 1930S

THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE HOLOCAUST, 1939-1945

BURUNDI (1972)

CAMBODIA (1975-78)

RWANDA (1994)

SREBRENICA, B-H (1995)

DRC (1995-today), and more

But it's especially about OUR SECURITY, TODAY!



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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Following Prof. Chalk's presentation, participants commented on the report and raised a number of questions as outlined below:

1. The W2I report lists four countries that are high risk: Somalia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe. These countries are very different. For example, Somalia has no military and other countries have intervened there despite the complicated situation but Burma on the other hand has a strong military and no other country has ever thought of intervening there. In the case of Sri Lanka, India did intervene but the intervention created a back lash. How do we define what an atrocity is and what a mass atrocity is?

➔ Mass atrocities in this report are defined by international criminal law:

- **Genocide** under the UN Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
- **Crimes against humanity** and **serious war crimes** as defined by the Rome Treaty of the International Criminal Court
- **Ethnic cleansing** as defined by the UN General Assembly

There are technical definitions of “atrocity” with legal requirements. We do need to define these to stake out the corners of the tent within which intervention is needed. In each of those countries one or more facets of these legal definitions are present.

We need to lay out the warning signs that atrocities may be under way but recognize that intervention may not be possible or may be inappropriate. The R2P report¹ focuses carefully on the timing of intervention. It is important to remind ourselves that R2P is a very self-limiting document; its recommendations are self-limiting; it should be read together with W2I's recommendations.

2. Why is there so much emphasis on the priority of a cabinet minister, a committee and more diplomats? In cabinet creating a new title does not necessarily produce an outcome.

➔ The recommendation for creation of a super-minister stems from our research within the government of Canada. A person who becomes a super-minister, who has the gravitas that the job requires, who is respected throughout the government for his or her extensive experience will break through the silos erected within the government. Such information and authority silos are lethal for preventive action.

3. Why do you say that politicians have failed – when did they fail?

➔ Why say that politicians have failed? The short answer would be because the evidence clearly shows that they have, but there is much more to this question and we will have to take more time to answer that question.

¹ The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. <http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf>

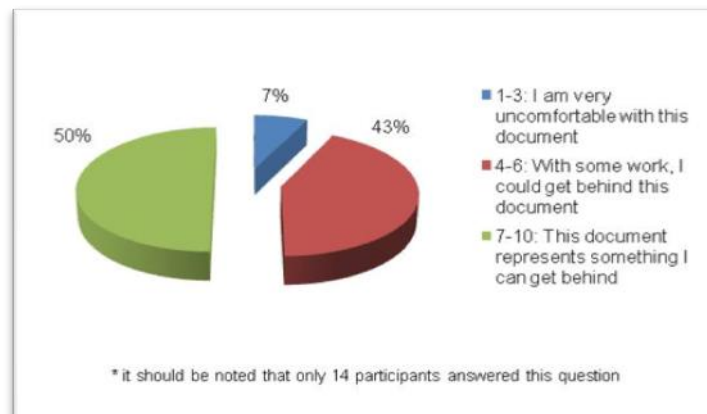
4. You say that the document is non-partisan but political. It promotes a back-door approach to social change. Should not governments be wary about the far-reaching implications of such an approach to social change?

➡ These recommendations will trigger social change and you cannot prevent mass atrocities without social change. Leaders will be skittish about increasing development assistance, but people in government are beginning to think about the long-term costs and benefits of intervention, especially in the light of Afghanistan. Leaders have to think that it's politically rewarding to intervene and that they may pay the price at election time for not intervening.

5. Can you expand on the refugee clause? What about the risk of a quarantine sentiment? While it is true that one can view refugees as a source of contagion, how can we prevent the possible xenophobic backlash of considering them so? Should the report be mitigated in this sense?

➡ We have to be effective in pre-empting the possible xenophobic consequences of raising this issue and we count on you to help us do that.

FIGURE 1 - ON WHAT SCALE DID THE W2I DOCUMENT RESONATE WITH THE PARTICIPANTS?



RESERVATIONS PARTICIPANTS HAD ABOUT THE DOCUMENT:

- The issue demands a greater level of practicality, some of these recommendations could be considered too “soft”.
- There is a risk that advocacy groups become too institutionalized and lose their funding. Advocacy groups should keep their local roots.
- Nothing ensures that governments won't manipulate these recommendations to carry out their policies with even greater impunity.
- This framework may not be applicable everywhere. Mass atrocities may not be classified the same way in every context.
- The elements of globalization that are precursors to genocide need to be recognized.
- More politically active and engaged young people from across the board need to be brought in and involved.
- Nothing guarantees that the media coverage will be helpful and not a hindrance.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW TO ADVANCE THE W2I

Participants were asked to identify recommendations on how to advance the W2I in writing. Their inputs were posted and reviewed by the full group.

- Be more explicit about prevention
- Keep the focus on mass atrocities
- Put a human face, not a bureaucratic or legalist one on these issues
- Recruit high profile champions -» celebrities, politicians, academics
- Lead an international campaign like Axworthy's Ottawa Process on land mines to establish effective quick response mechanisms with clear triggering criteria
- Link the W2I to Millennium Development goals as a way to prevent need to intervene
- Self-reflexive practice. How are we complicit in global-logic of genocide? What can we do to change?
- Link development policy to early conflict resolution efforts, monitor outcomes to reinforce strategies
- Engage cities in the prevention of genocide – create an organization of mayors for the prevention of genocide
- Engage all national parties to make prevention a policy priority
- Focus on mass genocide and atrocities at the
 - 1) municipal level
 - 2) provincial level
 - 3) federal level
- Concrete strategy to help people in Canadian institutions to pay attention and learn to recognize situations where interventions are realistic and where they are not, and to learn about the consequences of interventions (see Afghanistan today)

Mobilizing Education

- Teach young people (including high school students) about the prevention of mass atrocities – engage a groundswell of interest; Have a regional course on the general subject in every college and university
- Make it public and accessible to universities across the country to form a starting point for aggressive support
- Dissemination and education at schools /universities on responsibility/will and why to focus on mass atrocities
- Community-based education, dialogue, action to build constituency of support
- Each government level to have an office to mobilize citizens
- Do rigorous analysis of how intervention affects our national interest in actual dollars and cents
- Define ways and approaches for successful or acceptable intervention strategies
- Mobilize the power to ask Prime Minister to act

Mobilizing the media, both traditional and new

Mobilizing government

- Appoint international minister on genocide and mass atrocities
- Ongoing seminars for people in government (attendance tied to promotion and increments!)
- Public dialogue – diversify media recommendations to include other cultural bodies eg. CIDA, NFB, CBC, Canada Arts council who already deal with arts/media that can accommodate the W2I mandate within existing funding and dissemination schedules
- Use social media to project and identify the early warning signs and encourage

the whistleblowers; implement further research on media impact

- Create a website that shares info and news and knowledge from a broad coalition and creates social media opportunities for mobilization
- Drawing clearer links in media between national and international security (economic, political, moral etc..)
- Garner major media support of the report, in the hope of changing the way that global issues are framed – and therefore how public opinion is formed
- Include media in dialogue/debates and education
- Cable TV channels should devote some time exclusively to these issues -» contact Oprah!
- Emphasis on the fact that Canada has a role to play in these regions. They aren't far off isolated places, but places where Canadians are connected politically, economically and culturally.
- Link the W2I to local situation that touches us and is understandable
- Develop social/community interest in preventing or intervening in mass atrocity crimes/situations:
 - -»using the media
 - -»using the arts
 - -»using entertainment
 - -»using social networking
- Public funding for CBC to do foreign reporting raised from a tax on cable fees
- Engage philanthropic community in supporting media – both traditional and new media--to bolster courage on these issues. Media can't, won't do it on their own but can be critical if we are to frame

issues so Canadians understand their direct stake.

- Hold similar roundtable in Toronto for the Media

Mobilizing the NGO community and grassroots activists

- NGOs to adopt a resolution and submit it to various levels of government
- Create recommendations for grassroots mobilization on the issue
- Make grassroots activist work that is already occurring in communities the first source for recommendations on how to act and when to intervene
- Build practical solidarity between Canadian activist groups critical of the globalized economic conditions which are often the preconditions for genocide
- Tweak and nuance language regarding refugees, disease then connect with folks in refugee and displaced persons camps in Ghana, DRC, Somalia etc... and promote, promote, promote!!

Mobilizing other sectors of society

- Expand partnerships with NGOs/Civil Society Organizations
- Use the Corporate Social Responsibility Centre of Excellence as a tool for encouraging corporate sector to support ; Internationalize Canadian business and other forms of engagement – build incentive to be concerned
- Engage business to understand what the connection is for their business in their industry as an international entity that is responsible

CONCRETE WAYS THE PARTICIPANTS WILL ADVANCE THE W2I

As a closing round, participants were asked how they can advance the W2I. The following list provides some of the personal commitments made by participants:

- Spread the word to my team, colleagues, readers and students
- Use new technologies such as Twitter to spread the word, foster dialogue and connect people and organizations
- Incorporate dialogue to generate informed action
- Focus on universities' abilities to move from intellectual capital to social capital
- Incorporate the report in university curriculum and reading lists; challenge students to mobilize in support of the W2I
- Incorporate ideas into current work
- Involve more journalists and continue to tell more stories about these issues
- Take the report to the Law Society and see if they would be willing to support the report

CONCLUSION AND NEXT STEPS

Most participants were very interested in the potential of the Will to Intervene Project. Amongst the comments the participants made about the report, they felt that a critical mass of community support had not yet been reached, that one of the biggest challenges is the lack of familiarity with these issues. They suggested it would be essential to define these issues in terms that are close to Canadians. Providing clear definitions and rigorous analysis would be the key to success. Some participants mentioned the importance of having early warning signs and of focusing on mass atrocities. They were also adamant that intervention always be proportional to the actual danger and that strategies always be anticipated and considered at the onset. Participants also mentioned that partnerships with the NGO community should be sought and expanded. They also suggested having more dialogues on these issues with key stakeholders and partners.

Mr. Jean de Dieu Hakizimana invited the participants to join him for an evening of global reflection and remembrance on the International Day of Reflection on the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda². It will be an opportunity to express deep sorrow for victims, to honour survivors and set a determination to act in the future to prevent similar tragedies.

Dr. Simons closed the session and outlined the next steps from the dialogue. She noted that a report would be developed, circulated and posted on the Simons Foundation website. Prof. Chalk committed to taking the information provided by participants back to the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) at Concordia University and to the Will to Intervene Project.

As we publish this report, Prof. Frank Chalk is happy to report that McGill-Queen's University Press will publish *MOBILIZING THE WILL TO INTERVENE: LEADERSHIP TO PREVENT MASS ATROCITIES* in time for instructors to assign it to their students in classes offered this coming fall (2010). Based on the *Will to Intervene* report released by the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies at Concordia University in September 2009, the book is revised with students in mind and priced at only C\$18 for the soft cover edition.

Part One of the book introduces students to the need to incorporate the prevention of mass atrocities into the national interests of Canada and the United States and the costs of inaction. Part Two presents case studies of Canadian and United States decision making at the time of the Rwanda genocide of 1994 and the 1999 intervention in Kosovo. The case studies are based on interviews with over 80 senior decision makers and shapers of opinion active during the events under analysis. In Part Three, the book provides students with a series of in-depth policy recommendations to the Governments of Canada and the United States integrating the lessons learned as a consequence of the Rwanda genocide and the Kosovo intervention. These recommendations provide excellent material for class discussions and debates. The book's Appendices summarize the limits on the use of force proposed in the Responsibility to Protect report, list the names and positions of those interviewed by the W2I team, and provide a summary of the recommendations to governments.

Publication of *MOBILIZING THE WILL TO INTERVENE* by McGill-Queen's University Press is a welcome response to one of the major recommendations of the Vancouver meeting--that it should be made widely available, especially to high school and university students.

² Everyone will be welcome to join the guest speakers and enjoy some live music at the Matsqui Centennial Auditorium of the Abbotsford City Hall, from 7:00 Pm to 9:00 pm on April 8, 2010.

APPENDIX

MODEL DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE WILL TO INTERVENE FOR CITY COUNCILS

Frank Chalk/November 2009

WHEREAS, mass atrocities such as genocide, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing offend the conscience of humankind;

WHEREAS, the sale last year of one billion commercial airline passenger seats world-wide, demonstrate the speed at which epidemic infectious diseases can spread from continent to continent;

WHEREAS, mass atrocities trigger enormous flows of refugees and internal displacement that accelerate the incidence and spread of infectious diseases;

WHEREAS, mass atrocities facilitate concrete threats from terrorism, piracy, and other forms of lawlessness on the land and sea;

WHEREAS, mass atrocities engender the spread of warlordism, putting at risk Canadians' access to vital strategic raw materials ranging from coltan to rich mineral ores;

WHEREAS, mobilizing the domestic will to intervene is an essential prelude to mount the international cooperation necessary to prevent mass atrocities;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT the City of Vancouver does this day resolve to urge the Prime Minister of Canada to proclaim the prevention of mass atrocities a major priority of the Government of Canada in the next Speech from the Throne;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the Vancouver City Council urge the Prime Minister to implement the recommendations of *Mobilizing the Will to Intervene: Leadership and Action to Prevent Mass Atrocities* and that to this end the Prime Minister will:

- appoint an International Security Minister as a senior member of the Cabinet;
- support the conversion of the All-Party Parliamentary Group for the Prevention of Genocide and Other Crimes Against Humanity into a standing joint committee of Parliament;
- create an interdepartmental Coordinating Office for the Prevention of Mass Atrocities;
- establish a Canadian Prevention Corps;
- increase Canada's diplomatic and development presence in fragile countries;
- enhance the Canadian Forces' capabilities by increasing its force strength and developing operational concepts, doctrine, force structure, and training to support civilian protection.

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED THAT copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister of Canada, the Premier of British Columbia, the Union of B.C. Municipalities, and upon request to any municipal or city government that seeks a copy.